

THE VOICE OF THE NEIGHBORS: A STUDY OF TLAPANEC  
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES AND THEIR MAINTENANCE

by

Marion Oettinger, Jr.

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Marion Oettinger, Jr.

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MARION OETTINGER, JR. The Voice of the Neighbors: A Study of Tlapanec Community Boundaries and Their Maintenance. (Under the direction of DONALD L. BROCKINGTON).

This dissertation is based on fieldwork data gathered mainly in the Tlapanec community of Tlacoapa, Guerrero, Mexico, during the period of time between August 1971 and July 1972.

The purposes of this study are various. First, it provides an in-depth ethnographic record of various aspects of a previously undescribed group of Mexican indigenous people. Second, it shows what, for Tlacoapenos, at least, constitute the outer limits of group identity. It demonstrates what sets Tlacoapenos off from surrounding communities. Finally, it examines ways in which these limits are manifested and maintained through various local institutions and other, less formal, aspects of Tlacoapeno society.

The work attempts to reinforce three main contentions: 1) that for Tlacoapenos the social community or the unit of group identity widens from the confines of the family, hamlet, and village affiliations to a point identical to the geographical boundaries of communal lands; 2) that the institutions within these boundaries are structured in such a way as to respond to the necessities of maintaining internal cohesion against continually threatening sur-

rounding forces; and 3) that maintenance of this internal cohesion is achieved and preserved through a series of regulatory devices hidden within Tlacoapa's institutions. These devices sift out potentially disruptive demands made upon Tlacoapa by agents of change outside of Tlacoapa, and re-interpret them in terms more meaningful to the community. These devices control responses going out of Tlacoapa as well as demands entering the community.

Tlacoapeno institutions examined in detail are the civil-religious organization (cargo system); various aspects of Tlacoapeno economy (especially marketing); marriage; and finally, an informal organization founded and used by Tlacoapenos now living in Mexico City. All of these institutions are examined to see how they reveal or define the limits of Tlacoapeno social community. They are also seen as integrative devices, working to bring the community more closely together. Finally, they are seen as regulatory devices for both re-interpreting demands from the outside into language and forms more acceptable to the well-being of the community and therefore more conducive to internal harmony and also re-interpreting community responses into forms more acceptable to the outside world.

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## PREFACE

As far as anthropology is concerned, Mexico is one of the most thoroughly studied areas in the world. Over the past several decades, literally hundreds of cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, and linguists have found Mexico to be fertile ground for pursuing their intellectual specialties. This great influx of anthropologists to Mexico is influenced by three conditions: 1) Mexico has a large number of indigenous groups, each occupying its own distinct position in relation to the ever-widening forces of assimilation, originating primarily in urban areas; 2) because of the close proximity of Mexico, colleges and universities in the United States are financially better able to support the work of their graduate students there; and 3) the great interest which the Mexican government has taken in anthropological research has made visas and permits for such work easier to obtain.

Research conducted by Mexican and foreign anthropologists has taken them to all parts of Mexico, from the Yaqui regions of the north to the Maya enclaves of the south, leaving only a few groups in between for which there is an absence of good ethnographic data. The Tlapanecs of the State of Guerrero are one of the few groups which have

remained relatively untouched by anthropological investigation. Olmsted (1969:563) states that they are "one of the least known of Middle American groups." Why does this void exist? Why have the Tlapanecs been so greatly ignored for so long? There are several possible answers worth considering.

First, the Tlapanecs are located in the State of Guerrero. Guerrero and the southeastern coastal area of Mexico, in general, are infamous for being among the most violent regions in the Republic. As an undergraduate, I once asked a professor of anthropology why more work had not been done in the State of Guerrero. His reply was, "If the Mexican Army is hesitant to go into the area, I'm certainly not going in myself." While this statement was made partly in jest, it does reflect the general attitude of many people toward the area.

Violence and Guerrero have become synonymous in the minds of many Mexicans as well as foreign tourists. Cordan (1963:180), a visitor to the area, sees the State of Guerrero as being "desolate" and "perilous" and describes Chilpancingo, the state capital, as "a wretched hole, equating residence with suicide." He goes further to state "if it [Guerrero] boasts a pearl of the Pacific in Acapulco, the wise man descends on it from the air. The modern auto-bahn from Mexico City has to be patrolled by motorized troops of the Federal Army."

Articles and cartoons appear almost weekly in Mexican newspapers, recounting battles between groups of bandits or between bandits and government troops (Figure p.1)

The Tlapanecs, although not belonging to any bandit groups, also have a reputation for violence. Perhaps this is due to their location in the State of Guerrero, or perhaps it is because of certain unfavorable portraits of them offered by ethnographers of the past. Sahagún, the 16th century Spanish ethnographer, describes the Tlapanecs as a "barbarous" people . . . "even worse than the Otomi" (1961:187). García Payón (1940), who made an archaeological survey of the northern region of the Tlapanec area, reports a general fear of the Tlapanecs by neighboring Nahuaspeaking people.

This negative appraisal of the State of Guerrero and the Tlapanecs may have some foundation. Guerrero has certainly had its share of armed conflict. My own experience, both with Guerrerenses and Tlapanecs indicates, however, that the degree of violence and malevolent behavior of the population reported by others is drastically exaggerated. Never once did I have reason to fear for my safety during the 11 months I resided in Guerrero. Tlacoapa, the community with which this study deals, has not had a case of homicide in over ten years. Additionally, all people with whom I came into contact treated both my wife and me with utmost courtesy and respect. Federal and state

Sólo Violencia y Terror

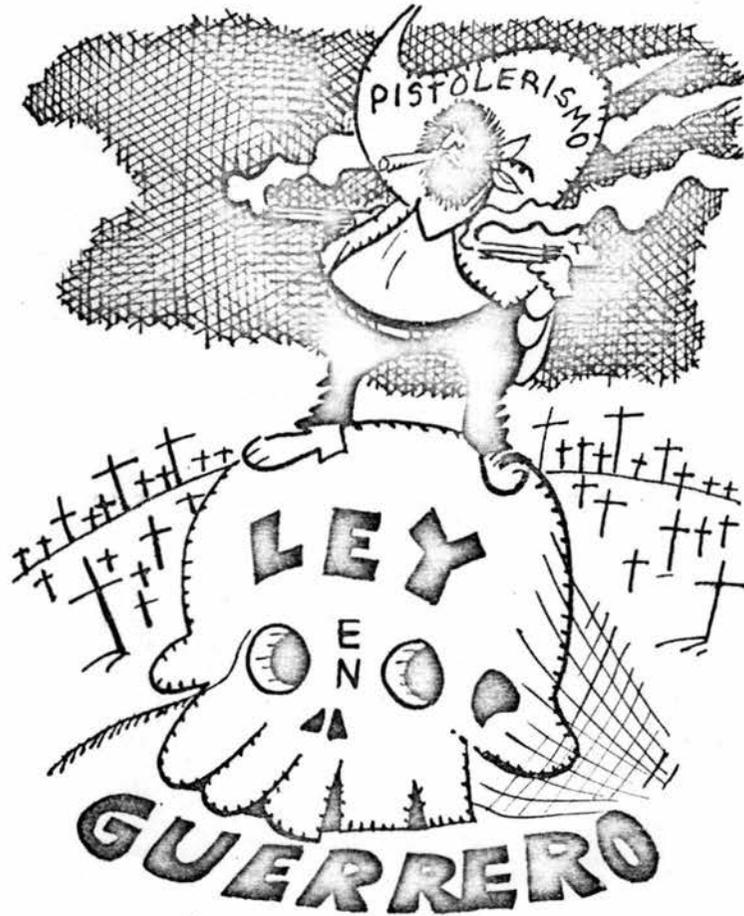


Figure p.1

Cartoonist's Conception of Guerrero

"Only violence and terror; gunfighting; law in Guerrero."  
(Borja 1971)

officials, as well as private people living in Guerrero, were always anxious to assist us in any way they could. Occasional conflicts over possession of land did occur, and Sunday afternoon drinking bouts often led to scuffles, but these things occur in many parts of the world and, in my opinion, they do not happen with any greater frequency among the Tlapanecs. Nevertheless, such a reputation for lawlessness has undoubtedly had great effect upon anthropological research in the area and has probably discouraged many serious investigators from going into the State.

Past negative attitudes of Guerrero politicians toward the profession of anthropology may also account for the lack of research in the region. In 1949 bones thought to be those of Cuauémoc, the last Aztec ruler, were unearthed in the small village of Ixcateopa, Guerrero. Preliminary investigations into the authenticity of the bones and accompanying objects spoke strongly in favor of their antiquity (Cué Canovas 1950). Later, however, a large team of archaeologists, historians, and other specialists concluded that the bones were not what they were originally thought to be (Anonymous 1951). The committee stated that the documents concerning the contents of the burial and the copper plaque which sealed the tomb were not written in a Spanish typical of the colonial period in question. Bone analysis also refuted the authenticity of the find.

The State government, perhaps seeing the find as potentially providing a great boost to the reputation of the State and to tourism, took issue with the findings of the committee. Relations between Guerrero officials and anthropologists became strained. Only in the past decade has the State government taken interest in new anthropological research, and today it seems vitally interested in promoting anthropological investigations in the State. Plans are now well under way to establish an anthropological museum in Chilpancingo.

Isolation, too, accounts for the lack of past research. The Tlapanec region is greatly separated from the rest of the world. Tlapa, the ancient center of the Tlapanec region and now the district headquarters of the area, was linked to the outside world by a road just ten years ago, in 1965 (Ochoa Campos 1964). Today the Tlapa-bound bus, which starts in Chilpancingo, takes six hours in good weather. During the rainy season the trip is longer, if the condition of the road permits travel at all. From Tlapa, the nearest Tlapanec village is several hours away by foot during the dry season. The heaviest concentration of Tlapanec villages is from ten to fifteen hours from Tlapa.\* Although small plane service into the area has

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\*Tlapanecs reckon distances in terms of walking time. Consequently miles and kilometers are rarely mentioned.

been established, its schedule is uncertain, its fares relatively high, and its reputation for safety something of a local joke. During 1971, three planes crashed in the community of Tlacoapa, one into the empty hut of our next door neighbor. Today there is only one pilot who will fly into the area, and he does so only when weather permits.

This isolation has discouraged researchers who, perhaps, prefer working in areas which are more readily accessible and which offer more comforts than those available in the mountains of the Tlapanec region.

Finally, lack of data on the Tlapanecs, especially of a base-line ethnographic nature, has lessened the importance of their presence in Mexico. The few ethnographers who have done serious research in the area have not made their findings available to the general scientific community. H. V. and Millie Lemley, missionary linguists who have worked with Tlacoapa Tlapanecs for over 30 years, have published only two short articles (1949; 1955). Schultze-Jena (1938), the only other researcher who has done fieldwork in the region, published an excellent work in German dealing with the Tlapanec language and religion in the community of Malinaltepec; but this privately published volume is rare and extremely difficult to locate. Official historical documents from the area were largely destroyed by Zapatista fires during the 1910-1920 Revolution. Incidental reports of the Tlapanec area were made from time to time by Catholic

clergy, teachers, and anthropologists who only took brief interest in it. These reports offer little which would excite anthropologists to do further investigation. Appendix 1 is an annotated bibliography of all publications which I have found which deal, in any way, with the Tlapanec region.

And so, for the reasons stated above, Guerrero in general, and the Tlapanecs in particular, remain relatively enigmatic up to the present time.

This work attempts partially to fill this ethnographic gap. Its purposes are various. First, this paper provides an in-depth ethnographic record of various aspects of a previously undescribed group of Mexican indigenous people. Second, it shows what, for Tlacoapeños, at least, constitutes the outer limits of group identity. It demonstrates what it is which sets Tlacoapenos off from surrounding aggregates of population. Finally, it examines ways in which these limits are manifested and maintained through various local institutions and other, less formal, aspects of Tlacoapeno society.

Preliminary groundwork for this study was laid four years ago. During the summer of 1970, I made a ten-day general reconnaissance of the Tlapanec region. The purpose of this trip was to investigate the possibilities of doing doctoral research in one of the three municipios (counties) of highest Tlapanec concentration and to choose an area

which would be most suitable for fieldwork. I visited the municipios of Zapotitlán Tablas, Malinaltepec, and Tlacoapa. After this reconnaissance, I decided to concentrate on the municipio of Tlacoapa. This decision was made for a number of reasons: 1) H. V. Lemley had done his linguistic work in the municipio of Tlacoapa, and most of his principal informants were from this area. Lemley volunteered to provide me letters of introduction to municipio leaders and others whom he thought might be helpful as informants and assistants; 2) the municipio of Tlacoapa is the smallest of the three Tlapanec municipios in respect to land area and population, and provided me with a unit which I thought could be more easily controlled than the larger bordering municipios; 3) the municipio of Tlacoapa consists only of communities whose inhabitants are mainly Tlapanec speakers; 4) two villages within the municipio have landing strips suitable for small planes; and 5) the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) sporadically maintains a medical officer in the village of Tlacoapa.

The time between September 1970 and June 1971 was spent at the University of North Carolina finishing course work and comprehensive examinations, and making final preparation for fieldwork.

Finally, in August 1971, I returned to Tlacoapa with my wife, Patricia Parsons Oettinger, and began an eleven-month residency there, broken by ten-day trips to Mexico City every six weeks. Trips to Mexico City allowed

time to speak with Tlacoapaneno migrants, do archival research, and to consult with people experienced in dealing with problems which were encountered during periods in the mountains.

Like all ethnological research, this, too, has its unavoidable methodological shortcomings. Here I speak mainly of researcher bias. Like Redfield, I find, in retrospect, that I "liked and disliked some people as compared with others, some customs as compared with others" (1953: 154). Although all interview and census forms were carefully scrutinized by my assistants prior to their administration to determine if they were significantly applicable to the problem being dealt with at the time, they were, for the most part, based on my own judgments. These decisions were probably shaped according to my own likes and dislikes, for "judgments are based on experience and experience is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation" (Herskovits 1948:63). I accept full responsibility for the consequences which have arisen from such judgments.

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H. V. Lemley and his late wife, Millie, initially introduced me to the Tlapanec region in 1966. I wish to express to them my admiration for their long and often difficult research with the Tlapanec and for following tenaciously the rigorous ideals which they set for themselves and their work. The Lemleys provided me access to their files and gave me letters of introduction to various members of the community of Tlacoapa.

I wish to express sincere appreciation to my doctoral committee for their valuable comments and assistance concerning this manuscript. Dr. Donald Brockington, advisor and friend, is given extra thanks for his professional assistance in preparing for fieldwork and for the preparation of this manuscript. He believed strongly in my endeavors and always made himself available for advice and support.

To the approximately 3,000 Tlacoapenos, I offer my thanks. The mere fact that my wife and I were present in their community, always taking photographs, making recordings, and asking millions of questions, must have served as a source of irritation although they rarely showed it. I thank them for their patience, cooperation and support. Tlacoapenos, especially Fausto Santiago Diaz and German Galiano Marcos, extended hands of friendship from the first frightening and lonely days of our residency in Tlacoapa and later proved invaluable assistants.

Finally, I owe a tremendous debt to my wife, Mandy, for her love, help and support during this entire endeavor. She provided me with special insights into aspects of research and analysis which otherwise would have been overlooked. She, as a new bride, suffered through the rigors of cultural isolation and physical discomforts, but she did so with a smile.

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To

L. O., Jr., P. M. O., P. P. O.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Land is the point of reference to all activity, the ancestral womb and vault, the material in which all life is contained and to be fashioned. It is a core, a fundamental source, of speculation and law and art.

--Anita Brenner (1970:106)

Because of the great dearth of information about the Tlapanec area and specifically the people of the municipio of Tlacoapa, the initial format assumed by this research, of which this study is a part, was that of a general, baseline ethnography. As the research evolved, patterns emerged which led me to focus on a theoretical problem--community boundary and its maintenance. As I considered the social composition and cultural concerns of the community,\* it became important to define that community. What were the territorial and social limits of Tlacoapa? Who was a Tlacoapeno and who was not? As I became more concerned with this problem, it became evident that Tlacoapenos, despite any definition I might impose upon them, had their own means of defining their community, interwoven and

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\*By "community" I mean a group of people who share common social goals, responsibilities, economic dependency, and who, in their own minds, set themselves apart as a cohesive unit from surrounding aggregates of population.

reinforced throughout their social order. Furthermore, their concepts of community boundary proved to be the basis for much of their social, economic, and political interaction.

### Problem and Method

During a general reconnaissance of the Tlapanec area in 1970, I immediately recognized that there were three basic aggregates of population about which the people spoke: ranchería (hamlet), pueblo (village), and municipio (county).<sup>\*</sup> Since this study was to be a community study, it became imperative that I define what the territorial limits of the community were. Were they at the rancheria, pueblo, or municipio levels; or were they at a level other than these three? Initially, I set aside the entire municipio of Tlacoapa as the proper universe of study for reasons outlined in the Preface but also because I was of the impression that the municipio boundaries contained a more or less homogeneous group and served as the outer limits of identity for those people who resided within its territory. This assumption was based on remarks made by various Mesoamerican anthropologists who had designated the municipio as the proper unit for community studies.

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<sup>\*</sup>These three aggregates of population are explained in detail in Chapter II (Setting).

Nash and Hunt (1967) state that "the municipio has emerged as the most significant group since its definition by Tax (1937), as the unit of ethnographic investigation and as the outermost limit of community sentiment and cultural homogeneity." While the authors point out that Tax's observations applied originally to the western highlands of Guatemala, they add that "the same observation has been made for most of the Indian communities of Mexico" (1967: 272).

Lewis states that the "municipio is the functional resource unit" for people of Tepoztlán. He adds that:

Tepoztecan know their municipio intimately; they know its geography, history, legends, natural resources, people, and villages. Even small children can name the seven surrounding villages and know how to find their way to each one. The limits of the municipio and the details of the recurring boundary disputes with neighboring municipios are also well known. Village boundaries are vague, essentially moral boundaries, but municipio boundaries are clearly demarcated. It is within these bounds that the Tepoztecan has his everyday world. Here he works the communal lands, cuts and burns communal forests, grazes his cattle, and hunts for medicinal herbs (1960:46).

I had also considered the rancheria as a unit of investigation; but I doubted that these units comprised communities or constituted any strong and separate units of allegiance since rancherias were no more than residential plots in the mountains surrounding the various villages in the municipio and were dependent upon the larger village entities for social, political, economic, and religious support.

I also considered the possibility that the pueblo was the proper unit to investigate. Within the municipio, there are six such aggregates (also called comisarias), three of which have rancherías pertaining to them. Because many pueblos in the Tlapanec region are not full-time residential areas, I also decided that the pueblo was not a proper unit to investigate.

The first indication that I should consider still another territorial division came through informal discussions with informants in the village of Tlacoapa.

Tlacoapenos have certain half-accepted beliefs about groups outside of their area. North Americans, for instance, "eat children"; and Spanish and Mestizos who live in the market towns frequented by Tlapanecs "steal wives." Such things did not surprise me, since I had often heard people in other parts of rural Mexico speak in a similar fashion about people from neighboring areas. Sentiments more pertinent to this study, however, are those concerning people living in neighboring Tlapanec villages, including those within the municipio of Tlacoapa. Certain behavioral characteristics, generally detrimental, are attributed to most aggregates of population outside of Tlacoapa. People from one of the communities to the east of the lands of Tlacoapa, for example, have reputations for being drunkards, but at the same time they are envied for their superior intellect. Residents of a village to the

south of Tlacoapa, especially its Mixtec and Nahuatl-speakers, are considered untrustworthy and have a reputation for luring away women. People from Tlacoapa blame the death of one of their 19th century leaders on the people of this village. Similar sentiments are expressed concerning residents of another village also. Inhabitants of this village also have a reputation for violence, and the murder of a Catholic priest in the mid-19th century is ascribed to them, although people from there state that Tlacoapenos committed the killing. The people of a village to the northwest of Tlacoapa are considered the most backwards of all people in the area. Some men from this village reportedly have as many as seven wives, one for each night of the week. Others have reputations for homosexuality. According to many Tlacoapenos, these people eat nearly everything which walks and crawls, including the tuza (a mole-like creature), lice, and coyotes--all things thought inedible and repulsive by Tlacoapenos.

Linguistic differences are also recognized by Tlacoapenos for inhabitants of neighboring villages. These distinctions are too subtle to be detected by non-Tlapanec speakers and would probably escape the notice of many professional linguists. Tlacoapenos state that the Tlapanec spoken by people from Malinaltepec is slow; by inhabitants of Totomixtlahuaca, firm; by inhabitants of Sabino de Guadalupe, a village to the southwest of Tlacoapa, also

slow; and by Apetzuquenos, strong, dry, and rapid. Again, this type of recognition of linguistic differences for neighboring communities is not unusual, as I had discovered in an earlier linguistic study in North Carolina (Oettinger 1969), but it is significant.

Such stereotypes are held not only by Tlacoapenos. Each community seems to have its own version of what people from neighboring communities are like. Most of these negative attributes are blown far out of proportion and do not actively reflect what the people think about a certain group of neighbors.

Surrounding communities probably hold similar negative feelings about Tlacoapenos. Since I was associated with the community of Tlacoapa, I was not made privy to such sentiments when traveling in neighboring communities. I was told by Tlacoapenos, however, that an unfavorable picture of Tlacoapa was painted by inhabitants of one neighboring community who were vying for the presence of the Catholic Mission which is now in Tlacoapa. The Bishop of Chilapa, who was to make the decision on location, was told that Tlacoapenos were "drunks" and that they "killed people." Apparently he dismissed such pejorations since Tlacoapa was chosen as the mission headquarters.

Distinctive behavioral characteristics and linguistic patterns were reported for all areas surrounding Tlacoapa with one exception, Tlacotepec, a village located

about an hour to the west of Tlacoapa. When asked to rank villages in the area in order of their behavioral similarities to Tlacoapa, Tlacoapenos placed Tlacotepec on top; and they stated that there was "no difference" in behavior. The same was true of linguistic patterns. The people of Totomixtlahuaca, Tenamazapa, and Sabino de Guadalupe, all villages within the limits of the municipio of Tlacoapa, were all said to speak Tlapanec differently than residents of Tlacoapa. The only Tlapanec which was "equal" to that spoken in Tlacoapa was that from Tlacotepec. Why so? Tlacotepec had the same governmentally recognized political status as Tenamazapa, Totomixtlahuaca, and Sabino de Guadalupe. They were all comisarias.

When I asked why there were so many similarities between Tlacotepec and Tlacoapa, the answer was that "they are vecinos (neighbors)." What did that mean? Further questioning brought forth the answer from informants that "People from Tlacotepec are the same people as Tlacoapenos because they occupy and work the same communal lands. Everyone who uses these lands are of the same race, the same people. We are all vecinos."

This fourth division within the municipio, the communal land area, was only a geographical one, and geographical limits are not always consistent with group identity or the moral community. "Geographical boundaries," writes Poplin (1972:162), "quite often are of limited

significance [in defining the community]. They exist on maps and in the minds of a few interested persons and have little meaning for the average citizen."

But among Tlacoapenos the nature and importance of the geographical divisions are congruent with survival. Most Tlacoapenos are ill prepared to function outside of the Tlapanec area. Since most people in the area know only farming and speak no Spanish, their ability to find employment and maintain their families outside of the area is minimal. It is imperative that the community conform to and support the geographical limits of Tlacoapa as defined by communal lands. For all who live within their boundaries, the communal lands are the source of livelihood and survival. They are the tangible possessions which Tlacoapenos feel allow them to maintain the lifestyles and independence with which they and their forefathers have lived for centuries, and for which there are few alternatives. They are their legal, philosophical and socio-political defense against a threatening and unknown lifestyle. To lose the communal lands would mean to lose a way of life.

Throughout Tlacoapa's history, geographical boundaries have been disputed, sometimes violently. According to informants, a codex, now lost, spoke of land boundary disputes in the 16th century. Documents in the Archivo General de la Nación (Ramo de Tierras, 1752, Vol. 743,

expediente 2) attest to communal land disputes existing in the 18th century over the same bordering communal land areas which continue to be contested today, particularly with Ocuapa, to the north of Tlacoapa. The grandfather of one of Tlacoapa's principales (elders) was slain in the early part of this century during an armed conflict with people from the communal lands of Malinaltepec. Today, many of the same disputes continue to plague the area. During the period of this fieldwork, Tlacoapa was engaged in a fierce dispute with communal land holders of Ocuapa. Surveyors were called in by both sides. Several hundred men from all parts of each communal land area gathered at the point of contention. Some carried machetes, others displayed ancient rifles and shotguns. Many wore mismatched police uniforms and military paraphernalia. As they had done so often in the past, these historical antagonists lined up and solemnly faced each other. The situation was serious and tense. Owing to the cool arbitrations of a surveyor from Chilpancingo people returned to their homes and violence was avoided. The problem, however, still remains.

Violation of one communal land area by the people of another is not on a massive level, but usually begins when one man or a group of men cross over into the communal lands of a neighboring area and begin felling trees, collecting firewood, and plowing lands. I was present at an emergency meeting of men from Totomixtlahuaca which was

called to discuss violation of their land by men from neighboring Yerba Santa, a communal land area belonging politically to the municipio of Zapotitlán Tablas. The parcel of land in question was initially plowed by a man from Totomixtlahuaca. Several weeks after this plowing, it was planted by the same man. Several weeks later, it was weeded by several men from Yerba Santa. When harvest time arrived, both sides claimed rights to its fruits. A delegation was sent to Chilpancingo and Mexico City; but, to date, litigation is not complete.

Generally, violations such as these do not directly affect the lands being worked by all members of the communal land unit being invaded. But Tlacoapenos perceive any degree of threat as a threat to all and respond accordingly, as a group. Such threats exterior to the communal lands of Tlacoapa are similar to what Spicer (1971:797) calls "oppositional" forces which are the "essential factor in the formation and development of the persistent identity systems."

These constant threats to the geographical boundaries have brought about special forms of interaction among Tlacoapenos. They have resulted in the modification and/or reinforcement of various social institutions to be more responsible to these potentially destructive situations. In order to stave off these threats, Tlacoapenos have consciously minimized internal conflict and heightened

integrative aspects of their society. They may sense that internal dissonance and conflict might be interpreted as weakness and disunity by neighboring communities. The individual or individual family is perceived as secondary to the community, which includes village and hamlet groups. Each is a vital part of the whole and functions as such. Internal conflict and dissonance is made covert and is discouraged in order for Tlacoapa to present a strong impression of unity.

In brief, this study contends that 1) the social community of Tlacoapa or the unit of group identity for Tlacoapenos extends to a point identical to the geographical boundaries of communal lands; 2) that the institutions within these boundaries are structured in such a way as to respond to the necessities of maintaining internal cohesion against continually threatening forces surrounding them; and 3) that maintenance of this internal cohesion is achieved and preserved through a series of regulatory devices hidden within Tlacoapa's institutions. These regulatory devices "filter" potentially disruptive demands and requirements levied upon Tlacoapa by various agents of change outside of Tlacoapa and restate them in terms more acceptable and meaningful to the community. These regulatory devices also control information going out of Tlacoapa as well as information going in.

Unlike Wolf's (1955:459) claim that communities wishing to maintain their integrity often exercise "defensive ignorance" in relation to alternatives offered by the outside world, Tlacoapenos recognize these alternatives but reinterpret them for acceptable incorporation through their institutions. Instead of exercising an "active denial of outside alternatives which, if accepted, might threaten the corporate structure [of the community]," Tlacoapenos admit that many demands made by the church, school system, and government are unavoidable and are invasions of communal integrity from which the community cannot escape. To cope with these alternatives, which often take the form of demands, the community reinterprets them, primarily through the civil-religious structure of the community. These demands are then presented to the community in a fashion which is not a threat to the internal cohesion necessary to maintain the geographical boundaries of the community. See Figure 1.1 A.

To submit completely to outside forces would certainly lead to radical and probably undesirable change within the community, and so regulation of what comes into the community as well as what goes out of it is exercised.

The system also reverses itself. After the community reinterpretation of demands takes place, they are, in new form, sent back out to the outside agents of change

in a form acceptable to them. See Figure 1.1 B.

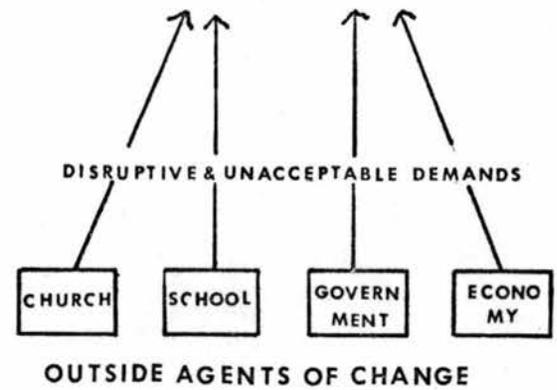
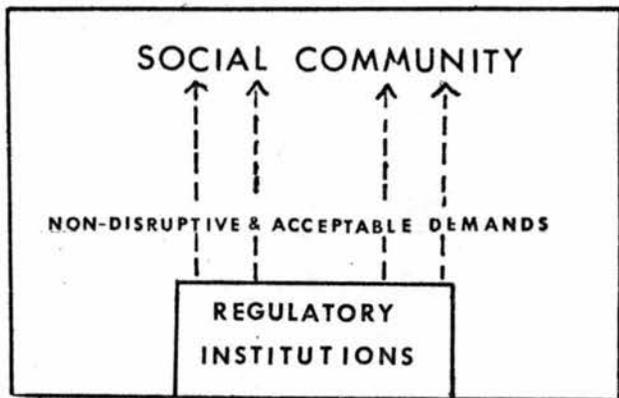
An example of this can be found in the case of Pedro Perez.\* Pedro, once a high official in Tlacoapa and now a highly respected elder, had upset some State officials in Chilpancingo during his time in office. Two years after his retirement, a message was sent to the community demanding that Pedro report to Chilpancingo for a hearing. Knowing that such actions would result in Pedro's incarceration, the principales, as head of the civil-religious structure of the community, met and declared Pedro officially dead. This notice was sent to Chilpancingo, and nothing further was heard of it. Today, six years later, Pedro continues to be a productive member of the community. The State officials are also satisfied with the response from the community and have officially closed the case.

This system appears to be satisfactory in terms of culture change. It apparently is acceptable to both the outside agents of change as well as the community of Tlacoapa. As long as demands are not entirely unreasonable and as long as the community is given proper time to work them out through its regulatory devices, this system will continue to function smoothly in the immediate future.

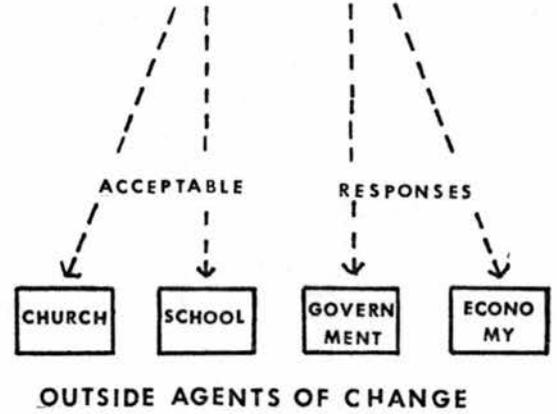
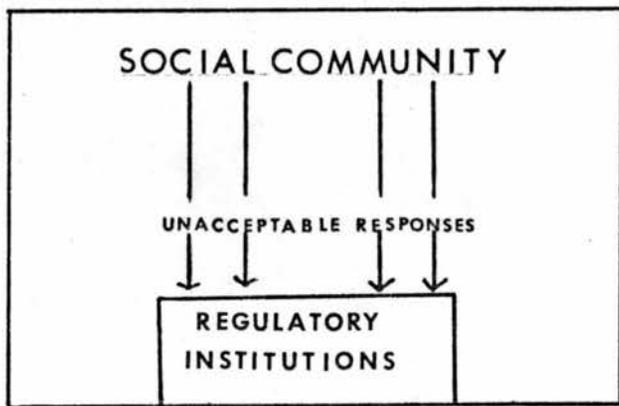
These contentions about Tlacoapa society are supported in the chapters which follow.

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\*All personal names included in this study are pseudonyms.



A



B

Figure 1.1

Tlacoapa's Regulatory System

Chapter II will provide a general background of the Tlapanecs of Guerrero and an overview of the municipio and community of Tlacoapa. Community composition and settlement pattern will be examined to see in what ways they reveal community membership and assist in its maintenance.

In Chapter III, attention is paid to the political-religious organization of Tlacoapa, in order to examine how certain structural and functional aspects of this institution mirror the perimeters of the community. Additionally, it examines how this particular aspect of Tlacoapa society strengthens the sense of boundary and works, both latently and manifestly, to preserve the integrity of these boundaries. Finally, the civil-religious organization will be discussed in terms of its role in regulating input to and output from the community.

In Chapter IV, a description and analysis of Tlacoapa economy are offered. Tlacoapa's subsistence systems are discussed to show what role they play in Tlacoapa's economic standing vis-à-vis surrounding communities. Certain regulatory devices, such as Tlacoapa's system of animal husbandry and the fondos,\* are examined to see how they assist Tlacoapenos in satisfying outside demands in ways acceptable to the well-being of the community. Finally, I go into detail on the market system of Tlacoapa to see how it, too, acts as a barometer of group identity and boundary.

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\*See Glossary.

The market is examined as a possible mechanism of community solidarity.

Chapter V concerns marriage and concentrates on those aspects of this institution which point to group or community identity. Marriage and its peripheral institutions, especially bride service, are carefully scrutinized for their integrative qualities. Sanctions related to marriage are discussed and examined to see how they conform with the general thesis of this work. Again, the institution of marriage will be examined as a regulatory device, meeting the requirements of the church, an outside agent of change, and satisfying the needs of the community.

In Chapter VI, the paper's attention shifts from Tlacoapenos residing in the mountains to Tlacoapenos who have recently migrated to Mexico City. I will examine ways in which these people add to and clarify a definition of community boundary and how they assist in the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the community from which they are now geographically separated.

Certain aspects of Tlacoapeno society have been omitted from this study due to lack of sufficient quantitative support. Kinship, for example, is not examined in great detail. Limited time in the field, and a physically difficult fieldwork situation, i.e. a widely dispersed population, prevented me from collecting the quantity of in-depth data necessary for a formal analysis of kinship. In

my estimation, full understanding of Tlacoapeno kinship and its importance would require several years of additional research in the field. The sections which follow concern aspects of Tlacoapeno life which I feel are most salient to the question of community boundaries and their maintenance. They are also those aspects of Tlacoapeno society for which I have the best quantitative and qualitative data.

#### Methodological Tools

The principal method used in this study was that of participant observation. This method provided an opportunity to live and work among the people and systematically to observe and record their cultural habits and social institutions. It also allowed me an opportunity to collect, informally, Tlacoapeno attitudes toward their community and toward the areas which surround it.

My wife and I elected to rent a portion of a house compound owned by one of the community's principales instead of living apart, by ourselves. Such an arrangement allowed me the freedom to observe day-to-day activities of our landlord's family. Although most of my time was spent in the village itself, periodic trips were made to surrounding rancherias and neighboring villages.

Rapport was established quickly, and remained good throughout my entire stay in Tlacoapa. From the very

beginning, I was asked to participate in many religious activities, civil affairs, and the daily work and play of the people. I feel that most of my informants reacted to my questions in a serious manner and responded to them as honestly as possible.

My first task was to make maps of the village and the municipio of Tlacoapa. Map-making forces the anthropologist outside of the confines of his house and can be a good, non-obtrusive way to make difficult initial contacts with the people. I made two maps during the first several weeks of fieldwork. A map of the village of Tlacoapa was designed mainly to illustrate village composition, house types, and the internal patterns of residential concentration. Since Tlacoapa is an "empty town center," consisting mainly of administrative buildings and houses which serve as second homes for people living most of the time in outlying rancherías, this map also helped to determine whether village houses are clustered according to the ranchería affiliation of the owners or are randomly mixed with no apparent ranchería distinctions. The significance of the data derived from this map is discussed in Chapter II.

The other map was a compilation map constructed from existing maps on file in the town hall and shows the composition of the entire municipio. It also reveals the relative size and position of the communal land areas within the municipio.

Work with informants remained informal until January, 1972. At that time, I initiated formal work sessions with three key informants. All were paid hourly wages which were slightly above wages they would have to pay workers tending their fields in their absence. Informants were often paid with manufactured goods brought from Mexico City. This was done at the request of the informants, and the items were always accompanied by purchase receipts.

With the exception of the Totomixtlahuaca Census A, all quantitative data were collected by me. The Totomixtlahuaca data were gathered by an assistant acting under my instructions.

#### Census A

A household composition census was taken of 100 households in the community of Tlacoapa (20 per cent) and 30 households in the community of Totomixtlahuaca (50 per cent). This census was designed to determine household composition, degree of out-migration, type of marriage, number of residences owned by each family, years of education, and infant mortality rate. In addition, Census A sought to determine how much exposure to the outside world people had gained through travel. As far as this particular study is concerned, it provided information highly pertinent to Chapters V and VI. To prevent duplication, information was solicited only from heads of households.

This census was by far the most important and comprehensive one made in the area and required over six months to complete (Appendix 2).

#### Census B

An agricultural census was made of 50 families (10 per cent) from the community of Tlacoapa. This census was conducted during the season of corn planting and was designed to show how much corn was planted by each family and how many hectareas (2 1/2 acres) of land were utilized. It includes both riego (irrigation) and temporal (seasonal rainfall dependent) plantings. Since Census B asked for the number of persons in each family, it also served as a check on parts of Census A. Approximately one-half of those reached by this census were serving in full-time civil or religious offices in the community; and Census B attempted to determine if hired labor was utilized more frequently by this group than the group not holding civil or religious offices. Information gleaned from this census is highly pertinent to Chapters III and IV. See Appendix 3.

#### Census C

This census was conducted among Talcoapenos living in Mexico City. Fifty individuals (male and female) were questioned by me and an assistant. Census C was designed to determine reasons for leaving Tlacoapa, patterns of

migration, problems encountered upon arriving in Mexico City, and social ties established upon arrival in Mexico City. It also sought to determine if Tlapanecs, specifically Tlacoapenos, used community affiliation as a basis for social interaction in other environments. Finally, Census C attempted to reveal what ties, if any, were maintained between migrants and their families still living in Tlacoapa and to see what role migrants played in helping to maintain the integrity of the community they had left. Much of Chapter VI is based on data from this census (Appendix 4).

#### Interview A

All community councilmen and heads of each category of formal service, civil and religious, were interviewed to determine the nature of the various positions and the responsibilities allotted to individuals holding them. This structured interview also sought to determine the amount of economic sacrifice involved with each position. Since the period of this study coincided with a change of local administration, Interview A was duplicated and the differences and similarities between the two administrations were noted. Much of the data presented in Chapter III comes from these interviews (Appendix 5).

#### Interview B

All active principales were interviewed on

recording tape concerning the nature and extent of their previous service to the community. Since extensive service to the community is prerequisite to the attainment of a principal position, and since all principales were middle-aged or older, these interviews provided a good diachronic view of the political and religious nature of the community. All but two of these recordings were done in the Tlapanec language. Translation and transcription into Spanish were subsequently done by a bilingual assistant. Interviews with this group of men greatly assisted me in the brief reconstruction of the history of Tlacoapa offered in Chapter II.

### Genealogies

I gathered a total of four genealogies. Approximately 400 people were listed in them. These, too, served as a check on Census A and shed additional light on residency patterns, migration trends, marriage rules, and other aspects of Tlacoapa society. Although the quantity of genealogies collected does not represent a large sample of the total population of the community, the information rendered by them is appreciable.

In addition to the methods mentioned above, I recorded data in diary form. These data were coded by use of a modified version of Murdock's Outline of Cultural Materials (1967). Formal interviews were also coded in the same fashion, usually on the day they took place.

A number of factors made the collection of data more difficult than usual. Tlapanec monolingualism is extremely high, the highest of any linguistic group in Mexico (Marino Flores 1967). Approximately 21 per cent of the male population of Tlacoapa speak only Tlapanec, while approximately 82 per cent of the female population are monolingual in the same language. Since the Tlapanec language has not yet been reduced to writing, and since acquisition of a working knowledge of the language prior to entry into the field was not possible, bilingual informants and assistants were relied upon heavily. Whenever working with a tape recorder, I tried to gather all primary data in Tlapanec and later have it translated and transcribed into Spanish. This prevented having to depend too greatly on the more acculturated sectors of Tlacoapa's population.

The tremendously dispersed settlement pattern of the community presented problems. Of the ten rancherías surrounding Tlacoapa, the closest is one hour away; and, to reach it one must climb a difficult series of hills. Some are located as far as three hours from the center of the village of Tlacoapa. Even after arriving in mountain rancherías, one finds that house plots are often separated by a ten- to thirty-minute walk. Therefore, most of the quantitative data collected were either from men doing service and living in the village during the week or on Sundays

and feast days when most of the community unites were gathered in the village for market or fiestas. Since all families engage in this pattern of occasional residency or visits in the village, quantitative data included in this research are not biased in favor of any sector of Tlacoapa society.

Finally, weather also posed a variety of problems and inconveniences regarding fieldwork. Tlacoapa's rainy season is long (six months) and, at its height, often severe. Inter-hamlet travel is slowed to a minimum during the heaviest months of rain. Consequently, many hours which would ideally have been spent out among my neighbors were spent in the necessary warmth of our adobe hut.

## CHAPTER II

### SETTING

The Tlapanecs inhabit an area in the rugged Sierra Madre del Sur mountain range of the southeastern portion of the State of Guerrero. "Tlapanecos" is the designation given them by the Aztecs, who, according to Sahagún (1961:187), called them so because "they painted themselves with red ochre, and because the name of their god was Tolttec, the red Tezcalipoca." Among themselves, however, they are known as mépa. They speak their own language, Tlapanec, generally believed to be a member of the Hokan family (Sapir 1925; Longacre 1967; and Olivera y Sánchez 1964) and most closely related to the now extinct Subtiaba language of Nicaragua, Tequixtlatec Chontal of the coast of Oaxaca, and Seri of the State of Sonora (Swadesh 1967).

Tlapanec speakers are located in 12 municipios of an area roughly east of the town of Chilapa, west of the border with the State of Oaxaca, south of the town of Tlapa, and north of the foothills overlooking the Costa Chica, southeast of Acapulco. Contiguous with the Tlapanec region are various other indigenous groups. On the eastern and northeastern sides of the Tlapanec area live Mixtec-speaking people. Nahuatl-speaking communities border the

western section. To the south and spilling over into the State of Oaxaca live Amuzgo-speaking people.

According to 1970 census data gathered from the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) coordinating center in Tlapa for its subject districts\* of Morelos and Alvarez, and calculations from the districts of Guerrero, Los Libres, and San Luis Acatlán made by Mark Weathers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the total Tlapanec-speaking population now approaches 50,000. This is a considerable increase over the 1950 estimate of 18,139 offered by Marino Flores (1967:22). The 1970 figures are made more credible by a 1960 census showing approximately 32,000 Tlapanec speakers in the districts of Morelos and Alvarez alone (Muñoz 1963:45).

Municipios of highest concentrations of the Tlapanec-speaking population are Malinaltepec, Zapotitlán Tablas, and Tlacoapa, with totals of 16,469, 13,347, and 6,000 plus, respectively (Weathers, personal communication 1972). Location of these three municipios is shown in Map 1. All pertain politically to the district of Morelos, whose center is Tlapa.

#### The Municipio of Tlacoapa

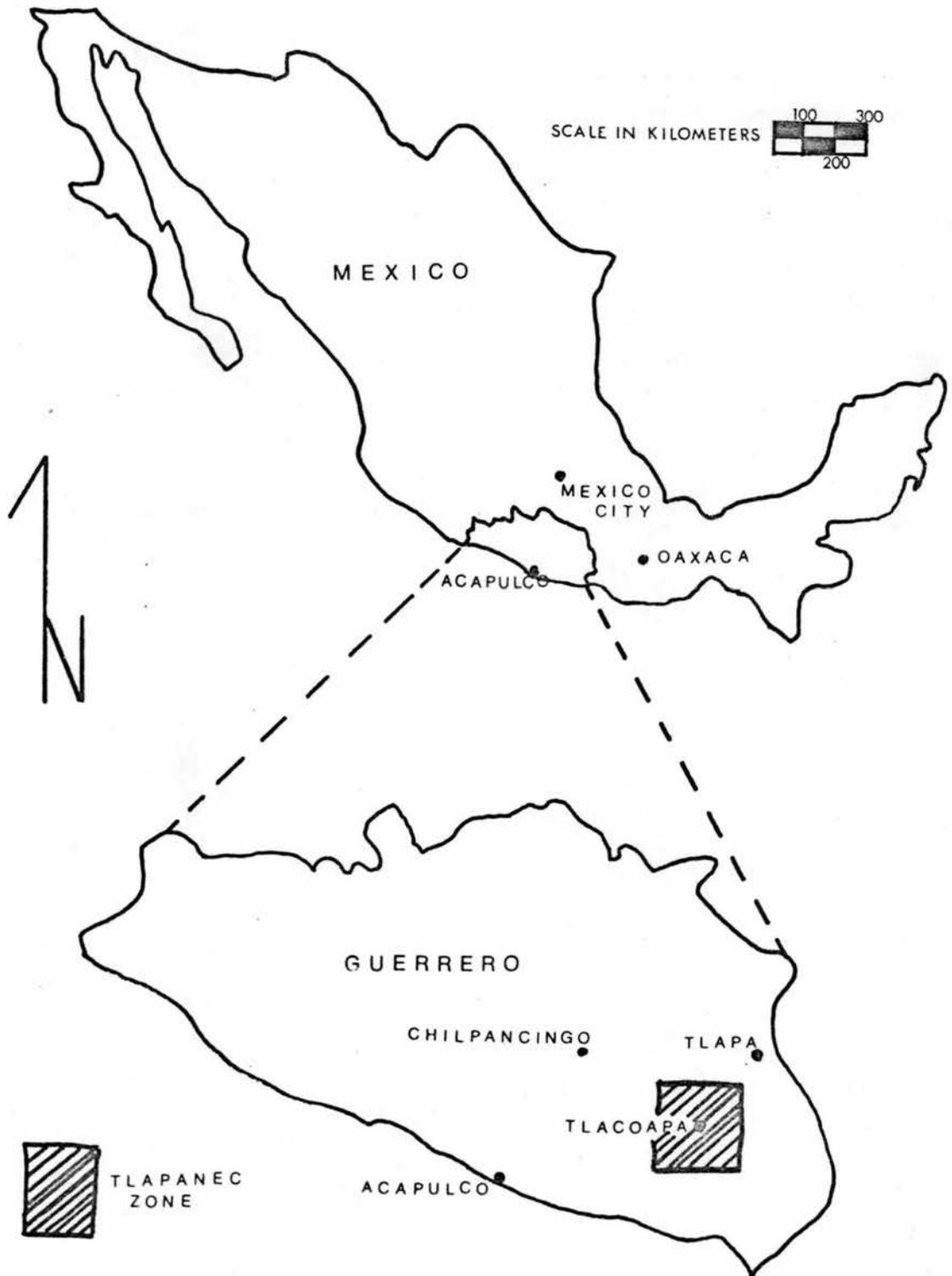
The municipio of Tlacoapa, named after the village which now serves as its cabecera (county seat), is in the

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\*"District" is the political division between "State" and "municipio."

Map 1

Schematic Map of the Tlapanec Zone



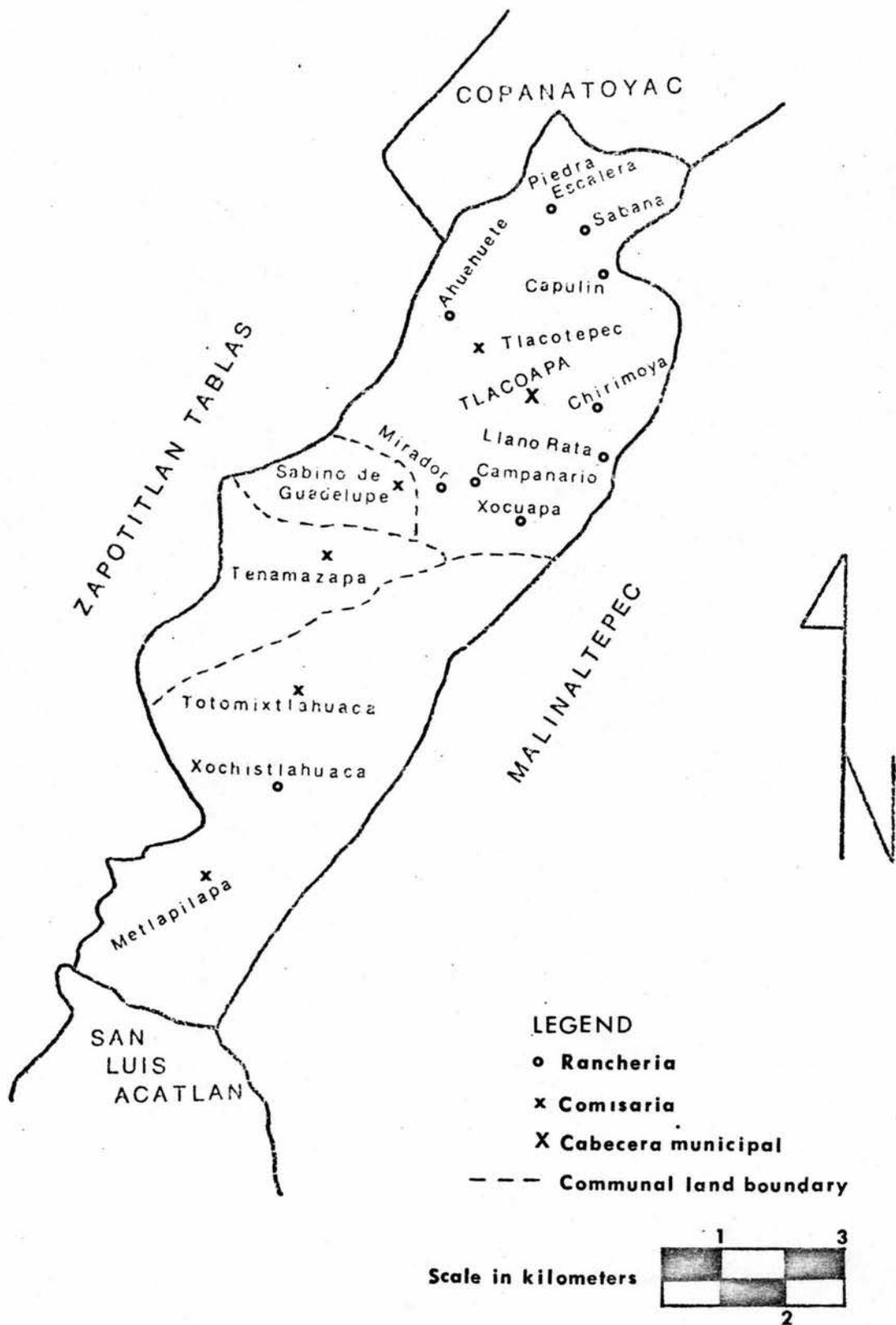
heart of the Tlapanec region, surrounded by the municipios of San Luis Acatlán on the south, Copanatoyac on the north, Malinaltepec on the east, and Zapotitlán Tablas on the west (Map 2). It is the smallest of the three main Tlapanec municipios both in terms of area and population. Additionally, it is economically the poorest of the three and ranks among the poorest municipios in the State (Ochoa Campos 1964).

Administratively, the municipio is divided into six sectors. There are five comisarias: Totomixtlahuaca, Tenamazapa, Sabino de Guadalupe, Tlacotepec, and Metlapilapa. Comisarias are settlements which have their own representative body of officials and are to the municipio as the municipio is to the district. Tlacoapa, the other sector, is the cabecera municipal (county seat) and ideally acts as a political go-between for the five other sectors and the district and State governments. Most of these entities have rancherías surrounding and administratively subordinate to them.

The southern part of the municipio, which includes Metlapilapa, Totomixtlahuaca, and Tenamazapa, is the lower half of the municipio and is called tierra caliente (hot lands) by the people of the area. It is characterized by rich farm and grazing lands and is noted for its abundance of sugar cane. The northern half of the municipio is higher and is known as tierra templada (temperate lands) or tierra fría (cold lands).

Map 2

Schematic Map of the Municipio of Tlacoapa



Linguistically, the southern portion of the municipio is heterogeneous. In Totomixtlahuaca, for example, four languages are spoken: Spanish, Tlapanec, Mixtec, and Mexicano (Nahuatl). Although the majority of the inhabitants of Totomixtlahuaca speak Tlapanec, there is a relatively high degree of multi-lingualism. Spanish seems to be emerging as the lingua franca of the area, and is spoken fluently by and among most of the children. Conversely, the northern part of the municipio is comprised almost exclusively of Tlapanec speakers. With the exception of the schoolteachers and personnel connected with the Catholic mission, all people in this area speak Tlapanec; and many are monolingual in that language.

Population figures for the municipio of Tlacoapa show a steady increase over the past few decades (Figure 2.1), with the most dramatic increase occurring between 1960 and 1970. This is attributed principally to the temporary annexation of a large portion of the population of Apetzuca. Apetzuca, because of a political squabble within the municipio of Zapotitlán Tablas, has split into two factions, one remaining loyal to Zapotitlán Tablas and the other now seeking legal connections with Tlacoapa.

As mentioned in Chapter I, the people divide the municipio in terms of communal land areas (Figure 2.2). These divisions do not always correspond with the administrative divisions described above. For example, Metla-

<u>1921</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
2,261	1,774	2,202	3,053	3,730	6,108*

Figure 2.1

Population Trends for the Municipio of Tlacoapa  
(Muniz 1963 and 1970 INI Census)

Tlacoapa . . . . .	2,832
Totomixtlahuaca . . . . .	886
Sabino de Guadalupe . . . . .	226
Tenamazapa . . . . .	731
<u>Total:</u>	<u>4,675**</u>

Figure 2.2

Population Figures from 1970 Census for the  
Municipio of Tlacoapa  
(INI 1970 Census)

\*The large increase in population from 1960-70 is due mainly to the tentative annexation of a large portion of the community of Apetzuca.

\*\*Population figures from the sub-municipio of Apetzuca are not included.

pilapa, a comisaria, is a member of the Totomixtlahuaca communal land area; and Tlacotepec, also a comisaria, is part of Tlacoapa community.

#### The Community of Tlacoapa

Tlacoapa is a Nahuatl word meaning "place between two rivers." Among Tlapanecs, however, it is known as mingwi, meaning "hot place" (picante, not caliente).\* Informants were not sure whether this refers to hot chiles found in the area or to the character of the people living there. If the second is true, mingwi could mean "place of dangerous or fierce people."

Tlacoapa's 2,800 people are all agriculturalists. With the exception of school and mission personnel, all community residents speak the Tlapanec language.

The community of Tlacoapa is located in the northern section of the municipio of the same name. It is differentiated from other communities in the municipio by lines of demarcation, only vaguely marked by an altar with a cross on top. Walking, it is approximately 70 kilometers south-southwest of Tlapa and well over 150 kilometers north of the coastal road running south of Acapulco.

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\*In Spanish, picante refers to hotness as in chile, and should be distinguished from caliente which refers to temperature. Picante is also used to describe someone who is fierce or dangerous.

The center of the community, the village of Tlacoapa, is located at the confluence of two rivers: one which comes down from the north from a mountain known as Cerro Maguey, and another which runs south-southwest from Apetzuca. Its exact location is 17° 09' north latitude, and 98° 52' west longitude.

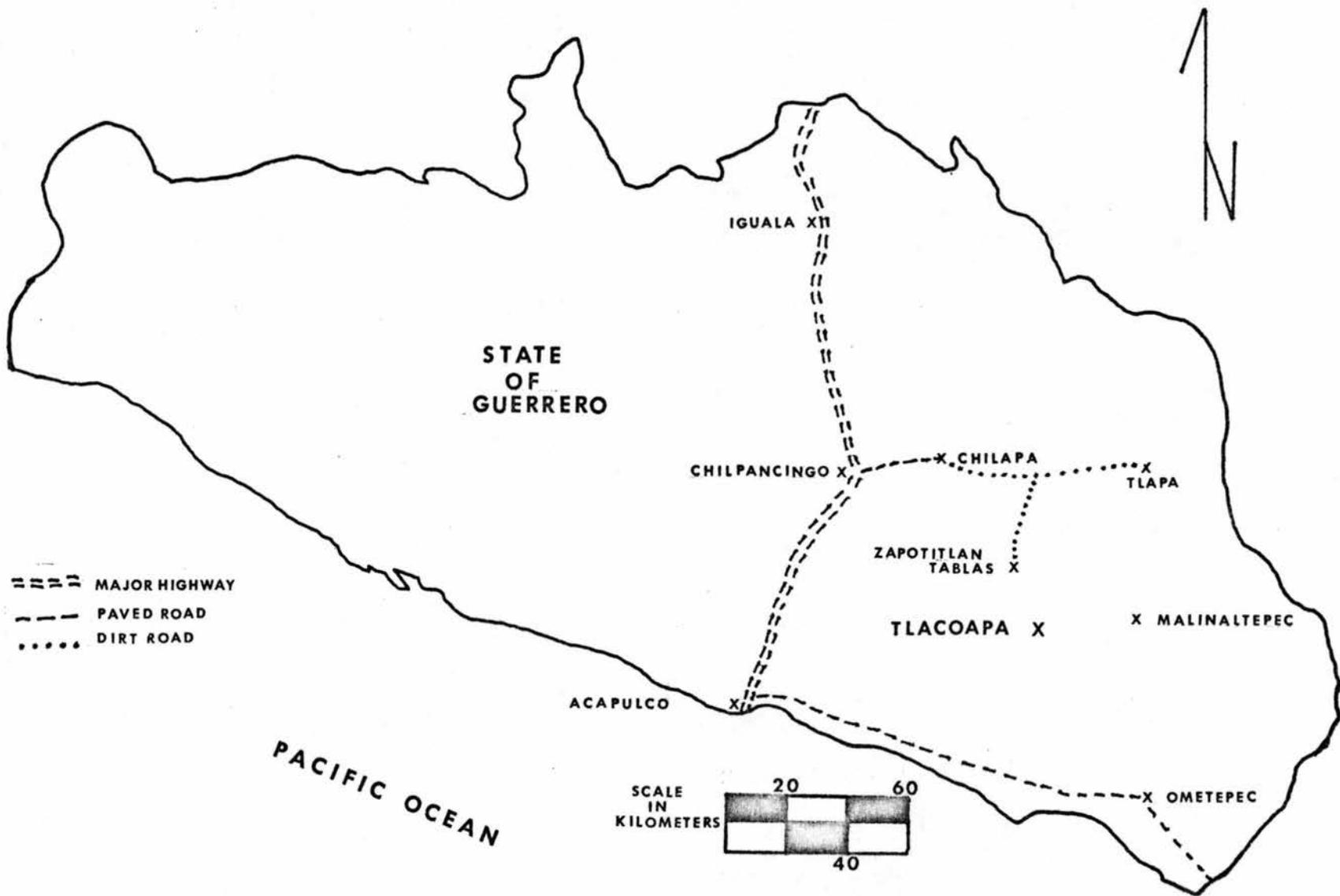
Tlacoapa can be reached in a variety of ways. For those with steady nerves and 190 pesos,\* a four-seat Cessna leaves three days a week from Izucar de Matamoros, Puebla, and flies to Tlacoapa with intermittent stops in Olinalá and Tlapa. This trip takes approximately one hour; but service is very irregular, especially during periods of inclement weather. For those with patience and a hearty spirit, a six-hour bus ride from Chilpancingo to Tlapa is available during the dry season. From Tlapa, the traveler can either connect with the Matamoros-Tlacoapa flight or set out on foot through a seeming eternity of mountains and plains and arrive in Tlacoapa 12 hours later. Recently, a spur connecting the village of Zapotitlán Tablas with the Chilpancingo road was completed. From Zapotitlán Tablas to Tlacoapa it takes the rapid pacer seven hours. Unfortunately, this road is usually rendered impassable by the rainy season (Map 3).

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\*At the time of this research, \$1.00 (U.S.) was equal to 12.50 pesos.

Map 3

Schematic Map Showing Surface Transportation  
Into Tlapanec Region



### Climate

Tlacoapa's climate is temperate; but, because of its varying altitudes, the range of temperatures is relatively broad. Community altitudes range roughly from 1,000 meters to 2,600 meters. In the low-lying regions of the community, in Tlacoapa village for example, temperatures are comfortable with midday highs staying below the high nineties (Fahrenheit) and nightly lows seldom dropping below the low forties. In the higher mountain rancherías, temperatures are lower but seldom drop below freezing. House construction, particularly adobe structure, affords coolness during the heat of the day and retains much of the warmth in the cool evenings.

The year is divided into two seasons: dry and wet. The dry season runs from approximately the middle of November to the middle of April. Daytime temperatures are high, and the landscape is parched brown by a continual and intense sun. The rainy season, from mid-April to mid-November, is long and, at its height, very severe. Tlacoapenos usually awaken to clear skies, but clouds return by midday and bring down torrents of water upon insatiably thirsty lands. Clear streams which run gently through the canyons of Tlacoapa during the dry season are transformed into muddy rushing rivers during the rainy season. Roaring waters, which are heard from great distances, toss

boulders into the air as if they were made of wood. Rains often last for several days without cessation. During such times, inter-community and inter-rancheria travel becomes greatly curtailed because of the dangers involved.

The dangers of the rainy season are attested to in the following monthly report on the state of the municipio, September 30, 1921:

On the 23rd of the previously cited month, Sra. Justa Rufina and her daughter, Feliciano Rosa, were swept away by the current running in the ditch of this cabecera. The first saved herself and the second was lost and the body has not been found.

Weather predictions are amazingly accurate. During the rainy season, one can expect daily rains, almost without fail. Similarly, one can predict heavy drought during the dry season. Tlacoapenos, however, are also able to predict exceptions to the rule. For example, I was told that rain always occurs during the week preceding the arrival of the new year. I dismissed this suggestion that it would rain during the middle of the dry season as unfounded legend. Much to my surprise, we had a downpour on the 28th of December.

Tlacoapenos call upon certain natural phenomena to tell what the weather will be like in the future. When the tip of the tail of the alacrán (scorpion)\* star formation is glowing brightly, rain is only a month off. Earth-

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\*Not to be confused with our constellation "Scorpio."

quakes also signal the beginning of the rainy season. Low-flying bitu (fireflies) indicate that rain will occur during the night or early the next morning. If they are seen flying high, it will not rain the following day.

In the past Tlacoapenos gathered as a group and made sacrifices to the rain god, Akuniya, to assure that he would bless the community with rains. The ceremony always occurred on the 24th and 25th of April and involved the sacrifice of communal animals. La Cienaga, a high-lying swamp believed to be the abode of the rain god, reportedly shakes and groans weeks prior to the advent of the rainy season, calling for sacrifices of Akuniya. Today, supplications to the rain god are made on an individual basis and do not occur with great frequency. Instead, a Catholic mass is offered and paid for by the community, for the purpose of assuring that the rains will come.

Winds are also preoccupations for Tlacoapenos. They occur most frequently during the dry season. These winds, often reaching whole gale force, cause severe damage to property, uprooting trees and tumbling houses. Certain days are considered bad luck days and are infamous for the strong winds which accompany them. These days are especially important since they could effect the well-being of Tlacoapa's milpas. The last day of concern before harvest is All Saints' Day, November 1st. If milpas survive to that

date, a farmer feels he can rest assured that no further winds will occur until after harvest time.

Weather, good or bad, is considered the will of God. If the weather is bad, someone in the village must have aroused the anger of God, who chooses bad weather as punishment. If weather appears to be likely to cause a crisis, principales are called in to make special prayers on behalf of the community.

### Tlacoapa History

Due mainly to a lack of archaeological research in the Tlapanec area and the unfortunate destruction of pertinent historical documents through various natural or man-made catastrophies of the past, a reconstruction of the history of Tlacoapa is difficult. For the moment at least, the precise origins of the Tlapanec people, and of the Tlacoapenos, in particular, are lost in antiquity. However, through a combination of folklore and brief comments left by early colonial writers, I am able to offer some suggestions.

Historically and linguistically, the Tlapanec have been divided into two groups: 1) the Southern Tlapanecs (Yopes), who were part of the independent señorio (dominion) of Yopetcingo and who were free of Aztec rule, and 2) the Northern Tlapanecs, who were associated with Tlapa and were tributary to the Aztecs (Byam Davis 1968;

Radin 1933).

Because evidence, to be discussed below, points to Tlapa origins for the ancestors of people now living in Tlacoapa, it is to that area that this work now turns its attention.

According to a Tlacoapeno myth I recorded from Emilio Vargas, man was placed on earth by God:

There were two brothers, one was God and the other was the devil. God made man by breathing on a handful of earth. He made man to speak and made man's heart out of a white stone. This man was good (because he was formed by God). The devil could not form man as his brother had done and so he formed a serpent.

Out of this man grew the world's population, and it increased through the ages.

The first mention we have concerning the formation and the population of the Tlapanec area comes from Basauri:

According to the tradition of the Tlapanecs, their ancestors came to Tlapa from the north. There were four men and one woman. In time, the population grew considerably, and they founded three other communities in the surrounding areas, dedicating themselves to commerce and, occasionally, to agriculture. (1940:437).

Evidently, Tlapa prospered and grew as an important center of the Tlapanec people until the time of its subjugation by the Mexica. According to the Codex Mendoza (Clark 1938), Tlapa fell to Aztec force during the reign of Tizoc (1481-1487). For several decades following their subjugation, Tlapa and its subject territories

were heavily taxed by Tenochtitlán. Tribute consisted mainly of cotton, gold and silver (Clark 1938).

Gerhard (1973:321) suggests that Tlapanec-speaking people were pushed south by Aztec armies after the conquest of Tlapa. Basauri (1940:437) states that the southward movement commenced somewhat later, after the arrival of the Spanish. According to Gerhard, Spanish control of Tlapa started between 1521 and 1524 (1973:321). Because of alleged atrocities committed by the Spanish, the Tlapanec people moved south and founded four cacicazgos (chiefdoms) in the region of Mixtec-speaking people. These four principal cacicazgos were Huehuetepic, Malinaltepec, Tlacoapa, and Tenamazapa (Basauri 1940:437).\*

The Tlapa origin of Tlacoapenos is reinforced by a tale from José García, of Tlacoapa:

When I was young, I knew an old man who told me that Tlacoapenos came from Tlapa. He said that when the Spanish arrived in Tlapa, they began to eat all of the things which the Tlapanecs had produced. For example, they ate the corn, chickens, fattened pigs, all of the things which belonged to the Tlapanecs. Because of this, they left Tlapa where they had once lived. That is why Tlapa is called Tlapa, because it is where the Tlapanecs came from.

I also recorded a slightly different version of the same exodus from Juan Vargas, also of Tlacoapa.

My father told me that the ancestors of the people now living in Tlacoapa had once lived in Tlapa and

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\*It is possible that the four cacicazgos mentioned by Basauri are today the communal land areas bearing the same names.

that they had fled from there or were chased out by people from Puebla during a time of war. That which is now Tlacoapa was at one time completely forested. They came here to hide in the forests and that was the way in which Tlacoapa was formed. We are Tlapanees and Tlapa was our home and the place of our race. After the termination of the war, those in Tlacoapa did not want to go back to Tlapa because they had become accustomed to life in the forests; so they formed our small village of Tlacoapa. This is what I have heard.

Evidently, Tlacoapa was not an important center during the first part of the 16th century. The Codex Mendoza does not mention it. This invaluable document does, however, list Totomixtlahuaca and Malinaltepec as important communities during that period. Basauri states that while neighboring communities prospered, especially Malinaltepec, Tlacoapa did not. Tlacoapa, "encircled by two cacicazgos of the same race, located on poor land, and far off of commercial routes, or because of poor relations with the Spanish, did not progress and resigned itself to vegetate" (1940:437).

Pimentel (1904:106) lists Tlacoapa as an estancia (settlement) of Totomixtlahuaca in the 16th century. It had a population of 130 people. Even in those days, Tlacoapa's population was larger than that of Totomixtlahuaca (86), a trend which has persisted up until the present.

Administrative connections between Tlacoapa and Totomixtlahuaca were further realized by the establishment of an Augustinian convent in the latter sometime around 1605 (Gerhard 1972:322). This convent was abandoned for

unknown reasons, but today its sparse ruins still dominate the center of Totomixtlahuaca.

The Tlacoapa region was initially under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Diocese of Tlaxcala but later changed to the Diocese of Puebla. In 1862 the Diocese of Chilapa was formed, and Tlacoapa was brought under its jurisdiction (Catedral 1962; Briton 1922).

Tlapa and its subject communities were set aside for Cortes right after the Conquest because of their wealth. Later, in 1525, the area was seized by Cortes' governor, who became head of the encomienda (Spanish land trusteeship) of which Tlapa was an important part (Gerhard 1972:321). This encomienda, which must have included Tlacoapa, changed hands several times up to the end of the 17th century, through inheritance and division.

The earliest direct written account of Tlacoapa comes from the journal of Mota y Escobar (1945:266). Writing in 1610, he alludes to the isolation of the village and the reactions of Tlacoapenos to outside endeavors at religious proselytism:

On January 4th, I arrived in Tlacoapa, subject to Tlapa, by way of a dangerous and bad road. The Indians here are wild and poorly indoctrinated [in Catholicism]. I tried to persuade those of the town [through] their leaders to be confirmed, free and without requiring them to purchase candles or diadems, but they did not want it and so that is how they remain, and I left the village.

Evidently, Tlacoapa remained relatively isolated from the outside world for the rest of the colonial period. Historical records do not mention the community except in brief accounts concerning land disputes. Villaseñor y Sánchez's rather extensive census of the Tlapanec area in 1746 fails to mention Tlacoapa at all (1746:328-340). Later in the 18th century, a non-Indian census of the Tlapa region mentions that one first-class Spaniard\* resided in Tlacoapa in 1791 but gives no reason for his presence there (AGN, Ramo de Patronos 1791).

Nothing is known about Tlacoapa during the period of Mexican Independence.

Violence resulting from the murder of a Catholic priest caused the abandonment of the Community of Tlacoapa in the middle of the 19th century. Evidently, people fled to three points: 1) Igualapa, near Ometepepec, 2) Altmajalcingo del Monte, and 3) Xuxuca, municipio of Tlapa.

Tlacoapenos place blame for the murder on people from Tenamazapa. Regardless of who was to blame for the homicide, it is fairly certain that Tlacoapa was abandoned during that time.

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\* The gradation of the non-Indian population living in New Spain was based on one's fitness for military service. A first-class Spaniard or a first-class Mestizo (offspring of a Spaniard and an Indian) was better suited for military conscription than was a second-class Spaniard or a second-class Mestizo, etc.

Later in the same century, another event highly pertinent to the history of Tlacoapa occurred. By order of the Governor of Guerrero, Francisco Arce, the cabecera of the municipio of Tlacoapa was changed from Totomixtlahuaca to Tlacoapa in 1885. The reason for this change is difficult to determine; but it appears to be due to the efforts of Mateo Carranza, a Tlacoapeno who apparently gained favor with high officials in Chilpancingo. According to some Tlacoapenos, Mateo Carranza died from poisoned food given him by people from Totomixtlahuaca in retaliation for his deeds. Others say that he died in a land fight with Mixtecs from Ocuapa. Since 1885, Tlacoapa has been the official seat of the municipio.

Tlacoapa was abandoned for a second time, during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20. Tlacoapenos, out of fear for their own safety, abandoned their community. Many families fled to hide in mountain caves, as did rural populations in other parts of Mexico (Lewis 1963:xxvi). Most people fled to an area near Altmajalcingo del Monte, and apparently some went to Tlapa and other urban areas considered safer than outlying rural villages.

According to eyewitness accounts, both Zapatista and federal troops passed through the community. Apparently, no strong allegiance was manifested toward either side during the Revolution, but it is probable that some men in the Tlacoapa area fought for Zapata. One of Zapata's

generals, Crispin Galeana, was a native of neighboring Malinaltepec. He is reported as having said that Tlacoapenos were among the best fighters he had ever seen. Whether his comments refer to the Revolution is not clear.

Other events pertinent to the history of Tlacoapa are recent. In 1938 H. V. Lemley and his wife arrived in Tlacoapa to study the Tlapanec language and to convert Tlacoapenos to Protestant Christianity. They settled in the rancheria of Chirimoya where they built a small adobe chapel and remained for several years. Their influence is still felt, since approximately 80 people today call themselves Protestantes. Lemley was the first non-Mexican to visit the area, and his presence must have had a great influence upon Tlacoapa's attitudes toward foreigners.

The most important event of the past few decades was the establishment of the Catholic Mission in the village in 1960. Since the mission serves as a coordinating center for all 12 Tlapanec municipios, its importance to the growth of the community is great. A constant influx of priests, nuns, and other church-related people constantly exposes Tlacoapenos to outsiders. The mission also initiated the construction of Tlacoapa's landing strip, which has subsequently meant better communication between Tlacoapa and the outside world.

### Community Composition

The settlement pattern of Tlacoapa is characterized by a widely dispersed population. The community of Tlacoapa consists of the village of Tlacoapa, which acts as its core or nucleus, and nine rancherías and one comisaría, Tlacotepec, which surround the village.

Tlacoapa village, when viewed from afar, appears to be a place of high population concentration (Plate 1). As one approaches the village, however, it appears abandoned. The village is what has come to be known in Mesoamerica as an "empty town center." In other words, Tlacoapa village is vacant during most of the year, since the house owners spend the majority of the time in their primary residences located in the surrounding rancherías. Most of the structures within the village serve as second or "town" houses and are for occasional occupation. Tlacoapeños state that they are places where they can "hang their nets."

Empty town centers, also called "vacant town" or "concourse centers," are found in various other parts of Mesoamerica. Tax (1937), who coined the term, reports that they are common in the Guatemalan Highlands. Vogt (1970) and Cancian (1965) describe similar settlement patterns in Chiapas. How long this type of pattern has existed in Tlacoapa is impossible to say. Borhegyi (1956:104), however, suggests that present-day "vacant town" centers may

Plate 1

View of Tlacoapa Village

Looking North



reflect the concept of the Pre-Columbian ceremonial center. Since no archaeological data exist for Tlacoapa, the antiquity of the "vacant town" settlement pattern cannot be ascertained. Because animal grazing, which is post-Hispanic is an important reason for "vacant towns," I feel that it is a post-Hispanic phenomenon in Tlacoapa.

In Tlacoapa, the functions of the empty town center are quite explicit. First, from an economic point of view, it is highly impractical for Tlacoapenos to live in the village itself. Since very little acreage is in Tlacoapa's narrow plain, certainly not enough land for animal grazing, people must live in the surrounding areas where land is more plentiful for growing crops and allowing animals to graze freely. Milpas and fruit orchards are maintained on the outskirts of the village, but to let animals run freely there would spell out disaster for one's own fields as well as the fields of one's neighbors.

Second, the village provides an administrative center for the dispersed population and offers lodging to those who reside there from time to time in order to fulfill their obligations to the community's political and religious systems. As will be shown in Chapter III, holding an important position in the local administration often requires that a man have a second home in the village.

Third, village houses provide Tlacoapenos places to stay when attending religious festivals and markets.

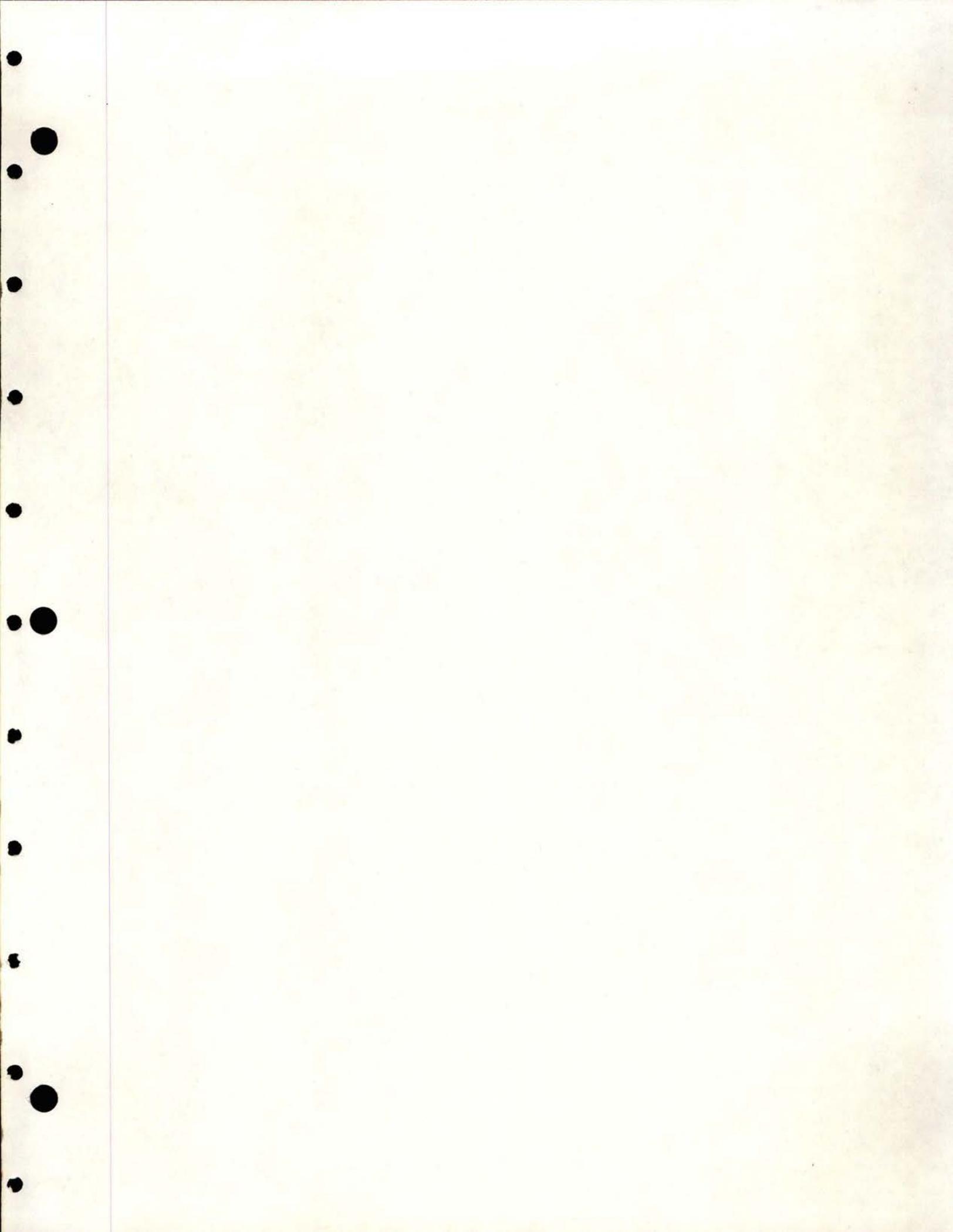
Often a village house is shared by a wide network of kin, consanguinial, affinial, and fictive. Although the number of houses in the village represents only about 40 per cent of the total number of families in the community, practically everyone has a place to go for a night's lodging while in the village.

Finally, many children who attend the school in the village spend much of the week in the second houses of their parents or godparents. P. Oettinger (1973) describes Tlacoapa as a "village of children," and that is what it becomes for four days of the week during the academic year. Children live with their siblings and friends, unattended by adults. They must cook their meals and maintain their parents' properties while living in the village.

The village is laid out in a north-south direction, starting from a small river, Rio Nopalera, on the south, and ending on the north with the landing strip. It is situated on the west side of the Rio Grande, and is flanked on the west by a series of high hills leading to Tlacotepec and Ahuehuete and on the east by mountains leading to Chirimoya, Capulin and La Sabana. The width of the village is no more than 200 meters, and its length is well over 600 meters. Immediately to the north and the south of the village are privately owned fruit orchards, groves of coffee trees, and milpas.

There are approximately 190 private residences in the village. House types are mixed, with the more traditional jacal type (wattle and daub with thatched roof) accounting for the majority (58.8 per cent). Adobe structures with wood shingle or tile roofs account for the remaining 41.1 per cent. Fifteen years ago all but two houses were of jacal-type construction, but pressure from administration officials, religious and civil, coerced the people to construct modern adobe structures. The people have also become aware that adobe houses are more comfortable and last longer. This, coupled with the fact that adobe houses have become fashionable and symbolize progress, has forced the people to tear down their old houses and build new ones. Raw materials suitable for construction of adobe houses are readily available within short walking distance of the village and several tile ovens are in the village and are shared by the community's population (Map 4).

The village is not divided into wards or quarters. Until recently, curvilinear paths wandered through the village, lacing it together. Today, however, north-south and east-west streets are being built, and a grid pattern is becoming visible. Again, this change is associated with progress. Previously, paths and streets bore the names of outstanding principales of the community, but orders from the State capital of Chilpancingo directed that more



Map 4

House-Types in Tlacoapa Village

Cementerio

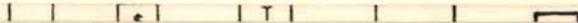
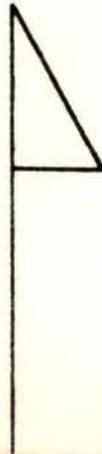
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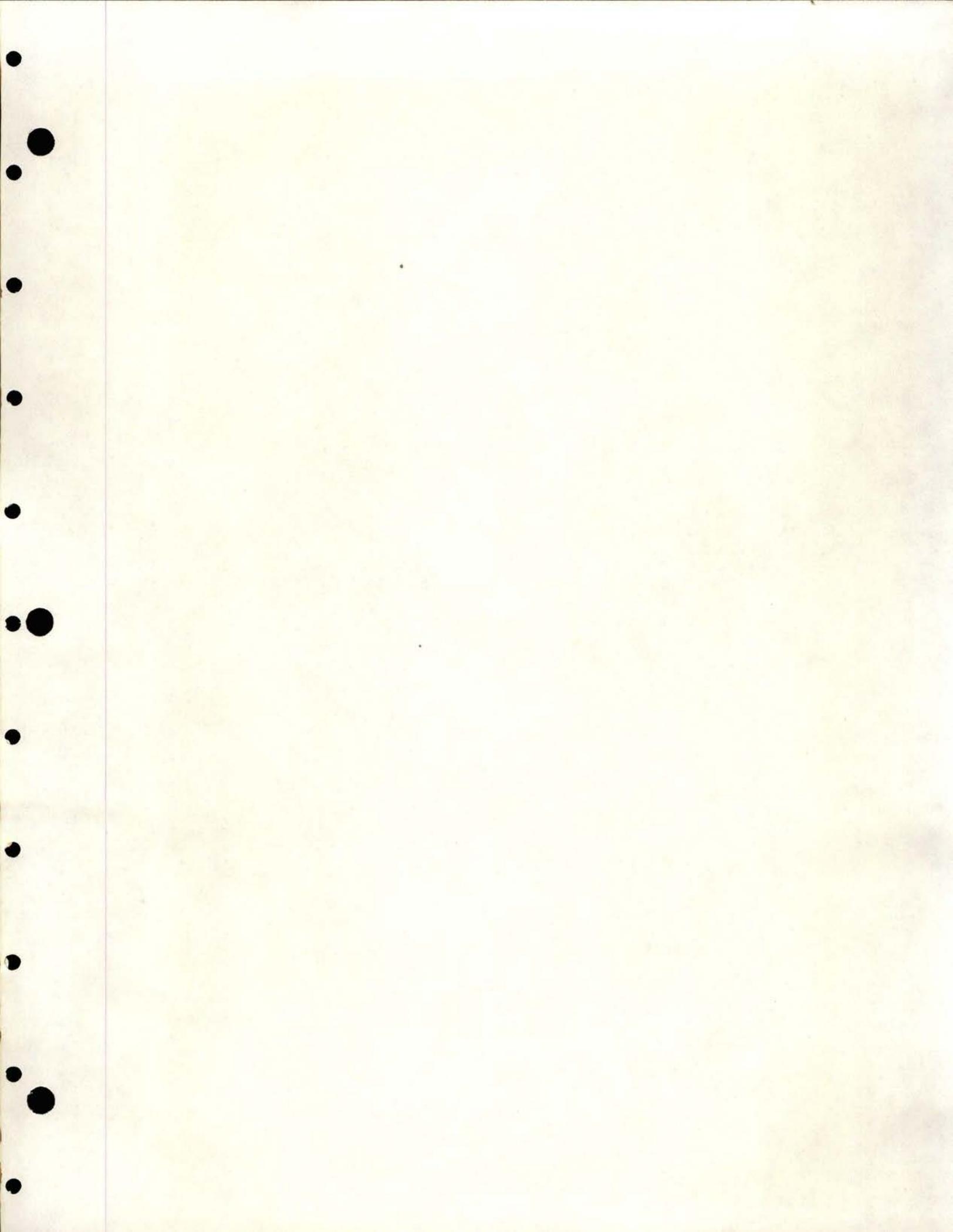
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"meaningful" names be used. Today, the main streets of town bear nationally significant names, such as Avenida Benito Juarez, Lopez Mateos, Vincente Guerrero, and Articulo 123. Tlacoapenos were reluctant to make the change, but later decided that the issue was not worth possible alienation of State officials.

When I became aware of the type of settlement pattern in Tlacoapa, I was anxious to see if the people clustered their town houses according to rancheria affiliation. If there were strong feelings of rancheria allegiance, this would be one of the best ways to see it. My findings were to the contrary. Village houses are randomly mixed, and do not form patterns which correlate with rancheria membership (Map 5). Apparently, the only non-random groupings of houses are family ones. For example, a man might leave a large parcel of land in the village to his three sons or daughters. They may split such inheritance into three individual but connecting plots and build structures on each. This probably accounts for the small clusters of structures with the same rancheria affiliation.

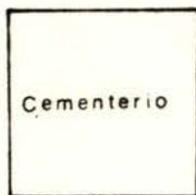
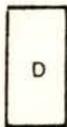
Members of the community, many of whom are separated from each other by four and five hours walk between rancherias, become next-door neighbors while in the village for feast days and Sunday market. This is particularly germane to the thesis of this study, since the village serves to keep a normally widely dispersed population in



Map 5

Rancheria Affiliation of House Owners  
in Tlacoapa Village

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contact with each other and adds to the overall integration of the community. Since all parts of the community are represented in the village, composition of the village also symbolizes community composition.

The plaza (town square) is located at the southern and lower end of the village, and is used for public gatherings, Sunday markets, and the school playground. When weather permits, Sunday basketball games are organized for adult males by village officials. This often leads to a precarious situation for market vendors, who, more than occasionally, have their stands leveled by a wildly thrown ball.

Most of the larger buildings surrounding the plaza are managed and used by the school, church, or local government officials. Two large buildings on the north side of the plaza are used by the school and, because of space shortages, the incomplete market building is also used for makeshift kindergarten classes. Classrooms are made of adobe, and effectively keep out the rains and winds. Unfortunately, they also keep out the light; classrooms are dark and colorless. The school also maintains two prefabricated structures located at the northern end of the village which were built in the early seventies with materials donated by the federal government. But these, too, are overcrowded; students must double up, two to a desk, in order to fit. Nevertheless, they are a source of great

pride for the community. Plans are being considered to supplement existing school facilities with additional prefabricated buildings.

The school, which became federal in 1967, has an enrollment of over 500 students. It consists of seven grades, from kindergarten through sixth grade. School is free, and all books and other educational materials are paid for by the Mexican Government. Of the 12 teachers connected with the school, all but three are from regions outside of the Tlapanec area and, consequently, speak no Tlapanec at all. Most are from urban areas and tend to be disgruntled about being sent to teach in such an isolated area.

Parents seem quite willing to send their children to school. They have been convinced that education will be best for them. Those who are not are forced to do so by federal law. Very few of those who graduate from Tlacoapa's primary school go on to secondary education, principally because of the lack of funds necessary to pay for room and board in Tlapa, where the nearest secondary system is located. Of the 26 students who were in the graduating class of 1972, only two planned to attend secondary school.

While scholastic preparation is restricted by language and isolation, students seem to enjoy being in school and would probably go on for further education if offered

the opportunity. Tlacoapenos are proud of their school and want to see it improved. See P. Oettinger (1973).

The largest and most imposing structure on the plaza is the ayuntamiento (town hall). It is also the most active building in the village since it houses the civil government. In the center of the ayuntamiento is the presidencia where the presidente municipal (mayor) and his administration work. The jail and police station are on the north end of the ayuntamiento, and the band building is to the south.

Directly across from the ayuntamiento is the curato (mission offices), a large, white stuccoed building with an exterior porch and an interior patio. It is the most modern building in town. Just to the south of the curato is the community church. It, too, is stuccoed and has a laminated tin roof. Compared with many architecturally distinctive Mexican churches, the one in Tlacoapa is modest and quite utilitarian. Inside, one finds a mixture of old deteriorating religious paraphernalia, garishly colored statues of saints, and paintings of a later vintage.

The mission, which manages the church, has been extremely important to Tlacoapa, in terms of both the spiritual and the physical influence it has had on the community. The mission arrived in Tlacoapa in 1960. Prior to that date, there was no resident priest in Tlacoapa; priests from neighboring Malinaltepec had to be called upon to

attend to the Christian needs of the people. Today, the mission is run by six priests and four nuns. The priests are all members of the order of San Antonio de María Claret. Its Mexican headquarters is in Mexico City, and its international center is in Rome. All of the priests are Mexican, and all have done service in a foreign country, something required by their order. While adhering to Catholic dogma, they seem to be relatively tolerant of the area's cultural traditions and appear to be genuinely interested in the physical and social well-being of their parishioners as well as their spiritual status.

In addition to the church, the mission also maintains a parochial school which provides fundamental instruction in carpentry, masonry, sandal making, agriculture, cooking, sewing, and several other subjects. Experts in each of these fields are brought in periodically to give practical classes to the approximately 50 Tlapanec boys and girls who attend the mission school. All students live and eat in dormitories built and maintained by the mission. Most have finished primary school, and all are in their late teens or early twenties. Since the mission attempts to serve the entire Tlapanec region, some of the students are from outside of Tlacoapa, but the great majority are Tlacoapenos.

The mission has also been responsible for bringing running water to a small portion of the village, and has

plans to expand the system to the entire village. The mission provided the materials and know-how, and the people did the work. The mission also maintains a hospital and pharmacy, supplied mainly by funds and equipment from the Catholic Relief Organization. Unfortunately, there is no resident doctor in Tlacoapa; the dispensing of medicines is haphazard at best. Doctors sent into the area by INI are encouraged to use the mission's medical facilities, but doctors are usually ill-prepared for the rough and isolated setting of Tlacoapa and leave before they make any solid steps towards ameliorating the community's health problems.

Tlacoapa's nine rancherías are scattered in the mountains surrounding the village. These rancherías plus the comisaría of Tlacotepec and the village of Tlacoapa form the community. The conglomeration accounts for the majority of the municipio's population (Figure 2.3). Discrepancies exist between the government census (Figure 2.3) and the local padrón (community census) (Figure 2.4). This may be due to the fact that the local padron is kept by Tlacoapenos and more closely reflects the peoples' sense of allegiance to the whole community than to any one part, or ranchería, of it. The government census indicates actual residency of community members, and the local padron their feelings of identification. There are approximately 500 households in the community which, on the average, have an

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tlacoapa (village)	49	46	95
El Ahuehuete	272	315	587
Campanario	105	98	203
El Capulin	151	166	317
Chirimoya	133	144	277
Llano Rata	74	92	166
El Mirador	81	88	169
Piedra Escalery	110	137	247
La Sabana	175	189	364
Xocoapa	106	100	206
Tlacotepec	90	111	201
<b>Total:</b>	<b>1,346</b>	<b>1,486</b>	<b>2,832</b>

Figure 2.3

1970 Population Figures for Community of Tlacoapa

(INI 1970 Census)

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tlacoapa (village)	633	754	1,387
El Ahuehuete	100	122	222
Campanario	43	49	92
El Capulin	88	87	175
Chirimoya	53	43	96
Llano Rata	37	43	80
El Mirador	43	40	83
Piedra Escalera	29	33	62
La Sabana	130	129	259
Xocoapa	56	58	109
Tlacotepec	(not available)		263
<b>Total:</b>	<b>1,209</b>	<b>1,356</b>	<b>2,828</b>

Figure 2.4

1972 Population of Community of Tlacoapa

From the Local Padrón

estimated composition of 5.4 members. Distribution in terms of age is shown in Figure 2.5.

Rancherías are loosely congregated farm sites and, in themselves, are very dispersed in nature. It is in these rancherías that the people of Tlacoapa have their main residences, their garden patches, and their animal corrals (Plate 2). Usually a home site will consist of two or more buildings. One or more of these structures may be used as living quarters and the others for storage rooms of corn, beans and other foods. In general, milpas or garden patches are immediately adjacent to the residential site.

There are no wells for water; but one of the criteria for selecting a home site is its relatively close proximity to a source of water. Natural streams and waterholes are often shared by a number of families.

As in the village, house types are mixed. But, unlike some village houses, ranchería structures are sturdy and permanent. Adobe structures seem to be emerging as the predominant form. Houses often consist of only one room, but newer adobe structures tend to be semi-partitioned into two rooms. Fireplaces, consisting of three stones to balance the cooking pots, are located in the center of the house, and only rarely are they separated from the rest of the house. The absence of chimneys keeps houses constantly filled with smoke, making the ceilings

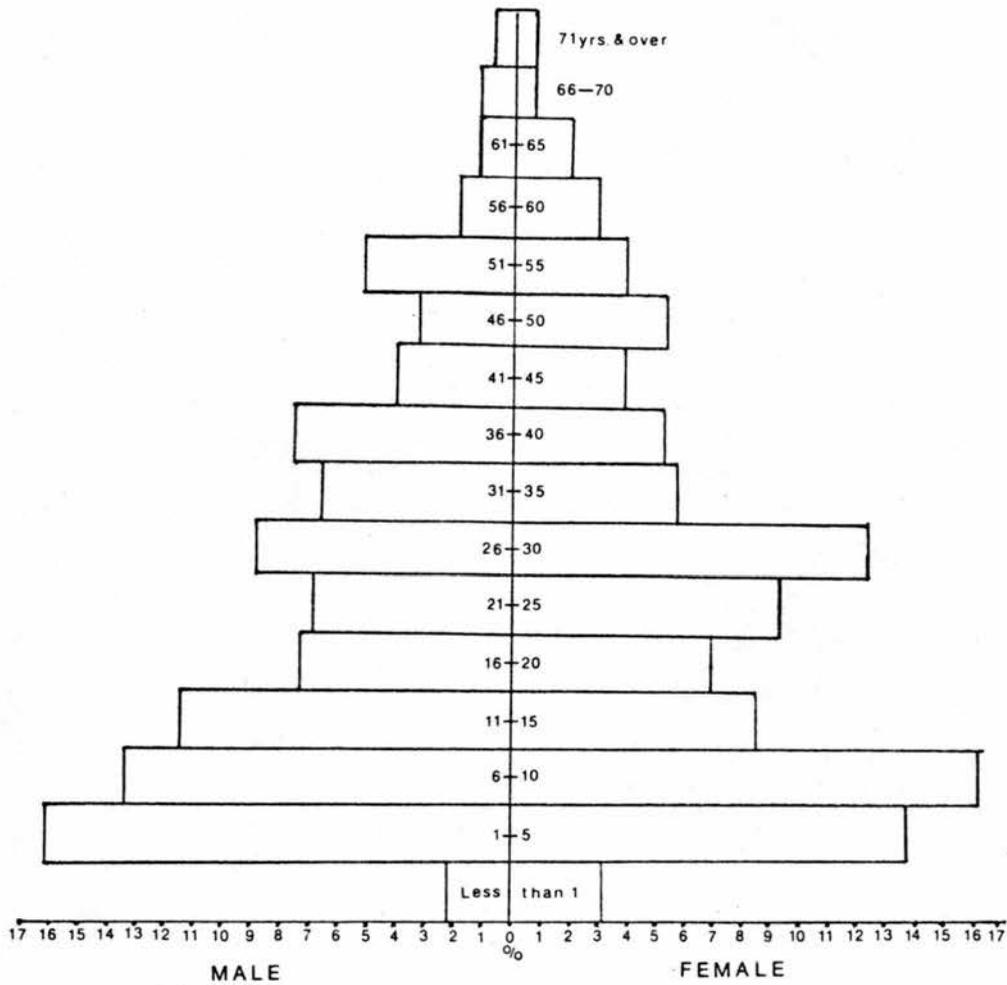


Figure 2.5

Distribution of Population in Tlacoapa Community

This is based on a census of 20 per cent of the households in Tlacoapa and includes approximately 575 individuals.

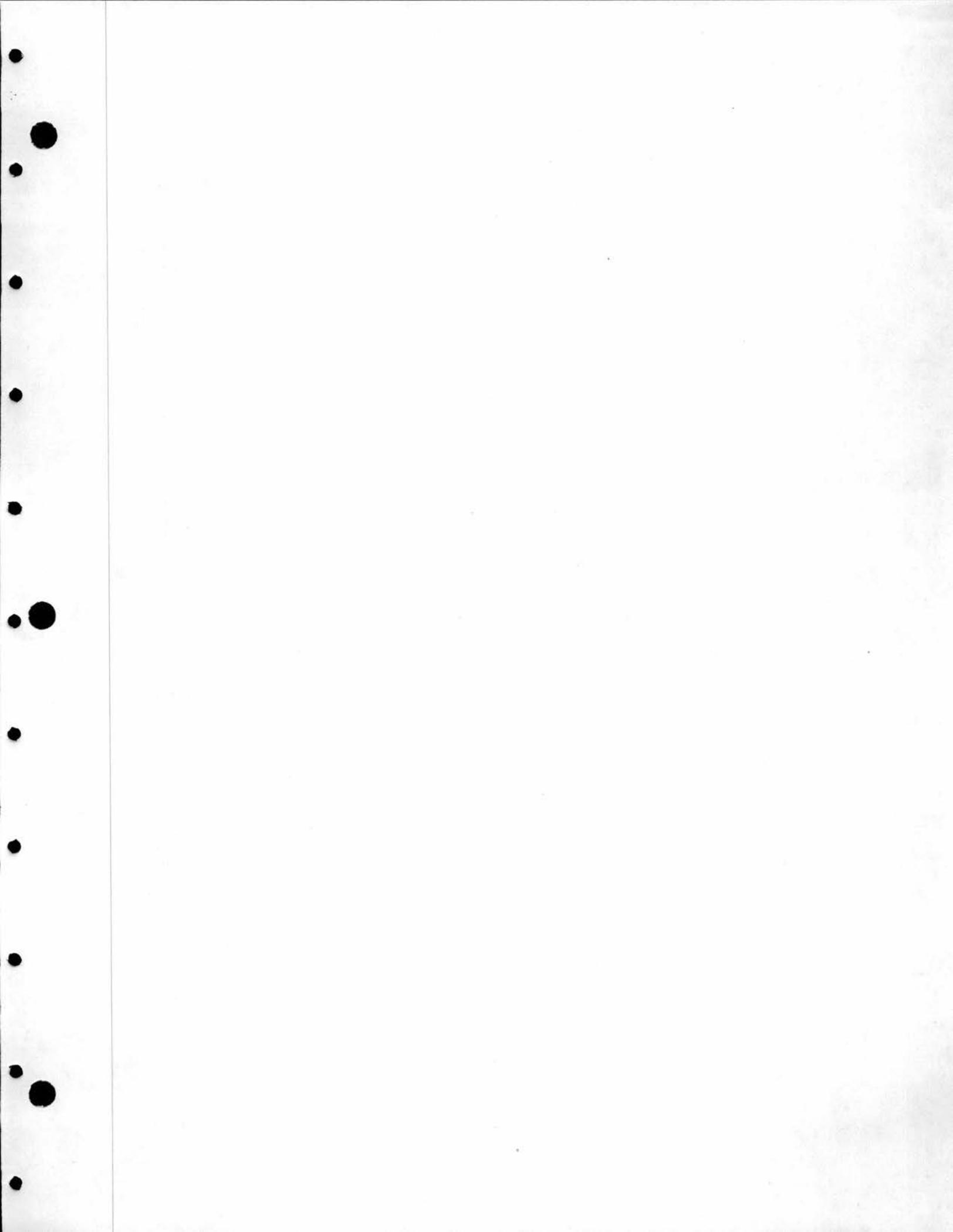
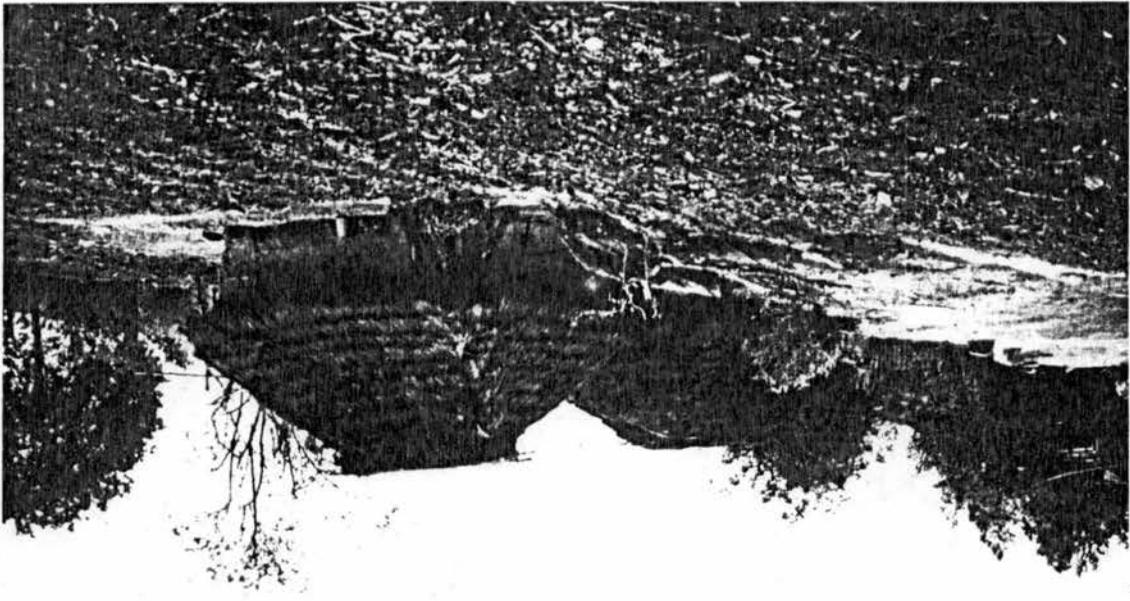


Plate 2

A Typical Rancheria Home



black and covered with soot. Tlacoapenos believe that to add escapes for the smoke would invite unwanted rodents and insects which the smoke tends to keep out. Windows are also rare; consequently, houses are dark inside. Illumination is obtained from the fire or from candles.

Corn is not kept in outside storage bins, as in the Nahuatl-speaking communities of the region, but is stacked inside houses in neat, orderly piles. Often it is hung from rafters to prevent rodents, especially rats, from eating it.

All furnishings are handmade, with the exception of a few prestigious plastic or tin cooking utensils. A bed frame consists of two sawhorses on which rest approximately 25 bamboo poles lashed together with cord, forming a not-too-comfortable base. On top of this set of "springs" rests a petate (palm leaf mat), which is probably the most widely diffused item in Mesoamerica. Often these mats are placed directly on the ground. Warmth is provided by the several bodies which share the same bed and numerous handwoven wool blankets.

Many houses have radios; but entertainment tends to be more inner-directed, consisting mainly of sitting for long hours next to the fire and chatting.

#### Land Tenure

There are two forms of land tenure in the community of Tlacoapa: private and communal.

With the exception of the plots of land owned by the community, such as the schoolgrounds, town square, etc., all parcels of land within the village of Tlacoapa are owned by private parties. These lands, including fruit orchards and some small milpas, are passed on from generation to generation, or they can be sold to others within the community. Land is equally inherited by men and women, and there is no predominance of ultimogeniture or primogeniture forms.

Women who receive private lands from their mother or father usually retain informal title but hand the responsibilities of working the land to their husbands. Most private land, whether it be deeded to male or female, is considered jointly owned by a couple and is very seldom disposed of without mutual consent. Doña Rosa, my landlady, is a good example of the type of cooperation which exists in Tlacoapa concerning property. She inherited a small piece of land on the outskirts of the village from her mother. Everyone knew that the land was in her name and that she was the titled owner. Whenever questions arose about what to plant on this land, where the boundaries were, or whether or not it should be rented, she always consulted with her husband, Juan. The same cooperation was evidenced when Juan had decisions to make concerning his animals; he always consulted Doña Rosa.

Lands within the village may also be jointly inherited and remain in the hands of various persons. For example, a house plot may be left to two sons and a daughter. These heirs may choose to keep the plot intact or divide it into three separate plots. If the original plot remains in one piece, all three heirs and their families will retain use of it. On market days it is not rare to see three or four distinct but consanguineally related nuclear families sharing the same house for the night.

Tradition is generally accepted as proof of ownership. Of the estimated 300 private parcels of land in Tlacoapa, only 24 are legally titled. The expense and bureaucracy required to obtain a legal deed make it seem unnecessary or impossible. For parcels of land valued at 2,000 pesos or less, the minimum fee for registration, transferal and certification is about 550 pesos. In addition, legal registration of a piece of land means that the owner will have to pay taxes of 12 pesos per year per 1,000 pesos of valuation, or 24 pesos per year minimum. Few Tlacoapenos can afford to keep up with annual taxes, and it would be impossible for them to pay over 500 pesos to obtain a legal deed. At present, the lack of legal title causes no problems, since all people know and respect the land rights of others. In the future, however, when the expected road arrives in Tlacoapa, it will bring with it people who might not respect the present traditional usu-

fruct laws of Tlacoapa. The Sub-Recaurador de Rentas (tax collector), a position held by one of the more acculturated members of the community, is in charge of registering local deeds and collecting taxes for private properties as well as for properties held communally by the various communities within the municipio.

The other form of land tenure in Tlacoapa is communal, and accounts for the majority of land. These communal lands, located outside of the village and stretching to the outermost limits of the community, are held under one common title by the community of Tlacoapa.

The antiquity of the communal form of land tenure in Mexico is attested to by numerous authors (Lewis 1963: 114; Kirchoff 1956; Gibson 1964; Simpson 1937; Vaillant 1941). Although it is impossible at this time to determine how long land has been held communally by the community of Tlacoapa, it is certain that it goes back at least as far as the early colonial period. Numerous communal land disputes between Tlacoapa and neighboring communities are on file in the Archive General de la Nación (Ramo de Tierras 1752, Vol. 743, expediente 2), some going back to the 18th century.

Many communities in the Southern Guerrero region still have in their possession lienzos (maps drawn on cloth) depicting the limits of their communal lands and often showing representatives of the Spanish Crown turning over

titles to the lands to the leaders of the community. I came across two such documents while residing in the Tlapanec area and, although both were later renditions of originals, their significance remains extremely important. State and federal agencies often accept these ancient documents as presently binding and utilize them to settle land disputes. According to Tlacoapenos, such a document existed for Tlacoapa until several years ago when it was lost. Reportedly, it contained all of the geographical features which set Tlacoapa apart from surrounding communities, as well as the names of the historical leaders of the community.

The size of the communal landholdings has changed over the past few centuries. Tlacoapa lost a sizeable portion of its lands to Apetzuca during the time when Tlacoapa was abandoned in the late 19th century. According to informants, it gained lands from Malinaltepec during the first part of this century. Today, the size of Tlacoapa's communal lands is 7,905 hectares and 60 tareas.\* This figure does not include 446 hectares now in dispute between Tlacoapa and the neighboring Mixtec community of Ocuapa. If the decision which is now pending in a federal court goes in favor of Tlacoapa, its total size will be 8,351 hectares.

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\*A hectare is equivalent to 2.47 acres. There are 100 tareas in a hectare.

Two types of communal lands exist in Tlacoapa. First, there are those lands on which are located rancheria homes and family garden patches. These lands are treated as private lands and are passed on from generation to generation. These lands are not legally titled, but occasionally crude deeds are drawn up stating that such and such a piece of land belongs to a certain family because it has been worked or occupied by that family for successive generations.

Second, there are those lands which are used as communal farming plots, grazing lands, and sources of wood, and are treated as communal by everyone. If a man clears a piece of land, then he is given the right to farm it. If it is abandoned, it is available to others. In other words, land belongs to the person who continues to work it.

Jurisdiction over these lands is held by the Comité de Bienes Comunales, a locally appointed group which handles problems concerning communal land use and territorial disputes with bordering communities. This committee does not make decisions on its own, but always works in conjunction with the community's principales and ranking members of the ayuntamiento.

Internal disputes over land use occur but infrequently. Tlacoapenos know all lands which are used from year to year by certain families and treat them accordingly. Additionally, they are closely familiar with the occupa-

tion rights for other lands. Apparently the land/population ratio has not reached the point where there is a land shortage. I was told that there still is ample land for every family in the community.

Maurilio Muñoz, founder of the coordinating center for INI in Tlapa, suggests the beneficial nature of the communal form of land tenure for the following reasons:

1. It is a form of organization which is very traditional and deeply rooted. Therefore, the Indians have confidence in it according to their standards and adhere to it in spite of efforts to impose other systems.
2. Its control is based on a council of elders (principales), whose members are selected from among those men with more capacity and who previously have occupied themselves by serving the community faithfully and who are educated in serving the community and its wishes.
3. It operates by means of assembly.
4. The post of principal in council is not inherited.
5. It does not go against the legal systems of the national government.
6. It can be a useful instrument for the betterment of the situation of the Indians (1963:55).

Munoz's positive assessment of communal land tenure is also applicable to Tlacoapa. The paramount importance of communal lands is evidenced by the community's reaction to any violation of the lines of demarcation separating Tlacoapa's lands from those belonging to other communities. Lands are considered whole and lacking segmentation. Outside intrusion into a piece of land temporarily being cultivated by one family is interpreted as a violation of the

whole tract.

Further sentiments on the unity of communal lands are revealed through the following account of a trip I made with five men from Tlacoapa to Zapotitlán Tablas. The purpose of our trip was to deliver some goods to the Catholic priest residing there, and to bring back items for the mission in Tlacoapa. About noon, we began the long, six-hour trek back to the village of Tlacoapa. The walk was difficult, and I had problems keeping up with the group. We passed from the lands belonging to the community of Zapotitlán Tablas and briefly into those belonging to Acatepec. Around three o'clock the pace of those with me quickened to a point where I had to run in order to keep up. Suddenly, as we passed a large stone altar used to mark the boundary of Tlacoapa's lands, my companions commenced screaming, whistling, and leaping high into the air. I asked one of those next to me, a young man who resided in the rancheria of Mirador, what was the reason for such joyous displays of emotion. He responded, "We are home." This confused me, since he and two other men were from rancherias still over four hours away. None of them worked the lands we had just entered. It was then explained to me that "these lands belong to all of us here in Tlacoapa. We are home. That is why we shout."

The above incident clearly demonstrates Tlacoapenos' feelings that any section of Tlacoapa's communal land is

considered the property and pride of all those in the community. Not only are the physical properties of Tlacoapa shared, but the sense of belonging to a common group is also shared. Tlacoapa's communal lands mean security for all who reside within their boundaries. To Tlacoapenos they mean a place where one can be among friends, friends who can be called upon in time of need. Finally, life within these boundaries is predictable, with each Tlacoapeno being fully aware of his or her place in the community.

I was unable to appreciate this feeling of belonging until near the end of my field period, when I was frequently traveling back and forth between Tlacoapa, Malinaltepec, and Totomixtlahuaca. Then I, too, began to feel that I was among friends the moment I entered Tlacoapa's communal lands. I began to sense that I was in a place where I could call upon others, friends, for help if the need arose. Finally, I breathed easier knowing that Tlacoapenos knew me and knew why I was there, and consequently did not consider me a threat to their lands or lives.

Further discussion on communal lands will be presented in Chapters III and IV.

## Life Cycle

In order to gain perspective on a Tlacoapeno individual's life experience, I will describe the cycle from conception to death.

### Birth and Infancy

According to Tlacoapeno belief, conception occurs when a man plants a seed inside a woman during sexual intercourse. A woman is considered "passive," and is to the seed planted by the male as the earth is to a seed planted by a farmer. A woman realizes she is pregnant when menses stops. She believes that menstrual blood goes to form the fetus.

Immediately after a woman realizes she is pregnant, a midwife is called. She will visit the expectant mother four times prior to the birth of the child. Usual remuneration is 3.00 pesos per visit. On each visit the midwife rubs the woman's stomach to determine if the fetus is positioned correctly. If not, midwives are said to be able to turn the fetus by rubbing. Some midwives are very skilled at rubbing, and are reported to be able to abort unwanted fetuses by using special rubbing techniques.

Awareness of pregnancy does not drastically alter a Tlacoapeno woman's life style. Certain taboos are enforced, however. Sexual intercourse ceases after the fifth month, and does not resume until a month or so after the

delivery takes place. Several people mentioned that to have sexual intercourse beyond the fifth month would certainly kill the fetus. Women cease taking long walks and carrying heavy loads in the later stages of pregnancy. Pregnancy is said to lead to a loss in appetite, but no specific food taboos were recorded.

During the last two months of pregnancy, a wool sash is worn by the expectant mother to prevent the fetus from dropping prematurely. When labor starts, the midwife is again summoned. Often the husband of the pregnant woman and one of her close relatives, usually her mother, are present to assist in the delivery. If labor pains become severe, grass root tea or aguardiente (cane alcohol) with sugar is administered.

To deliver the infant, the woman kneels and supports herself on the back of a chair, or is assisted in kneeling by her husband, who holds her under her arms. The umbilical cord is cut with a sharp piece of bamboo, and the end is tied with a string. When the umbilical cord drops off, it is placed in a small container and saved for a time when it can be used to treat eye problems. The child is wrapped in clean clothes and blankets and placed to one side. Attention is then turned to the expulsion of the placenta. As soon as it is received, the midwife inspects it to see which reproduction patterns lie in the future for

the woman who has just given birth. According to informants, small round nodules are lined up on the wall of the placenta. The number of nodules represents the number of children the woman will subsequently bear. Black nodules indicate males and yellow nodules indicate females. They are read from left to right. For example, if a black nodule is first, followed by two yellow nodules and finally by another black nodule, then the woman will eventually give birth to a boy, two girls, and a boy, in that order.

The placenta is then placed on a banana leaf and is carefully wrapped and tied with a cord. It is secured high in a tree so that animals will not eat it. Lemley (personal communication 1967) states that forty years ago the placenta was received on a clean cloth and then taken to the river, where it was washed four times before being buried. Then, as now, Tlacoapenos believed that if the placenta were eaten by animals, the newly-born child would have problems with his eyes.

If the woman is unusually uncomfortable following the delivery, a mixture of pith of the mamey fruit, fat of a goat and various roots is rubbed on the woman's body. In addition to easing the pain, this mixture also is said to stop bleeding. Many women still take steam baths to restore them to good health and to replenish their strength. Steam baths in the Tlapanec area are temporary. Although in some parts of Mexico people make steam baths of rocks,

steam baths in Tlacoapa are constructed of palm leaves, branches of trees and banana leaves. They are built to be used only once. Hot rocks are placed inside the steam bath structure, and water is poured over them to produce steam. Steam baths are also used in the treatment of various other illnesses, especially those related to muscular disorders.

Breast feeding starts almost immediately after the child is born. Children are given the breast each time they cry, and they nurse until age three or four. If a mother dies while her child is still being breast fed, a wet nurse is sought. In general, this woman is not a close relative; but she is usually someone who has a child the same age as the motherless infant. The wet nurse comes to the house of the child and feeds it there. She receives no formal pay for this service, but the child will call her "mama" or "aunt" when he or she grows up and will afford her a high degree of respect.

The first year of the child's life is spent in constant interaction with his family. If a child's father is doing bride service and living matrilocally, the maternal grandparents also will be influential in the child's life. Although cooperation in childrearing is evident in Tlacoapa, most infant care and supervision are the concerns of the mother. P. Oettinger, who goes into more detail on Tlacoapeno infancy, states that,

A mother's relationship to her children is much more intimate than a father's. The men are quite often in the fields or, if they are serving a [civil or religious office] . . . they are in the village of Tlacoapa, absent from the home. When men are with their children, they are very affectionate (1973:19).

Infants spend much of their time strapped to their mothers' backs. They accompany them to the fields, to market, and to the smoky kitchen of the home. When not in the company of their mothers, children are supervised by older siblings or grandparents.

The infant is given a name within a few days following birth. There are no Tlapanec personal names in Tlacoapa, nor do Tlacoapenos remember a time when there were. All names are Spanish, and the Spanish order of naming is used. In general, an infant is given a Christian name, often determined by the way its birthdate corresponds to the Catholic calendar. Next the father's surname is added. Finally the mother's maiden surname is included. There are interesting exceptions to this pattern, however. I encountered two cases (and was told there were many more) where a man's sons did not carry his surname nor the surname of his wife. When questioned about this, I was told that the father's name was not Mexican enough and sounded "too Indian." In the past Tlacoapenos apparently used Spanish names without regard for correctness. They often used surnames for Christian names and vice versa. Many

Tlacoapenos were ridiculed in market towns such as Tlapa and told that their names were "stupid" and did not make sense. Consequently many people have changed their names to more conventional forms; it is not rare to find people with names completely different from those of their parents. Changing names to make them sound more Mestizo satisfies those segments of society outside Tlacoapa and has no apparent detrimental or confusing consequences inside the community. In Tlacoapa, genealogies are common knowledge and name patterns are not needed to ascertain identity.

Many Tlacoapeno families have their children baptized in the church. This usually takes place within the first year after the child's birth. Godparents are chosen to serve as the child's sponsors for the ceremony. Baptism is by far the most important occasion in which godparents are involved. Lesser occasions include first communion, graduation from primary school, and marriage. Usually godparents of baptism do not serve as godparents for subsequent occasions. Children usually have a different set of godparents for each occasion.

Godparents of baptism are often chosen from among consanguineal relatives, but it is not a prescribed practice. Responsibilities of godparents of baptism ideally include orientation in religious matters and helping with the expenses incurred at the time of baptism or marriage.

In the event a child's biological parents die early, the responsibility of rearing the child falls upon the godparents of baptism. The uncle of one of my informants adopted his godchild after the death of the child's mother when it became apparent that the father was unable to rear all his children alone.

The godchild manifests certain signs of respect for his godparents. Upon greeting a godfather, the child bows his head and presents his forehead to him. The godfather, in turn, makes the sign of the cross on the child's forehead with his fingers. The same gestures are made when greeting a godmother.

The godparents' responsibilities last until the child is approximately 12 years old. At that time the biological father and mother hold a "Washing of the Hands Ceremony." At this ceremony the biological mother and father wash the hands of the child's godparents to show gratitude for all that has been done for the child. After this ceremony, the duties of the godparents of baptism are lessened considerably.

### Childhood

As soon as children begin to walk, they start learning work patterns appropriate to their sex. Girls work in the kitchen under the tutelage of their mothers, grandmothers or older sisters. Boys start accompanying their

fathers, grandfathers and older brothers to the fields, where they begin learning the important details of farming and the correct way to tend livestock. As soon as they are physically able, Tlacoapeno children are made to feel they are a part of the family unit and are assigned tasks accordingly. P. Oettinger (1973:21) states that after a child learns to walk his life "is not qualitatively different from an adult's. His tasks are relegated to his level of ability. He is expected to be independent and responsible within a defined progression from childhood to adulthood."

The first break from "traditional" socialization patterns of family and Tlapanec friends occurs when the child must start attending school in the village. Because of the tremendously dispersed settlement pattern and the location of Tlacoapa's school in the village, the majority of children live in the houses of their parents or friends in the village for much of the school year, returning to their rancheria homes on weekends and occasionally during the week to replenish stores of food. Children are unsupervised by adults, and must organize their households by themselves. This experience is important, since it stresses the values of cooperation and sense of communal spirit which will be needed later in life should they choose to remain in Tlacoapa.

Since Mexican law requires that all children between the ages of six and fourteen attend school, most of Tlacoapa's families are influenced by the school. Children from different rancherias are thrown into close proximity and association with each other, often for the first time. Friendships established during school years may last for a lifetime. From the moment children enter school, they are under the influence of non-Tlapanec teachers, who continually introduce the children to concepts and lifestyles previously unknown to them.

Very few students go beyond primary school. Of the 26 students who finished primary school in 1972, only two were scheduled to enter secondary school. Reasons for this are mainly economic.

Enrollment in school exempts a boy from duties in the civil and religious organization of the community. The moment he finishes school, he is expected and required to enter the community's system of government. Since girls are not required to serve, they will remain home to work at household chores or go to Mexico City to work as domestic servants. Those who remain in the community look forward to marriage as the next major step in their lives.

#### Marriage and Maturity

Marriage, which is described in great detail in Chapter V, is desirable to everyone. I knew of no adult

men in Tlacoapa who were not married. There were, however, several unmarried adult women living with parents or with siblings and their families. The process of marriage in Tlacoapa traditionally involves four major steps before consecration is realized: 1) bridequest; 2) wedding ceremony; 3) bride service; and 4) the Burning of the Firewood Ceremony, a ritual which binds the two families together.

In general, boys marry between the ages of 18 and 22. Girls, on the average, marry younger, between the ages of 16 and 20. Sexual intercourse prior to the beginning of the marriage process is discouraged, but it does occur. Tlacoapeno males state a preference for marrying a virgin.

Children are greatly desired. Those who are unable to bear children consider it punishment for some bad deed they or their ancestors committed in the past. Lemley (personal communication 1967) reports that Tlacoapenos once ate special mushrooms to increase fertility.

Years following marriage center around farming, maintaining a household, and rearing children. All men are required to spend a portion of their time in service to the community, and can be intermittently away from home for as long as three years, during which time they reside in the villages with other men doing the same type of service. At times such as these, the importance of sons and daughters to assist in work in the fields is most strongly felt.

In the event of the early death of a spouse, men and women usually remarry. Except for several very old men, all men I knew who had been widowers married a second time. Often the requirement of bride service is made by the new father-in-law of the husband. Several men in Tlacoapa had married young, completed several years of bride service, lost their wives, remarried, and then were required to do new periods of bride service.

Many widows also remarry. Those who do not are afforded the support of the community in their later years. Widows are given small tasks for which they are paid by the local government. When a widow's house burned in the rancheria of Ahuehuate in 1971, the community sent a delegation of men to rebuild it. Widows are always included in the communal activities of Tlacoapa.

#### Old Age

Elderly people in Tlacoapa are given a great deal of prestige and respect. As will be seen later in the chapter on marriage, older members of a family are provided seats of honor at ceremonies and festivals. They are always consulted in matters of importance, and are asked to participate in family activities as much as their physical condition allows.

Aside from the respect gained through simply arriving at an advanced age, additional prestige and respect is

often obtained through past achievements. For men who have successfully completed the requirements of religious and civil service to the community, the position of principal is given. These men occupy the most prestigious positions in the community. They sit in on all important community meetings and often have final word in vital issues concerning community well-being. For those men in Tlacoapa who have chosen not to remain in the political system beyond the lower levels, there exist other ways of gaining the respect of the community. Older men who have displayed good understanding of farming techniques, financial affairs, and domestic organization are also afforded great amounts of prestige and respect.

When elderly people become unable to function within the family, their presence becomes a burden. Younger members of the family take turns looking after old people who are no longer able to care for themselves. People hope that their children will elect to remain in the mountains to take care of them in their advanced years. More commonly now than in the past, elderly parents are finding themselves left in Tlacoapa to fend for themselves during their old age. Fortunately, most families have at least one child who shuns the temptations of urban areas and continues the legacy of farming. The unfortunate few who are left alone have the community of Tlacoapa to back them in

times of need; they prefer the combination of family and community.

### Death

Tlacoapenos have a fatalistic attitude toward death, especially for children. The infant mortality rate is between 25 and 30 per cent, and infant deaths are often viewed as nothing unusual or particularly tragic. Sometimes death is considered a blessing: if a child dies in infancy, his soul goes to heaven and does not have to suffer the torments of earthly life. Such deaths also provide more food for the living. Adults, on the other hand, have touched the lives of friends and relatives; their passing is greatly regretted.

When a person dies in the village, his body is laid out in the family home where it is washed and wrapped in white cloth. If death occurs in the rancheria, as is usually the case, community officials go up from the village to assist in bringing the body down. It rests in the family's house in town.

No attempt to preserve the body is made. It is simply wrapped in a sheet of white muslin. It is then rolled up in a palm leaf mat. Some people use roughly constructed wooden caskets painted black with white flowers, but they are rare. Until recently, it was customary to place items used during life into the grave with the

deceased. A woman would be buried with cooking utensils and weaving implements. A man was buried with an extra hat, sandals and a machete. Food was also placed in the grave to accompany the soul to the next life.

Today interment of objects with the body does not occur as frequently as in the past. Priests at the mission in Tlacoapa say that it is old-fashioned and ignorant and discourage it. An example of the conflict between old and new ideas occurred when Juan Perez died from a fall. His three brothers and old father were at the graveside when his body was buried. After the body had been placed in the grave, the father placed a pair of sandals on top of it, to be worn by Juan in the future. The deceased boy's brothers, upon seeing this, told their father that this was not necessary, and asked him to retrieve the sandals. He complained, but to avoid an argument he followed the wishes of his three remaining sons.

A good account of a Tlacoapeno infant's burial comes from my diary of March 24, 1972:

At 11:45 a.m. I saw three people walking down the hill toward church. They appeared to be carrying the body of a deceased child wrapped in manta [white muslin]. They were on their way to church to receive the blessing of one of the priests. The service was brief, and I left early so I could run up the hill and fetch my camera. As I started back down, I noticed a small procession heading toward me en route to the cemetery. It would take two or three minutes for it to reach the spot where I was stationed, so I leaned against a rock and waited. While there, I noticed an interesting thing: the woman who a month

ago had given birth to twins, one of whom died right after birth, was walking down into the center of the village along the same road the funeral procession was taking. She was carrying her remaining child on her back. It is so small that it is hardly noticeable. When she saw the procession, she abruptly stopped; a frightened look came over her face. She then left the path, cut behind two huts and onto a different path leading to the center of the village. Was she concerned about the "bad airs" coming from the deceased child's body?

As the procession reached the point where I was standing, I asked if I could take photographs. They consented. Leading the procession and carrying the body of the child was the compadre of the child's grandfather. The reason was because the child had not yet been baptized and, therefore, did not have a godfather of baptism, who usually takes care of such duties as taking the body to the cemetery. The grandfather walked behind with a candle. The grandmother was also in the procession, carrying flowers. The father was at the graveside. His brother had dug the grave. The burial was quick. The body was simply placed in the grave and covered with dirt. A bundle of wildflowers was placed on top of the grave, and the group left. No candles were left, and those which had been lit at graveside were extinguished and taken home. There were no manifestations of grief. I walked down the hill with one of the group. I was told that the child had died this morning at about five o'clock. It was 12 days old. No one knew what the cause of death had been. One person volunteered that it was the "punishment of God." I asked where the mother was, and was told that she was home ill. Later in the day, I saw the father of the deceased registering the death with the authorities.

While many Tlacoapenos accept the Christian view of the hereafter, some still retain traditional Tlacoapeno beliefs about afterlife. According to Lemley (personal communication 1967), some Tlacoapenos believe that after death the soul must retrace all the paths it traveled during its mortal life. Along these paths it collects all of the spit discharged during its life on earth. After

this, the soul takes the form of a butterfly. It flies about the countryside teasing the devil. The devil catches it, swallows it, and releases it through defecation. This takes place four times. If, at the end of this ordeal, the devil has had an easy time catching the soul, the result will be an eternity of working in milpas with poor soil, little rain, and poor harvests. On the other hand, if the devil has had a difficult time catching the soul, the reward will be an eternity of working milpas with rich soil, abundant rainfall and full harvests.

Similar to Catholic custom, Tlacoapenos continue to pray for family members on the anniversaries of their deaths. This takes place at graveside or in the church. To assure that all Tlacoapenos are cared for in this respect, a communal altar is built each year on behalf of all deceased people of Tlacoapa. The whole community makes supplications before this altar on the Day of the Dead. The community considers itself responsible for the individual in death as in life.

#### Conclusion

The world view of most Tlacoapenos is limited by their community associations. Identification is localized at the community level, and few connections are drawn between the community and the larger society. P. Oettinger (1973) states that Tlacoapenos, especially children, are

"anxious" about their place in the world, and now seem to be vacillating between local and larger allegiances due to multiple socialization influences they receive from traditional parents, Mestizo school teachers, and more acculturated members of the community. For most adults, however, the community of Tlacoapa still remains the nucleus of the universe, a place to which individuals give their support and from which security and safety are received in return.

The world outside is unpredictable, a place which Tlacoapenos do not understand, a place where others do not treat them as equals, a place where language, customs, and mores contrast drastically with those of the community. Many community members have not traveled outside of Tlacoapa itself, and some express little desire to do so. For many, especially women, a trip means a two- or three-hour walk from a rancheria home to the community's Sunday market in the village. Over 48 per cent of Tlacoapa's women have never left the communal land area, but only 2.68 per cent of Tlacoapa's males have never ventured outside of the confines of Tlacoapa. Those who do make trips to the outside try to make their visits as short as possible. They usually go out of necessity and not out of volition. Most people who travel outside of the community are gone only for one or two days, return, and wait for a

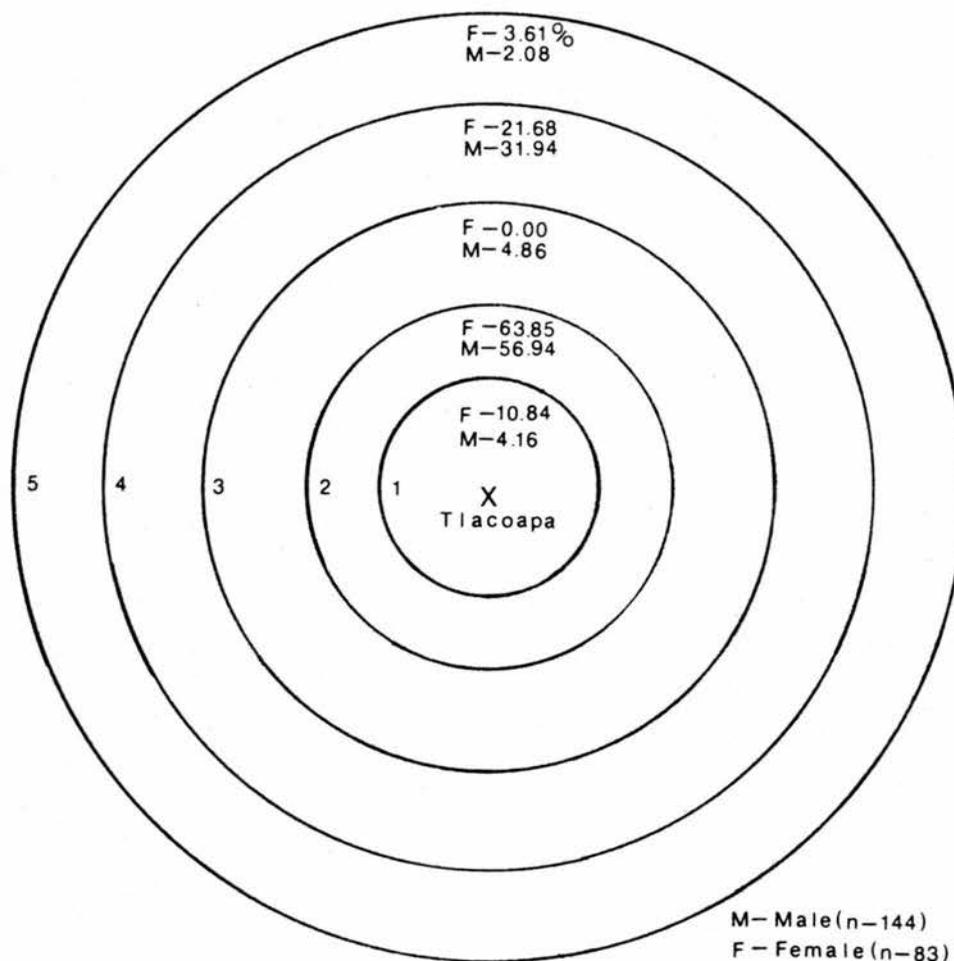
year or more before they again venture outside of Tlacoapa.

Outside trips are brief and usually taken for some particular reason. Figure 2.6 illustrates the farthest areas to which Tlacoapenos most frequently travel. Percentage-wise, points falling within the radius of circle 2 are most frequently visited. Tlapa, the closest large market and administrative center outside of Tlacoapa, accounts for a great portion of this percentage. Chilapa is also an important nearby market center. Women often accompany their husbands on these trips to assist in transportation of goods. Chilpancingo, because it is the State capital, is usually visited by Tlacoapa men for official reasons during the time they serve in local administrative positions in the community.

Circle 4, the area of second greatest visitation, is popular for several reasons. First Mexico City is within this area and it, too, is a point to which men are sent on official business. Second, the majority of Tlacoapa migrants reside in Mexico City, and parents travel there for short visits with their children.

The farthest point within Mexico which Tlacoapenos have visited is Tampico, included in circle 5. Two men worked briefly as farm laborers in Texas and California, but are not included in Figure

Tlacoapa provides a safe and predictably regulated environment where all are regarded and treated as equals by



<u>Circle</u>	<u>Approx. Distance (air miles)</u>	<u>Towns</u>
1	0-25	Copanatoyac, Xalpatlahuac.
2	26-75	Tlapa, Salina Cruz, Chilapa, Chilpancingo, Acapulco.
3	76-125	Iguala, Taxco, Cuautla, Cuernavaca.
4	126-175	Puebla, Oaxaca, Toluca, Mexico City.
5	176-300 plus	Veracruz, Tampico, Morelia, Guadalajara.

Figure 2.6

#### Farthest Points to Which Tlacoapenos Have Traveled

Percentages are based on the total who have left the community but do not include current migrants.

their peers. This and other benefits are not available on the outside. Perceiving, perhaps subconsciously, the benefits derived from the community, Tlacoapenos structure their society in a way to preserve this entity. Like many Indian communities in Mexico, Tlacoapa is horizontally structured. Orientation is based on cooperation rather than competition.\* It stresses a persuasion-influence arrangement in the settlement of internal disputes, rather than command-obey techniques utilized in other areas such as Tlapa. Tlacoapenos well realize that only through communal efforts can solutions to problems be found and implemented. Egalitarian lifestyles are found in government, in land tenure, in religious activities, and in family life. This cooperative attitude is something which most Talcoapenos have learned from infancy and which is constantly reinforced by their social relationships. P. Oettinger (1973) states that Tlacoapa's children simply do not wish to assert authority over one another. The individual is of secondary importance. The community, los vecinos, is placed above all else. Chase and Tyler state that in many Indian communities, the only way they know how to live is communally. "They have been taking it in with their mothers' milk for over 1,000 years" (1931:120).

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\*Colby and van den Berghe (1960) and Tax (1952) are among several authors who discuss this aspect of Mesoamerican social structure.

I have outlined a few ways in which a sense of community is achieved. Out of a widely dispersed population has emerged a supplementary settlement pattern, the village, which serves to bring the community together, to reacquaint distant neighbors and to assure that no one remains a stranger. The "neighbors" can observe the village of Tlacoapa as a microcosmic model for the structure of their communal life. Tlacoapa is symbolically and representationally a unit where continuity depends on the cooperation of each of its groups.

Communal lands, the focal point for the area, are considered a common and shared possession. A threat to any one piece of land by outside forces is a threat to the whole community, and Tlacoapenos react accordingly.

In the following chapters, I will describe various institutions of Tlacoapa and examine ways in which they reflect community composition and, more importantly, ways in which these institutions maintain community boundaries through integrative rather than disruptive patterns.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CIVIL-RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE OF TLACOAPA-- CALLS ALWAYS HEEDED

"What could I do? The voice of the neighbors called me, and that is why I serve."

--Juan Diego Santiago, age 51, Presidente  
Municipal of Tlacoapa

Most Mesoamerican ethnographers have concentrated on the civil-religious organizations of their communities. Such organizations are commonly referred to as "civil-religious hierarchies." Throughout rural Mesoamerica, these hierarchies serve as the formal structures around which community life revolves. Kearney (1972:16) describes them as the "bones" of the community, "the structure upon which hangs the flesh of daily life, religion, and fiesta." They are systems through which adult males of the community give their time, energy, and often money, to serving, in rotating fashion, various cargos (offices), usually arranged in hierarchical form. Participating members of the community are allowed to rest for a period of time, generally equivalent to the tenure of their office, before being called to serve again.

The civil-religious hierarchy in Tlacoapa is unique in structure, function and residence pattern. It is an

important aspect of community life, and exposes Tlacoapa group membership. It reinforces the integrity of the group and strengthens the boundaries which separate Tlacoapa from surrounding communities.

Perhaps the most important function of Tlacoapa's civil-religious organization is the role it plays as a regulatory device. Since this organization is at the center of all activity in Tlacoapa, most of what enters and leaves the community must pass through it. The civil-religious organization takes demands emanating from the government or the church and reinterprets them in terms more acceptable to the integrity of the community. Requirements of the Catholic church are received by the civil-religious organization and reshaped in such a way as to please both the church officials and the old, time-tested religious activities of pre-Christian times.

The example of Pedro Perez in Chapter I illustrates how the civil side of the structure responds to the demands of Guerrero's political system in such a fashion acceptable to community harmony.

This chapter will first give a brief analysis of the structure and function of civil-religious hierarchies as they are variously interpreted in other Mesoamerican communities, in order for the reader to understand better the comparative framework within which Tlacoapa's particular civil-religious structure developed.

Mesoamerican Civil-Religious Hierarchies

Although most civil-religious organization in Mesoamerica are the result of influences deriving from the earliest periods of Spanish contact and, in many instances, were modeled closely after systems existing in Spain in the 16th century, Carrasco (1961) contends that certain structural aspects of the Spanish form existed in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica.

While structural and functional similarities exist from community to community in contemporary Mesoamerica, most systems possess a number of aspects which make them distinct from others. Tax (1937:443), referring to Guatemalan civil-religious hierarchies, states that "there are almost as many variations . . . as there are municipios." Relative isolation, demographic and economic factors, and past state and federal governmental actions, in part, account for these variations (Cancian 1967:284).

Camara (1952) has conveniently divided Mesoamerican civil-religious hierarchies into two basic types, "centripetal" and "centrifugal." Centripetal systems are those which are traditional, homogeneous, collectivistic, and well-integrated, with service being obligatory. Centrifugal systems are those which are changing, heterogeneous, weakly integrated, and have voluntary service. This could be correlated with Wolf's (1957) dichotomy between "closed-

corporate" peasant communities (possessing Camara's centripetal type) and "open" communities (having the centrifugal type). The former are internally oriented and more Indian, while the latter tend to be oriented toward the larger, outside society and are typically Mestizo.

The distinction of rank and the separation of the civil and religious halves of the structure should also be considered in terms of Camara's centripetal-centrifugal dichotomy. Cargos in most Mesoamerican communities are arranged in a hierarchical scale. This requires achievement and service on an ascending basis in order for the individual to reach the more prestigious positions at the top of the community service structure. More traditional systems (centripetal) tend to require an even alternation from civil cargos to religious cargos to civil cargos, and so on, as one climbs to the top of the system. At the top of these systems, one is apt to find the same man serving as both political and religious leader of the community (Figure 3.1). Less traditional systems (centrifugal), and those which predominate today in Mesoamerica, are those which separate religious cargos from civil ones. A man in these systems climbs either of the two sides of the hierarchy and does not always or evenly alternate service between the two. At the top of this differentiated system, religious duties are usually performed by resident Catholic priests while civil leadership is handled by the

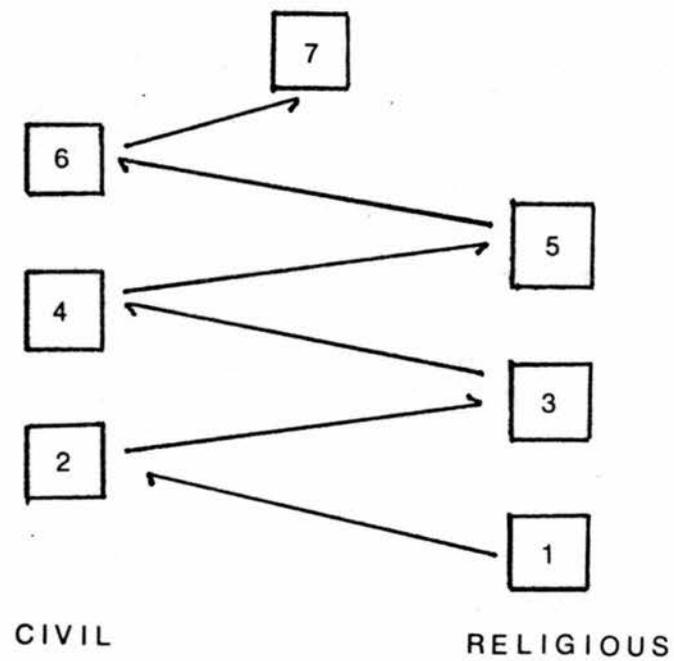


Figure 3.1

Traditional Mesoamerican Civil-Religious Structure

presidente municipal and the principales of the community.

From a functional point of view, civil-religious hierarchies in Mesoamerica have been variously defined. Nash offers an excellent summary of the manifest functions of the hierarchy in Cantel, Guatemala:

From the public point of view, the hierarchy entailed the manifest function of caring for the administrative order of the community, providing police protection, dispensing justice, caring for the church, housing the saints, discharging the community's responsibility to the supernatural by seeing that important feast days were celebrated by duly constituted organizations, and providing the body of elders who were the actual government of the Pueblo.

The hierarchy is the link between the local community and the nation, on the one hand, and between the local world view and the Catholic Church on the other (1958:100).

Latent functions have been suggested by a number of researchers. Wolf (1962) and Foster (1967) suggest that the civil-religious hierarchy is an economic leveling device. It tends to liquidate surpluses and wealth, since higher and more costly cargos are held by the more prosperous men of the community. This, Wolf adds, "inhibits the growth of class distinctions based on wealth" (1962).

On the other hand, Cancian (1965:107) states that "participation in the cargo system reflects an individual's economic rank and determines, in large measure, his social rank." Therefore, Cancian sees the system as defining and supporting social rank rather than acting as an impediment to it.

Foster sees the system in Tzintzuntzán as providing clear and ideal models of behavior toward which men may aspire and as a way through which a person can achieve higher prestige. He sees, for example, the mayordomía (religious fiesta stewardship) as producing prestige "because it permits a man to show visibly that he conforms to the ideal type of his society" (1967:208).

Perhaps the interpretation offered by Wolf (1955) and Vogt (1961) is the most applicable when considering the civil-religious hierarchy in Tlacoapa. They stress the integrative aspects of the system, since it brings the people of the community together for common rituals. This is particularly true in areas with widely dispersed populations.

Finally, Nash's functional interpretation is important to a better understanding of the role played by Tlacoapa's civil-religious hierarchy. He states (1958:68) that, "the ordinary operation of the civil-religious hierarchy defines the limits and membership of the local society."

#### Tlacoapa's Civil-Religious Hierarchy

Tlacoapa's civil-religious hierarchy shares many structural similarities with other systems throughout Mesoamerica. Since Mexican law provides a guideline for many of the cargos included in the civil side of the system, Tlacoapa must conform in this respect. Many of the com-

ponents of Tlacoapa's civil side of the system are universal to Mexican communities. As in the rest of Mesoamerica and Mexico in general, Tlacoapa's civil-religious hierarchy serves as a go-between for the community and the outside world. It is the vehicle through which the community sends its complaints to extra-community bodies such as state or federal governments. It also provides for the administration of the community, formulates community policy, and sees that such policy is enacted.

The hierarchy in Tlacoapa is somewhat transitional in structure. In relation to Camera's centripetal-centrifugal dichotomy, it presently lies somewhere in the middle. While still retaining many traditional aspects, the system is changing. In the late 1930s, the presidente municipal was also a leading meso (shaman) and presided over the sacrifice of communal animals to traditional Tlacoapa dieties. His duties integrated both the religious and civil sides of the hierarchy. Today, the hierarchy is bifurcated with a fairly pronounced separation of civil and religious sides. Civil officials still take part in religious fiestas and processions, but they do not officiate in religious matters other than those concerning mayordomias. The arrival of the Catholic mission in 1960, along with several full-time priests, deprived local shamans as such, of the privilege of open participation in all aspects of the system. Also, there is now a tendency for men to

serve in either one side or the other. Some men alternate between lower civil and religious cargos, but more prestigious service becomes directed toward one of the two sides.

Although sharing many similarities with other civil-religious systems throughout Mesoamerica, Tlacoapa's hierarchy is also unique in many ways. I was unable to solicit a fixed hierarchy from informants in terms of importance. Beyond cargos of principal and those connected directly to the ayuntamiento, many cargos are appraised as equal parts necessary to keep the whole structure together and functioning. A man might serve in a relatively high cargo during one administration and be called to serve in a lesser or menial cargo the next time around. There appear to be no ill feelings brought about by this. Perhaps it can be explained in the way Tlacoapenos view internal-community relations. Their general orientation is horizontal and based primarily on cooperation rather than vertical and competitive.

Other peculiarities also exist. The structure and functions of the mayordomias, as important components of the system, are unlike any others reported in Mesoamerica to date. In addition, the living accommodations of those residing in the village of Tlacoapa for cargo purposes are excitingly unique, as will be seen later in this chapter.

The importance of the civil-religious hierarchy to Tlacoapenos becomes apparent immediately after arriving in the community. There are large numbers of participants, resulting in a very high utilization of the community's manpower. The utilization of the civil-religious structure by Tlacoapenos to encourage community participation and unity is impressive and appears to be very effective. In any one year, there are about 250 men holding cargos of varying degrees of importance. Since usually there is no more than one adult male per household serving in the system at one time, the number of men participating represents about 50 per cent of the community's households. Although the government and the church require only a fraction of these positions, distribution of power in the hands of so few people would be inconsistent with Tlacoapa's communal lifestyle. Consequently, power is more evenly divided, with each family having its opportunity to make a contribution.

The importance of the system also becomes apparent through the ways in which cargo holders perceive their duties. Holding a cargo is taken seriously as a duty, regardless of the nature of the cargo. Tlacoapenos consider it their obligation to serve, and feel that they must perform the tasks assigned to them in a satisfactory manner. This feeling stresses the interdependence of community members which the cargo holders see as necessary in

order for the community structure which supports them to survive.

Service is obligatory to all adult males living within the confines of the communal lands of Tlacoapa. An investigation of 18 high cargo holders revealed that, on the average, service starts at the age of 21 years. There are two variations on the rule of mandatory service. Tlacotepec, because of its recent change of political status from that of rancheria to comisaria, is barred from participation on the civil side of the hierarchy. This redefinition of political status was done by powers outside of Tlacoapa. Men of Tlacotepec are able to serve as cargo holders on the religious side of the system in Tlacoapa. The other exception concerns a small group of Protestants from the rancheria of Chirimoya. Because they are not Catholic, they do not hold religious cargos, but they are expected to participate fully in the civil side of the hierarchy. Inhabitants of both areas are considered part of Tlacoapa and are, therefore, expected to take on responsibilities of helping to run the community, whether it be in a religious or a civil capacity.

Postponement of cargo service is rare, but it does occur. School attendance automatically excludes one from service. This has a relatively minor effect on the community since Tlacoapeno men usually finish their schooling prior to adulthood. I also encountered one case where a

man was released from service because of illness in his family. This man was serving a civil cargo which required a tenure of three years. During the first year of his service, his wife became seriously ill; he was released from his duties after serving only one-third of the required period.

Leaving the community for work in urban areas also releases people from service; but it is not rare for men to return to the community to serve in some capacity, if only for a short period. Men who have left the area retain a strong sense of responsibility toward community service. A survey of Tlacoapenos in Mexico City indicated that many wanted to return and most contribute financial and moral support to communal goals and projects. This may be a substitute for direct cargo participation but, at the same time, is a reaffirmation of the importance of community service. An elaboration on the feelings of recent migrants to Mexico City is offered in Chapter VI.

Most men with whom I spoke felt it their duty to serve when called upon, and I found no cases in which a man tried to buy his way out of his responsibilities as reported among the Zapotecs, for example, by Kearney (1972:17). It is popular, however, for men to express dislike of a cargo and to bemoan its rigorous requirements in terms of time and energy. As one principal explained: "There are always those who protest [a cargo],

but they always accept in the end." It is possible that, similar to their perception of other group activities, the feeling of suffering to achieve a desired end gives more meaning to the ritual of participation.

Cargos vary in tenure. Some are for one year, some for three years, and a few are for an indefinite period of time. Many civil cargo tenures are regulated by guidelines set by Mexican law.

With the exception of several peripheral positions, no cargo holders receive monetary compensation for their work. The exceptions include postmaster, mailman, municipal secretary, and rent collector.

For ease of discussion, I have placed cargos in Tlacoapa into three categories: primary civil, secondary civil, and religious. The main criteria which I use to distinguish primary cargos from secondary ones are: 1) the amount of prestige attached to each; 2) whether or not a cargo is considered pesado (difficult); and 3) the amount of time spent serving a cargo. The third criterion is perhaps the most important, since some cargos require that a man spend the majority of his time in the village, thus taking him away from his fields and often necessitating recruitment of hired labor to work in his stead. Men from Apetzuca are frequently hired to assist farmers in Tlacoapa. Tlacoapenos who find themselves short of money also hire themselves out to other Tlacoapenos who need assistance.

There is no hired labor class in Tlacoapa, since a man who is using hired labor one year may find himself working as a laborer the following year.

These three categories of cargos will now be described, starting with the civil side of the hierarchy and discussing each group of cargo holders in descending order of importance.

#### Primary Civil Cargos

Primary civil cargos are those which have a high amount of prestige, have a reputation for being difficult, or require an extensive residency in the village of Tlacoapa. Some of the following cargos qualify on all three counts, others on only one. Principal, for example, because of its elevated prestige, qualifies as a primary cargo, but the time which a principal spends in the village is relatively short. Conversely, a topil (errand boy) has relatively little prestige, but topil cargos require that the holders spend a tremendous amount of time in the village, often performing difficult, or pesado, tasks.

#### Principal

The position of principal marks the pinnacle of Tlacoapa's civil-religious hierarchy. At present there are six men who occupy this position in the community, and their tenure of service is for life. Five of the six are

elderly, and one is relatively young, 44. Men who occupy this exalted position are those who have successfully completed all cargos prerequisite to the position. In the past, a man needed to serve both civil and religious cargos in order to obtain this position, but today service on the religious side is not mandatory. The presidente municipal who became a principal while I was in Tlacoapa had served no religious cargos in the past.

There are two ways through which a man can rise to the position of principal: 1) by serving as presidente municipal of Tlacoapa, regardless of the number of lower level cargoes he has held; and 2) by holding an acceptable number of lower cargos on both the civil and religious sides but excluding that of presidente municipal. Such new principles are selected by the organization of current principals. Through these two avenues, all men in the community are given an opportunity to rise to principal. Since becoming a presidente municipal today requires at least a minimal understanding of the world outside of Tlacoapa and a relatively high fluency in Spanish, most of the more traditional monolingual men must choose the latter of the two routes if they aspire to the principal position.

Currently all principales are men who served as presidente municipal for the required period of time. A typical cargo history of a principal is given in Figure 3.2.

<u>Religious</u>	<u>Civil</u>
	12. Principal
	11. Presidente Municipal
	10. Presidente del Partido
	9. Presidente de la Ganaderia
	8. Tesorero de la Ganaderia
	7. Presidente del Partido
	6. Suplente del Presidente del Partido
5a. Escribiente de la Mayordomia	5b. Regidor 5th
4. Escribiente del Fiscal	
3. Escribiente del Fiscal	2. Escribiente del Inspector
1. Toyatado de la Mayordomia	

Figure 3.2

Cargo History of Gustavo Espinoza,  
Principal\*

Usually entrance into the association of principales means the end of service other than that which is within the realm of principal. Occasionally, however, a principal may be called upon to serve cargitos, or small cargos, such as heading a temporary committee.

Principales are exempt from communal labor and are usually treated with utmost respect by all other members of the community. They always occupy honored seats at both

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\*A complete transcript of the cargo history of Gustavo Espinoza is given in Appendix 6.

religious and civil festivities and march near the front of all processions. As we shall see later on, they also preside over important aspects of secular parts of religious services, i.e. mayordomias.

After his death, a principal's soul is prayed for at each of the community's many religious festivals. Today prayers are still being offered in honor of principales who died at the turn of the century. They rank second in importance only to the community's Catholic saints.

The presence of visiting principales in the village means that something important is about to take place. I was fortunate to live in the home of a principal and his family, and many times was awakened at two or three o'clock in the morning by a topil who had been sent to summon my landlord to a meeting in the village, usually concerning territorial disputes with neighboring communities. Early morning meetings are preferred, since they afford more privacy and quiet than those occurring during the day.

The position of principal has not always been as it is today. According to one current principal, in the past, principales had absolute authority and ruled the community with an "iron hand." Their authority was like that of a cacique (chief). His appraisal of this situation is interesting:

Before, it was the principales who governed the people of Tlacoapa. The ayuntamiento was governed completely

by the principales. They were the law. They were like patriarchs. They told the presidente municipal, the sindico (judge), and other leaders exactly what to do. They were untouchable. If one spoke against their authority, or if one failed to show the respect which they demanded, one was immediately placed in jail. This was harmful to the community. Today, the situation is different. Most of the old patriarchal principales are dead but not all. The present authorities of the community are not subject to any of the principales. They are called upon frequently concerning questions about history of land disputes and ancient things in general. But they cannot order around the authorities who are elected by law. A man can be 50 years old or 200 years old, but no principal is above the law.

### Ayuntamiento

The core of the civil side of the hierarchy consists of ten men who, together, constitute the ayuntamiento. They are called regidores and are divided into two vertically parallel sections: regidores propietarios and regidores suplentes (Figure 3.3). Of these two divi-

<u>Proprietarios</u>	<u>Suplentes</u>
Regidor 1st	Suplente 1st
Regidor 2nd	Suplente 2nd
Regidor 3rd	Suplente 3rd
Regidor 4th	Suplente 4th
Regidor 5th	Suplente 5th

Figure 3.3

### Ayuntamiento Regidores

sions, propietarios are the more important and prestigious. Suplentes, as their name implies, are supplementary to propietarios. Regidores are the only "elected" officials in

the community. Tradition demands that regidores come from the community of Tlacoapa, although technically regidor positions are open to all deserving men in the municipio. They are nominated by the partido (party) in conjunction with the principales and the group of regidores which preceded them. Since they are always unopposed, their nomination, in fact, assures their being elected. They serve for a period of three years.

The change of regidores occurs at midnight on the 31st of December of the third year of office. Just prior to midnight, regidores who are about to end their terms of office host a feast at which pozole (boiled corn), tortillas, and goat's meat are served. All of the men of the community are invited. A procession is formed and winds its way to the church, where authority is passed from the outgoing group of regidores to the incoming one. Each member of the propietario side carries a bastón (staff of authority) and solemnly passes it to his counterpart after the mass is said (Plate 3). There is a recessional, and the men go to the house of the new presidente municipal where they are all hosted at another feast. The symbolism here is one of paternalism. The outgoing group feeds (supports) the community up to the last moment, at which time the responsibility for the community shifts, and a new guardian appears. The following morning the protesta (swearing-in) is held (Plate 4). The outgoing group reads

Plate 3

The Staff of the Office of Presidente  
Municipal of Tlacoapa

Plate 4

The Swearing-in of the Presidente  
Municipal of Tlacoapa



a list of its accomplishments, and the new group announces its plans for making a better life for all in the community. The new group is sworn in according to Mexican law.

The cargo of regidor is considered very onerous. This is due mainly to the long period of service, the responsibilities involved, and the tremendous amount of time one must spend in the village thereby making it impossible to tend one's fields. Since it would be impossible for any one person to spend the entire three years away from his rancheria, permission is asked from the presidente municipal to take an occasional day off, usually no more than one or two days a week. In the event a decision is needed during his absence, other regidores or their suplentes stand in his stead.

All members of the ayuntamiento find themselves in debt when their three years of cargo service are over. This is characteristic of holders of most primary cargos, and is due mainly to their extensive absence from their fields in the mountains. In order to prepare, maintain, and harvest their crops, hired labor must be used, which is costly by Tlacoapa standards. In addition, official trips to Tlapa, Chilpancingo, and Mexico City are often paid for by the regidores themselves, and this too helps to incur debts. In order to sustain themselves during this period of service, cargo holders of the primary type have to borrow money either from private parties or from

the fondos (monetary funds) of the various mayordomias. Those men who have animals are often forced to sell them to make ends meet (Figure 3.4). It is not rare for a

	Sell animals	Mayordomias	Private Parties
Reg. 1st	x	x	x
Reg. 2nd	x		x
Reg. 3rd		x	x
Reg. 4th		x	x
Reg. 5th	x	x	

	Sell animals	Mayordomias	Private Parties
Supl. 1st	x	x	
Supl. 2nd		x	
Supl. 3rd	x		x
Supl. 4th	x	x	x
Supl. 5th	x	x	x

Figure 3.4

Ayuntamiento Cargo Costs in Terms of  
Animals Sold and Money Borrowed

holder of primary cargos to leave his office owing as much as several thousand pesos to either private parties, mayordomias, or both. Some sell as many as twenty sheep or goats and a bull or two by the time their three years are up. This is the closest the system comes to being an

economic leveling device. All are poor, but those men who are capable of enduring the additional financial hardships of ayuntamiento cargos are called.

While in the village of Tlacoapa, regidores of both sides live communally in the house of the regidor 1st or the presidente municipal (Plate 5). Having a house in the village seems to be one of the requirements for becoming presidente municipal. If a man does not have one at the time of his appointment, he is expected to construct one early in his career as presidente. Such was the case of the man who now serves the cargo of presidente. Shortly after his nomination, his father began construction of a new house in the village. Although his family already had a house in the village, it was too small to accommodate the ten men who were to live there and was in a state of disrepair. Therefore, the new presidente thought it best to build a new, larger one.

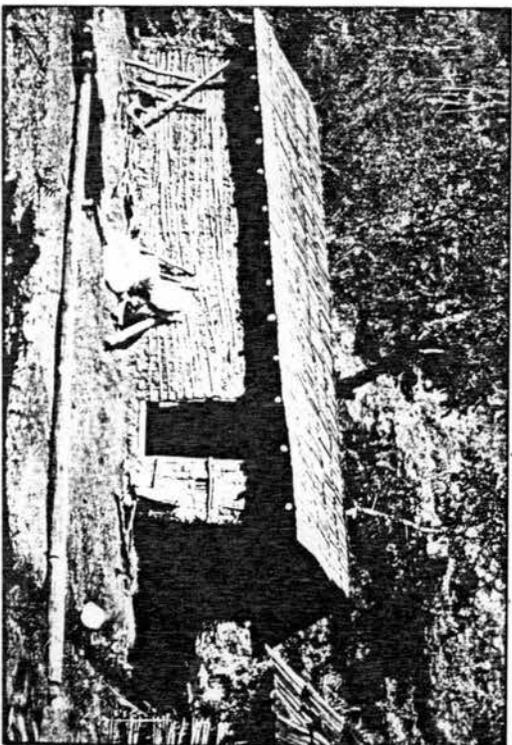
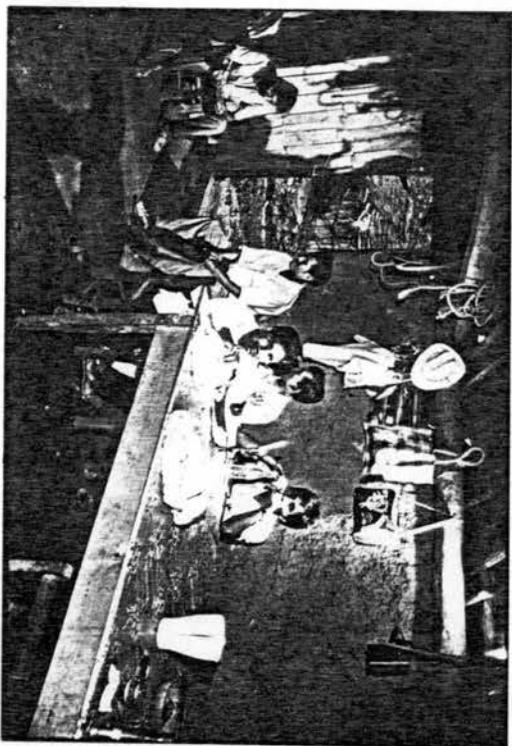
Communal living in Mesoamerica is very rare. Adams (1952:589-592) and Weitlaner and Hoogshagen (1960:183-209) discuss communal living situations among the Quiche Maya and the Mixe, respectively, but their distinctions are made according to age groups rather than cargo category. All members of the ayuntamiento eat and sleep in the house of the presidente for the three years they are in the village. They bring their own food from the mountains, and each shares in keeping the fire going

Plate 5

Communal Hut of Tlacoapa's Regidores

Plate 6

Inside of the Regidores' Communal Hut



on which to warm their tortillas (Plate 6). They are not allowed to bring their wives, and consequently abstain from sex on those days they are resident in town. While sexual abstinence is not something which is openly admitted or required, the living accommodations, in fact, make sexual activities difficult.

In Tlacoapa, the practice of communal living for certain categories of cargo holders is an old one, going back at least as far as the memory of the older members of the community. In the past, regidores propietarios and regidores suplentes resided in separate communal houses. Today they reside together. When I asked people why men live together while serving their cargos. I received a variety of answers. Some said that it was simply the way things are and always have been. Others said that it was so the cargo holders could be together in case they were all needed to meet an emergency. Still others said that communal living allowed the men, especially those holding ayuntamiento cargos, to discuss problems after the presidencia closes. Since not all men have second homes in the village, communal houses provide them a place to live while away from their rancheria homes, which are sometimes as much as three hours' walk from the village.

Regidores exercise control over the entire civil part of the hierarchy. In addition, they participate to a certain degree in the functioning of the religious side.

Since the propietario side of the regidores acts as a go-between for the community and the district, State, and federal governments, some knowledge of the world outside of Tlacoapa and a relatively high fluency in Spanish are usually prerequisites for positions on this side. Such is not always the case with the suplente side of the hierarchy. Suplentes characteristically do not speak Spanish with the same degree of fluency as propietarios, and their understanding of and experience with the outside world is somewhat limited. Since there are few men in Tlacoapa who speak Spanish fluently and who have traveled extensively outside of the Tlapanec area, cargos within the regidor suplente realm allow the more "traditional" men to rise to high and prestigious positions. The respect afforded them by the community is almost equal to that given the propietario side. When the regidor suplente 1st was asked where he was going following the termination of his cargo and the three-year period of rest, he answered, "Well, since I do not speak Spanish, I will not become presidente municipal. I will probably be made a principal."

Although each position within the organization has a specific set of responsibilities, very few actions are taken alone. The organization works as a group, and most decisions are arrived at only after accord has been established with a majority of members. The specific duties of

each cargo holder are put forth in the following few pages.

The position of regidor 1st or presidente municipal is the highest full-time cargo in Tlacoapa. The holder of this cargo is head of the presidencia and spends almost the entire three years in the village. His most important responsibilities are overseeing the smooth functioning of the community and communicating its needs to the mission, and the officials at INI and other state and federal offices. On the other hand, he is in charge of transmitting orders and news from the outside to those in the community. He usually greets visiting dignitaries on behalf of the community. In the event the community is asked to send a representative group to a neighboring community to assist in the celebration for a patron saint, the presidente municipal is usually the one who leads such a representative group.

The presidente municipal is afforded almost the same high respect offered to principales. He, too, is present at all mayordomia fiestas and sits at the table of honor with the principales. He is always a leader in religious and civil processions.

One of the most difficult duties of his office is adjudicating internal disputes. In small, face-to-face communities such as Tlacoapa, all people are acquaintances, and most are friends. To decide in favor of one side may well mean the alienation of the other. One principal

stated that during his period of service as presidente municipal he became unpopular with many people but added that one cannot please everyone all of the time.

The sindico (regidor 2nd) is second in command, and serves primarily as a judge, or, as Kearney (1972:17) calls him, the "attorney general." He sits for the more serious crimes and quarrels occurring within the community. The sindico must be a person who is capable of re-interpreting Mexican law in such a way that is consistent with the social reality of Tlacoapa. For example, it would do more harm than good to jail a man who has committed a minor crime when the man has lands to tend, duties in the community to perform, and a family to feed. Punishment, therefore, must be effective and at the same time as harmless as possible to the rest of the community. As is the case for the presidente municipal, one of the sindico's biggest problems is rendering judgments concerning two parties who are both known to him. His position also requires that he spend a tremendous amount of time in the village. Since those holding the cargo of sindico are considered to be next in line to the presidency, the cargo carries with it high prestige.

The 3rd regidor's main function is to serve as a go-between for the civil government of the community and the school. He also serves as go-between for the school and the Organización de Padres de Familia (similar to PTA).

When a child is disruptive in school or in the village after school, this man must decide what type of disciplinary action should be taken. He is also in charge of imposing fines on families who refuse to send their children to school. The 3rd regidor is very vital to the well-being of the community. It is he who must often place the requirements of the national school system into the cultural context of Tlacoapa. He also must send information from the community back to school officials in a form acceptable to them. As an example of the way he might handle unreasonable demands of the school, we look to the hypothetical case of Felipe Ortega, a 14-year-old fourth grader.\* Felipe's father, Juan, injured his foot at the beginning of the academic year and was partly unable to function as a farmer during the critical weeks of weeding and harvest. His other sons, Felipe's brothers, were either too young to work in the fields or were in Mexico City working as laborers. Therefore, it became imperative for Felipe to miss school and remain in his rancheria to assist in farming. The school, through its teachers, sent word to the 3rd regidor that Felipe must attend school or his parents would have to pay a fine of several hundred pesos, an impossible amount for most Tlacoapenos. The 3rd

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\*This case is a composite of several cases and is intended to reveal a general pattern of action.

regidor persuaded the teachers to allow him to handle the case, and they agreed. Understanding Felipe's family's situation completely, the 3rd regidor simply stopped pushing the matter of school attendance and the academic year passed with Felipe missing most of it. The regidor's "mañana-type" delays kept the school officials at bay until Felipe's father was well again and able to work full-time. Felipe's education and eventual graduation was delayed a year; but, without his son's assistance, Felipe's father could not have realized a harvest sufficient to sustain his family through the year.

The educational duties of the 3rd regidor are described in detail by P. Oettinger (1973). Although his duties are not considered too difficult, he, too, must spend a great deal of time in the village, and may serve as temporary head of the community in the event of the absence of higher officials.

The regidor 4th is in charge of the maintenance of public buildings and streets. Since this requires little effort, most of his time is spent assisting the other regidores with their duties, especially the presidente and the sindico. He also has the responsibility for making investigations concerning damages to people's crops and properties by domesticated animals.

The regidor 5th serves as the treasurer for the community and is in charge of handling all official

monetary affairs. He keeps the community's financial books and is in charge of local market-day taxation. He also acts as recipient of municipio taxes from outlying comisarias and relays the receipts on to Chilpancingo. The treasurer also collects taxes on animal sales and purchases. Since outside goat and sheep buyers frequently arrive in Tlacoapa and purchase large numbers of animals, this responsibility is appreciable. The treasurer also acts as ticket agent for the pilot who flies in and out of Tlacoapa, and collects five pesos per passenger boarding fee for the community coffers.

By their own definition, suplentes act as auxiliary personnel. Their tasks are the same as their numerical counterparts on the propietario side. For example, the suplente 5th is assistant to the treasurer and may act in that capacity in the absence of the latter. Ordinarily, however, suplentes are there to assist anyone else in the organization of regidores.

There is still another cargo which is connected to the organization of the regidores--that of secretario municipal. While he is not elected, and although he is outside of the hierarchy, the secretario municipal is very much a part of the hierarchy as a whole. He is the community's "whip," and, as such, keeps things going. He is in charge of all official correspondence, and can be found almost any time of the day hunched over his typewriter filling

out dozens of reports required by the state and federal governments. The secretario also keeps the vital statistics of the municipio, and is in charge of conducting civil marriages. In Tlacoapa, the man who held this cargo was among the more acculturated in the community and was of great assistance to the community, especially in its dealings with the outside. He receives a monthly salary of 300 pesos. In the past, secretarios were imported from outside of Tlacoapa because there was no one in the community capable of handling the position.

#### Inspector

Thirty-eight men occupy cargos connected with the organization of inspector. This organization is divided into two groups, one under the leadership of the inspector municipal 1st and the other under the leadership of the inspector municipal 2nd. Each group serves for a period of one week, and then the members return to their rancherías for a week while the second group works in the village. At the end of the year, each group will have served and resided in the village for a total of 26 weeks. Due to the amount of time spent in the village away from crops and animals, cargos of this type are considered pesado. Service is for a period of one year and commences on the first of January (Figure 3.5).

The two inspectores and their regidores are primarily responsible for collecting funds for the community.

<u>Inspector Municipal 1st</u>	<u>Inspector Municipal 2nd</u>
4 Regidores del Inspector	4 Regidores del Inspector
2 Escribientes del Inspector	2 Escribientes del Inspector
10 Topiles	10 Topiles
2 Alguaciles	2 Alguaciles

Figure 3.5

## Inspector Cargos

For many years this annual fee was ten pesos and two liters of corn per adult male over the age of 18. From the money collected by the inspectors, municipal taxes are paid to Chilpancingo and take care of any community expenses which might occur. The communal store of corn is used to make tortillas for visiting officials and atole (corn gruel) for fiestas other than mayordomias. Now corn is no longer collected since problems of storage caused great waste. Today, the fee per adult male is 12 pesos.

Each inspector with his four regidores has two scribes who keep the financial books and handle the money. Their position is essential; they, in fact, run the organization. Since most members of the organization are illiterate and unaccustomed to handling large sums of money, beans are used to total up the money from time to time. One bean equals one peso. At the end of the year, the principales are asked to come to the office of the inspectors, where the money in the community's coffers is carefully counted before it is handed over to the new incoming

group. This is done with utmost seriousness because to come up short would reflect negatively upon one's ability to handle the charge given him.

Inspectores are in charge of the community's 20 topiles and four alguaciles. They also oversee the activities of the six tlayecanques which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The positions of topil and alguacil are the lowest primary cargos in the civil side of the system. It is usually with this cargo that a man begins his participation in the system. The primary duty of the topiles is to serve as a collector of community funds. They are sent to rancherias to collect money from those who do not come down to the village to pay. They also serve as errand boys for those in the presidencia, and are always at the beck and call of the presidente municipal and his regidores. When I first went into the Tlapanec region to make a general reconnaissance of the three Tlapanec municipios, I was given a topil to travel with me as guide. A topil was also assigned to assist me in making a list of the owners of homes in the village of Tlacoapa. Topiles are also carriers of messages from community to community within the Tlapanec area, and are often sent to the district political center of Tlapa on official business. When the advice of a principal is needed, a topil is sent to fetch him.

Topiles live communally in a house belonging to one of them or in a house borrowed for a one-year period (Plate 7).

Alguaciles are somewhat similar to topiles and reside in the same communal hut with them. In the past, alguaciles served as personal servants for the presidente municipal and his regidores. They gathered the firewood used to warm the communal hut of the members of the ayuntamiento. When the regidores wanted something to eat or drink, an alguacil was called. As one principal stated:

Right after being notified that he was to serve as alguacil, the new cargo holder went to Tlapa where he purchased a three-handled water jug. He also gathered a supply of ocote (torchwood) in the mountains. He reported with these things for his first day's service.

Today, alguaciles are no longer servants. Their main responsibility is to travel with the presidente municipal when he leaves the community to protect him and to assist him with his luggage. He is no longer a servant but an assistant.

#### Juzgado (court)

The juzgado in Tlacoapa is comprised of two men: the juez (judge) propietario and the juez suplente (assistant). Their tenure of service is two years. This period is divided into alternating weeks of residency in the village. One week the juez propietario is in his office; the

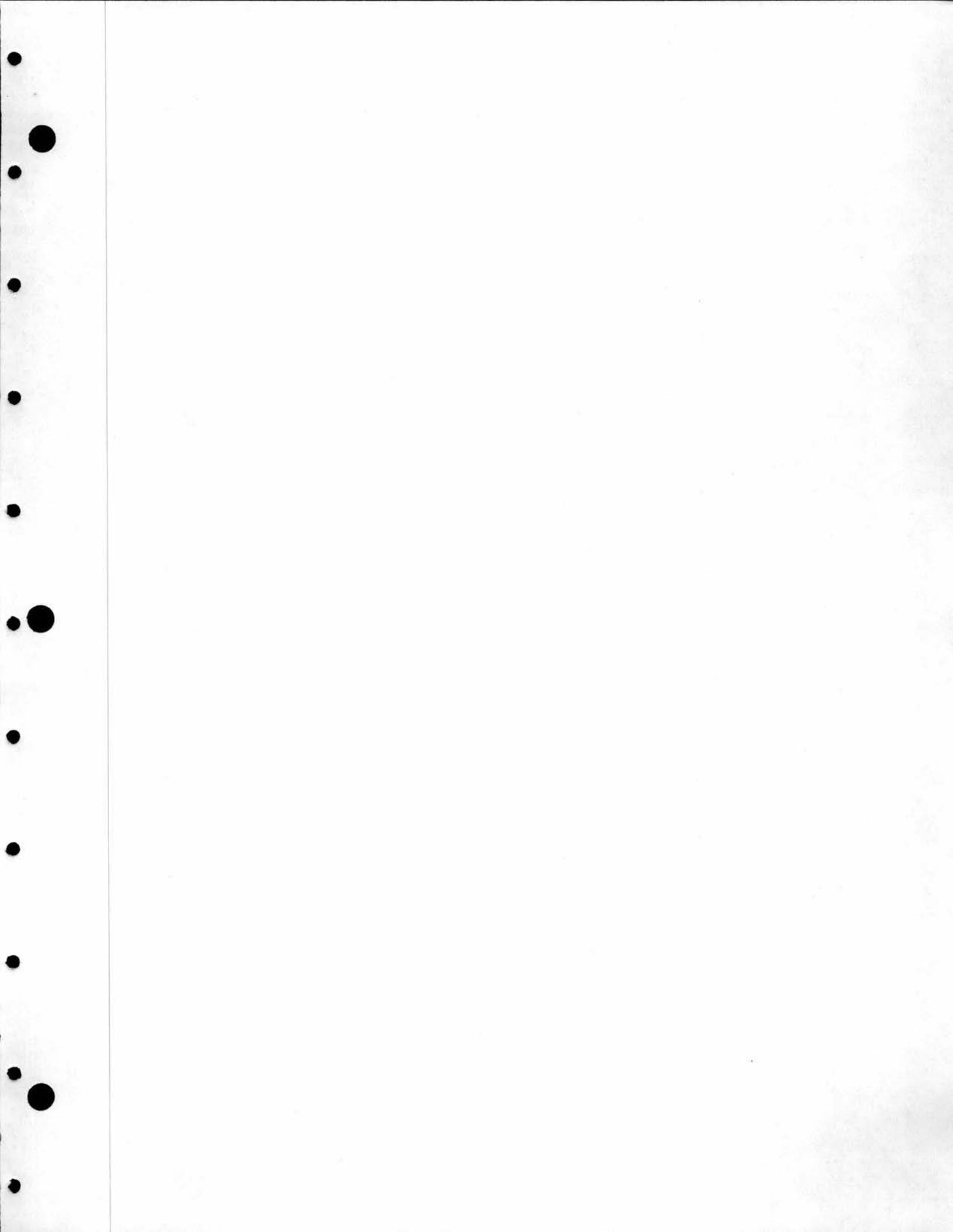


Plate 7

Topiles and Alguaciles Relaxing  
Inside of Their Communal Hut

Plate 8

Tlacoapa's Comandante (kneeling) and  
His Group of Police



next week he is home in the mountains while the juez suplente resides in the village.

These two cargo holders have the responsibility of hearing legal cases brought before them. Since most of the more serious problems (thefts, for example) are handled by the sindico, judges hear only minor cases, most of which concern personal debts and domestic squabbles. Their duties are light, and much of their time is wiled away sleeping on the office benches or making cactus fiber nets. But, since these cargos require a lengthy residency in the village and are considered a close step to the position of sindico, high prestige is afforded the two men who hold them. Silver-headed bastones symbolize the authority of the cargos of the juzgado.

### Ganadería

The organization of ganaderia (livestock) in Tlacoapa has ten cargo holders (Figure 3.6). Service is for

Presidente de la Ganaderia	Suplente
Secretario de la Ganaderia	Suplente
Tesorero de la Ganaderia	Suplente
Delegado de la Ganaderis	Suplente
vigilante de la Ganaderia	Suplente

Figure 3.6

Ganaderia Cargos

three years. Ganaderia cargo holders spend three days a week in the village of Tlacoapa. Often this is done in rotating fashion. For example, the presidente will reside in Tlacoapa for three days one week and be replaced by his suplente the following week.

Officers of this primary cargo category oversee and regulate the buying, selling, and well-being of livestock in Tlacoapa. They examine the papers of outside animal dealers, and are in charge of seeing that the buying and selling of sheep, goats, horses, and cattle is properly executed. Currently the ganaderia organization has well over 100 socios (members), who own approximately 2,000 animals. Intra-community transfer of ownership of animals is also overseen by this organization. It is a well-known fact that many transfers are illegally performed in order to avoid payment of transfer fees.

Other responsibilities are involved as well. During the epidemic of encephalitis equinus which touched much of Mexico in 1972, the same organization was responsible for gathering together all horses, mules, and burros for vaccination. The organization also retains custody of the community's communal brand, which is shared among all who reside within the communal lands of Tlacoapa. Individual brands are not used.

When the federal government gave a high-quality Brahman bull to the community in 1972 for breeding purposes, the presidente of the organization traveled to Tlapa and brought it back to the village, where it was carefully nursed through the touch-and-go period of adjustment to the new environment. A topil was appointed to guard the new addition day and night for a period of several months.

Since a great deal of paper work is involved, consisting, in part, of a lengthy monthly report to Chilpancingo, cargos within this category are considered very pesado.

Comandancia (police force)

The police force of Tlacoapa consists of 24 men who hold cargos for a three-year period. As Figure 3.7 illustrates, the police force is divided into two groups.

Comandante 1st	Comandante 2nd
Comandante 3rd	Comandante 4th
10 Policías	10 Policías

Figure 3.7

Comandancia Cargos

One group, consisting of the comandante 1st, comandante 3rd, and 10 policias, resides in the village for one week at a time. On Sundays, they return to their mountain homes, and are replaced in the village by a second group

which is led by the comandante 2nd and the comandante 4th. With the exception of a few policemen who alternately sleep in the police office, members of the comandancia eat and sleep communally in a house of one of the members of the organization.

Comandancia cargos are considered pesado because of the amount of travel one must do on occasion. Comandantes and policias are responsible for enforcing the law in the community, and are in charge of transporting prisoners who have committed serious crimes within the municipio to Tlapa. As with the presidente municipal and the sindico, one of the biggest problems facing a cargo holder of this category is the arresting and jailing of friends and neighbors. Sunday drinking, often leading to fistfights, is the most common cause for incarceration. This is usually accomplished only after a lengthy wrestling match between the offender and his captors. When asked what quality typifies an outstanding comandante, the response was "one who is able to control his anger" (Plate 8).

Members of the comandancia have tan-colored uniforms which are available for their use. Since most are ancient, too small or too large, and in poor condition, few are worn. The only occasion on which I observed the utilization of these uniforms was during a gathering of community males at a parcel of land which had been "invaded" by

a neighboring communal land group. Shabby as they were, the serious manner in which they were worn and the stern expressions on the faces of those who wore them were an impressive sight indeed. Early-vintage rifles are also available, but most are inoperative. This, coupled with the fact that ammunition sales in Mexico have been curtailed and, in some places, outlawed, renders such weapons useless.

Since acts of violence in Tlacoapa are exceptionally rare (not one case of homicide in the last ten years), members of the comandancia spend much of their time assisting those in the presidencia, usually in the capacity of elevated topil. During the construction of one of the new public buildings in 1972, comandancia members spent most of their time digging dirt to be used for adobe bricks.

#### Tlayecanque

Perhaps the most unusual of all of the cargos in Tlacoapa is that of tlayecanque. According to Tlacoapenos, the word "tlayecanque" is mexicano (Nahuatl) and means "one who serves." Although it is obviously Nahuatl or a Nahuatl derivative, Nahuatl experts in Mexico City were not familiar with it. I have found only two mentions of the word in my readings. Muñoz (1963:148) reports that in Huamuxtitlan, Guerrero, a tlayecanque is in a position equivalent to that of mayordomo, and is in charge of sponsoring

Saint's day fiestas. Expediente 2 (AGN, Ramo de Tierras 1952, Vol. 743) mentions that a tlayecanque was part of a group accompanying a delegation to a legal hearing concerning land problems in Tlapa.

In Tlacoapa today, tlayecanques are primarily holders of civil cargos and participate only minimally in religious activities. There are six in all, and they fall under the jurisdiction of the organization of inspector as mentioned earlier and are appointed by the ayuntamiento. Their service is for one year, and the organization is divided into two groups of three, each serving a week at a time as in the case of the comandancia cargos (Figure 3.8).

Tlayecanque 1st	Tlayecanque 2nd
Tlayecanque 3rd	Tlayecanque 4th
Tlayecanque 5th	Tlayecanque 6th

Figure 3.8

#### Tlayecanque Cargos

Since their duties and responsibilities are rather simple, knowledge of the outside world and literacy are not required. Tlayecanques are generally chosen from the more traditional members of the community. The most important prerequisite to becoming a tlayecanque is being married. Unmarried men are not allowed to serve. Tlayecanques, with their wives, eat, sleep and work together for the time they are in the village. Their communal hut usually

belongs to one of them but may be borrowed from someone else for a one-year period.

Today in Tlacoapa, tlayecanques are in charge of caring for the communal corn and obtaining fowl and animals when requested by the ayuntamiento. They also take flowers to the church each Wednesday. Their primary duty and function is to prepare and serve food to official visitors to Tlacoapa. When a malaria control team was in Tlacoapa for several days in 1971, the tlayecanques cooked and served them three meals a day. A part-time carpenter from the Tlacoapa rancheria of Sabana was commissioned to make new furniture for the presidencia and received, as payment for his work, his meals and thanks. This man was also fed by the tlayecanques. Because many official visitors from the outside now prefer to eat in the house of one of the principales who provides meals for the community's schoolteachers for a fee, and since there has developed a great surplus of corn which, coupled with poor storage, leads to a lot of spoilage, the position of tlayecanque is diminishing in importance and will probably be phased out in the next administration.

This cargo is not considered unduly pesado insofar as responsibilities are concerned; but, again, time spent away from crops takes a heavy toll on a tlayecanque's agricultural production.

### Secondary Civil Cargos

Secondary civil cargos are those which have a low amount of prestige attached to them, are not considered too pesado, and require relatively little time in the village.

The most important of the secondary civil cargos is the comisión de bienes comunales. Because of its delicate duties and difficult tasks, this cargo qualifies as a primary one; but, due to the short periods of time cargo holders spend in the village, I have elected to consider it secondary. This commission is responsible in part for the communal lands of the community and decides land use rights for Tlacoapenos. It also attends to problems arising out of communal land disputes with neighboring communities. It is also in charge of guarding various documents pertaining to communal land boundaries. There are 12 cargo holders who serve for a period of three years. Their presence in the community is not regular, and usually these men gather together only on Sundays and at times of crisis stemming from land-right violations. The head of this group, the comisario (commissioner), must be a man who is knowledgeable of the outside world and speaks, reads, and writes Spanish. Currently, the comisario is one of the most acculturated men in the community. He served as an informant for a Protestant missionary

linguist who worked in the area in the 1940s and spent much time in Cuernavaca, where he became acquainted with the ways of modern Mexico. Conveniently, he has a son who is a practicing lawyer in the State of Morelos; no doubt this, in large part, determined his selection for such a vital and sensitive post. The commission is not an autonomous group, however. Usually problems which come before the commission are handled in conjunction with the regidores and principales.

Another relatively important secondary civil cargo is the comité del partido (political party committee). It is comprised of six men who serve for a period of three years. Party members act in conjunction with the principales and regidores to decide who will be nominated for positions within the ayuntamiento. Since selection of new regidores, especially presidente municipal, is very important and often touchy, the head of this committee, the presidente, must be somewhat of a diplomat. Holding a cargo within this category is considered pesado only in terms of the decisions which must be rendered. As evidenced by the cargo history of one of Tlacoapa's principales mentioned earlier, a high cargo within the comite del partido can be a useful stepping stone toward the office of presidente municipal.

The banda (band of musicians) consists of 14 members. Cargo holders of this type must have tremendous

physical stamina, powerful lungs, and an indifference to prolonged noise. Tenure of service is for an indefinite period of time, and appointments are made by the ayuntamiento. Musical talent is not taken into consideration when appointments are made; usually new band members know absolutely nothing about music and must learn from others. Tlacoapa's band plays at all important civil and religious celebrations. They also are invited to attend and play for private parties such as saints' days for members of the community and are usually rewarded in the form of food and drink. Only a few tunes are known, and therefore Tlacoapa's music is very repetitive. Even today, two years after leaving the field, I can close my eyes and hear the repetitive music of the Tlacoapa band.

Other secondary civil cargos include the comité de educación (education committee), the comité del mejoramiento (community improvement committee), and the delegado municipal del registro nacional del electores (registrar of voters).

#### Paid Cargos

In addition to the position of secretario municipal mentioned earlier in this chapter, three other cargos are salaried: postmaster, mailman, and tax collector. Because these positions are salaried and because they are

held for an unlimited period of time, they are considered somewhat peripheral to the hierarchy. Holding one of these cargos, however, fulfills the requirements of service set by the community.

The postmaster (agente del correo) is appointed by the ayuntamiento, and service is for an undetermined period of time. The present postmaster has held his cargo for eight years. He is paid the nominal sum of 49 pesos per month by the Mexican Government, and must be in Tlacoapa for two hours on the mornings the mail arrives and two hours on the mornings it leaves. He has a suplente who stands in his stead in the event of illness. The suplente receives no salary.

The mailman (controdistista del correo) is also appointed by the ayuntamiento and receives a monthly salary of 350 pesos. By Tlacoapa standards, this is very good pay; but, considering the tremendous amount of work involved, it is none too much. The current mailman has been working in his present position for 17 years. Four days a week he trudges up and down the mountains between Tlacoapa and Malinaltepec, five hours away. He travels in the rainy season as well as in the dry. From Malinaltepec other carriers take the mail on to Moyotepec. From there another runner carries it on to Coponatoyac, where it is given to still another runner who carries it on to Tlapa, where it

leaves for all parts of Mexico and the world by truck. It takes a letter five days to go from Tlacoapa to Tlapa.

Finally, the tax collector (sub-recaudador de rentas) is appointed by the State of Guerrero and receives a salary of 539 pesos per month. This cargo is for an indefinite period of time, and the responsibilities are mentioned in Chapter II.

### Religious Cargos

There are four general categories of religious cargos in Tlacoapa. Two of these categories, fiscal and sacristán, require that their participants spend a relatively great amount of time in the village. The other two, mayordomía and cantor (singer), require relatively short periods of residency in the village. All are considered important, since they perform duties which are vital to the maintenance of positive rapport between the community and the church: more specifically, between the community and the saints of the church.

Since only minimal contact with the outside world is needed to perform the tasks required for religious cargos, men who serve them are from among the more traditional sector of Tlacoapa's male population.

### Fiscales

One of the most important and taxing of religious cargos is that of fiscal. This organization is headed by

two men: fiscal 1st and fiscal 2nd. Like several of the civil cargos already mentioned, service is divided into two groups (Figure 3.9). The first group, headed by the

Fiscal 1st	Fiscal 2nd
Escribiente 1st	Escribiente 2nd
8 Socios del fiscal	8 Socios del fiscal

Figure 3.9  
Fiscal Cargos

fiscal 1st, works one week in the village and then returns to the mountains while the 2nd group takes its place. Service is for one year, and appointments are made by the ayuntamiento and principales. Cargos are assumed at midnight on the 31st of December, at a special mass held in Tlacoapa's church. Exchange of fiscal bastones and vigorous embraces symbolize the passing of cargoes from the old holder to the new.

Fiscales are the only cargo holders whose dress indicates their position. On Sundays, all fiscales, with the exception of the two scribes, don yellow tunics with a black cross in the middle and stand at the entrances to the church to keep out dogs, who number as high as the population, and to maintain order. Bastones are carried by the fiscal 1st and the fiscal 2nd.

Duties of the fiscales are numerous. From the community's administrative standpoint, their most important

duty is keeping the community's vital statistics. This duty is handled mainly by the scribe who, of course, must be able to read and write Spanish. For other members of the fiscal organization, literacy is not a prerequisite. Since the performance of all cargos in Tlacoapa, including that of fiscal scribe, is opened to close community scrutiny, keeping of vital statistics is taken very seriously.

Other cargo holders of the fiscal group are primarily concerned with caring for the cemetery. They also bury the dead. When a person dies high up in one of the rancherías, fiscales are sent to bring the body down to the village for burial. Fiscales also weed and clean the cemetery, and are in charge of drying marigold seeds to be planted and used in the Day of the Dead ceremony in the fall of the year. In addition, they are in charge of constructing a communal altar located in the center of the cemetery for that ceremony.

Apparently, fiscales no longer are in charge of procuring a midwife to examine unmarried girls for pregnancy as mentioned in Appendix 6.

Duties which consume the most time include those connected with the mission. Prior to the arrival of the mission with its resident priests, fiscales were sent to neighboring Malinaltepec to accompany the priests back to Tlacoapa for religious services. Today, this duty is no longer necessary, although a fiscal may be sent along with

the Mothers when they go on trips outside of Tlacoapa.

Fiscales are at the beck and call of the mission, and spend many hours trudging about in the mountains gathering firewood to maintain the kitchen in the curato which supports about 15 people. They are also responsible for transporting canned goods, cement, etc., into Tlacoapa from places as far away as Tlapa. Since the mission brings in several tons of goods from the outside each year, this is no small task. In spite of the difficulties, fiscales perform their duties stoically and without overt complaint. One principal commented that the fiscales work too hard and added that they were like "ants"--always carrying loads twice the size of their bodies. In addition to these duties, fiscales also care for the animals which are owned by the mission.

Feeling that the fiscales were tremendously overworked, I spoke with the head of the mission about their plight, and was told that attempts had been made to improve their lot, but all had been met with resistance. The mission tried to abolish the position, but was told by the ayuntamiento that the tradition was too strong and, therefore, must remain. The mission then asked if the fiscales could be paid in meals for their work. The ayuntamiento responded that other cargo holders were not paid and, therefore, fiscales should not be paid either. Finally, the mission, realizing the manpower represented by the 20

members of the fiscal organization, tried to convince them that it would be to the community's advantage if they would all work to rebuild the dilapidated private houses belonging to people of Tlacoapa. With that many hands working, the mission felt that nearly all of the village could be renovated in a short period of time. This proposal, too, was met with disapproval as the fiscales said that their main duty was to the church and to the duties already assigned them by the Ayuntamiento many years ago. And so, fiscales still spend endless hours working dutifully for the mission. But to hold a cargo is to suffer, and the fiscales, well aware of this, want to make sure that they have their share lest they become subjected to criticism from their Tlacoapeno peers and the saints they serve. After all, the saints can affect the good of the community; therefore, to serve the saints is to serve the community.

Finally, fiscales are responsible for celebrating a mayordomia. Prior to the arrival of the mission, they were in charge of the mayordomia of the Virgen de Guadalupe. When the mission came to Tlacoapa, they switched the Guadalupe mayordomia to a group of young Catholics known as the Junta Católica.\* The fiscales assumed responsibility for the patron saint of the order to which

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\*Junta Católica is an organization of young Catholics in Tlacoapa. It is voluntary and was started by the mission. It meets periodically to determine ways to assist the mission in Tlacoapa.

the mission fathers belong, San Antonio de Maria Claret, whose day is celebrated on the 23rd of October. The fondo, which was connected to the mayordomia of Guadalupe, was retained by the fiscales, but its schedule was shifted to the 31st of December, when fiscal cargos are changed. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

### Sacristán

Similar to the organization of fiscales is the organization of sacristanes. Cargo holders of this category are named by the ayuntamiento and the principales; like the fiscales, they are divided into two groups, each serving alternating weeks in the village (Figure 3.10). Their

Sacristan 1st	Sacristan 2nd
4 Socios	4 Socios

Figure 3.10

### Sacristan Cargos

tenure is for an indefinite period of time. The current sacristan 1st has been a sacristan for 25 years, much longer than the average term of service. This indefinite tenure of service takes the sacristan members out of the ordinary pattern of ascent, and makes the position somewhat peripheral to the system as a whole. If sacristan cargo holders become discontent with their cargos, they may ask to be named to another cargo in the future, how-

ever. Sacristans live communally in the house belonging to the sacristan 1st and, on alternating weeks, in the house of the sacristan 2nd.

The position of sacristan is considered somewhat less *pesado* than that of fiscal. Sacristans devote their labors to the church, and are in charge of cleaning the church, ringing the bells, changing altar cloths, and seeing that all flowers and candles are properly arranged prior to services. They assist the priests in their religious duties, serving more or less as acolytes. They also prepare the wafers used in the celebration of the Holy Eucarist. Since they do little which takes them outside of the community, knowledge of extra-Tlacoapa life is not a prerequisite to the assumption of office. Most sacristans are traditional and speak very little Spanish.

Another religious cargo which is for an indefinite period of time is that of cantor. There are three cargo holders of this type, and they are required to learn to read music and sing following their appointment by the *ayuntamiento*. Cantores lead those religious services which do not require the presence of an ordained priest.

### Mayordomías

As in most communities throughout Mesoamerica, the *mayordomías* are the most colorful and ritual-filled cargos of the civil-religious hierarchy. They are organizations which sponsor fiestas in honor of community saints.

Through these mayordomias, Tlacoapenos are able to participate actively in the veneration of the numerous saints deemed important by the community. There are nine such feast days in Tlacoapa, which are spaced throughout the year (Figure 3.11).

<u>Mayordomia</u>	<u>Date</u>
San Juan Bautista	June 24th
San Pedro	June 29th
San Pable	June 30th
San Nicolás de Tolentino	September 9th
Santa Cruz	September 14th
Virgen del Rosario	October 7th
San Antonio de María Claret	October 23rd
Purísima Concepción de María Santísima	December 8th
Virgen de Guadalupe	December 12th

Figure 3.11

#### Saints' Days in Tlacoapa

A mayordomo's tenure is for two years and commences on the day of the particular saint which a man is called to serve and ends two years later on the same date. Therefore, he is expected to guard, care for, and celebrate a saint twice before he is excused from service.

The mayordomo is the head of the mayordomia (Figure 3.12). He is assisted by the mayor (often called mayordomo 2nd). Each mayordomia has four toyatados which are equivalent to the position of topil on the civil side of the system. The most acculturated, and one of the most

Mayordomo  
Mayor  
Escribiente  
4 Toyatados

Figure 3.12

## Mayordomia Cargos

essential, members of all mayordomia is the scribe. He must know how to read and write and, most importantly, be able to add and subtract. Scribes are charged with the responsibility of keeping the books for the fondos connected with the mayordomias. Because there exists a shortage of men qualified to hold this position, a scribe may remain with a particular mayordomia year after year. Also, a scribe might be asked to serve as scribe for another organization at the same time he holds a position within a mayordomia. For example, while I was in Tlacoapa, the same man served as scribe for both the inspectores and the mayordomia of the Virgen de Guadalupe.

In the past, the system of mayordomias was somewhat different from what it is today. The most striking difference was that in some cases women were allowed to serve in positions as mayordomas. These women were called by the ayuntamiento and the principales and were chosen from among the community's widows. Since women in Tlacoapa do not normally engage in heavy agricultural labor and usually do not work as hired farm laborers, they went from house to

house doing small chores and often begging for contributions to help defray the expenses incurred by the mayordomia's fiesta. As one principal told me:

These women worked very hard, poor things. It was decided many years ago that this was not good. As we became more civilized, we decided not to allow women to take cargos of mayordomias. We gave them their freedom, and today they do not have to serve.

I observed other differences too. Evidently, before the mission arrived in Tlacoapa, the inspectores celebrated a mayordomia-type fiesta. Their image had no Catholic or Spanish equivalent, but in Tlapanec the image was called iya wha (water which rises). It was symbolically represented by a carved stone figure. Veneration of this "saint" was done in a fashion similar to that for today's mayordomia saints. When the mission priests arrived in 1960, they were appalled, and reacted by disallowing the veneration of the inspector's "saint" and took the image to Mexico City.

Also connected with mayordomias are dances. Members of dance groups are recruited from outside of Mayordomias. Usually they are made up of men who, for one reason or another, feel it their obligation to make the sacrifices involved in dancing for their chosen saints. Dancers live communally in the house of the dance organizer, and often sponsor feasts similar to those of the ayuntamiento mentioned earlier. In Tlacoapa, the most popular

dances are the Chorreos and the Doce Pares de Francia. Both are of Spanish origin and depict fights between the Christians and the Moors. The Tiger Dance--a well-known dance in much of the rest of Guerrero also--is the only dance which seems to be of pre-Hispanic origin.

The physical stamina of the dancers is truly remarkable, since they sometimes dance for days at a time with only brief breaks for sleep and food. The same dances are often repeated ten or twenty times during the course of a saint's day fiesta. Costumes and masks, made by the dancers or handed down from generation to generation, add tremendously to the color of mayordomias (Plate 9). During my year in Tlacoapa, only the mayordomias of Guadalupe, San Juan, San Pedro, and San Pablo had dancers perform in their behalf.

#### Fondos

Fondos are the most distinctive aspect of the mayordomias in Tlacoapa. Nothing similar to them has been reported by other ethnographers in Mesoamerica. They have been in existence for at least 80 years, according to most people with whom I spoke. Sometime around 1890, mayordomias started charging minimal prices for alcoholic beverages served at their fiestas in order to help defray expenses. At the end of the year, it was discovered that, after expenses, balances still existed within the coffers

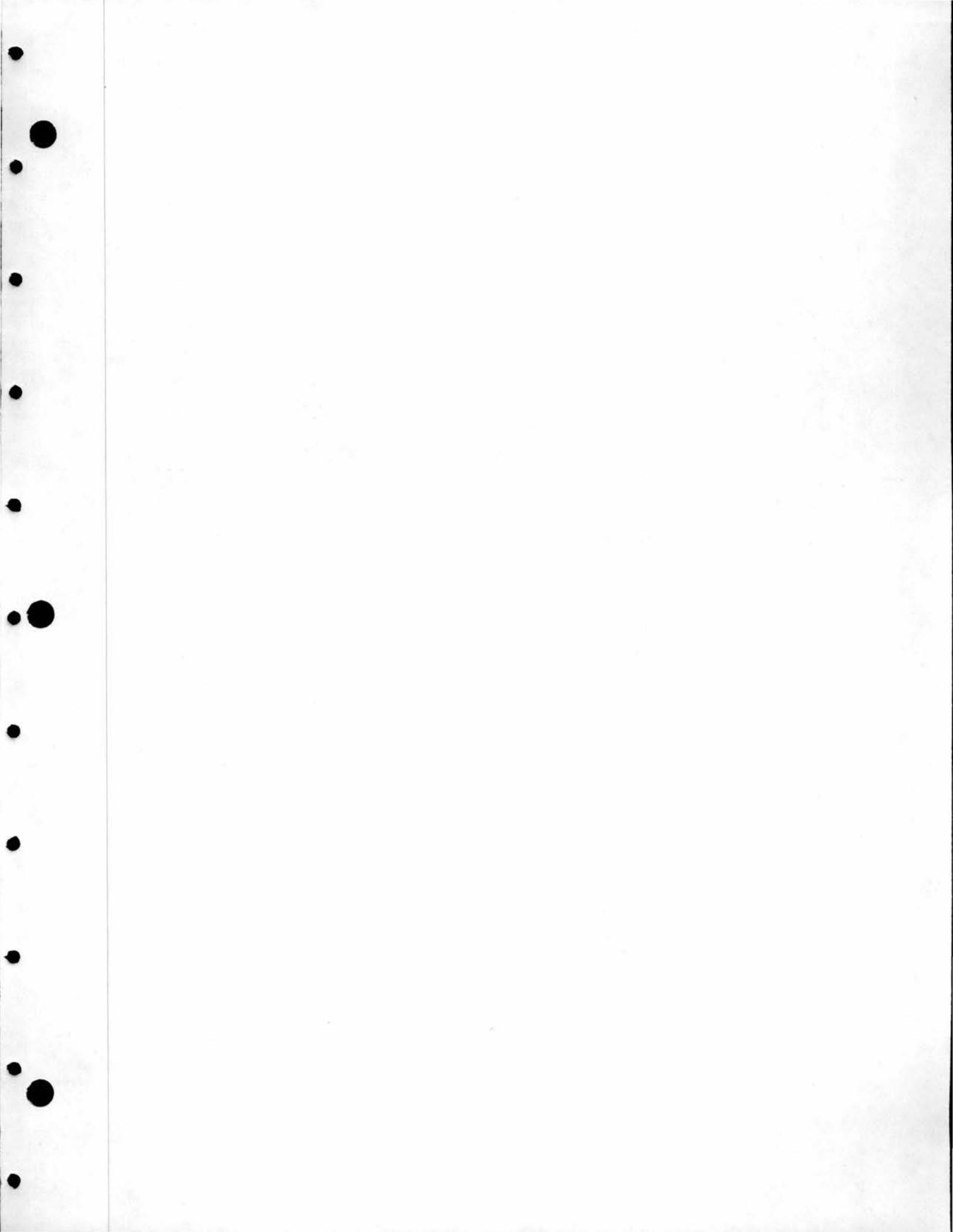
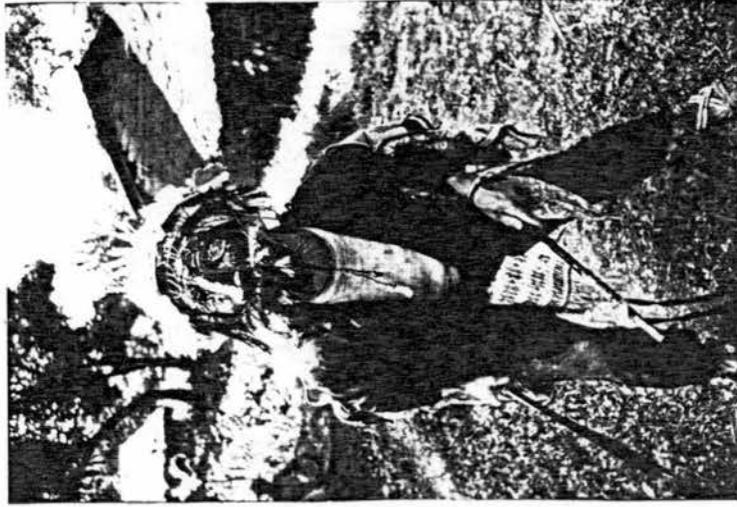


Plate 9

One of the Participants of the Dance  
of the Chorreos

Plate 10

The Mayordomo of San Nicolas



of all the mayordomias. The question was asked, "What shall we do with the money we have left over?" It was decided that each mayordomia would be in charge of the money which it had accumulated through the sale of chilote (sweet alcoholic drink), and that it would be in charge of lending this money to vecinos of Tlacoapa at an annual interest rate of 50 per cent (subsequently reduced to 25 per cent). Both principal and interest were to be paid on the first anniversary of the loan. These fondos grew quite large over the years until some accumulated balances of as much as 10,000 pesos each. These fondos grew beyond their lending capacities, and it was decided that, periodically, money would be taken off the top of each and placed into a common pot which would be used for the betterment of the community.

As a general rule, only those who belong to the community of Tlacoapa and who work the communal lands are able to borrow money from the mayordomias. Protestants are not excluded, and they borrow just as heavily as those who participate actively in the Catholic rituals surrounding the mayordomias. There are exceptions concerning the rule of intra-community lending, however; but these exceptions require special attachments to Tlacoapa. For example, a native of Tlacoapa who now teaches school and resides outside of the Tlapanec area is now deeply in debt to the

mayordomia of San Juan, owing nearly 2,500 pesos. Although he does not live in, or work the lands of, Tlacoapa, he was born there; all of his family still resides there. He has a vested interest in the community, in that he will inherit lands upon the death of his parents. Another exception concerns a Tlacoapa man who now resides in the neighboring communal lands of Totomixtlahuaca, having moved there to do bride service following marriage to a girl from that area. He still has lands and family in Tlacoapa, however. There was also a case where a man from a neighboring community had his compadre act as his co-signer in order to obtain a loan. These exceptions are very rare, and the vast majority of money is loaned only to Tlacoapenos.

In the event a person is not able to repay his loan at the end of the first year, the account remains on the books accumulating greater interest income. Take the example of Miguel Vargas. He borrowed 100 pesos from the mayordomia of Rosario. At the arrival of the loan's anniversary, he found himself without the capital needed to repay the loan. He shied away from the mayordomia that year, and 25 per cent interest was charged on his new debt of 125 pesos. This repeated itself for several years until Miguel finally owed over 500 pesos to the mayordomia of Rosario. He was summoned into the village by the principales, and his debt was discussed before all in attendance at the mayordomia. Miguel confessed that he was unable to come up with the

money needed to pay his debts. The principales pointed out that he was the owner of cattle and a piece of land in the village, and suggested that he might sell some of these possessions in order to abolish his debt and clear his name. After much hesitation, he agreed to do so and sold a cow to a member of the community for 800 pesos, more than enough to satisfy his creditors.

In some ways, Miguel was fortunate. Some men find themselves deeply in debt to two or three mayordomias at one time. If a man gains the reputation for not being able to repay the money loaned him, he will not be given money again until his name is cleared.

While I was in Tlacoapa, a discussion arose concerning what to do in the event a man died still owing money to a mayordomia. Some thought that the debt should be assumed by his survivors, particularly his widow. Others thought that death of a borrower should also mean the death of his obligation to repay his mayordomia debts. To my knowledge, the question remains unresolved.

In order best to explain the duties of holding mayordomia cargos, it is best to trace a mayordomia from beginning to end. A mayordomo and his group assume their cargos on the date of the saint they are to represent. Fondo accounts are handed over to him, and the saint's image is placed in his charge. Mayordomos are in charge of housing their saints for the entire two years of service. It

is important, therefore, that a mayordomo either own a house in the village or borrow one from a friend or relative (Plate 10).

Other than receiving payments for money borrowed during previous terms of earlier mayordomos, mayordomia cargo holders do little until several months prior to the fiesta they are to sponsor. At that time, they gather on Sundays at the house of the mayordomo in the village to discuss what preparations are to be made for the forthcoming fiesta. They decide how much money will be needed to pay for mass, candles, and for those things which cannot be acquired in exchange for their labor. If it is decided, for example, that they will need three goats which will be slaughtered and eaten during the fiesta, they seek out three men in the community who need assistance in tending their fields. Sometimes people, knowing that a particular mayordomia is in need of money and animals, will go to the mayordomo and say that they need assistance and that they are willing to pay. This type of labor is referred to as collective labor, and is usually paid for in goods (animals, corn, etc.) rather than money. Usually mayordomia members must work for many days before their exchange requirements are met.

Early on the morning of the day before the fiesta the mayordomo and his assistants descend from their various rancheria homes to the village, heavily laden with

cooking utensils, seasonings, corn, cigarettes, and fireworks. They also bring with them about 75 to 100 jícaras (gourds) in which atole or pozole will be served to those who attend the fiesta. Most of these things are grown or procured in the Tlacoapa area, but some things such as fireworks are purchased in Tlapa or Chilapa.

The men are accompanied by their wives, who do most of the food preparation. Usually a cargo holder brings other members of his family, who lend a helping hand. For example, a mayordomo and his wife will be assisted by their sons and daughters and their spouses. Occasionally, compadres and comadres also pitch in to help. Such opportunities are welcomed, especially by the women, as they allow them a chance to visit with each other while doing their chores.

Shortly after their arrival, the women begin grinding corn which will be used to make the many gallons of atole. Most women will spend the majority of the next two days bent over metates grinding corn and chile. The men busy themselves with collecting firewood and stringing flowers to be placed with special types of leaves. Sometimes these flowers are strung in specific numbers determined by divination. Tlacoapa is not the only place in Mexico where flowers are meticulously arranged for mayordomias. Cancian (1969:215), for example, states that among the Zinacantecans of Chiapas fiestas are divided into three days, and

the first day is dedicated to "tying the flowers in bunches."

Leaves, flowers, and candles which decorate the saint's image are changed, and the mayordomo and the mayor go to the church for vespers. They carry with them a large number of candles which will be blessed by the priest. After vespers, they return to the hut where others are busy preparing the food for the following day's feast. The animals which were slaughtered earlier in the day are laid out on banana leaves, while the hides are stretched on lines to dry and later used as saddle cushions or taken to Tlapa and sold. All members of the mayordomia sleep together in the mayordomo's house, alternating the night's duties of stirring the massive bowls of atole and pozole and tending the fire. Occasionally, drinking of alcoholic beverages takes place; but, since the sale of alcohol is now outlawed in Tlacoapa and drunkenness is greatly discouraged, it is not common to see Tlacoapenos drunk. It does occur, but not with the same frequency reported in other communities.

Early the next morning, the feast day is announced by the shooting of skyrockets, which seem to shake the village to its very foundation and serve to startle the unsuspecting visitor. The inside of the mayordomo's hut is cleaned, and benches are lined up along the walls and around the table which stands in the center.

About noon, men begin to congregate in front of the presidencia. The band arrives, and word is sent that the mayordomo is ready to begin the fiesta. The principales go into the house first, and are seated on a bench on one side of the table. The regidores and the secretario municipal are seated opposite the principales. The presidente municipal usually sits at the head of the table. Others in attendance sit on benches lined up around the room (Figure 3.13). The table is dressed with a clean but well-worn tablecloth, on which rests a pitcher of water, packs of cigarettes, and a bowl of salt. A large stack of candles is in the middle of the table. No women are allowed in the room, and they remain outside or in an adjacent room working to complete the meal. The band usually remains outside in the yard, but occasionally comes inside and begins to play . . . not a pleasant experience.

The packs of cigarettes are opened, and the principales are first offered the opportunity to smoke. The cigarettes are then passed around the room. Since there seems to be pressure for all to accept gifts offered by the mayordomo, few refuse, and the room becomes filled to the rafters with smoke.

After about half an hour of smoking, chatting, and listening to music, one of the principales picks up a candle in front of him, and the room falls silent. He then begins calling out names and handing out the candles.

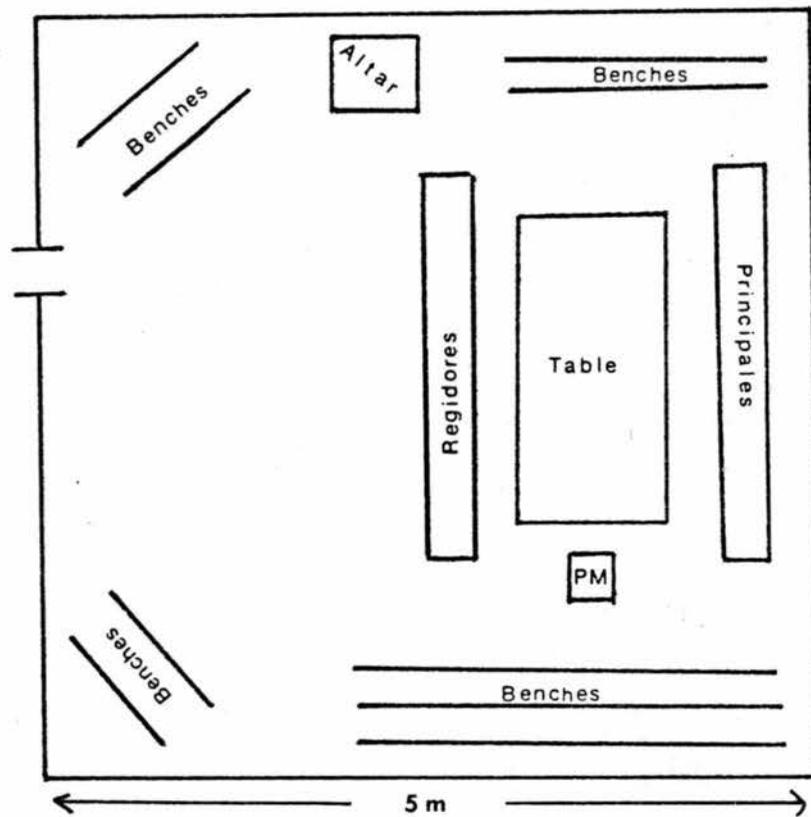


Figure 3.13  
Seating Arrangement for Mayordomia

Larger candles are given to the principales and members of the ayuntamiento who are to place them before the many saints in the church. Each person will be in charge of placing a candle in front of a particular saint whose name was mentioned when he came forward to receive his candle (Plate 11). Names of deceased principales are then recited, and men come forward to receive candles smaller than the ones given to the principales and members of the ayuntamiento and often clustered together. These candles will be offered in honor of the souls of the deceased principales.

After all candles have been distributed, everyone goes outside, where the mayordomo and his assistants hand out bundles of sweet leaves over which are draped strings of blossoms. The band strikes up a tune, and people line up for the procession down to the church. Principales and the presidente municipal lead the procession in double file (Plate 12). The air of reverence is punctuated by baring of heads and quietness. Women do not march. When the procession reaches the atrium of the church it stops, and the mayordomo goes inside and gets the priest. The priest appears at the portal of the church and issues an invitation for the people to come inside. Usually there are women who are already kneeling in the church. They are on the right side of the nave of the church. If such is the case, the men will invariably go to the left side of the nave to kneel, for separation by sex is characteristic of all

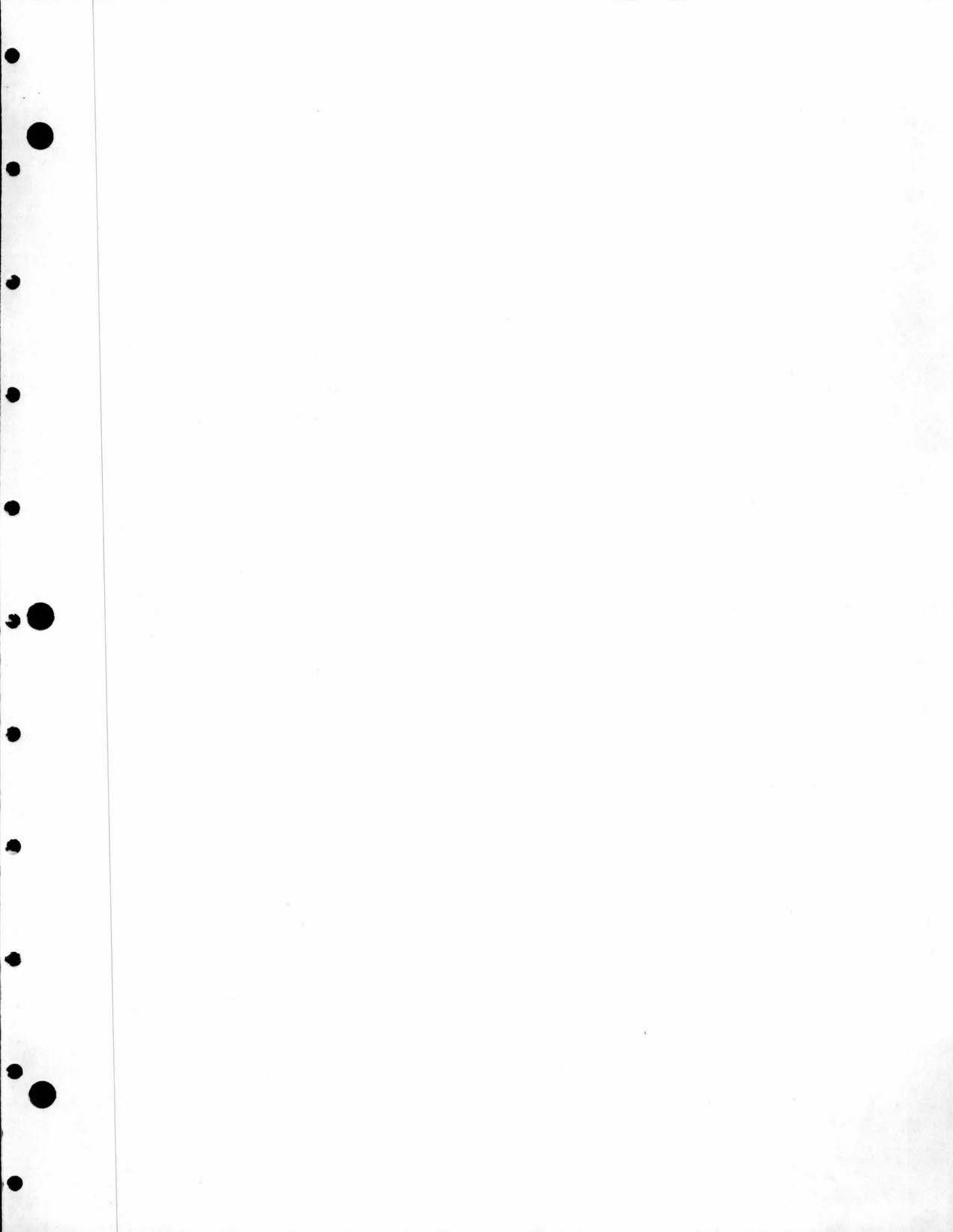
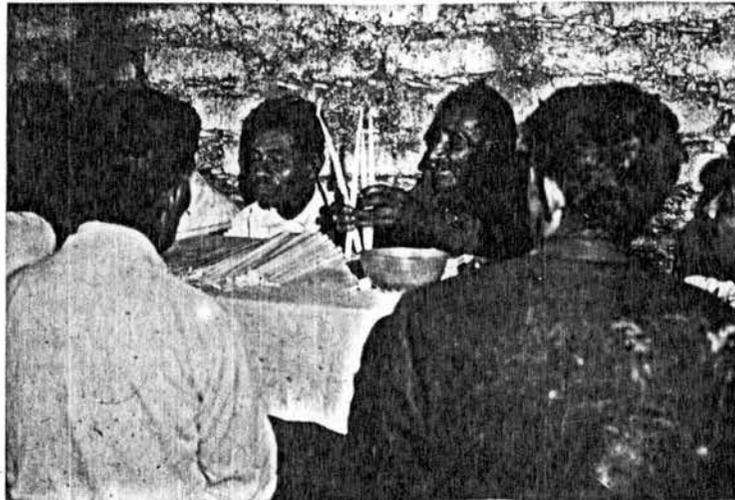


Plate 11

Passing Out Candles in Honor of De-  
ceased Principales of Tlacoapa

Plate 12

Procession Taking Candles and Flowers to  
Church During the Fiesta of San Pedro



religious services. After a sermon is given in Spanish, repeated through a translator in Tlapanec, a mass is performed. After the Eucarist is celebrated, men go up to the altar rail and place their lighted candles on the floor along with their flowers and leaves. Those with candles for particular saints go to the saint each represents and kneel, placing their candles and leaves on the altars. Their prayers are usually audible, and kneeling is done in a very dramatic, almost "penetente" fashion.

The men then stroll back to the house of the mayordomo, enter, and assume the same seats they had earlier. The crowd is larger now because this gathering is for food and the handing out of money connected with the mayordomia's fondo.

The mayordomo, mayor, and scribe present to the principales the accounts of the fondo. The list of outstanding debtors is removed from a bamboo sheath and read aloud. The room, which until this point hummed with low chatter, becomes deathly silent. Mention of a person owing over 500 pesos is met with sounds of awe by nearly all in the room. If one is in arrears, discussion is held on what steps might be taken to make the man pay. Often if a person has had bad luck, illness for example, concessions will be made, and he will be allowed to pay back the principal, stop the future interest, and pay the already accumulated interest in installments.

All of the money which has been collected during the previous year is laid out on the table in front of the principales, where it is carefully counted by the scribe. If all is in order, the secretario municipal signs a receipt and places the seal of Tlacoapa on a statement that all records are in order (Plate 13).

At this point, the money which has accumulated in the fondo as the result of repayment of money borrowed the previous year is ready to be loaned to new borrowers. Men cluster around the table asking for 100 pesos here, 200 pesos there, etc., until all of the money is distributed. Principales, who have final say concerning who is to receive what amounts of money, often act as aggressive hawkers of funds when requests for money slow down. Realizing that money held by a particular fondo does no good when not out on loan earning interest, principales often make elaborate sales pitches to assure that all of the money is distributed before the session is over. One will say, "You over there, José, didn't you say sometime back that you needed 100 pesos to send your son to secundaria in Tlapa?" or, "Here, Germán, take this 30 pesos. You need it to buy cement for the floor of your new house." If these tactics do not work, a principal will make those in attendance feel unpatriotic if they do not borrow--"Come on, neighbors, we've still got over 300 pesos to lend. Take it. It will help you out, and you will be doing the community a favor."

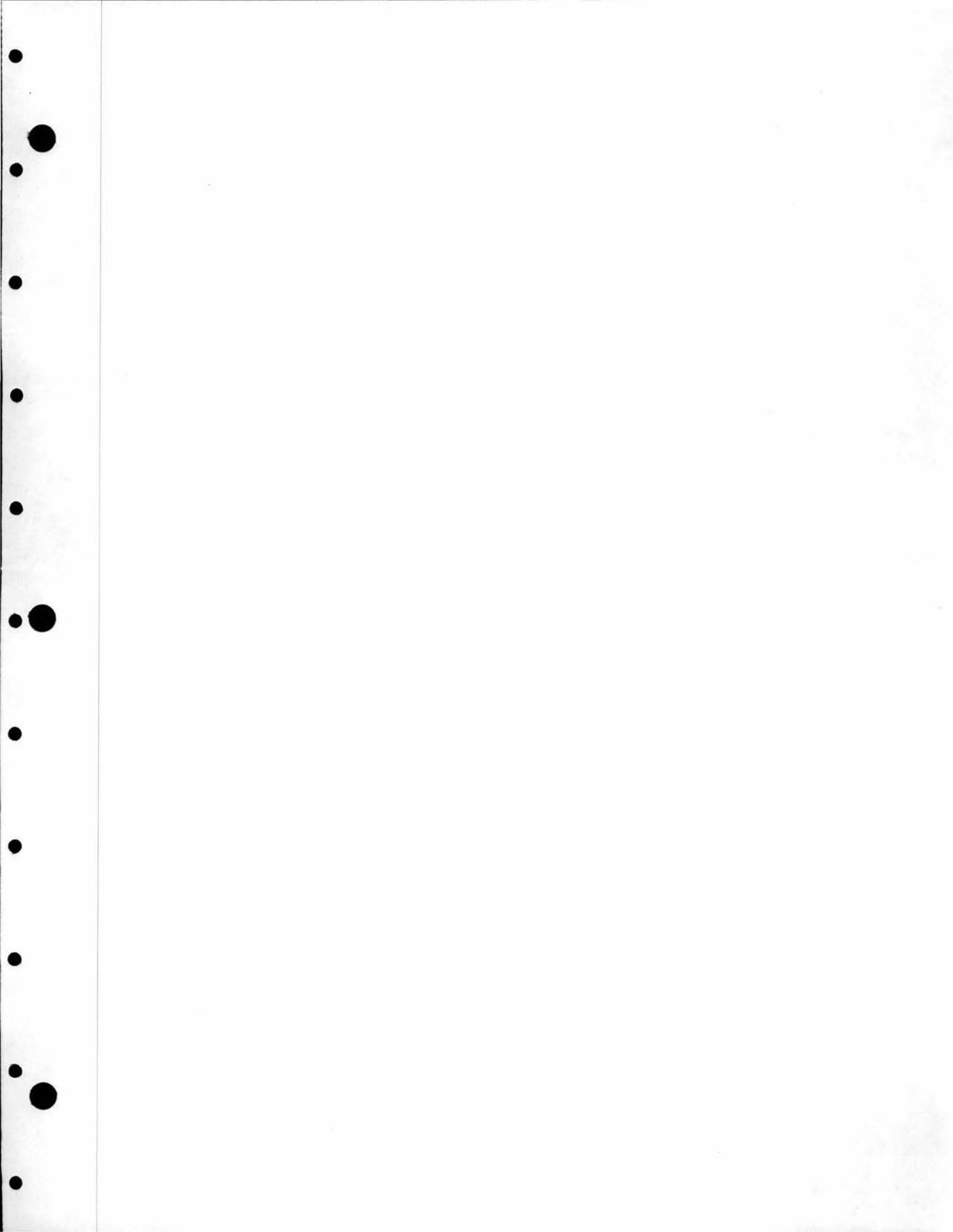


Plate 13

The Scribe of the Mayordomia of San Nicolas Counting  
Funds Before Tlacoapa's Principales



Occasionally, people will borrow money not out of necessity but to show their support for the community. At the first mayordomia which I attended, one of the wealthiest men in the community borrowed 100 pesos. When questioned about his motives, he told me that he just needed the money, period. Maybe he did, but his financial condition was fairly solid, and to borrow money at 25 per cent interest was not a thing he would normally do. I suspect that either he wanted to give the impression that he was as poor as those around him or that he was willing to support the system, not out of financial necessity but out of volition.

After all of the money has been distributed, the list of the new borrowers is read aloud to a hushed audience. The list is then passed to the principales who look it over and send it on to the secretario municipal who prepares a statement saying that all is in order. This is signed by the presidente municipal, and the seal of Tlacoapa is planted firmly on the bottom of the page.

The mayordomo then brings in jicaras of atole, usually sweet, and distributes them among the principales. Those sitting around the table are fed first. Mashigo, a paper-thin tortilla, is also offered, and men usually use it to scoop out the hot atole. All in attendance are served and, for a brief moment, the mayordomo's hut sounds like the inside of a military mess hall. No one refuses

food offered by the mayordomo, and if a person is having stomach trouble he will take the atole home with him to eat at a later time or to give to other members of the family. After all have finished eating, the principales give thanks to the mayordomo, and the rest of those in the room do likewise. Men rise and leave, thus ending the mayordomia.

Women, who do not participate in the formal aspects of the mayordomia, remain outside of the hut for the duration of the fiesta. They usually consume most of the meat which was prepared the previous night. They enjoy mayordomias however, since they afford them time to chat and visit with other women whom they see very infrequently.

Priests are never included in the mayordomias, and participate only in the activities directly related to celebrations, such as masses, etc. Often a mayordomo will send food over to the mission as a gesture of kindness. I think that the priests' exclusion emanated mainly from the mission and is, perhaps, due to a desire to remain aloof from the rest of the community. I suspect that if Tlacoapa's priests were to blend into the community (if that is possible), they would lose some of the mystique attached to the upper strata of the Catholic hierarchy.

### Conclusion

As a barometer of group composition, the civil-religious hierarchy in Tlacoapa is quite effective. It defines the boundaries of local society. For Tlacoapenos, local society stops at the limits of the communal lands. Only those who reside within the communal land are able to participate in the system. Indeed, all men are obligated to do so. Although Tlacoapeno Protestants are excluded from religious cargo service, they take an active part in the civil side of the system. Similarly, men from Tlacotepec are excluded from civil cargos but may assume duties of a religious nature. Both reside within the communal lands of Tlacoapa and, therefore, are considered vecinos of Tlacoapa. As such, they are fully expected to share in the administration of the affairs of the community.

Group boundaries also become manifest through the lending patterns of the various mayordomia fondos. Lending habits do not extend beyond the boundaries of the communal lands and do not discriminate against Protestants from the rancheria of Chirimoya or the inhabitants of the comisaria of Tlacotepec. In order for a person from outside of this area to borrow, he must have special contacts, consanguineal, affinal, or fictive, within the community of Tlacoapa.

Furthermore, earnings of these fondos are used to maintain the boundaries of the land which define the community. Whenever possible, money is taken off the top of each mayordomia to pay for lawyers' fees, surveys, and trips to Chilpancingo or Mexico City by local officials to attend to business concerning communal land problems. One informant, a principal, reported that he had spent over 3,000 pesos of fondo money on communal land fights during the period he was presidente municipal. Because a large amount of fondo money was used several years ago to purchase new instruments for the Tlacoapa band, there presently is not enough money from which to draw for land-related expenses. Consequently, periodic quotas are charged each household in order to support Tlacoapa in its land disputes. Undoubtedly, as fondos become larger, their surpluses will be used for land fights in the future.

In most instances, the integrative aspects of the civil-religious system are explicit. In others, they are more subtle. In Tlacoapa, the system allows people who are widely separated geographically to come together and participate in common rituals. Tlacoapa's population is as widely dispersed as any reported for Mesoamerica. Rancherías are often located as much as six hours' walk from each other. Even within the same ranchería, families might live as much as one-half hour from each other. Without some cohesive element, such as the civil-religious system,

Tlacoapa's population could become fragmented, and the chances for segmentation within the community would become greatly heightened. Through the civil-religious hierarchy, old acquaintances and friendships are renewed and allowed to grow stronger.

Communal living cements intra-community relations still further. To keep a communal hut functioning, cooperation is needed; three years of close communal association usually makes close friends out of acquaintances. Many of these friendships continue long after cargo service is over.

Borrowing from the fondos has its integrative qualities. Men from varying parts of the community find themselves financially bound to a common source. While being of direct economic benefit to the borrowers, participation in the fondo system also allows one to show that he supports the community, the chief beneficiary.

Finally, Tlacoapa's civil-religious organization is a regulatory device, re-interpreting for the community demands originating from the outside by the government, church and other organizations. These demands are made more meaningful and tolerable after passing through the civil-religious organization which re-states them in terms more acceptable to the community.

The structure of the civil-religious organization in Tlacoapa is, in itself, an adaptation to the needs of

the community. The expansion of the number of positions required by the government and the church to include over 50 per cent of all Tlacoapeno families at any one time is a local re-interpretation of outside demand. To place the control and administration of the community into the hands of a few men would not be consistent with the communal spirit of Tlacoapa. Therefore, administrative duties are divided among many people and the political power is dispersed throughout the community's male population.

The civil side of the system very effectively satisfies both the outside agents of change, such as the school and the government, as well as the social community of Tlacoapa. The example of the fictional death of Pedro Perez given in Chapter I provides insight into how the civil side of the organization works to maintain community harmony while at the same time placating State government officials. To have turned Pedro over to outside authorities would have seriously affected the community's sense of solidarity. If Pedro had been sent to Chilpancingo for mistakes made while in office in Tlacoapa, other office holders in Tlacoapa would have lost the feeling of protection and security which they felt was provided by the community.

The 3rd regidor, the go-between for the school system and the community, is also a good example of how the

civil-religious organization regulates input to and from the community. As in the case of Felipe Ortega, many students are needed more at home than at school. It is often a matter of economic survival. Prosecution of truant students is not pursued and is perhaps delayed by the civil-religious organization so that matters of higher priority, often misunderstood by non-Tlacoapenos, might be attended to. Most of those who are determined to receive an education do so, but it often must be done at a pace slower than that required by the school system.

Similarly, the *sindico* (*regidor* 2nd) re-interprets Mexican law to blend in with the needs of the community. The spirit of the law, especially as it affects Tlacoapa, is considered above the letter of the law as it applies to Mexico in general.

The religious side of the civil-religious organization also acts as a regulatory device by re-interpreting and regulating the demands of the Catholic church in terms more meaningful to the community. This is most clearly observed in the community's *mayordomias*. The church has determined what types of rituals are appropriate to the celebration of saints' days, such as masses, processions, and offerings of candles and flowers. In all cases, the community conforms to these requirements. But the church has discouraged the use of traditional divination and the participation of the community's shamans. The civil-

religious organization, through the mayordomias, sees that the more traditional men of the community are able to participate. Often flowers to be offered by mayordomos in honor of particular saints are blessed and counted by local shamans who use traditional methods of divination. During the period of this research, there was one case in which a shaman actually served as mayordomo for one of the community's major festivals. Inclusion of shamans into the Catholic ceremonies of Tlacoapa is not announced to the church officials, and the civil-religious officials probably exercise an information "black-out" in relation to this situation.

As with the civil side of the system, the religious side also functions to regulate input to and output from the community. The church makes certain demands upon Tlacoapa which are often unacceptable or meaningless. The church requires that the community celebrate certain saints and that these celebrations be conducted according to the tenets of the Catholic church. Some saints which are required by the church are considered vital by the community for its well-being and others are not. The fondos have added new and important economic dimensions to the saints' days festivities. Fondos make the mayordomias more meaningful to the immediate needs of the community. In addition to providing monetary assistance to Tlacoapenos, fondos help pay for legal assistance in regard to the communal

land problems, matters of paramount importance to the community.

Participation in mayordomias by traditional shamans is forbidden by the church. The civil-religious organization has quietly been able to include these people into the mayordomia activities of the community. Protestant members of the community have been brought into the mayordomias through the fondos.

The religious side of Tlacoapa's civil-religious organization is able to satisfy the needs and requirements of the church by properly performing those rituals and celebrations which it demands. When these demands are unacceptable to the well-being of the community, they are reinterpreted and modified. Information necessary to placate church officials is always fed back to the church in acceptable form. The priests observe their requirements' being fulfilled, and they are satisfied. The modifications attached to these requirements are made in the privacy of the mayordomo's hut; they meet the needs of the community; the community is satisfied.

## CHAPTER IV

### TLACOAPA'S ECONOMY

Most Tlacoapenos are subsistence-level,\* sedentary people who produce little in the way of surplus, and are economically semi-autonomous since they produce most of what they consume. Lack of surplus and geographical isolation have minimized their participation in larger economies. Because, however, of the recent adoption of certain goods from modern material culture, they are required to participate, to a limited extent, in the larger economic life of Mexico. Steel plows, manufactured cloth and clothing, and radios are among the most noticeable imported items now present in Tlacoapa's material culture inventory. Their participation in the national economic structure has also been influenced by the requirements of the State government, which levies a minimal tax on private and communal lands. Annual community contributions, therefore, must be made in cash. Adaptation to these needs has been realized, in part, by a revenue-producing system of

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\*By subsistence, I mean that people do not actively participate in export trade and grow only enough corn, etc., for household consumption. Technically, however, each family has a small surplus of food as possible protection against bad times.

animal husbandry. As will be discussed, it is through the maintenance and sale of herds of cattle, goats, and sheep to peoples outside Tlacoapa that Tlacoapenos are able to acquire the money they now need to maintain their contemporary life style.

Because of this participation in economic systems exterior to the community, we must consider Tlacoapa a peasant community. Outside participation is minimal, however; as peasants, Tlacoapenos are more closely akin to Wolf's (1957) "closed corporate community" type than his "open community" type. Economically, closed corporate systems are those in which the flow of outside goods is limited, and the market is characterized by a high percentage of objects manufactured by peasant labor within the peasant household and a high percentage of dealings between the primary producer and the ultimate consumer. Purchases are made in small quantities. On the other hand, open peasant systems enjoy a large flow of goods produced on the outside, and markets are characterized by the presence of goods produced outside of the peasant household and the selling and buying of goods to or from a middleman. Generally, purchases are made in larger quantities than in closed systems.

Tlacoapa's economic system closely parallels Nash's simplest or "quasi-tribal" type of Mesoamerican systems (1967:88), principally because it is concerned with meeting

locally defined demands and because geographical isolation allows little penetration into the Tlacoapa area by Mestizos. In addition, intensive contact with neighboring Tlapanec communities does not exist since most communities have similar ecological systems and produce similar items. What is grown in Tlacoapa is also grown in Malinaltepec, Zapotitlán Tablas, and the other communities close to Tlacoapa. To gain a better perspective of the importance of economics to Tlacoapa, I will first discuss subsistence systems in Tlacoapa, especially farming and animal husbandry. Although mainly descriptive, discussion will center around the community's systems of ecological exploitation to see how they contribute to the existence of a semi-autonomous economic system, thereby eliminating the need to establish external economic ties. In addition, certain aspects of the Tlacoapa economy, particularly the fondos and animal husbandry, are seen as regulatory devices responding to outside governmental and economic pressures and meeting the needs of the community.

Finally, a description and analysis of Tlacoapa's market system will be provided in order to show how it is pertinent to the basic thesis of this study. In addition to the obvious economic advantages derived from the Sunday market, two more latent functions were observed. First, the community's composition is exposed through the spatial behavior of market participants. By looking at the Sunday

market structure, we see a "blueprint" of the social organization and, more particularly, the boundary system of the whole area. Second, the market is examined for its integrative qualities, qualities which tend to strengthen the internal ties of the community.

### Farming

All Tlacoapenos are engaged in farming. Most are full-time agriculturalists, but a few, the storekeeper, for example, alternate their time between commercial enterprises and farming. These commercial activities are, however, always arranged around the agricultural calendar and are considered secondary to farming duties. Tlacoapenos hold a high opinion of agricultural work and take great pride in executing agricultural duties properly. To work the land and to manage one's fields properly means that one conforms to the ideals of hard work held commonly by the whole community. A poorly kept milpa is synonymous with a poorly kept private life and is equated with laziness. Consequently, the majority of milpas in Tlacoapa are meticulously maintained.

Tlacoapenos work diligently all year long to assure that their families have enough to eat. Unlike farmers of many areas in Mexico where there is a rather lengthy period of rest between the time crops are harvested and the time when lands must again be readied for planting, Tlacoapenos

keep busy for the majority of the year. This is made necessary by the wide variety of ecological niches exploited by Tlacoapenos, each with its own agricultural calendar, which, combined, fill most of the year.

The people divide lands into three separate zones: lowlands, middle mountain lands, and high mountain lands. Since each of these zones enjoys its own climate and peculiar suitability for particular crops, they, in all, provide a wide variety of crop production. Each area is best suited for a particular type of corn, and each has a planting and harvest schedule which is different from the other. For example, the rains come earlier in the high mountains than they do in the lowlands. Therefore, highlands are prepared and planted earlier than lowlands. After highlands have been planted, it is time for the preparation of the lower lands. Consequently, a man who owns lands in all three areas--and there are many--is kept busy all year long. This, in addition to irrigation farming, which adheres to still a different cycle, provides little, if any, free time for Tlacoapenos.

Since there is little surplus and no effective means of food preservation, Tlacoapeno subsistence is precariously balanced from year to year. If harvests are excessively curtailed for any reason, the following year will be predictably lean. The area is subject to many hazards which might adversely affect harvests. Chief among these

is weather. Rains, always on the minds of those who have just finished planting, are most important, and must arrive shortly after seeds are placed in the ground. If not, ants will get into them and retard or prevent their growth. Even if rains arrive on schedule, birds are a serious threat to a newly planted milpa and dot the landscape in great numbers, extracting seeds from the earth until the tender corn shoots appear. Scarecrows have proven to be ineffective; consequently, the only way to keep the birds away is by personal vigilance. Many men sit with their milpas for as long as two weeks, throwing stones and waving brush to frighten them away. As milpas grow taller, other hazards must be taken into account. Bad winds, already discussed in Chapter II, are a constant threat, and can wipe out a corn field in a matter of minutes. Rodents and other small animals also pose problems. The most common of these are the tuza, a burrowing animal similar to a large mole, armadillo, rat, and tlacuache, an opossum-like animal. Federal prohibition against the sale of small firearms and ammunition has had serious effect upon crops of local farmers, who used rifles to guard their milpas against small animals.

After corn is high, worms are likely pests. Some attack the corn itself, and others attack the stalk. Since pesticides are not used, little can be done to prevent worms from cutting heavily into a family's harvest.

Crops are in the hands of fate.

With all of these possible hazards in mind, people count on losing a large portion of their crops before harvest time. They attempt to minimize their losses, however, by planting in different parts of the community. Very seldom is a man's complete crop inventory located in the same region. People realize that it is highly unlikely that bad winds which affect lands in the highlands will cause damage to lowlands and vice versa.

Corn, beans, and squash, generally referred to as the "trinity of Mesoamerica," are the staples of the Tlacoapa diet. At one time Tlacoapa was known as "Tlacoapa de las Piñas" because of its large production of pineapples. People traveled in mule trains for as much as three days to purchase Tlacoapa's pineapples. Today, those who used to purchase pineapples from Tlacoapenos prefer to buy them elsewhere, usually from middlemen who bring them from Veracruz. With the outside pineapple business gone, Tlacoapa's pineapple harvest is consumed locally or traded and sold in the local Sunday market. Corn, by far the most important crop in the area, accounts for the majority of energy expended in agricultural endeavors. All activities are arranged around its planting, cultivation, and harvest. Whether it be in religious activities, myth, nutritional habits, or the land use patterns of the population, it becomes evident that corn is the crop held high above all

others in importance. Beans, squash, and, to a lesser extent, potatoes, tomatoes, chiles, and onions are cultivated by almost everyone; but all of these crops are secondary to corn.

Tortillas, the chief form of corn consumption, are the staple on every Tlacoapa family table, and sometimes are the only ingredient of a meal, especially when one is traveling. Children are often weaned on soft tortillas, and are able to discuss the subtle differences in quality of the various kinds of tortillas from an early age. Knowledge of tortilla making is an important quality to have. A woman's worthiness as a wife is measured in terms of her ability to make tortillas. It is no easy task. In addition to the strenuous physical activities involved, knowledge of what types of tortillas are best for certain situations is also required. Since Tlacoapa diet is governed to a large extent by what has come to be called the "hot and cold complex" by Mesoamerican researchers, food, including tortillas, must be prepared to conform to this system. Essentially, the "hot and cold complex" is a system through which one tries to maintain a proper body equilibrium through regulation of diet. If a person, for example, has a "cold" illness, the system prescribes that he must be fed a combination of "hot" foods to restore body balance. Tortillas are placed in both categories in Tlacoapa. Those made from maíz azul (blue corn) or maíz pinto (Indian

corn) are considered cold. Conversely, maíz amarillo (yellow corn) is considered hot. Maíz blanco (white corn) lies in between and is medio caliente (semi-hot). Every detail of the complex is passed on from mother to daughter, generation after generation, and the system's intricacies are common knowledge to most women.\*

Eight different types of corn are planted in Tlacoapa, and each is cultivated in the area best suited for it. Some are suited for only one of the three zones in the community; others are planted in two of the three zones, but usually at different times of the year (Figure 4.1)

Data gathered concerning size of land exploitation vary greatly. Lemley states (personal communication 1967) that the average family maintains approximately one hectare of milpa. This seems low. Land exploitation figures from Census B are much higher. They show that the average family of six cultivates about six hectares of land.\*\* This seems much too high, and a figure somewhere in between the

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\*For further discussion of the "hot and cold complex" see John Ingham (1970), Oscar Lewis (1963), and Richard Adams and Arthur Rubel (1967).

\*\*Census B asked the number of liters of seeds planted by each family, since that is the way Tlacoapenos reckon the size of annual plantings. The same system is reported by Cancian (1965) for Zinacantan, Chiapas. Tlacoapenos figure two double liters (four legal liters) of seed are needed for each hectare of land. It is doubtful, however, that they see a hectare in terms of true measurement, but rather consider it as any manageable-size milpa, equating a milpa plot with a hectare.

	Type	Planting	Harvest
High (2,600 m.)	maiz ligero	May 25th	November
	maiz costeño	May 25th	November
	maiz amarillo	May 25th	November
	maiz del sapo	May 25th	October
Middle (1,500 m.)	maiz blanco	March 25th - April 25th	December
	maiz ligero	March 25th - April 25th	September 15 - October 1st
Low (1,000 m.)	maiz conejo	March 15th	Nov. or Dec.
	maiz blanco	March 15th	Jan. or Feb.
	maiz azul	March 15th	Nov. or Dec.
	maiz colorado	March 15th	Nov. or Dec.

Figure 4.1

Estimated Planting and Harvest Schedule of the Various Types of Corn Used in the Three Ecological Zones of Tlacoapa Community (Non-Irrigation)

two is more probable. Data received from an acculturated informant who has a good understanding of modern land measurements suggest that he and his family of six plant about three hectares of land a year. Harvest from this size of planting provides enough corn for his family and animals and a small surplus sufficient to pay for occasional hired labor. Looking at the problem from another angle: another acculturated informant mentions that his family of six consumes eight cargas of corn per year, or about 3.2 liters per day. According to the same source, one hectare of land will yield two cargas of corn. Therefore, his family needs about four hectares of land to maintain it for the whole year. With these previous two estimates in mind, the average amount of land exploited by the average family falls somewhere around three to four hectares of land.

#### Farming Techniques

Land is prepared by either of two methods: barbecho (plow) or tlacolole (hoe or digging stick). More barbecho farming is done today than tlacolole. Lewis (1963) states that tlacolole, although often offering higher yields than barbecho, requires a tremendous amount of work, and is, therefore, second to plow farming in preference among farmers of Tepoztlán. The same can be said for Tlacoapenos. In general, the community's broad, relatively clear bottomlands

and more level parts of the lands in the mountains are used for plow farming. Steep hillsides and rocky, cluttered areas are prepared by tlacolole.

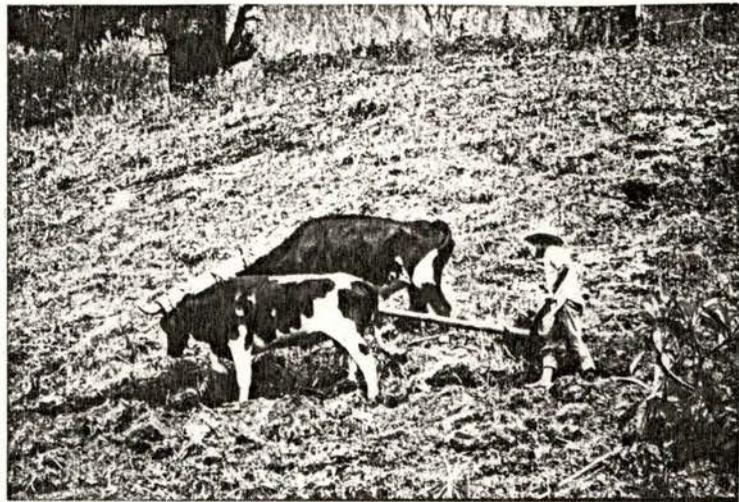
Tlacolole is accomplished in the following manner. In December, a man chooses a piece of land which he thinks suitable and which has not been exploited for several years. Typically, it is covered with heavy brush and small saplings. With the assistance of other male members of the family, he cuts all growth to the ground and allows it to lie there until February. Around the middle of February, all trees and brush which were cut are burned; the ashes are allowed to cover the area, serving as fertilizer. In May corn is planted, utilizing the digging stick (Plate 14). Often pineapples are planted in between the corn, since pineapples grow on steeply sloped terrain. Usually only one machete weeding is necessary. Harvest is realized in the fall. This land will be used over and over again for five or six years. Each year the harvest becomes less productive. After five or six years of use, the land is allowed to rest, often for as long as six or eight years before it is again cleared, burned and replanted. Tlacolole cultivation is very strenuous and requires a tremendous amount of time. It can also be dangerous. One of the few violent deaths which occurred during the period of this research came about when a teenage boy who was helping his father do tlacolole lost his footing on a steep hill and fell on top

Plate 14

Planting Corn with the Digging Stick

Plate 15

Tlacoapeno Plowing a Milpa



of a sharp sapling stump, driving it through his midsection.

Plow culture farming, which accounts for the majority of farming in the community, is practiced by almost everyone. Many people have oxen or compadres or relatives who will lend them plow animals on a reciprocal basis (Plate 15). Those who do not have these connections are able to rent animals. The typical rent for two oxen, yoke, and the labor of the owner is 15 pesos per day, plus breakfast and lunch. Tradition dictates that the plower's meals include 12 tortillas for breakfast and 12 for lunch. Tortilla meals are often supplemented with chicken meat.

In the past, those who engaged in plow culture used wooden plows. Today, wooden plows are rare, and metal plows are used by almost everyone. They are usually purchased in Tlapa, in Chilapa, or in Mexico City, where the prices are lower than in the previous two places.

There are two basic types of lands cultivated by plow culture: riego (irrigation) and temporal (seasonal rainfall dependent). Riego lands are the most valuable farming lands in Tlacoapa. They are also scarce. Most riego lands are located in the lower regions of Tlacoapa where the diversion of streams and rivers is possible. Most of the lands in and around the village of Tlacoapa are potentially exploitable through irrigation. Only the steeper lands which will not retain an artificially created water

supply are not irrigated. After the first of the year, the community's lowlands, especially those around the village, are laced together by an elaborately devised system of irrigation. Aqueducts made of hollowed-out trees are used to transport water over gullies which might stand between a natural source of water and the fields to be irrigated. Construction of aqueducts and irrigation ditches requires a great deal of work and usually men who own or work lands in the same area form committees to construct, maintain, and control irrigation water. Generally, irrigation ditches run parallel to fields and have perpendicular tangents which lead to individual plots of land. Some of these irrigation ditches run distances of several kilometers. The dispersal system of water flow is a touchy problem and is occasionally a source of conflict among men dependent upon the same ditch. Men with lands closer to the beginning of the ditch can control the amount of water passed on to subsequent fields. For this reason, elaborate timetables of water usage are constructed; but, due to the great number of men dependent upon the same ditch, there is always someone who is inconvenienced. Often people who have fields at the end of the irrigation ditch must give water to their fields at three o'clock in the morning when others are not using the system. Differences are always worked out, however, and it is rare that irrigation sharing causes serious alteration of favorable interpersonal relations.

It is interesting to note that the regulation of irrigation waters has not been placed in the hands of a formal cargo organization. Since the problems of this committee do not entail dealings with the outside world, the committee's structure does not have to conform to outside standards of formal organization but can be organized in terms of strictly Tlacoapeno principles of communal action. The organization of ganaderia, for example, involves regulation of animals within the community in much the same fashion as the irrigation ditch committee regulates the water distribution, but the former must also address itself to the State government and non-Tlapanec individuals who provide the major economic link with the outside world while the irrigation ditch committee is only locally accountable. Thus the incorporation of the ganaderia but not the irrigation committee in the civil-religious hierarchy supports the interpretation that adaptation to outside demands is an essential feature of the cargo system.

The estimated farming cycle of irrigation lands in Tlacoapa village is as follows: land is cleared in January. In February, piles of brush and weeds are burned. Shortly thereafter, the land is covered with water from the irrigation ditch. Between the middle of February and the middle of March the first plowing takes place. Seeds are planted around the last of March. Right after planting, water is given to the milpa several times a week for several weeks.

Approximately 20 days following planting, the first weeding takes place and is followed by passing the plow through the field. This process is repeated 15 days later. Toward the end of May, the third weeding takes place. It is considered the most difficult of the three, since farmers must be careful that their machetes not disturb the quickly growing corn. Green corn is harvested in late May and early June. Finally dry corn is gathered in July or August.

Often dry field beans are planted on this land immediately following the harvest of corn and rely solely on water from the seasonal rains. Bean harvest occurs in November.

Riego land is not allowed to rest; generally it is again cleaned, plowed, and planted the next year, following the same schedule as mentioned above.

Non-irrigation plow farming is conducted in all parts of the community where the utilization of plow animals is possible. Water is completely derived from Tlacoapa's seasonal rains.

The estimated agricultural cycle of temporal lands in the lowlands is as follows. In November or December, the land is cleared. Four months later, usually in the first days of April, the cut brush and weeds are burned. Tlacoapenos believe that if lands are burned prior to April first, they will get cold and, consequently, harvest will be lessened. The land is plowed shortly thereafter. Around the

middle of May, corn seeds are planted. The first weeding usually takes place around the middle of June and can continue as long as a month before being followed by the plow passing through the milpa. On the 15th of July, the second weeding takes place, again followed by plowing. This task, too, often continues as long as a month. Around the first of October, the third weeding takes place, and is laborously completed by use of a machete. Whole families participate, and children are frequently kept from school in order to help with the task of weeding. Green corn is harvested around the end of October or the first of November. Finally, dry corn is harvested in January or early February.

Those who do not have great quantities of land return the following year to replant the same fields. Those who have other lands which are available for temporal farming allow newly harvested lands to rest for a period of several years in order to allow the land to renourish itself.

#### Arboreal Exploitation and Gathering

While the bulk of Tlacoapa diet is derived from activities mentioned above, Tlacoapenos supplement it with a wide variety of fruits and wild plants. Fruit farming, including mangos, avocados, lemons, and cherries, is conducted on a small scale in the private lands surrounding the village and to some extent in the communal lands of the community. After initial planting, these crops receive

little in the way of attention and energy. Harvests are small primarily because of the loss to insects and worms and early scavenging by children during the school year when they are living in the village unattended by adults. Most fruits which are not destroyed by nature or consumed by children are left to ripen on the trees and eventually fall to the ground, where they rot. Lack of a practical system of transportation, which means lack of participation in outside markets, prompts people to gather fruits in quantities which can be consumed by their families with a little left over for immediate sale or trade in the Sunday market. Coffee, on the other hand, is watched carefully, and great care is taken to see that a maximum harvest is realized by those who have coffee trees. Again, small harvests and logistical problems stand in the way of export, and coffee beans are gathered with private consumption in mind.

Edible wild plants, yaho,\* grow in all parts of the community and are actively gathered by children and adults alike. Many are medicinal, and all have a "hot" quality. They are eaten raw or boiled like spinach. Tlacoapenos refer jokingly to this category of food as carne de venado (deer meat), a highly prized food in the past.

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\*See Glossary.

Like corn, certain wild vegetables are found only in particular regions of the community and appear at different times of the year. Therefore, to those residing within the community there is a wide variety of edible wild plants available during most of the year. Figure 4.2 lists types of wild plants most commonly gathered by Tlacoapenos, the zones in which they are found, and the time of the year when they are available.

#### Animal Husbandry

Since Tlacoapenos are subsistence-level agriculturalists who do not openly and actively engage in commercial activities, the outsider is immediately perplexed over the source of money used to pay community taxes, to make loans, to pay debts, and to make outside purchases. While barter and trade are common, Mexican currency is a frequent medium of exchange within Tlacoapa. There are two main sources of monetary income for Tlacoapa families: that which is sent to Tlacoapa by wage-earning migrants living outside of the community in urban areas, and that which is obtained from the sale of animals to non-Tlacoapenos. The first source will be discussed in the chapter on migrants.

The community's fondo system is also an important source of money. Although all loans must be repaid, the fondo system allows community members to borrow whenever they need to do so. As was shown in Figure 3.4 of Chapter

	Type	Gathered	Comment
High (2,600 m.)	yaho narambu sasu	June-Feb.	yerba fresca
	yaho gitsi	June-Feb.	yerba mora
	yaho sumega	all year	grows in and near waterholes
	yaho rano	June-Sept.	radish-like plant
Middle (1,500 m.)	yaho narambu yoska	June-Oct.	grows in area of goat droppings
	yaho abu	June-July	verdolaga
	yaho rihi yuwha	Nov.-Dec.	flor de maguey
	yaho maratsi	Aug.-Sept.	guia de frijol
Low (1,000 m.)	yaho narambu tsini	June-Aug.	yerba rata
	yaho narambu sana	June-Sept.	guia de la montana
	yaho yuswa	June-Sept.	chipili
	yaho skwi	Aug.-Sept.	
	yaho rihi besu	Aug.-Sept.	flor de ezote
	yaho abu	June-July	verdolaga

Figure 4.2

Wild Vegetables Gathered in the Three Ecological  
Zones of the Community of Tlacoapa

III, eight out of ten regidores had obtained money from mayordomia fondos. These loans allow men who are not working their fields full-time to meet the requirements of governmental taxes. They also allow them to purchase things, mainly manufactured goods, which new life styles require and which are not available without Mexican currency.

The sale of animals allows Tlacoapenos to acquire money which members of the community need in order to make small purchases such as salt, manufactured farming equipment, and cloth. Without these monies, Tlacoapenos would be unable to make the purchases which recent life style changes require. In addition, it provides people who have temporarily lost a portion of their production ability the assistance to make ends meet. As mentioned in Chapter III, men serving major cargos in Tlacoapa must spend long periods of time in the village, leaving their fields largely unattended and therefore lessening their harvest size. In order to maintain their families, animals are sold, and the proceeds derived from such sales are used to purchase corn, beans, and other foods normally realized through harvest. These animals may be considered "bank accounts," and are kept for special occasions or for times when money is needed.

The majority of the families in Tlacoapa engage in animal husbandry, and most own and maintain flocks of sheep

and herds of goats. Figure 4.3 provides a very rough estimate of the number of animals and fowl in the municipio of Tlacoapa in 1970. The Sub-Recaurador de Rentas who coordinated the census suggests that this figure represents only about 70 per cent of the actual total, since many people are hesitant to list animals in order to evade future sales taxes. It is very possible that the 30 per cent unregistered animal figure may be conservative.

All families in the community own a variety of animals and fowl. Within the courtyards of private houses are chickens, turkeys, pigs and, invariably, from one to four dogs--constant sources of intimidation to anthropologists working in rural parts of Mexico. Usually animals are allowed to wander around the communal lands of Tlacoapa, grazing as they go, during the dry season when crops are not up. When milpas begin to develop, however, they are hobbled and carefully watched, since destruction of crops means a heavy fine to the owner of animals. Corrals are sometimes used to restrain animals during periods preceding harvest.

While chickens and turkeys are killed and eaten from time to time, slaughter of sheep, pigs, goats, and cattle is rare. Cattle are hardly ever butchered. In case of an accidental death or in the event a man wants to slaughter a cow, the meat is prepared for short-term preservation by

	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Goats</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Mules</u>	<u>Asses</u>	<u>Fowl</u>
Tlacoapa	728	109	2058	1601	80	52	102	2106
Totomixtla- huaca	142	24	92	3	33	10	37	1302
Metlapilapa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105
Tenamazapa	59	3	80	26	8	4	2	294
Sabino de Guadalupe	28	-	1501	9	7	12	3	106
<hr/>								
<u>Total:</u>	957	136	3731	1639	127	78	234	3913

Figure 4.3

1970 Animal Census for Municipio  
of Tlacoapa

cutting it into long strips, salting and hanging it to dry in the sun. This meat is referred to as cecina. Milk is not used except occasionally for cheese. Children do not drink milk after they are weaned from their mothers.

On festive occasions, sheep and goats are killed. The meat is prepared by boiling; skins are dressed, stretched, and put aside until a member of the family can take them to Tlapa for sale. Often they are used for saddle cushions.

Wool obtained from sheep is still commonly used, mainly for gabanes (serapes), which are worn by all Tlacoapa men. In the past, men wore shirts and knee-length pants handwoven from sheeps' wool. Women dressed in wool huipiles (long blouses) and enahuajas (wraparound skirts) held up by half palm, half wool sashes (Plate 16). Today, however, handwoven woolen garments have given way in most cases to clothes made from store-bought cotton cloth. Women, who do most of the weaving, regret this change since weaving was considered a recreational activity and a source of great pride to those competent in the art.

And so, in general, Tlacoapenos prefer not to use animals for food and slaughter them only on festive occasions. In the case of cattle, they are used for agricultural work. Sheep are used for wool. More importantly, however, they are used as a means of gaining cash through sale to animal brokers.

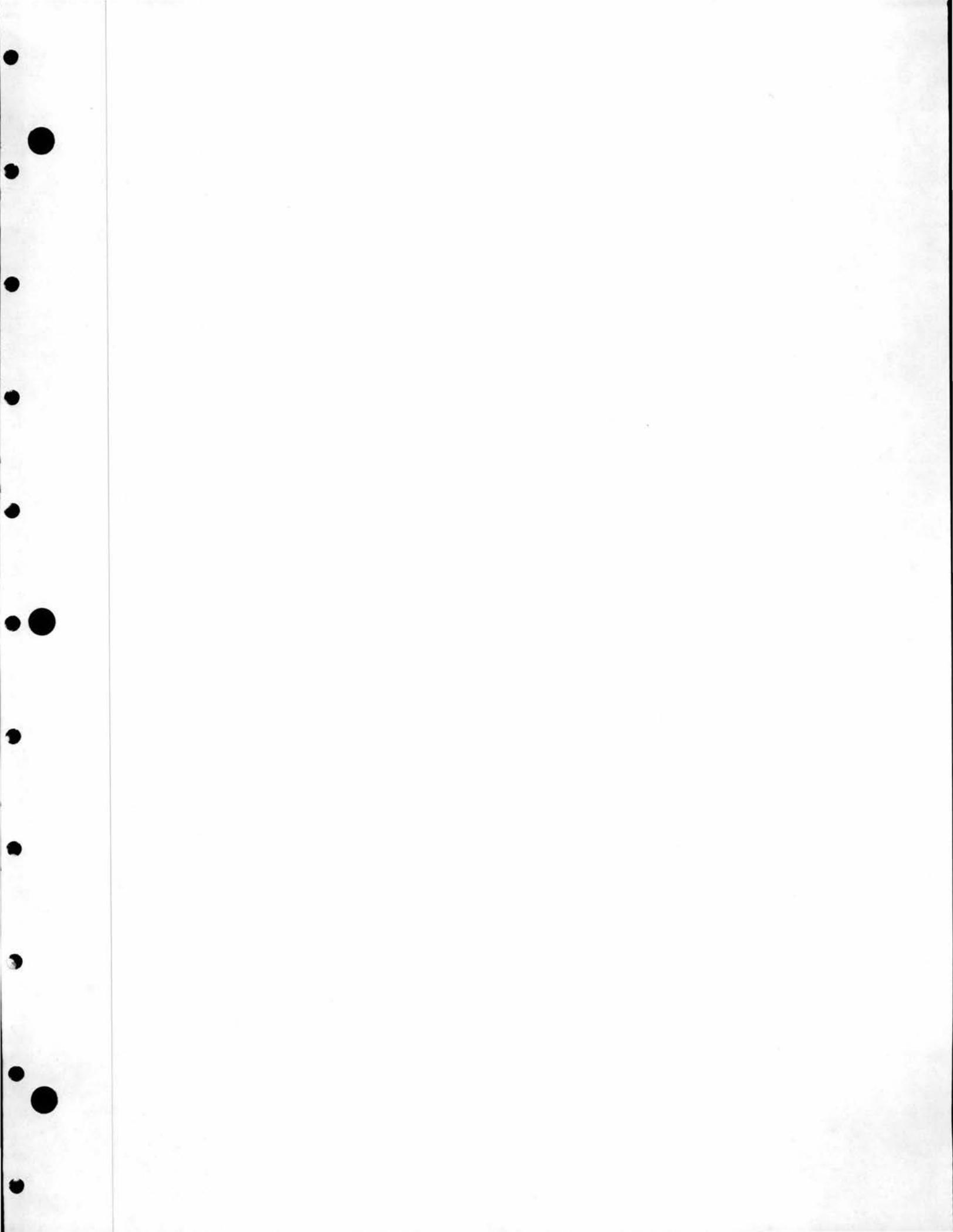


Plate 16

Traditional Tlacoapeno Female Dress



The coordinating committee for animals in Tlacoapa is the Organización de Ganadería. This organization, which has been described in detail in Chapter III, has over 150 credentialed members but it serves non-members as well. Duties of the association are various. First, it cares for the communal animals. These include one Brahman bull, two common bulls, three cows, and one burro. Most of these animals are used for breeding purposes and to plow the small plots of land used by the school and the church. The burro is used to assist in transportation of officials to neighboring communities and Tlapa. In the past, a rather large flock of sheep and goats was owned by the community for communal sacrifices, but since these traditional sacrifices are no longer performed, these flocks are no longer maintained.

Second, the association is guardian of the communal branding iron and the branding iron of the district to which Tlacoapa pertains, district 62. All horses, cattle, mules, and burros are branded on the neck with the district brand and on the rump by the community's communal brand (Plate 17). The communal brand has been in use for at least 50 years and probably longer. Individuals in neighboring communities such as Totomixtlahuaca have their own brands, but for Tlacoapenos only one brand is used. It is claimed this causes few problems with identification, since everyone in the community knows everyone else, and often they

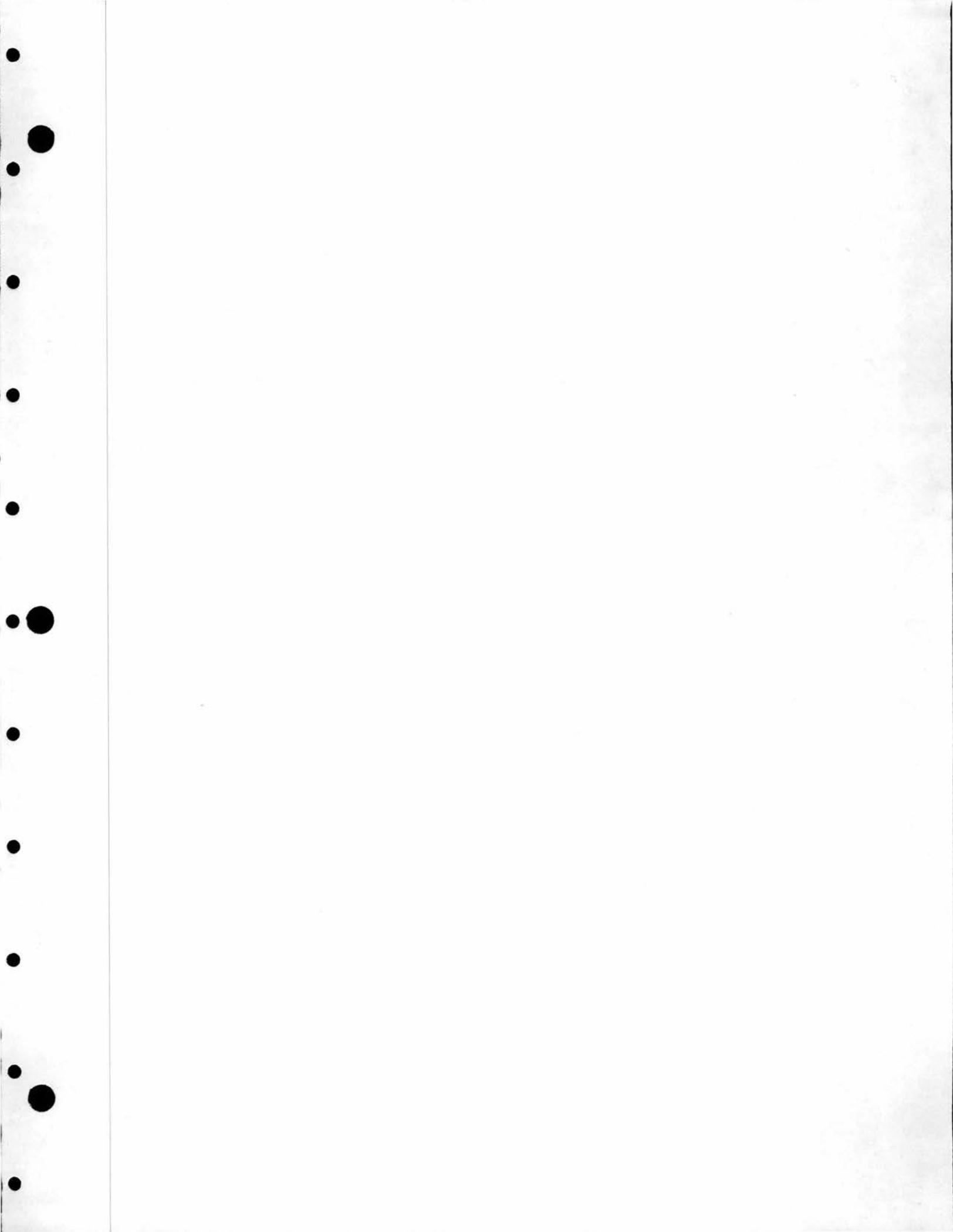
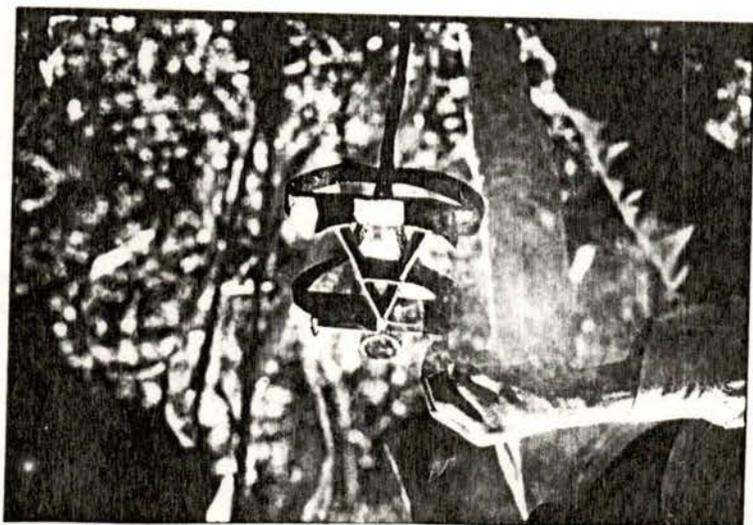
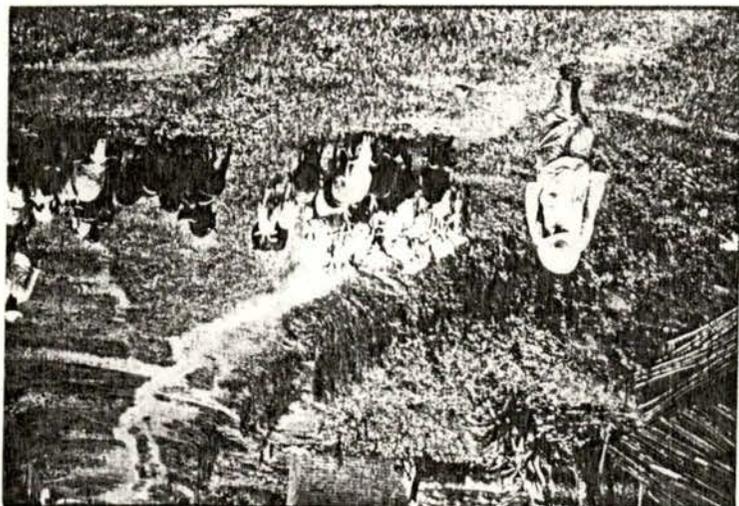


Plate 17

Tlacoapa's Communal Branding Iron

Plate 18

Animal Broker with His Flock



are familiar with each other's animals. The association is also responsible for rounding up animals belonging to community members for vaccination.

Finally, official records and notes of sale are issued by the association. When animal brokers from the Costa Chica come to Tlacoapa with mules and horses, their papers of ownership are examined for authenticity by officials of the association, and transfer documents are signed and sealed by the president and secretary of the association.

Only rarely do Tlacoapenos take their animals outside of the community for sale in other areas. Instead, buyers (compradores) come to the community several times a year. These buyers travel from community to community, making purchases or trades as they go (Plate 18). This pattern is not new since several older men in Tlapa mentioned that they had worked for patrónes (bosses) in the capacity of buyer back in the 1920s. They often traveled for as long as several months, always taking silver money with them, sometimes amounting to as much as 25,000 pesos. After their money was exhausted, they would return to Tlapa, where animals were either sold or driven to other areas for sale.

During the period of this research, there were three different animal brokers who came to Tlacoapa to purchase animals. The most frequent buyer was a Mestizo from Tecomatlan, Puebla. He came four times in one year, and bought approximately 190 goats and sheep and three bulls.

Although the majority of these animal purchases was made in the community of Tlacoapa, some of the purchases were from Totomixtlahuaca, Tenamazapa, and Sabine de Guadalupe. This particular broker paid, on the average, 100 to 150 pesos per head for sheep and goats, and 1,000 to 1,500 pesos per head for cattle. Sales taxes collected by the ganaderia association and the treasurer of Tlacoapa amounted to approximately 5 pesos per head for goats and sheep and 35 pesos per head for cattle. Part of this money goes into the municipio's coffers, and part is sent to the district headquarters in Tlapa. After the purchases are finalized, the broker drives the animals out of the mountains to Tlapa, where his boss is waiting with a truck. From Tlapa, animals are shipped to other parts of Mexico where they bring higher prices.

Rough estimates from community records show that during 1970 approximately 400 sheep and goats and ten head of cattle were sold to outsiders. This means an estimated income of new money into the community of approximately 62,500 pesos. Spread equally among Tlacoapa's estimated 500 families, animal sales average 125 pesos annually to each Tlacoapa family. This, of course, is not the case, as there are those families who sell several dozen animals a year and some families who sell none. Animal sales, nonetheless, represent a considerable income to the community.

In addition to selling animals to brokers, Tlacoapeños also trade for other animals. This is particularly true when dealing with brokers from the municipio of San Luis Acatlán, south of Tlacoapa. Several times each year, men drive mules, horses, and burros up to Tlacoapa from villages situated in the foothills above the Costa Chica. These animals are relatively inexpensive in the lowlands of Guerrero but command high prices in the mountain regions. Mules, because of their durability and scarcity, are the most coveted animals in the mountains. They sell for approximately 1,000 pesos in places like San Luis Acatlán, but might bring as much as 1,500 pesos in the mountains. On the other hand, goats and sheep are relatively cheap and plentiful in the mountains, but are not abundant in the coastal portions of the state and bring much higher prices there. Coastal animal brokers, famous for their shrewd business operations and charm with women, easily earn enough money to make the long, four-day trip to Tlacoapa worthwhile. Additionally, Tlacoapeños, who do not have enough money to purchase such expensive animals, are able to obtain them through trade. Both parties profit from the exchange.

In summary, the participation in animal trading and selling provides Tlacoapas with part of the cash they need to support their current life styles. Because most business is conducted in the mountains, members of the community are

not forced to travel outside of their immediate area. And, since business transactions are conducted mainly with non-Tlapanec brokers, the need to interact with other Tlapanec communities surrounding Tlacoapa remains limited.

### Market

For most Tlacoapenos, the local Sunday market is the only market in which they participate. Tlacoapenos produce most of what they use and consequently do not have to go outside of their community to obtain goods. Since they produce only what they need, they have little surplus and, therefore, have little to export to exterior markets. Salt is the most essential item of Tlacoapeno diet which is not available within the community or in the general Tlapanec area and must be obtained from the outside. Tlapa, the largest and closest market, is where most Tlacoapenos go to purchase salt. People from the southern part of the municipio, especially Totomixtlahuaca and Metlapilapa, alternate market trips between San Luís Acatlán and Tlapa, since they are about the same distance away. For those in Tlacoapa who wish to purchase salt directly from its source and, hence, for lower prices, a four-day round trip is made to Salina Cruz on the Costa Chica. Usually, men purchase only enough salt to last their families the year. Often, however, an amount double that consumed by a family will be purchased so that some can be sold to fellow Tlacoapenos

upon returning to the community.

In previous years, palm hats were woven in Tlacoapa and taken to Tlapa, where they were sold or traded for merchandise. Today, however, palm hats are made mainly by Mixtecs and Tlapanecs from villages nearer to Tlapa.

Until approximately ten years ago, eggs were transported to Chilapa packed in Spanish moss on the backs of burros. Since great volume was necessary to make the trip profitable, a man would purchase eggs from others until he had between 500 and 1,000 eggs. Competition from people living closer to Chilapa who were able to provide cheaper eggs, made it unprofitable for Tlacoapenos to pursue this activity; today this enterprise no longer exists.

Tlacoapenos still sell handwoven gabanes to merchants or, more often, trade them for cloth, kerosene, candles, and other items not readily available in the mountains. Merchants generally pay between 60 and 90 pesos for well-made gabanes. For a 1972 Tlacoapa price list, see Appendix . Usually a man will wait until his family or neighbors have completed several gabanes so that they can be taken to Tlapa and sold at one time. Certain times are preferable to others. In Tlapa, the biggest market days are those surrounding Christmas, and it is during that time that most Tlacoapenos make the trek into town.

As a general rule, Tlacoapenos go outside of the area only once or twice a year. Those who are more frequent travelers to the outside are the men, or their relatives and associates, who own the two small stores in Tlacoapa. Since they sell items which are not produced in the area, such as soft drinks, cigarettes, candles, etc., it is essential that they make as many as two trips a month to Tlapa or Chilapa. Usually they take a muletrain to Zapotitlán Tablas, where they hitch a ride to the Chilapa-Tlapa highway. From there they can take a bus to either of the two market towns (Map 3). Once in town, only several hours are needed to make the scheduled purchases. If they find it necessary to pass the night there, Tlacoapa merchants usually stay with strategically-located compadres in the town or sleep in the company of dozens of other country people under the roof of the porch of Tlapa's municipal buildings, wrapped like corpses in gabanes or petates. Tlacoapenos express a general dislike and mistrust for market towns such as Tlapa. This is chiefly due to the debasing treatment which Tlacoapenos, and Indians in general, receive from townspeople. Mestizo and Spanish merchants have established and continue to maintain a strong, superior hand in their relations with Indians from surrounding areas. It is a classic example of the patrón-client relationship mentioned by Colby and Van dem Berghe (1960) and Siverts (1970). While mutual dependency is characteristic

of this relationship, the Mestizo very clearly has the power of economic control. Since Indians are underpaid for their products, merchants make exorbitant profits on the resale of palm items, produce, and animals.

Mestizos treat Indians with condescension in almost every aspect of their relationship. Indians are always addressed by the informal "tu." Conversely, Indians invariably use the formal "Usted" form when addressing Mestizo merchants and officials. Some merchants keep huge drawers filled with 20 centavo pieces to hand out paternalistically to Indians who, for one reason or another, find themselves in town with nothing to eat and must beg for money to pay for their trips home.

Interestingly, many townspeople do not distinguish between the three indigenous groups who visit the area: Mixtecs, Nahuas, and Tlapanecs. They are simply gente de la montaña (mountain people), gente indígena (indigenous people), or indios, a negative term used to describe one of Indian background, backward, and lazy. While in Tlapa, Indians make the same divisions--Indians and Mestizos. A Tlapanec, for example, sees that he is being treated the same as the Mixtec who is standing next to him in a store. To him, they must share something in common. Perhaps this feeling of common ethnic group membership is a defense mechanism against a common enemy. Out of the communal areas the distinction becomes dichotomized into urban-non-

Indian versus rural-Indian.

The detrimental and debasing treatment of Indians in Tlapa, coupled with the great distances involved in attending outside markets, and the fact that Tlacoapa is almost economically self-sufficient, discourage outside market participation to any degree other than minimal. Except for the exceptions noted, Tlacoapa's Sunday market meets all the economic needs of community members.

How long Tlacoapa has had a market is difficult to tell. It was apparently much smaller and less important in the past than it is today. Most people state that the presence of the Catholic mission in the village has had a very positive effect on the market's growth. The mission strongly encourages attendance at Sunday masses, and this brings many people into the village who otherwise would remain in their rancherias. Most families who attend mass bring along items to be traded or sold at market.

The market is located in the southern half of the plaza, directly in front of the ayuntamiento and the curato. An adobe market building started during the last administration is incomplete and is currently being used as a schoolroom. It is possible that the market building will never be used as such, since it is too small for everyone and would, therefore, tend to break the market in half, with a portion of the participants located inside and

a portion outside. Additionally, the school desperately needs additional space and will probably take over the structure for full-time occupancy.

Market size varies. Weather is the main determinant of size. During the rainy season, as few as two dozen vendors show up, since travel from mountain rancherías to the village is seriously impeded by swollen rivers and dangerously slippery hillsides. When the weather is not a factor, as many as 50 vendors are in the village exchanging or selling their wares. Non-vending attendants push the total number of participants to approximately 200 or 300. The majority of people found in the village of Tlacoapa on market day are from within the community, but some outside vendors travel to Tlacoapa on a weekly basis to sell specialized items. The degree and nature of outside participation will be discussed later.

Both men and women participate in Tlacoapa's market. On a Sunday of heavy market attendance, vendors were 40 per cent male and 60 per cent female. Women seldom journey to the village unaccompanied by a male member of the family. Once in the village, however, they may sell items while their husbands are taking care of business in the ayuntamiento or visiting with friends.

There are three categories of market participants in Tlacoapa: store owners, stand operators, and people who

spread their goods out in a small area on the ground.

At present, there are two small stores which are located in the village and are open several hours a day, Monday through Saturday. On Sundays, these stores are open all day. Two new stores opened during the period of this research but failed to prosper and have since ceased to operate as profitable enterprises. Tlacoapa's stores are the only places in the village which sell goods during the week. But, since the village is largely vacant during the week, very little business is conducted. Teachers, mission people, and cargo holders account for the majority of the customers during the week.

The main store, which is located in one corner of the building occupied by the mission, is operated by a principal with the assistance of several other men who run the business when agricultural duties demand the manager's presence in his fields (Plate 19). This store, as well as the other one located north of the plaza, deals almost exclusively in items manufactured outside of Tlacoapa. Cigarettes, cloth, soft drinks, and candles fill most of the store's shelf space. The store operates on a cash and carry basis, but short-term credit is available to most members of the community. During the week, the ledge in front of the store is always a spot for idle conversation and relaxation. On Sundays, the rapid pace of business makes such activities difficult. In spite of the tremendous

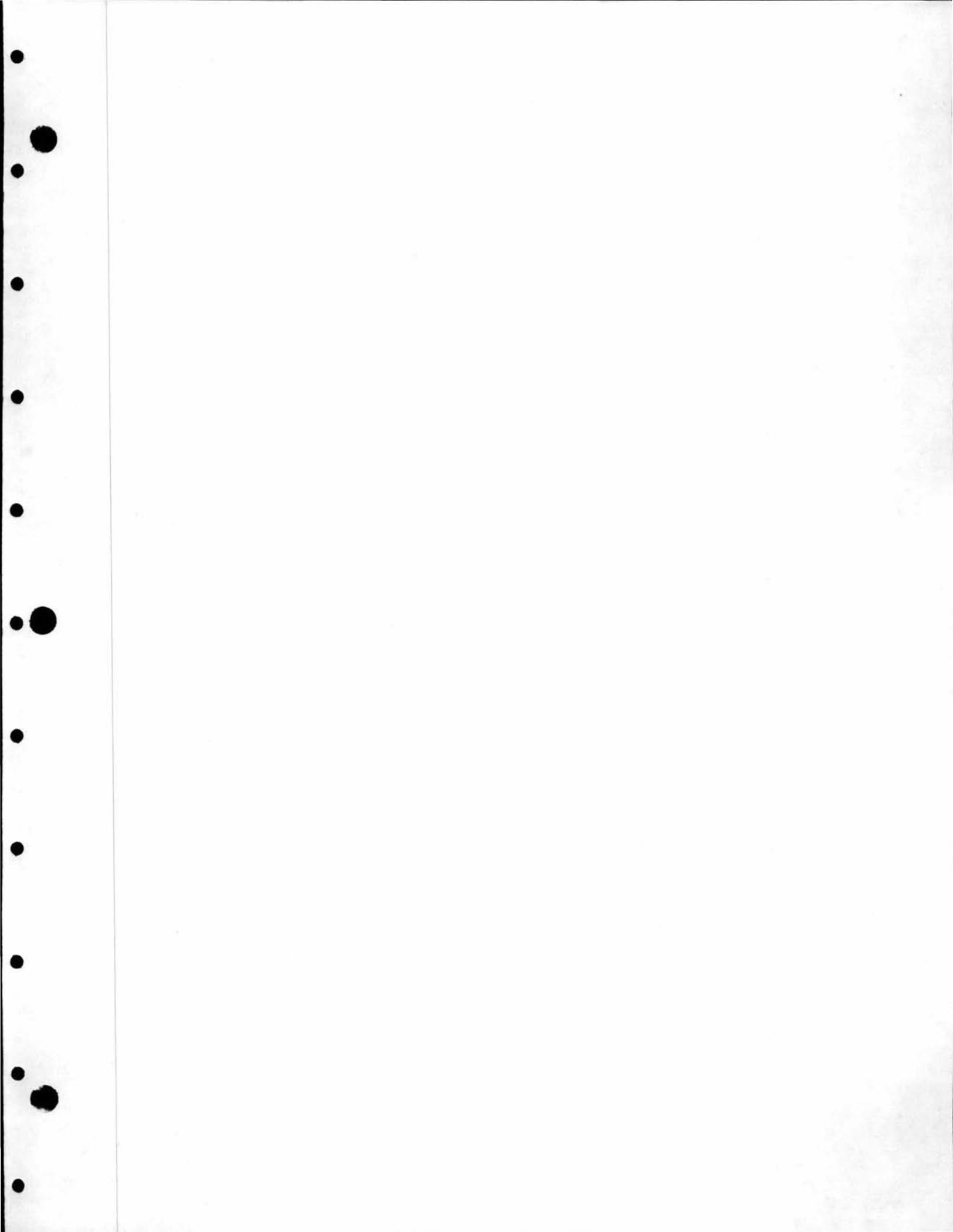
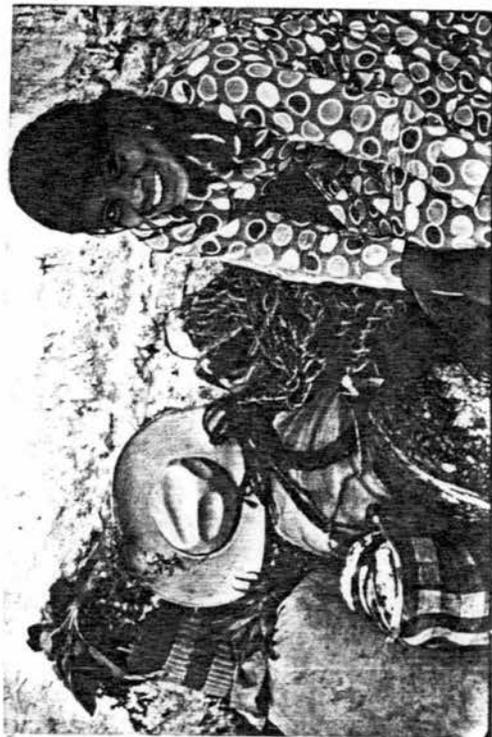
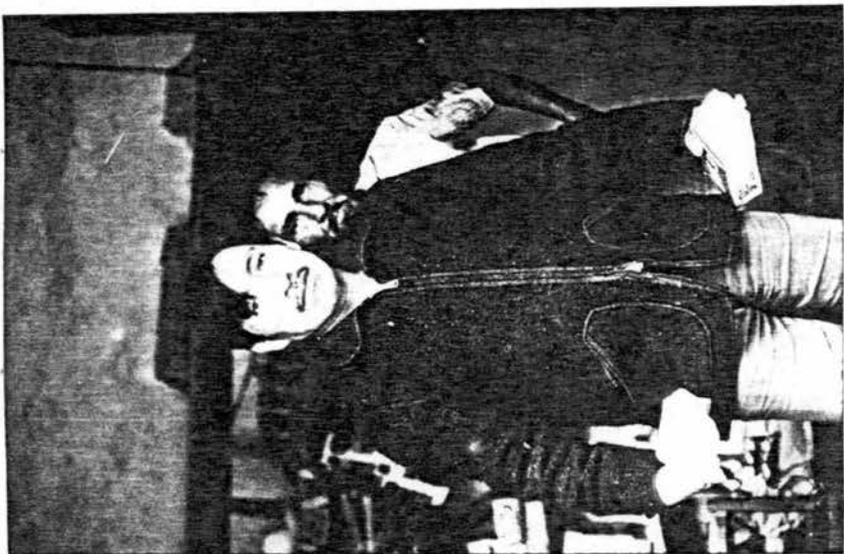


Plate 19

Tlacoapa Store-Owner and His Assistant

Plate 20

A Sunday Vendor in Tlacoapa



difficulty involved in transporting stock from Tlapa to Tlacoapa, prices of items are not drastically different from those on the outside. Soft drinks, for example, which sell for 1.00 to 1.20 pesos in Tlapa bring 1.50 pesos in Tlacoapa. The "time is money" attitude is not a factor in determining the retail price of goods in Tlacoapa. The day and a half used to travel to Tlapa, make the necessary purchases, and return, is not reflected in the prices which consumers must pay. Tlacoapenos consume so many Fantas, Coca Colas, and Pepsi Colas, for example, that merchants are able to make enough profit on a volume basis to make such trips profitable without raising the prices drastically.

The second category of market participants consists of people who operate small portable stands which are erected early Sunday morning and are taken down late the same day. These stands are constructed of two sawhorses upon which rest bamboo poles. Stand owners usually string up pieces of plastic or cloth to shield them and their goods from the sun's hot midday rays and early afternoon showers. During the week, stands and merchandise are stored in the village houses of the stand owners. There are usually about a dozen of these stands on any given Sunday when weather is fair. Like the two stores, operators of stands sell many items manufactured outside of the community, such as plastic combs and mirrors, thread, pencils, candles, and

inexpensive sombreros, but usually these items appear in conjunction with items of local production such as fruits, vegetables, and eggs. Selling is not pressured, and a stand owner's stock does not move very quickly. Consequently, frequent trips to Tlapa and Chilapa are not necessary.

The third category of market participants, and the one to which the majority of Tlacoapenos belong, consists of people who bring small nets filled with eggs, fruits, tamales, and cultivated and wild vegetables (Plate 20). Items brought by these people depend largely upon the season of the year. Only rarely do these vendors deal in goods manufactured outside of the community. Again, selling is not pressured, and anticipation of profits is not high. Many items such as tamales and squash are cooked prior to sale and are intended to be eaten while warm. This gives the market an almost picnic atmosphere. Much trading goes on and often people will simply give items to friends. For the majority of these people as well as many of those who have stands and stores, the market is more a place to get together and swap gossip than to make an economic profit, albeit picking up some additional pesos on Sundays is always welcomed.

Some Tlacoapenos arrive in the village on Saturday afternoon, but the majority wait until early Sunday morning. For those who do not own second homes in the village,

places belonging to relatives, compadres, and friends are always available for shelter and naps. People start arriving in the village around 8:30 in the morning. Standing in the center of the village, one can see people rapidly descending upon the village from all directions, usually in family groups and often carrying heavy loads with the aid of tumplines. By 10 o'clock the market has begun to take shape. Doors to the store in the center of the plaza are flung open, and bolts of brightly colored cloth are displayed to catch the eyes of potential buyers.

In 1971 the civil administration decided to levy market taxes on those people vending wares on Sundays. Tax assessments are made according to the products being peddled. The two store owners, for example, pay 10 pesos each per week. People selling onions from their nets are each charged 40 centavos.

Sunday's market crowd is orderly and polite. Children are scrubbed, hair is trimmed, and clothes are cleaned prior to leaving rancherias. Tlacoapenos see Sunday markets as times to show off newly woven gabanes or recently purchased or sewn shirts and dresses. Occasionally drinking is carried to excess, but usually not before the main body of the market has dispersed and returned to the mountains. Village law, prompted by the mission, prohibits the sale of alcoholic beverages and discourages public drunkenness. Most drinking takes place inside village

houses; but eventually the inebriated wander outside where they are thrown in jail for the night if they cause trouble. Most people tend to humor those who have overindulged, and great efforts of persuasion taken to prevent a person from being incarcerated.

In addition to the obvious economic advantages of the market, other benefits are also realized. Village officials take advantage of the concentration of population and use the occasion to update vital statistics, collect community contributions and dues, and issue notices of public interest and importance. Such gatherings also allow community members to come together and re-establish their ties and feelings as members of the same entity. Weekend residency within the village makes close neighbors out of distant ones and allows community members the opportunity to become re-acquainted. For many women Sunday markets are the only occasions for travel outside of their rancherias; for children, market gatherings are often their first introduction to people from parts of the community other than the one in which they were born. Market days are also important locations for courtship. Boys and girls who seldom leave the confines of their family dwellings are free to observe and meet new people exterior to their own relatives.

Although the great majority of people buying and selling in the market are Tlacoapenos, extra-community men

and women also participate. It is through this mixed participation that we see, once again, manifestations of group boundaries of the region.

Major community festivals, such as the day of San Pedro, are occasions when one can see people from areas outside of Tlacoapa in the market selling their wares. Mixtecs from Cilacayotlán (municipio of Altmajalcingo del Monte) bring petates to Tlacoapa, where they sell them for fruit which they take back to their own community to sell at a slight profit. Tlapanecs from Tonaya (municipio of Tlapa) also frequent Tlacoapa's special fiestas and sell petates. Since everyone in Tlacoapa uses a petate, and since they are not woven in the community, these people have little trouble disposing of all their stock before returning to their communities.

On ordinary Sundays, outside participation is limited to members of communities from the immediate areas surrounding Tlacoapa. Men and women from Apetzuca are consistent vendors of tumplines, nets (redes), and rope made from ixtle (fiber from the maguey plant). Items made of ixtle are in constant demand by Tlacoapenos. Nets are the most costly of these items, and are appraised according to their size and tightness of weave.

Apetzuquenos also bring ceramic pottery and lime ( $\text{CaOH}_2$ ) to market. Pottery is manufactured in Huitzapula,

a Tlapanec village near Zapotitlán Tablas. During the week, Apetzuquenos go to Huitzapula, a three-hour walk, and purchase pots from local craftsmen. On Sunday morning, they leave Apetzuca around 4:00 o'clock to arrive in Tlacoapa by market opening time. Both men and women haul as many as a dozen large pots at a time. People from Apetzuca appear to be very dextrous, and have a reputation for being able to carry almost super-human weights on their backs. Tlacoapenos state jokingly that a person from Apetzuca cannot keep his balance unless carrying a heavy load (Plate 21).

Pots are sold in Tlacoapa for just enough to make a small profit, usually no more than a peso. Since Huitzapula pots are preferred over metal or plastic cookware and pots from other areas, they are usually all sold by mid-morning.

Lime is used in great quantity in the whole Tlapanec area, primarily in the preparation of cornmeal and for stuccoing public buildings. It is brought into the market in rock form and is referred to as cal vivo (quicklime) since it cracks and pops before turning to powder after water is added to it. The extraction and preparation of limestone from quarries near Apetzuca are exceedingly costly in terms of man hours expended. A load of limestone must be continually burned for a full day and night before it becomes

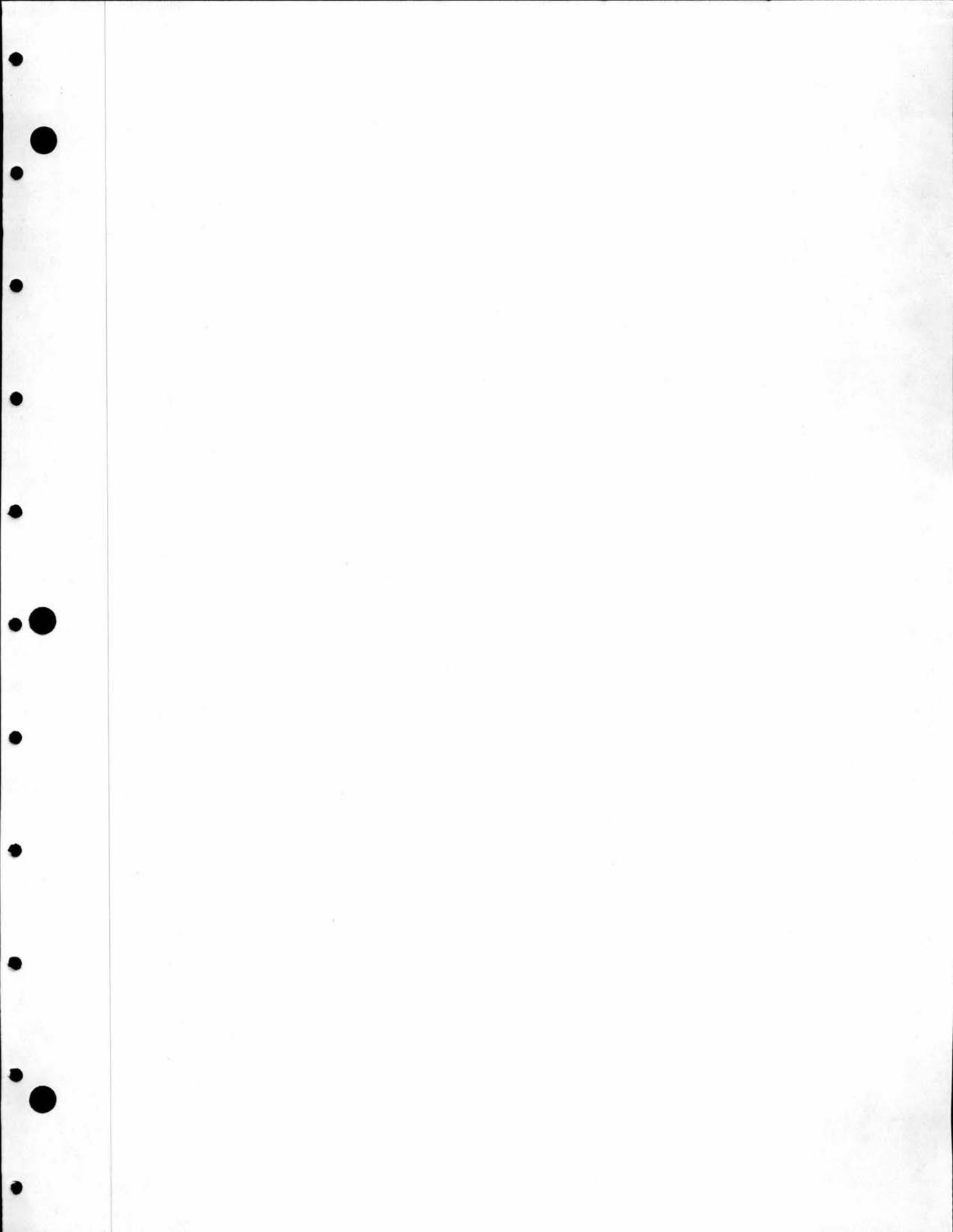
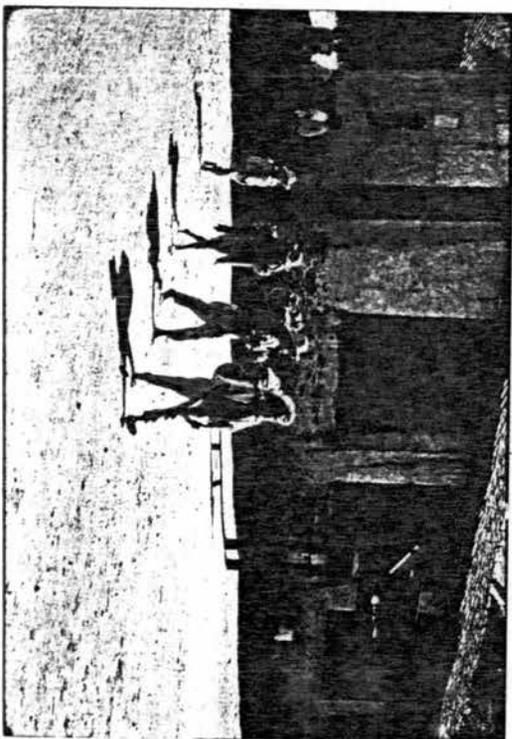


Plate 21

Apetzuquenos Arriving for Tlacoapa's  
Sunday Market

Plate 22

Tlacoapenos Enjoying Themselves at Market



quicklime. This, coupled with the five-hour trek to Tlacoapa, would seemingly push the price beyond all reason; but, again, Apetzuquenos sell it for a few centavos per liter.

Sugar sellers from Totomixtlahuaca are also frequent visitors to Tlacoapa's Sunday market. Sugar is sold in a crudely refined state and is referred to as panela. Because of Totomixtlahuaca's low altitude and fertile soil, sugar is abundantly harvested there. There are presently five sugar mills in Totomixtlahuaca, all powered by draft animals. Control of the lucrative sugar production is held by Mixtec-speaking members of the community who own four of the five mills. In the past Tlacoapa produced small quantities of panela, but a devastating storm in the late 1960s destroyed most of the sugarcane lands. Today most sugar comes from Totomixtlahuaca. Panela is sold in cake form; two cakes make a hoja. It is packed in banana bark in groups of five hojas which sell for 25 pesos.

The community of Tenamazapa is also represented in Tlacoapa's market on a regular basis. Occasionally they, too, bring panela, but their specialty is ceramic comals;\* every household in Tlacoapa has a variety of sizes of comals, and, while some are beginning to use metal renditions usually purchased in Tlapa, most women still prefer the ceramic type. Tlacoapa women are very particular about

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\*See Glossary.

the quality of their comals and carefully scrutinize them before making a purchase.

Finally, the community of Paraje Montero (municipio of Malinaltepec) occasionally brings heavy stone metates and manos (grinding stones and mullers) to sell to the people of Tlacoapa. Because of their great weight, only two or three are brought in at a time, but their relatively high price (75 pesos) makes the seven-hour trip worthwhile.

By noting the composition of Tlacoapa's Sunday market over a period of several months, consistent grouping patterns emerge which shed light on the social organization of the Tlacoapa region. Collier (1967:33) states that "observing how people mingle and regroup themselves is basic to an understanding of social structure in motion." By use of sketch maps and photographs, certain patterns of grouping became manifest and support the hypothesis that the area is divided in terms of communal land areas.

Tlacoapeno vendors form the core of the market, setting up their stands and laying out their goods in the area directly in front of the north side of the market building (Figure 4.4). This area is the most preferable area in the plaza, since the unfinished window ledges of the market building provide reasonably comfortable seats, and the building's overhang delivers shade from the sun's rays and provides shelter from showers. The four trees which are located in the plaza spread their canopies over

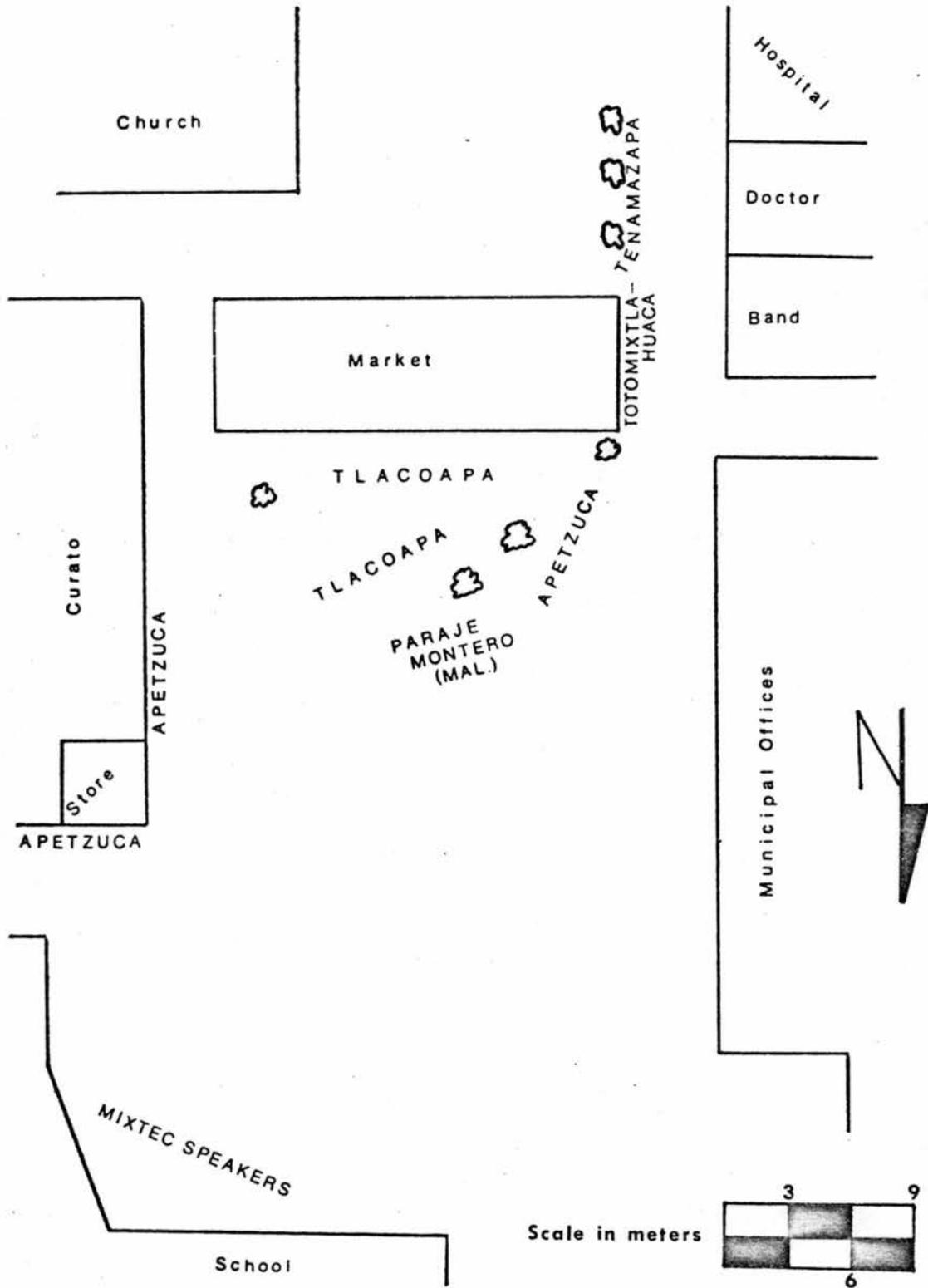


Figure 4.4  
Sketch Diagram of Tlacoapa Market

this section, providing additional shade and protection (Plate 22).

Panela vendors from Totomixtlahuaca set up their piles of goods on the west end of the market building. Generally, no more than four or five Totomixtlahuaca vendors are present, so the room required is not great. South of the Totomixtlahuaca group, men and women from Tenamazapa set up their small quantities of panela and comals. Tree trunks provide props for comal displays. Metate peddlers from Paraje Montero occupy an area just to the north of the Tlacoapa grouping, and are the smallest contingent present at the market. Apetzuquenos are generally divided into two groups. One group sells pottery and usually occupies sections in front of the curato and to the west of the market core. The other group sells hydrated lime and invariably establishes itself in the narrow passage which runs between the school and the curato and store. Apetzuquenos, in addition to their location, are easily recognized by their tattered dress and shy manner.

Finally, Mixtec-speaking vendors, infrequent visitors to the market, set up their goods in areas distantly removed from the main core of the market, usually in front of the school at the far end of the plaza. These people usually appear only on festive occasions and come from towns distant from Tlacoapa. In addition to their distinctive spatial behavior, i.e. far from other vendors,

they are also recognized by their unusual shyness, different dress, language, and type of goods being peddled. Mixtecs deal in items which are not usually found in Tlacoapa's market. Most frequently they are seen selling palm leaf bags and mats, and hats. Most groups of Mixtecs have members who are able to speak a few words of Tlapanec or converse in Spanish. Nevertheless their social interaction with Tlapanecs is minimal, and they usually remain quietly in an area apart from the rest of the market until it is time to pack their things and go home.

Apparently, there are no written rules for market organization, but Tlacoapenos and visiting vendors from other communities act as if there were. What we see in the market is a "blueprint" of the social organization of the Tlacoapa region, a diminutive representation of the area's group organization. Vendors from Tlacoapa are set up in the middle of the market and establish a territory available only to those from within the community. Surrounding this territory, which is symbolically representative of the community, are other communities whose territories are clearly marked spatially. Vendors from Totomixtlahuaca and Tenamazapa, while members of the same municipio, are not "vecinos" of Tlacoapa; they act, and are treated, accordingly. The Apetzuca contingent, split into several groups, perhaps reflects the political factions of Apetzuca society mentioned earlier. Possibly, the group situated

closest to the core of the market is the one which is now seeking formal entrance into the municipio, and the group which is more distant is the one which remains aligned with Zapotitlan Tablas. Distant communities, such as those represented by Mixtec petate vendors, are also very distant to the core of the market. Apparently this type of market organization is not peculiar to Tlacoapa, since a similar pattern was observed in Totomixtlahuaca during the festival of the Virgin of Guadalupe. There, vendors from Totomixtlahuaca formed the market core, and the other communities grouped around it. Distant communities remained completely exterior to the plaza, just outside of the village, for the duration of the festival.

The territorial behavior outlined above is not without exception or violation. Exceptions were observed, but, in general, those who are present at Tlacoapa's market conform to the patterns just mentioned. Apparently, admission into the market's core is possible if an outsider stands in special relation to someone from Tlacoapa. Such a case occurred during the period of this research. One Sunday morning, a cloth vendor from a town near Tlapa set up a stand right in the middle of the area reserved for Tlacoapenos. Members of the community displayed no concern--only the anthropologist felt something was amiss. When questioned about his connection with the community, the man revealed that he was a compadre of one of the

community's leading principales. Being a compadre to someone in Tlacoapa apparently was strong enough to allow his admission to an area of the market which otherwise would not be available to him.

### Conclusion

In the preceding, an overview of Tlacoapa's economic life has been presented. It has been pointed out that Tlacoapa's economic well-being depends largely upon the effective exploitation of lands within the community. Because of the various ecological zones available to community members, most of what Tlacoapenos need is found within the confines of the community. For the most part, those communities which surround Tlacoapa produce similar items, and this diminishes the need for inter-community dependence. Items not available in the Tlapanec area such as salt and cloth, are purchased either on infrequent buying trips to regional markets like that at Tlapa or through the two small local stores owned and operated by Tlacoapenos.

In order to meet outside demands, Tlacoapa's economy has developed two regulatory devices, fondos and the system of animal husbandry. The fondos allow men to take out temporary loans from within the community and prevent them from having to leave the confines of the communal land area in order to earn Mexican currency. Such a system

is acceptable to the community and consistent with its well-being since it means that "vecinos," as a whole, and not individuals, profit from the earnings derived from loans. Private loans are made, but their total does not appear to be as high as with the fondos. Additionally, foreclosure of a private loan becomes very personal, and would result in friction between lender and borrower. If a fondo is forced to foreclose, it is very impersonal and would not cause friction between community members. If foreclosures occur, the community and not an individual lender stands to benefit.

Animal husbandry also provides money to Tlacoapenos which is used to meet outside demands. Again, this system allows Tlacoapenos to meet these demands in a fashion acceptable to the community. It means that money can be obtained without having to leave the area to sell goods or to work as wage laborers in urban settings.

Both devices, fondos and animal husbandry, are effective in satisfying the demands of institutions on the outside, such as the government and a monetized national economy. These demands are met in a way consistent with the well-being of the community and minimize internal conflict.

Tlacoapa's Sunday market is important, since we are able to see a model for the social organization of the region through observing the spatial behavior of market

participants. The market is a diminutive symbolic representation of the area in which Tlacoapa is located. Territorial organization of the market places Tlacoapa squarely in the center, surrounded by representatives from neighboring communal land areas. Each group of vendors, representing their respective communities, sets itself apart from other groups. Intrusions into the market space of one group by the members of another are discouraged, and occur only when special social ties permit them. Like the general social organization of the region, the municipio does not form a cohesive body in the market. Similarly, there are no rancheria groupings; all community members move freely within the territory belonging to Tlacoapa community. Apetzuca, the only divided community represented, is also divided in the market area.

Finally, the market is seen as an integrative institution. Aside from the obvious economic benefits, its social importance is great. The market pulls a widely dispersed community population together on a weekly basis. Many members of the community who are geographically separated during most of the year become neighbors in the village on Sundays, where they are allowed to re-establish integrative ties of friendship and to reaffirm common goals of maintaining community integrity.

## CHAPTER V

### MARRIAGE

This is why I come to your house--to give the feelings and desires of this poor boy who has expressed his wishes and who, after looking in all other places, sees that there exists here a tree of happiness, filled with white clouds and which has sufficient shade to give him protection. He desires to be protected by this tree of ample shade under which will always be a woman to prepare his daily food. Once again, sir, I beg that you accept my sincere and humble words as well as my sentiments and those of this poor boy.

--Pablo Reyes, age 75, Matchmaker

As in all societies, Tlacoapeno marriage establishes ties which are far more encompassing than those simply binding two individuals together. In addition to other functions, it defines and strengthens group boundaries. Communal land holdings are congruent with the boundaries of Tlacoapeno endogamy. Marriage tends to strengthen the internal structure of the group through the multiple familial ties which accompany it. Rules of residency add to the integrity of the community concept. The various rituals of Tlacoapeno marriage act as solidifying agents.

Finally, Tlacoapeno marriage is a regulatory institution, meeting the demands of the church and, at the same

time, re-interpreting these demands into forms more congruent with community solidarity.

In the past, Tlacoapenos married much younger than they do today. Lemley states (personal communication 1967) that in the 1930s boys usually married in their middle teens (15 or 16), while girls were considered ready for marriage as soon as they started menses. Today the situation has changed. Although several early marriages were observed, the average age of recorded marriages is much higher than in previous times. Nineteen-seventy recorded marriages revealed an average age of 22 for boys and 19 for girls. Later marriages are, in part, due to the fact that many boys are hesitant to marry until they have completed at least part of a primary school education. This often necessitates remaining in school until age 21 or older. The Catholic church has also affected the age at marriage. Local priests discourage marriages between individuals younger than the average age at marriage for the rest of Mexico and particularly Mexico City.

It is difficult to determine accurately an average age at marriage in Tlacoapa because official registration is usually not made until several years after the traditional services are held. Usually marriage registration is made at both religious and civil levels, since lack of sanctification is a big concern for both civil authorities and Catholic clergy. In 1970 there were only 27 recorded

marriages in the entire municipio of Tlacoapa.\*

Until very recently, many Tlacoapa marriages were arranged by parents without consent of the bride and the groom. Often this was done with a great deal of coercion. One informant reports that in the event a couple balked at such an arranged union, the parents would make it convenient for the couple to have sex by having either the boy or the girl reside in the house of the other so that pregnancy would result, thereby forcing marriage. Once marriage was achieved, the couple would be together for life, as Tlacoapa custom does not include divorce. However, there are cases of abandonment. Other forms of coercive marriage are also reported. For example, if an unmarried couple is found together after dark, civil authorities may recommend to their parents that they be married. Fearing pregnancy outside of marriage, which might lead to infanticide, parents often follow the suggestion of the authorities.

Courtship similar to that which exists in urban Mexico is not present in Tlacoapa. Girls are never allowed to be alone with males other than their siblings, and are punished if such mixed activities are discovered. Sexual

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\*I was unable to obtain figures on the number of marriages which were not recorded. Marriage in Tlacoapa consists of a series of events, only one of which is registration, and to establish how many couples have begun this series of events prior to registration is not possible. I assume, however, that more couples entered into the marriage process during 1970 than just those 27 which are registered.

separation is characteristic of church activities as well as in school classrooms. Even games which are organized by children following classes consist either of girls or boys. Seldom are they mixed. Girls are instructed to lower their eyes when encountering males on mountain paths.

There are several prescribed ways for boys and girls to meet. The Sunday market place or town square during feast days are common places for a boy to find a spouse. Usually contact consists of little more than the exchange of glances. A high percentage of Tlacoapa marriages are followed by a period of bride service. This custom, too, allows a boy whose brother is already married and living matri-locally to be introduced to the sisters of his brother's wife. Cases of brothers marrying sisters are not rare; of the four genealogies which were gathered (involving over 400 individuals and approximately 75 unions), three of them had one or more such cases.

Endogamy is practiced at a community level. In a census of 126 marriages, 117 (92.85 per cent) were endogamous at a community level, i.e. within the communal land area. Of these 117 endogamous marriages, 61 (52.13 per cent) were endogamous at a rancheria level. This high degree of rancheria endogamy should be expected, since members of the same rancheria see more of each other than they see of those living in other rancherias (Plate 23).

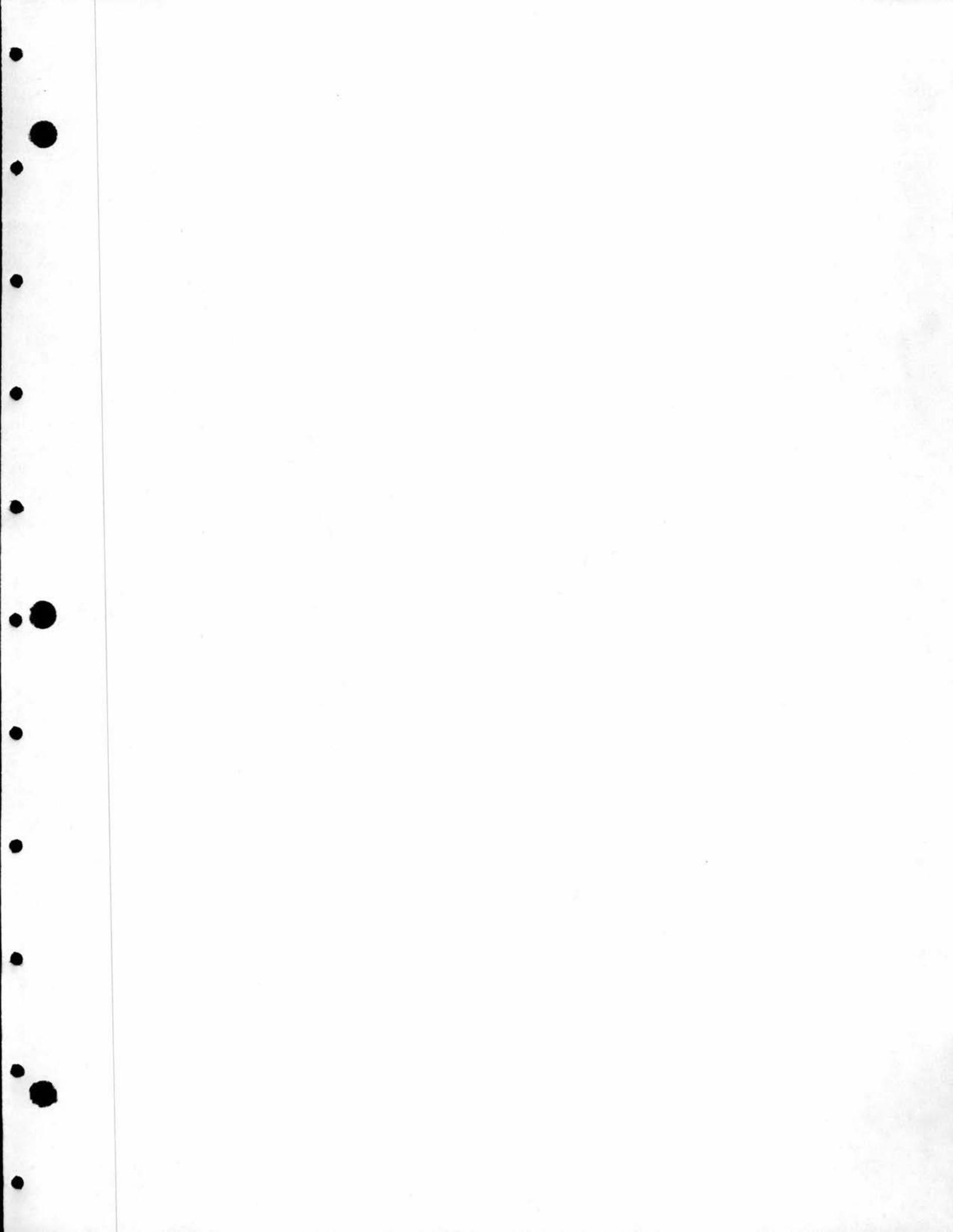
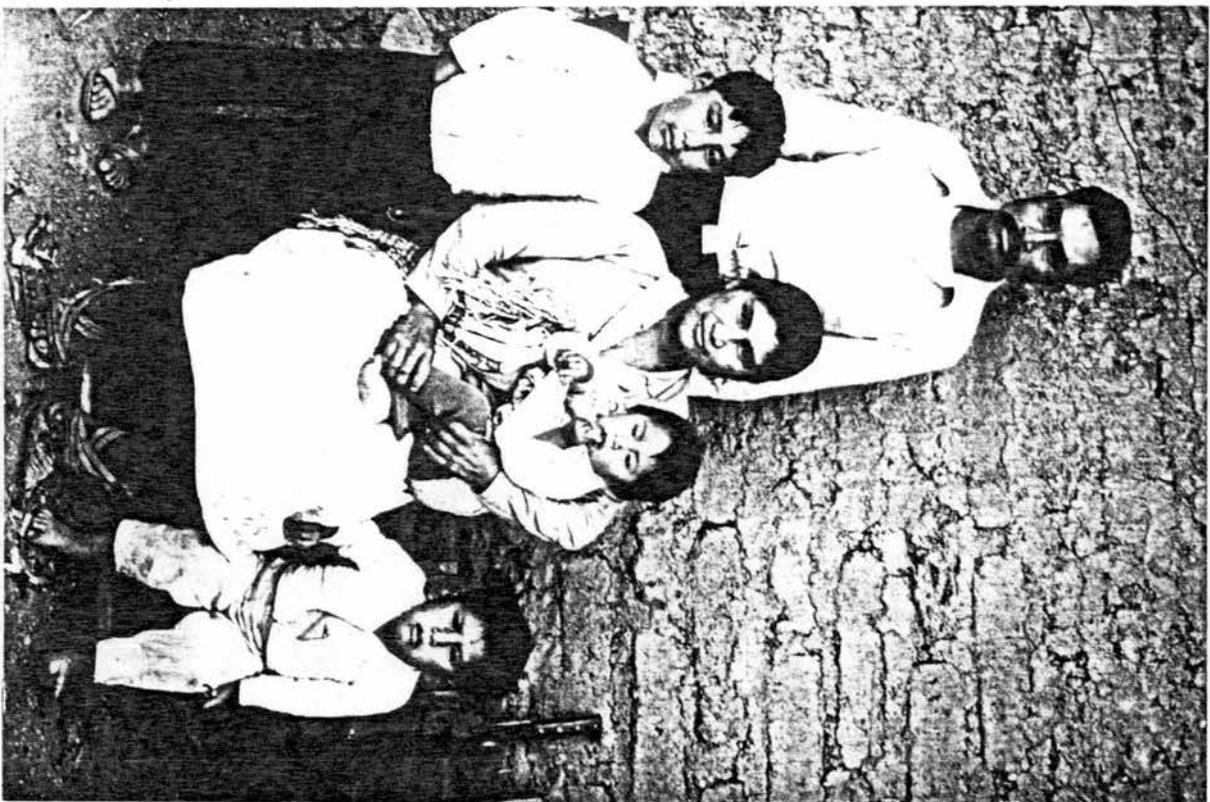


Plate 23

A Tlacoapeno Nuclear Family



Only nine marriages (7.06 per cent) were exogamous at a community level. Included here are cases of men who had returned to Tlacoapa after working on the outside and brought their wives with them. But even those residing outside of Tlacoapa in urban areas often prefer to marry girls from their home community since, if they expect to return, they want to marry someone who is accepted by the community and is familiar with its customs. A few men had married women from the neighboring communities of Totomixtlahuaca and Malinaltepec. Tlacoapenos seemed to disapprove of these marriages and often stated that so and so is from another community and is, therefore, of another raza, or has different blood. Outside marriages are not trusted as much as those occurring within the community.

This high rate of community endogamy keeps the majority of interpersonal relations at a community level and defines, quite clearly, the limits of those relations.

Only one other form of ideal marriage restriction was reported. It was repeatedly stated that sanctions exist against marriages among kin closer than fourth cousin. This, however, may not be the case since the high degree of endogamy drastically limits the number of spouses available.

#### Bride Quest and Wedding

Once a boy who is ready for marriage sees a girl whom he wishes to "make his tortillas," he relates these

wishes to his father. They discuss it, and, if the father is in accord, a hablador (matchmaker) is sought. Matchmakers are usually older men who, over the years, have become skilled in the art of asking for a girl's hand in marriage. Often the position is passed from father to son. Today in Tlacoapa there is only a small number of elderly men who are considered competent to perform the duties of matchmaker. They take their duties very seriously, and usually commit to memory long and poetic speeches, often very repetitious but usually very persuasive. They are paid only a nominal fee for their services, but are afforded high prestige within the community (Plate 24).

At two or three o'clock in the morning on a night previously designated, the boy's father, accompanied by the matchmaker, goes to the house of the girl whose hand is being sought. They take with them some small gift, such as a chicken or some eggs. This gesture is to compensate for the inconvenience of waking the family at such an early hour. The matchmaker does all of the talking.\* He tells the girl's father the reason for their visit, and asks that he please think over the proposal. The father responds in a similarly poetic fashion that he well understands the proposal and that he will have to speak with his daughter.

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\*For a complete transcription of the matchmaker's delivery, see Appendix 8.

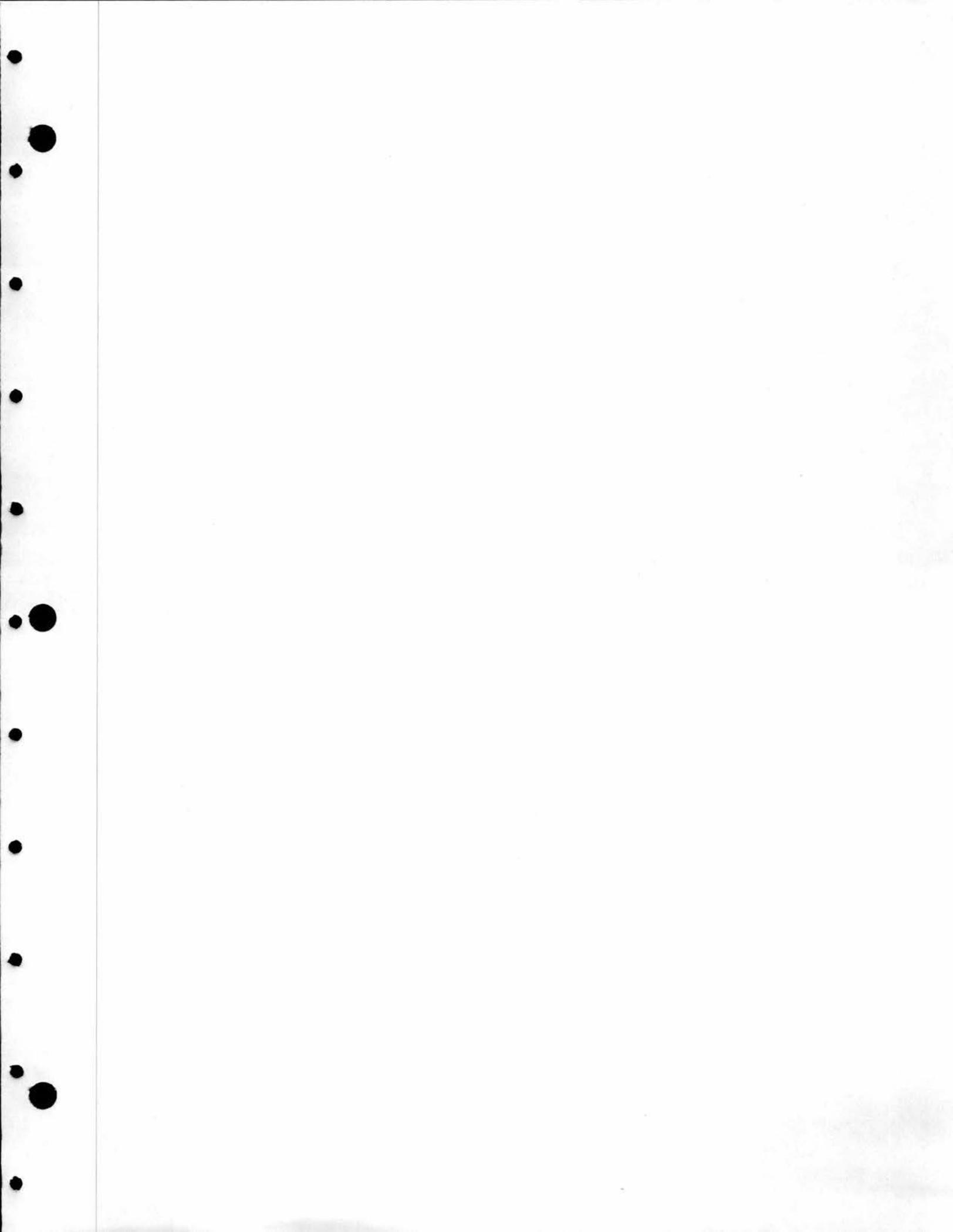


Plate 24

Pablo Reyes, the Matchmaker



The father of the boy and the matchmaker leave and return for a second visit exactly one week later, again bearing small gifts. The matchmaker repeats what he said on his first visit and asks if the father of the girl has an answer ready. The father of the girl states that their mission appears headed for success, as his daughter has consented to take the boy as her husband. He tells them to return the following week, as he now must try to arrange a family gathering.

One week later, the boy's father and the matchmaker return and repeat what was said on the first visit. They ask if all is being arranged. The girl's father reports that he has received approval from the other members of the family and that the next time they return he will have a date for the gathering.

On the fourth visit, one week later, the matchmaker again repeats what he said at the first meeting and asks if a date has been set. The father of the girl says that all has been arranged and that the boy, his family and the matchmaker should return the following week.

Finally, on the fifth visit, the boy, the matchmaker, and the boy's family go to the house of the girl. For the first time, the boy speaks to the father of the girl and to her family. He repeats, more or less, what the matchmaker has said on previous visits. The girl's father, mother, aunts and uncles then ask the matchmaker if the boy

is fully aware of the seriousness of the affair and if he knows that the agreement into which he is about enter is not a game but a sacred and delicate thing. The matchmaker explains that he has instructed the boy on the ways of life, and that the boy is from Tlacoapa and is therefore fully aware of the community's customs concerning marriage. Both the matchmaker and the boy must answer dozens of questions concerning the boy's past life and experiences. Often the interrogation becomes so heated as to reduce both the boy and the matchmaker to tears.

The girl must also go through rigorous questioning about her past life and about her preparedness for the life which she has chosen.

If all parties concerned are satisfied with the answers provided by the matchmaker, the boy and the girl, the couple is considered at the first stage of marriage.

At this point, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride automatically become compadres and comadres (co-parents) and signify this by addressing each other by the terms of compadre and comadre. The establishment of the compadrazgo (co-parenthood) relationship makes the wedding doubly sacred and binds the families together in two ways.

Food and drink from both sides are served, and a fiesta is held. This fiesta lasts the entire evening and

late into the following day. In some instances, the services of a shaman are used, and both families, through the shaman, make sacrifices to traditional Tlapanec gods. The shaman's skills are more commonly called upon for later ceremonies which are associated with more formal recognition of the marriage.

#### Bride Service

Following the marriage fiesta, the new couple lives matrilocally, and the groom immediately begins a period of bride service. His own family has left to return to their home in the same rancheria or in a rancheria several hours away. As one informant put it, "The boy's family literally takes the boy over to the girl's house for the purpose of leaving him there." The contract of bride service is symbolically initiated by the boy's addressing his father-in-law by the term añu (father) and the girl's father in return, addressing him by the term adio ŷama (son). The boy is treated as a son and given financial assistance by his father-in-law if the need arises. If a boy is doing bride service and is called to serve a cargo which requires that he be away from work for a long period of time, the father-in-law will assist him financially.

Bride service in one form or another is performed by a majority of married males in Tlacoapa (64.4 per cent) and is an important phase of marriage. In the past, all

men did bride service, and those who failed to comply were often jailed. At present, bride service is for a shorter period of time than in the past. Today, the length of time spent in bride service varies. Figure 5.1 illustrates the distribution in terms of years. The average time spent is approximately three years. The length of time is partially determined by the relative wealth of the boy's family vis-à-vis the girl's family. If the boy is very poor and marries a girl whose family is well off economically, then he will stand to gain more by living matrilocally and working for his father-in-law in hopes of a handsome inheritance through his wife. Another factor which seems to determine the length of time spent in bride service is the relationship which develops between the boy and his in-laws. Occasionally, this relationship becomes strained and forces the couple out of the home and back to the boy's home of orientation or to a location which relates to neither side of the family.

Boys with more education and greater exposure to customs of the outside world often renege on doing lengthy periods of bride service. This often creates a serious breakdown in the relationship between the couple and the girl's family, who are counting on the boy as help in family labor, farming, etc. One example of such a breakdown concerned a 30 year old Tlacoapa village official who deemed the custom of bride service old and archaic. He chose to

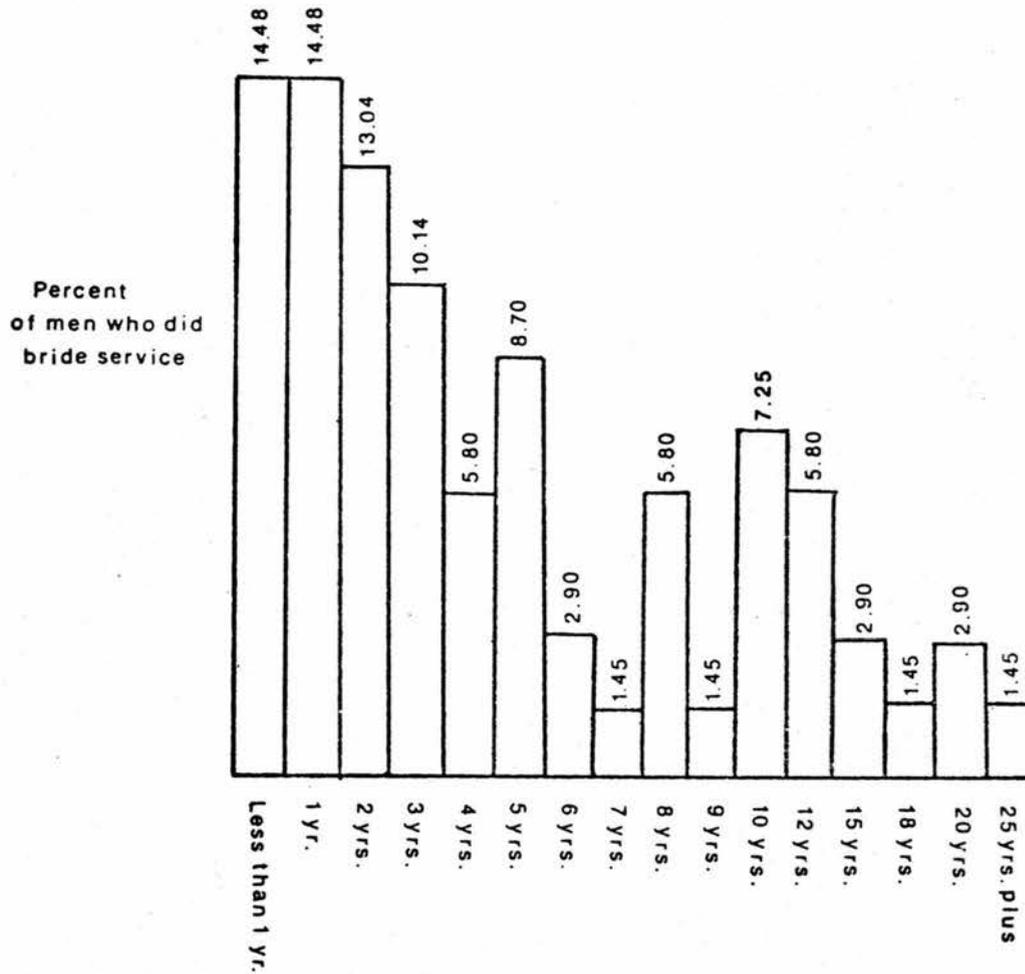


Figure 5.1

## Duration of Bride Service in Tlacoapa

Percentages are based on the total percentage of men who have done bride service (64.4 per cent of all married men).

work only two months for his father-in-law, and told him that it was sufficient to fulfill his obligation. The father-in-law thought differently and insisted that the boy remain a much longer period of time. The boy refused, and stated that he wanted to live alone with his wife. The father-in-law, seeing that he would be unable to retain his son's-in-law services, demanded that he be paid 18,000 pesos to make up for the loss of assistance. To date, the boy has refused to pay any portion of the amount requested by his wife's family, and they are no longer on speaking terms.

Ember and Ember (1973:326-27) suggest that in many parts of the world bride price may be used to supplant bride service. Whether or not this is the case in Tlacoapa is difficult to determine, since no other instances of this type have been reported. Conversely, it is difficult to say whether or not bride service supplements or perhaps has supplanted a past custom of bride price. Although I was told that on rare occasions bride price was paid in Tlacoapa, apparently bride price was not popular in past years. Neighboring groups such as Nahuatl speakers living near Tlapa and Chilapa still have strong bride price laws, however.

There are several conditions under which a boy will not have to do bride service. If a girl is an orphan, the

boy has no in-laws to hold him to the custom. This accounts for many cases where a boy has not participated in bride service. The illegitimacy of a bride's birth may also be a reason for a boy not to do bride service. Although the reasons are not entirely clear to me, illegitimate children apparently are not eligible for the same amount of inheritance afforded legitimate offspring. Such illegitimate children reside with their mothers who are living away from the children's biological fathers and are usually married to other men by whom they have had children who are legal. The illegitimate child is considered socially "extra-familial."

Another way of avoiding bride service is by asking and receiving from the father of the bride special permission not to reside in his home and work for him. Such requests are usually made in cases where a boy's parents are ill or where a boy's mother is widowed.

The pact established between the groom and his wife's family is based on reciprocity and has strong economic implications. The girl's family perceives the marriage of a daughter as subtracting one person from the family's labor force of the future. Since bride price is not paid, the only other option left open to the girl's family is requiring that their daughter's husband work for them in order to compensate for the inevitable loss in the future.

The boy's gains are two-fold. First, he acquires a wife whose assistance is crucial in the years ahead, someone to cook his meals and keep house while he is in the fields working. Secondly, the boy stands to receive lands from his wife's family through his wife's inheritance. This, however, is accomplished only after he has satisfied the requirements of bride service as established by his in-laws. Thus, the relationship which evolves through bride service is mutually beneficial to both parties. It also creates a certain mutual dependency between the boy and his in-laws.

Occasionally, bride service creates tremendous stresses within the girl's family. As mentioned before, the relationship between the boy and the girl's family sometimes becomes strained simply because the boy fails to establish favorable rapport with his in-laws or vice versa. Another frequent source of stress occurs when a boy marries into a home where there are unmarried females and he has sexual relations with his wife's sisters. In one case, a man married the eldest daughter of a family and resided matrilocally. The eldest daughter had a child by him. A short time later, his wife's sister had a child by him. The same thing happened with a third daughter. The man died some years later but, reportedly, not before he had fathered a total of 18 children within the same family.

In this particular case, the family managed to remain intact, with the man living in the company of his legal wife and her sisters, and avoided creating so much stress as to cause him to be ejected from the family. This, however, seems to be an exception to the rule, as most affairs of this nature result in the expulsion of the husband and his legal wife from their matrilocal residence.

Occasionally unmarried girls who become pregnant do not wish to divulge the names of their lovers, and are ordered jailed or are punished by their fathers, who fear having to support the illegitimate children if the biological fathers' names are not discovered. As one informant stated, "The girl remains in jail until she finally confesses the name of the man whose child she is carrying. She always confesses, and many times admits that it is 'mi cuñado' (my brother-in-law) who is to blame."

Certainly occurrences such as the one mentioned above are not typical of family life brought about by bride service. In general, the relationship established between the groom and his in-laws is congenial and homogeneous. Usually the boy establishes strong, positive ties with members of his wife's family, and often with the whole rancheria in which his in-laws reside. These ties often remain long after the couple has moved from the girl's home of orientation to reside elsewhere. Return visits and voluntary labor on the part of the boy usually last until the

death of his in-laws; even then, ties with siblings and friends of his wife may continue for a lifetime. When a boy's wife inherits her lands, this brings him back once again to work in the area in which he resided immediately after marriage.

Another positive consequence arising from matrilineal residence and bride service is that they lessen the chances of internal community disputes. Requiring that newlywed boys move out of their homes of orientation into the homes of their wives tends to scatter males and break up what Dival (1972:6) calls "fraternal interest groups." A boy's brothers are dispersed into various rancherías within the community, and are not around to provide support in disputes. Dival states that:

Political authority and warfare are always in the hands of males, regardless of the type of residency and descent pattern; thus the scattering of adult males under matrilocality has much more political and social significance than does the movement of females under patrilocality. With matrilineal residence, cultural values and rules which promote internal peace, harmony and group cohesion can develop and be maintained (1972:6).

This situation exists in Tlacoapa. Furthermore, such a dispersed pattern of male siblings creates inter-ranchería alliances. Since a high percentage of Tlacoapa males temporarily reside matrilocally, often in other rancherías, a boy is likely to have kin ties in other rancherías within the community. Therefore, chances of inter-ranchería conflict within Tlacoapa are lessened by these ties, and com-

munity cohesion is further realized.

In addition to the fact that bride service is prescribed behavior, another indication of the importance of this relationship is seen in the Tlapanec myth of Akuniya (rain god) and Mbatsu (fire god). This folktale was first reported by Lemley (1948).\*

Akuniya is father-in-law to Mbatsu who is married to Akuniya's daughter, María Cucharra (Mary Spoon). Mbatsu is doing bride service and is living matrilocally in Akuniya's house. Akuniya gets the impression that Mbatsu is lazy and not doing enough work. He decides to punish him by not sending any rain to Mbatsu's corn fields. Instead, he sends it all to his other son-in-law, Poajaro de Corre Camino (roadrunner). When Mbatsu discovers this, he leaves home in anger, thereby depriving Akuniya of fire to warm his tortillas and to clear his farm lands. He goes high into the mountains, and hides in the hollow of a tree trunk. When Akuniya sees that he no longer has fire in his home, he realizes that he has made a big mistake and decides to go and look for Mbatsu and beg him to return. After a long period of searching, Akuniya, with the help of a woodpecker, finds Mbatsu. He apologizes to him and promises that he will send rain to his fields. Mbatsu returns to the home of Akuniya and rekindles the fire. After this, all is good.

As in real life father-in-law/son-in-law relations, Akuniya and Mbatsu are dependent upon each other. Each can survive only if the other is there to help. Without the help from his father-in-law, Mbatsu will have no rain for his crops; without his son-in-law, Akuniya will have no fire to help clear his fields and warm his torillas.

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\*The liberal rendition offered here is taken from a myth recorded by me, but closely resembles Lemley's recording in content.

Each must respect the other. This myth is a good example of what Malinowski means when he states that myth often strengthens and validates social organization (1954:146). In the past, this myth was told to Tlapanec children, and perhaps set a pattern in their minds as to the importance of the relationship between the father-in-law and son-in-law. It established guidelines for ideal behavior when they finally reached the age to be faced with the same relationship. It is interesting to note, however, that this myth is being forgotten, and today many Tlapanec youth grow up without ever hearing it. At the same time, bride service has taken on an aura of being old-fashioned, and an increasing number of young men seek to avoid it and often do.

#### Burning of the Firewood Ceremony

Tlacoapeno marriages do not become finalized until one last ceremony is performed. This ceremony is called the Burning of the Firewood Ceremony (nja mika isu), and is the largest and most colorful event connected with marriage. As we shall see, this ceremony further cements the internal ties of the community established by the wedding and the obligations of bride service.

The Burning of the Firewood ceremony takes place outside of the structure of Catholic marriage, and its continuation from previous times is probably a response to the

deficiencies perceived by the people to be inherent in the Catholic ceremony.

The Burning of the Firewood (BF) ceremony is performed in various forms in the area surrounding the municipio of Tlacoapa including Malinaltepec and Zapotitlán Tablas. Certain portions of the BF ceremony described here are similar to Tlapanec ceremonies in Malinaltepec reported by Schultze-Jena (1938) and various Chontal rituals recorded by Carrasco (1960). All three groups involve the sacrifice of carefully counted items, often offered in bundle form. The timing of the BF ceremony varies. In near-by Apetzuca, it takes place immediately following the wedding. In Tlacoapa, it occurs at a later time. Occasionally, it immediately follows the birth of the first child. The specific ceremony from which this account is drawn occurred six years after the couple had begun their marriage process. The groom had done two years of bride service and then moved into a patri-vecinal\* residence, where he and his wife had resided for four years. The families of the bride and the groom had wanted to have the BF ceremony immediately following the completion of bride service; but, due to illnesses on both sides of the family, the ceremony was postponed until later. Since the ceremony involves

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\*Patri-vecinal residency is used to denote residency in an area near to that of the parents of the groom instead of residency in the same house or compound.

making offerings to traditional Tlapanec dieties such as Mbatsu and Akunba (earth god), it is performed high in the mountains, away from the eyes of Catholic priests.

Preparations for the BF ceremony usually begin three or four days prior to the actual event. At this time, the close relatives of the boy gather in the house of the boy's parents. There they prepare the thousands of requisitos (required items) which will be offered as the boy's family's part of the ceremony. Likewise, relatives of the girl meet at her parents' house to prepare the same items. Both families have been instructed by an attending shaman to prepare specific numbers and kinds of items. The shaman determines the precise number of items by tradition and various methods of divination. The most common means of divination is referred to as mediendo el hueso (measuring the bone), and is described in detail in Appendix Separate divination is done for each ceremony, and there is no exact consistency from one ceremony to another. It is essential, however, that the exact number of sacrificial objects be utilized or else the blessings sought by the two families will not be realized. Schultze-Jena (1938) states that in neighboring Malinaltepec extra bundles of objects are offered to assure that the required numbers will be utilized.

The shaman's services are procured by the boy's family, and he accompanies them to the site where the

ceremony is to be held. The shaman used in the ceremony observed was reported to be the best and most knowledgeable in the area. He learned his part-time profession from a now-deceased shaman under whom he acted as apprentice for a number of years. He was held in highest esteem by the entire community. Shamans are always addressed by the honorific term of maestro (master). In addition to performing at BF ceremonies, shamans also officiate at the Day of Akuniya (April 25th) and various ceremonies connected with curing. The position of shaman is the pinnacle of the disappearing traditional religious hierarchy. Others can divine and cure, but only a shaman can officiate at such important ceremonies as the BF ceremony and the Day of Akuniya.

On the eve of the ceremony, the boy's family leaves its residence and walks in a group to the home of the girl's family. Each person carries a heavy load of items with a tumpline. Upon arrival, they find a newly constructed shelter provided by the girl's family, which will be their spot of shade and rest for the days to come. The girl's family is already present in a similar structure about fifty meters away. In between these two structures is the ceremonial arena (Figure 5.2). It is located on the exact spot where the girl was born, and is outlined by artificially planted trees. Within the tree boundary, low

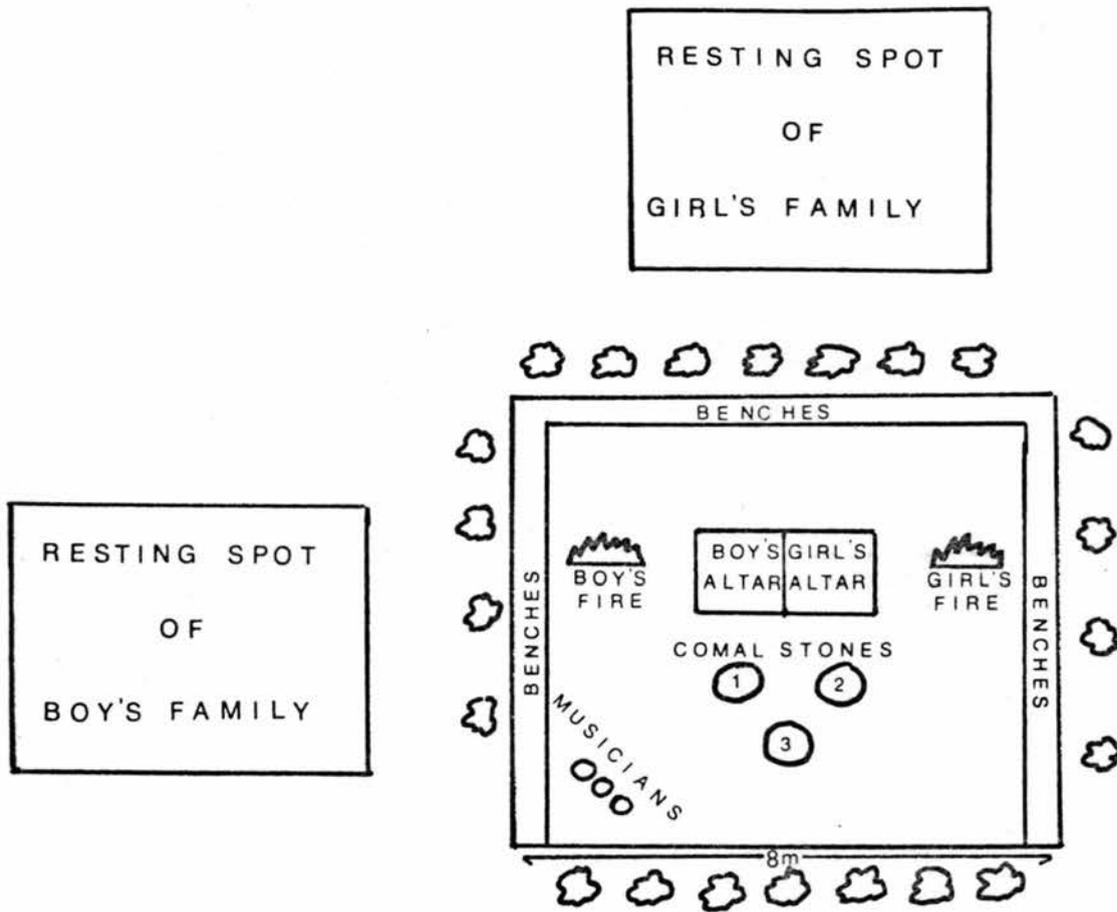


Figure 5.2

Physical Setting for Burning of the Firewood Ceremony

benches form a "U" with the approximate dimensions of seven by eight meters. One half of this ceremonial arena is set aside for the girl's family, and the other half is for the boy's family. Three large stones are located in the middle of the arena, and are arranged as if a giant comal (ceramic griddle) were to be placed on top of them.

Shortly after the arrival of the boy's family, older members of the girl's family leave their resting spot and walk over to the benches lining the girl's side of the ceremonial arena. There they are seated in descending order according to age. After all are seated, the eldest member of the boy's family of orientation (in this case his father) goes over and squats in front of the eldest attending member of the girl's family of orientation (in this case her grandfather) and begins to chat. He asks how things have been going and if crops and health have been good. The grandfather responds appropriately, and the same questions are asked of the boy's father. The boy's father moves on down the line, asking the same questions and receiving basically the same answers, until he has spoken to all seated on the girl's side of the arena. Meanwhile, the next-to-the-eldest follows the same pattern, and so on down the line until all important members of the boy's family have respectfully offered their greetings to all important members of the girl's family. The shaman, while not a

relative, participates in this exchange of greetings as part of the boy's family, and follows the boy's padrino de bautismo (godfather of baptism) in rank.

Upon conclusion of the formal greetings, the boy's father addresses the girl's family, which has remained seated, and tells them that he and his family have come to burn firewood with them. He states that he and his family have brought all of the required items needed to make a good ceremony, and that they have also brought along a shaman who will honor them by officiating.

Night falls and musicians arrive--two with guitars and one with a violin. They are seated in chairs at one corner of the boy's side of the arena, and continually play the same tune throughout the night. The music is festive. Two small fires are kindled, one on the girl's side of the arena and one on the boy's side. Each family clusters around their own fire to warm themselves and to assist in the preparation of sacrificial objects for the ceremony. Members of the girl's family remain on their side of the arena, as do members of the boy's family.

Around nine in the evening, the shaman announces that he is ready to start building the sacrificial fire. He starts on the boy's side of the altar and is assisted by members of the boy's family. The first items to be placed on the fire altar are logs: 16 green logs and 16 dry logs

are placed between stones one and three in Figure 5.2. Only the shaman can place items on the fire altar, and throughout the evening everything must pass through his hands before going onto the altar. Just before the logs are placed between the comal stones, the boy breathes heavily on the first piece to indicate that the gift is from his family. After the 32 logs have been placed, the same procedure is followed by the girl's family. The girl breathes heavily on the first of the 32 logs which are placed between stones two and three. Both sides are then blessed by the shaman, who walks around the logs carrying a piece of broken pottery on which rest coals from the boy's fire and coals from the girl's fire. Copal (incense) is on top of the coals. He asks Mbatsu to bless the boy and the girl. In addition, it is common in most currently practiced Tlapanec rituals to ask the blessings of the Catholic God and saints. The incantations to both the traditional gods and Catholic God and saints concern the future well-being of the couple. Schultze-Jena (1938), in describing a somewhat similar type of Tlapanec marriage ceremony, reports that in addition to prayers to Akunba and the Catholic God and saints, appeals are also issued to the evil souls of the dead, asking that they not bring bad luck to the couple.

Next, an area approximately one meter in front of the three comal stones is brushed clean and, starting on

the boy's side, a soft cover of shmabu (long, green, straw-like needles) is spread out. These needles are found only in swamps and water holes which are considered the abodes of Akuniya. With the girl's side still untouched, the shaman neatly stacks the following items on top of the prepared ground cover of the boy's side:\*

100 bundles of 100 shmabu needles

16 bundles of 16 shmabu needles

14 bundles of 14 shmabu needles

9 bundles of 9 shmabu needles

130 strings of flowers, each containing 8 blossoms

130 waxed candle wicks

130 pieces of bark from the copal tree

130 pieces of copal

4 bundles of sweet leaves, each bundle containing 12 leaves and draped with flowers

At this point the shaman places a piece of burning copal in between the boy's altar and the stack of wood. A candle is lighted, and more copal is burned and passed over the boy's prepared section of the altar, and again prayers are said. One bundle of flowers is placed on top of the wood. Now the shaman crosses over to the girl's side of

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\*The number of objects placed on the altar was not always consistent with the number the shaman said he was placing. I feel this was due to undetected error. The figures presented here are those which the shaman said he placed.

the altar and stacks the identical objects on the prepared ground cover. As before, this portion of the ceremony culminates with the burning of copal, and prayers.

The shaman returns to the boy's side of the altar and offers additional items in the following manner: four chicken eggs are broken and spread on the ground between the altar and the pile of wood. The shells are placed on the ground, leaning against the bottom of the pile of wood.

A baby chick is held over the area between the altar and the woodpile. A string of flowers is draped around its neck, and prayers are offered. The chick's head is then pulled off, and blood is sprinkled over the four eggs. The body and head are then stuffed into the pile of wood.

An adult hen is held over the same area and decapitated with the shaman's knife. Again, blood is sprinkled over the four eggs. The head of the chicken is placed in with the logs, and the body is placed in a bowl and handed to members of the boy's family who will cut out the breast and place it into a jar of water to boil on the boy's fire. The remaining portion of the hen is returned to the shaman, who blesses it and places it on top of the pile of wood.

Eleven candles are stuck into the ground in front of the boy's section of the altar.

At this point, copal is passed over the boy's side of the altar and prayers are said. The shaman returns to the girl's side and repeats the same process, ending with

blessings and copal.

Raw cotton brought from the Costa Chica is carefully spread on top of the boy's side of the altar. The following items are placed neatly on top of the cotton:

- 130 tamales (2 cm. long)
- 130 tortillas (3 cm. wide)
- 130 pieces of boiled chicken

Hot chicken broth is poured over the tamales, tortillas, and chicken meat. Copal is passed over the altar, and again prayers are offered to Mbatsu.

The same is done to the girl's side; the shaman returns to the boy's side, where tied bundles of bamboo sections are filled with liquids and placed in the area between the altar and the woodpile. The following liquids are offered:

- 100 small bamboo sections of chilote (alcoholic sweet drink)
- 30 small bamboo sections of pulque
- 14 small bamboo sections of aguardiente
- 6 small bamboo sections of plain water
- 14 small bamboo sections of blessed water
- 4 large bamboo section of chilote
- 50 small bamboo sections of atole blanco
- 50 small bamboo sections of atole dulce
- 4 large bamboo sections of atole blanco

The last three items offered are each topped with a paper-thin tortilla which is used only on festive occasions and is called mashigo.

The shaman places two large bundles of sweet leaves and flowers on top of the altar, and blessings are said. He is passed a bottle of chilote by the boy's family and takes a drink. The boy's side of the altar is now complete, and the shaman returns to finish the girl's side of the offering.

After the girl's side is completed, the shaman returns once again to the boy's side and places 16 long, green logs and 16 long, dry logs on the pile in such a way as to connect the altar with the original stack of firewood. The same is done to the girl's side. A long lasso of flowers is wrapped around the entire altar and woodpiles, encompassing both the boy's side and the girl's side.

Finally, a piece of ocote is lighted from the boy's fire, and the boy's side of the offering is ignited. The same is done to the girl's side. Prayers are said; incense is burned by the shaman, who now passes it over both sides of the altar.

The music grows louder and livelier, and the girl's father brings out a new petate which he spreads in front of the newly kindled offering. The boy kneels on the side of the petate which is in front of his side of the offering and the girl, likewise, on her side. Kneeling shows

respect. They face each other, and crawl to each other, and lightly embrace. This occurs four times. Each stands and, for the first time since the ceremony started, nine hours before, the boy crosses over to the girl's side of the arena and kneels, and the girl crosses over to the boy's side and kneels. They again crawl toward each other and embrace four times. They stand and return to their original sides, join hands with each other, and start dancing, shifting from one side of the petate to the other. This portion of the BF ceremony is similar to an Aztec wedding reported by Kingsborough (1830-48:62), except that among the ancient Aztecs the boy and the girl were tied together by their clothing, symbolizing unity. The string of flowers around the altar of the BF ceremony symbolizes the same thing (Plates 25, 26).

The major portion of the BF ceremony is now completed. Members of both families now rest and wait for dawn and the morning feast which is to follow.

At mid-morning, the girl's family, now including the boy, is seated on the benches of the ceremonial arena. They are to be fed breakfast by the boy's family. Seating is indicative of relationship and importance. Women always sit to the left of their husbands, and general order is determined by the relationship of each individual to the girl. The person who is seated furthest away from the

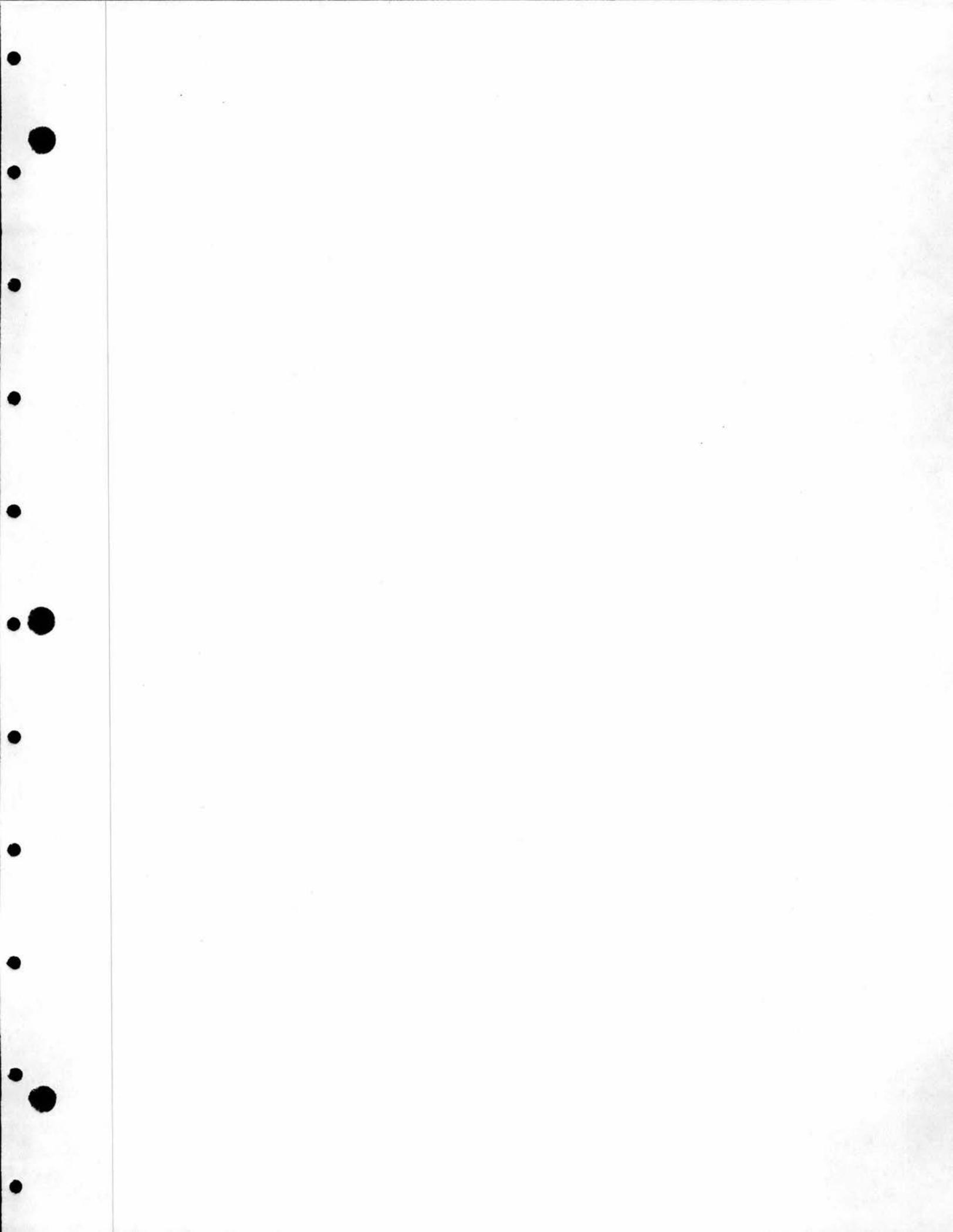


Plate 25

Shaman and Assistant Making Sacrifice at the  
Burning of the Firewood Ceremony

Plate 26

Tlacoapeno Couple Kneeling to Finalize  
Marriage



girl represents the most distant of her reckoned kin. The bride's maternal kin and her paternal kin are interwoven, indicating a bilateral kinship system. If a member of the family cannot be present, he or she may send a daughter or son, with spouses, to sit in his or her place (Figure 5.3). This results in some confusion in determining kin importance.

Petates covered with blankets and cloths are spread before the honored family, and 12 large tortillas, 12 large tamales, a jicara of water and a jicara of goat's meat are placed in front of each member of the girl's family. The bride, the groom, and the shaman (with his wife) are given double servings. After the food has been served, a representative of the boy's family goes to each individual member of the girl's family and tells them that the food in front of them is for them alone and that it is a gift from the boy's family. Next, the shaman passes around a bowl in which each person places a small bit of meat, tortilla, and tamal. A separate bowl is used for the food given by the girl and the boy. The shaman takes the two bowls over to the smoldering embers of the ceremonial fire and empties their contents into it as an offering on behalf of the good health, prosperous future, and happiness of the couple. He returns to his seat. The boy's father walks over to the girl's father and makes a very formal and solemn speech. He asks him please to forgive that the food is bad and the

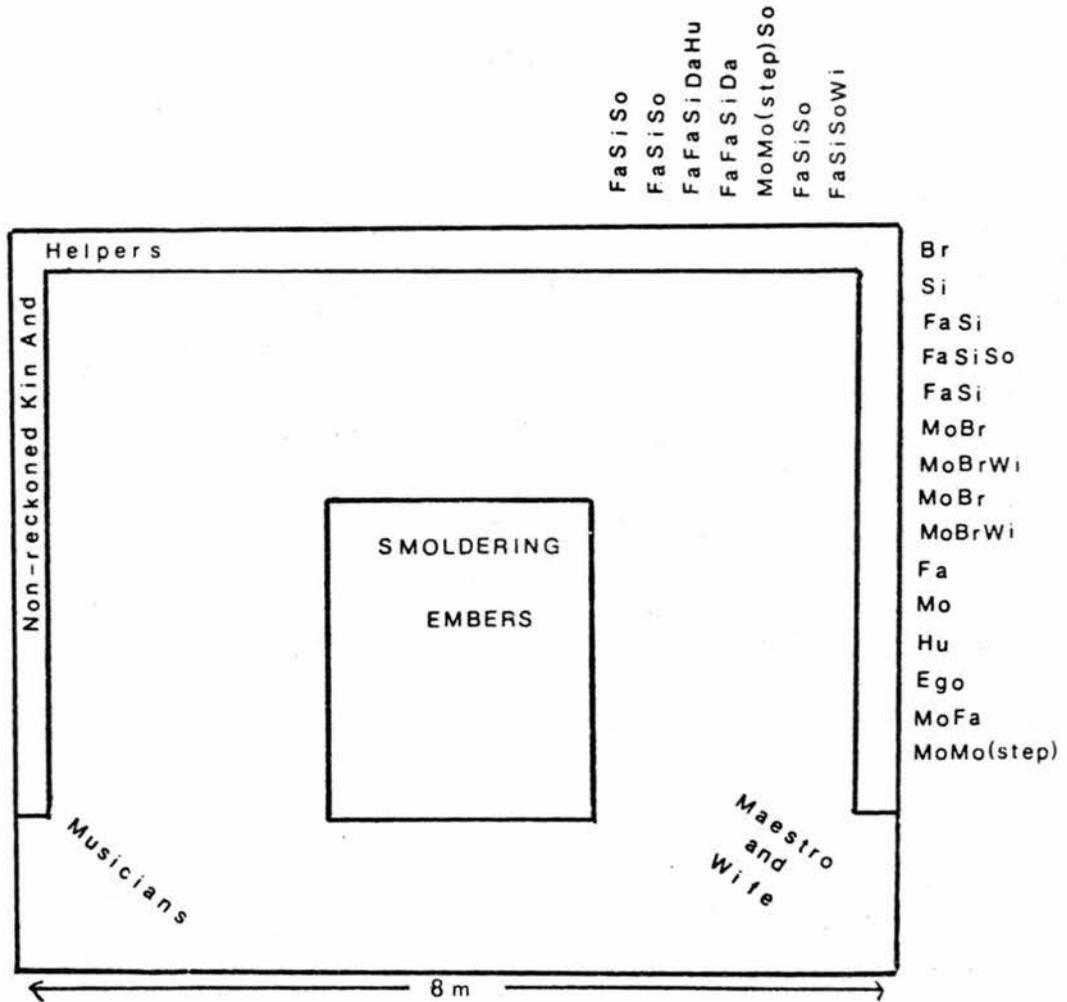


Figure 5.3  
Seating Order of Bride's Family at the  
Burning of the Firewood Ceremony

tortillas cold, and thanks him for enduring the sufferings of the previous night. He begs that the meal be accepted, repeatedly apologizing for its simplicity. The girl's father takes a bite of the food, and the rest of those seated begin eating their gifts from the boy's family. Since the amount of food placed in front of each individual is far too much to eat in a single sitting, left-overs are wrapped and eaten later. After all have finished eating, the father of the boy is called over and given formal thanks by the girl's family.

The feast is repeated two hours later when the boy's family is fed by the girl's family (Figure 5.4), following the process as used first by the boy's family to feed the girl's family. Thus end the formal aspects of the BF ceremony.

The next two days are marked by eating, drinking, and dancing. Drinking is often carried to excess, and occasionally fist fights occur; but, in general, the ceremony will be recalled as a time of gaiety and harmony. Three days after the ceremony began, the boy's family packs up their remaining goods and walks back to their rancheria. The marriage is now final. The offerings and sacrifices of the past three days have been successfully performed. Assurance that no ill or bad luck will descend upon the couple has been gained through gifts to Mbatsu, Akunba, and

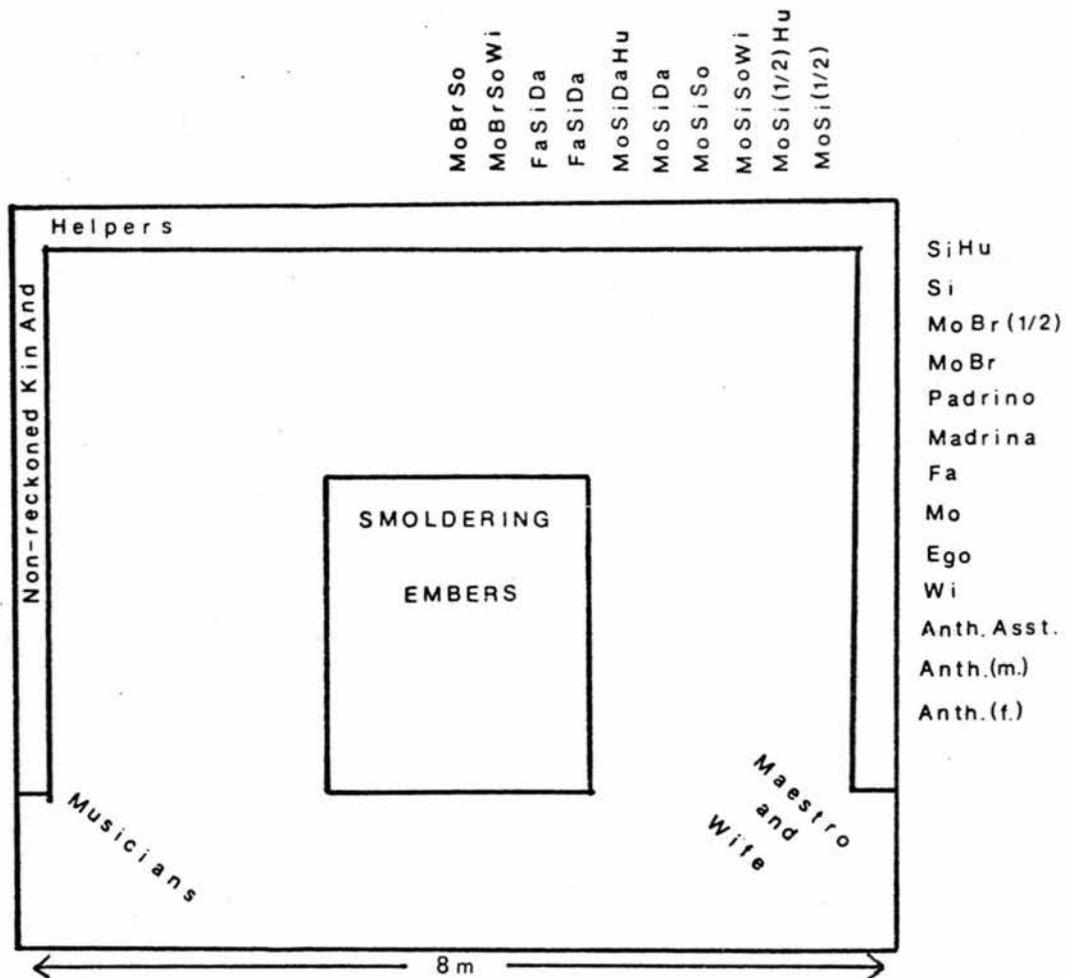


Figure 5.4

Seating Order of the Groom's Family at the  
Burning of the Firewood Ceremony

to those evil spirits which may be present in the future.

Limits of social interaction have been established through the BF ceremony. Both at the initial greeting session and later at the morning feasts, kinship groups were defined and their internal hierarchies clearly exposed for the benefit of the other family. A pattern of prescribed behavior has emerged, so that in the future neither family will fail to recognize the positions of members of the other.

#### Conclusion

We have seen that marriage, through its sanctions of bride choice, helps define the group. The outermost limits from which a boy chooses a bride are congruent with those of the communal land area. To select a bride from outside of this area would be in violation of the norms of Tlacoapa culture. Exceptions to this norm are rare but they do occur. Through its multiple familial ties, marriage brings the community closer together. Because of geographical separation, the families involved would otherwise have little opportunity to interact. These ties are established in several ways: 1) through matrilocal residency which requires that a boy live with his in-laws for a rather extensive period of bride service, thereby establishing rapport with his newly adopted family and others living in a different part of the community than his own; 2) through

compadrazgo ties established at the time of the wedding between the parents of the boy and the parents of the girl; and 3) through indirect ties resulting from two brothers living matrilocally in separate rancherías, thereby linking those rancherías together in a fashion nonexistent prior to their marriages. These ties are reduced to diagram form in Figure 5.5. If one were to multiply these ties by the number of marriages which result in matriloal residency each year, the network would tightly lace the entire community together.

We have seen that families are brought together by the actual rituals of the wedding and the BF ceremony. The BF ceremony has reinforced a sense of community between the two families. It symbolically recognizes that out of two separate and distant homes has come a new one. This new home is founded on elements from both the boy's family and the girl's family. The carefully counted items offered in sacrifice are symbolic of those things which help sustain Tlapanec life. Food and drink, often difficult to obtain, are offered conspicuously in forms characteristic of Tlapanec diet. The raw cotton placed on the altar by the shaman is symbolic of the tablecloth on which food and drink are served for special occasions. The two separate fires represent the points around which the families gather to warm themselves and to prepare daily meals.

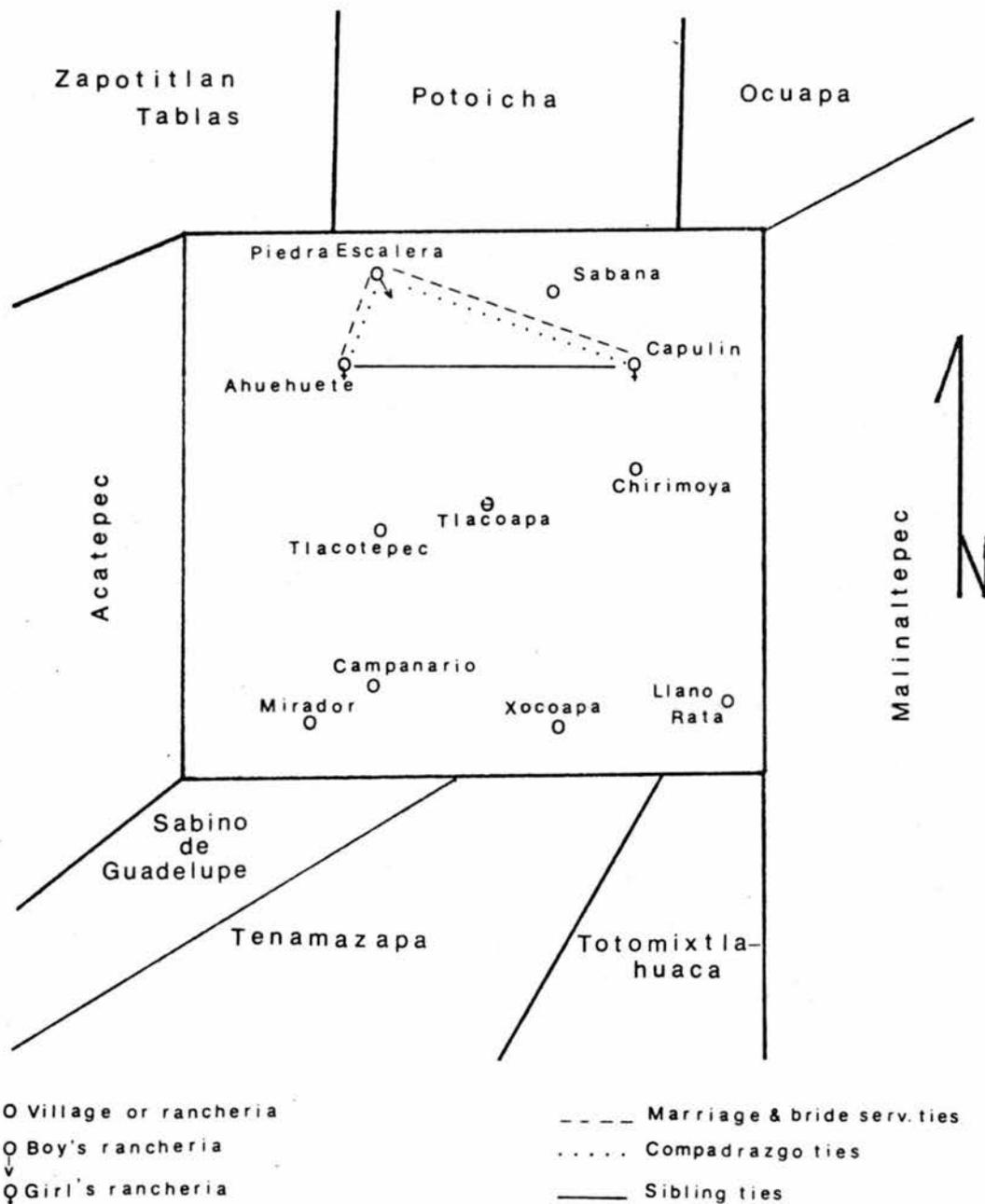


Figure 5.5  
 Internal Ties of Marriage

These hearths are also the cores of the homes of orientation around which revolve the life cycles of the boy and the girl. These homes are places where the boy and the girl were conceived (represented by the egg), spent their childhood (represented by the chick), and grew to maturity (represented by the adult chicken). Perhaps these elements which are symbolic of the life cycle are offered by both families in the hope that the same cycle will become manifest again in the new home.

In addition, both families have endured the discomforts of sleeplessness and cold. The items which have been given were not easy to provide; but both families participated, and they did so willingly. Ties between the two families are strengthened through the equal exchange and consumption of goods and energies. The experiences, suffering, and sacrifices have been mutually felt.

Finally, this marriage ceremony is a regulatory device which addresses itself to the requirements of the church as well as to the needs of the community. The Catholic church requires that all unions be sanctified according to established Catholic doctrine. Tlacoapenos, anxious not to alienate the church, conform to this law of church marriage, and a majority of Tlacoapeno marriages receive church sanctification. The Catholic service, however, does not fulfill the functional requirements of Tlacoapeno so-

ciety, and Tlacoapenos perceive that extra-Catholic ritual is necessary in order to make marriage more meaningful. Consequently, traditional ceremonies, such as the Burning of the Firewood, are performed. Through such rituals, the internal bonds of Tlacoapa are re-inforced and community boundaries are further strengthened.

## CHAPTER VI

### TLACOAPENOS IN MEXICO CITY

"Sometimes I have dreams in which I travel to other parts. Sometimes I fly with wings, and sometimes I go on horseback. I have this dream over and over again."

--Alberto Lopez, age 28

Mexico is one of the best and, in many ways, the most frightening examples of rural-urban migration in the world today. Mexico City, the focal point of most of Mexico's rural-urban migration, has grown in population from approximately 330,000 inhabitants in 1900 to over 8,000,000 in 1970. Much attention has been given to this phenomenon by socialists, economists, anthropologists, and others. Many studies have focused on the causes and patterns of migration. Others concentrate on the effects migration has had on migrants or on the centers of migration. Few, however, have attended to the important roles recent migrants to urban centers play in the continuation of the societies which they left. Lewis (1952), Hafer (1971) and King (1967) are among the few investigators who have given attention to this aspect of the rural-urban migration phenomenon. In this chapter, I describe and discuss the causes, patterns and consequences of Tlacoapeno migration to urban

areas, principally Mexico City.

In previous chapters I have discussed formal institutions such as the civil-religious organization, marriage, and market. Here, I discuss and examine a more loosely organized aspect of Tlacoapeno life, the informal organization of Tlacoapenos now living in Mexico City. I demonstrate how this informal organization, through its composition and elements of exclusion or inclusion, reflects the boundaries of the mountain community group. I will also examine ways in which migrants assist in the maintenance of these boundaries through moral, financial, and logistical support.

Finally, this organization is examined to see how it functions to regulate input to the mountain community and sifts out outside elements potentially disruptive to Tlacoapa. It is also examined as a device through which Tlacoapa is able to translate the needs of the community into language acceptable to the outside world.

Many Tlacoapenos have developed negative attitudes about urban life, either through personal experience or from those who have visited cities and returned with tales of being cheated, abused or made sick by the strange foods. Tlacoapenos seem convinced that they enter the cities at a great disadvantage, and that certain elements of the urban population are forever on the lookout for campesinos

(farmers) or gente indígena (indigenous people) and seek to take advantage of them. Unfortunately, this is often the case.

One main informant, a man now in his fifties, told of a visit he made to Mexico City some years back to visit with his brother. Upon arriving at the bus station, he was coaxed into a taxi and told that he would be taken to his brother's house. They rode around the city for a long time, and finally arrived in an area which the driver said was the neighborhood of my informant's brother. When he asked the fare, he was told that it would be 165 pesos. He complained, but was told that if he did not pay the amount cited, he could expect to spend the night in jail. And so, reluctantly the 165 pesos were surrendered. The trip should have cost a maximum of 10 pesos even today. This man has not been back to Mexico City since.

Most Tlacoapenos are alarmed by the overcrowding, polluted air, and lack of high quality food in Mexico City. Many believe that corncoobs are ground in with kernels to make tortills which are much less nutritious than those available in Tlacoapa. In spite of these negative attitudes, Tlacoapenos migrate to urban areas at a high rate. Some leave for only a short time and return. Some leave and settle, only to return from time to time to visit with friends and family. Still others leave and disappear for-

ever into the masses of the urban population, never to be heard from again by their families.

It is difficult to determine the exact number of people who have left Tlacoapa and are now a part of the greater population of urban areas. Census A revealed that 36 per cent of Tlacoapa's households now have members who are residing outside of the Tlapanec area.\* Census A also revealed that there are approximately 175 to 250 Tlacoapenos now living in urban settings, mainly in Mexico City. How many Tlacoapenos have engaged in temporary emigration in the past and returned to live in the community is not possible to determine based on the information now available. Figure 2 shows a considerable decrease in Tlacoapa's population for ages 16 through 25. Part of this decrease can be attributed to emigration. This is especially the case among females between the ages of 11 and 20.

Rural-urban migration of Tlacoapenos is not a recent phenomenon, and it appears to have been going on for at least 60 years. Earlier migrations, however, were less pronounced than the heavy pattern seen today. This increase, for both males and females, can be attributed to a

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\*This percentage is based on the total number of families in the census, and does not accurately reflect the degree of migration since many families do not yet have members who are old enough to leave. I suspect that the migration percentage of the families with members old enough to do so is much higher than 36 per cent, perhaps as much as double.

number of factors. Spanish now being taught in Tlacoapa's school permits Tlacoapa's young people more mobility outside of the Tlapanec-speaking area. Better transportation facilities from Zapotitlán Tablas and Tlapa to urban areas such as Chilpancingo, Acapulco and Mexico City have also increased the attractiveness of travel, and have eased the logistics of migration.

#### Causes of Migration

Causes of migration from Tlacoapa to urban areas during previous decades are difficult to determine because of lack of historical data. In a previous section on the history of Tlacoapa, I briefly mentioned that the community was twice abandoned, with Tlacoapenos fleeing to other parts of the Tlapanec area and to urban areas. Evidently, the first significant migration to urban areas occurred during one of these periods, the 1910-1920 Mexican Revolution. Tlacoapa, while not actively participating in the Revolution, did have its share of violence and disruption of peaceful routine. For almost a decade, people on both sides of the conflict marched through the community, often looting and burning as they went. Apparently, law depended on the whims of the group in control of the area at the time. Armies on the move rely heavily upon the local population to provide food, shelter and diversion. Tlacoapenos, perhaps

fearing loss of life and property, began to leave and seek shelter elsewhere. Many went to urban areas where things were more peaceful. Some stayed, but most returned following the cessation of hostilities. Eder (1965) sees this escape from rural violence following the fall of the Díaz regime as one of the main factors in the rapid urbanization process of Mexico.

The earliest personal migration account recorded was during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940). Under the direction of Cárdenas, a number of trade schools were established which catered to the indigenous population of Guerrero. Since transportation and room and board were provided by the federal government, several Tlacoapenos took advantage of the offer and left the community to live in boarding schools in the State of Morelos and elsewhere. Most were men, and all were over the age of 15. When these schools were closed because of lack of funds, students were forced to leave, and many went to Mexico City and other urban areas where job opportunities were greater. Research revealed that at least two men who left Tlacoapa during this period and settled in Mexico City are still living there. A third man later went to the United States and worked as a laborer during the Second World War. He subsequently returned to the community with considerable financial assets, took a wife in Tlacoapa, and re-established his legacy of subsistence farming.

Present causes of migration are varied and seem to be related to a number of factors. In general, Tlacoapa's urban migrations are the result of the same "push" and "pull" factors mentioned by various researchers for other parts of Latin America (Hauser and Echeverria 1961; Davis 1965; and Holmberg 1960). I feel that increased population pressures in Tlacoapa may be creating an imbalance in the land/population ratio, in spite of what informants told me to the contrary. This, in effect, may be "pushing" a portion of the local population out of the area. In contrast, the knowledge of better and more varied economic choices on the outside, coupled with superior educational opportunities, tend to "pull" people to urban areas.

According to Census C, administered to 50 Tlacoapenos living in Mexico City, the majority cited economic reasons for leaving the community. Many stated that they wanted to improve their standard of living. Others mentioned they wanted to become better educated, especially in the Spanish language. Many boys leave the community right after finishing primary school and go to urban areas seeking adventure. Often they are influenced by tales of urban life related to them by their schoolteachers in the community, or receive glittering reports from older siblings who have migrated before them.

Girls usually go to urban centers for economic reasons. Very seldom do they leave without a guaranteed job,

usually obtained through a sibling or other relative. Parents are more willing to let their daughters migrate than their sons since most young women become domestic maids which means they will have free room and board plus a small salary, a good portion of which can be sent back to their families in the community. Each week, one finds the mails filled with money orders from Tlacoapenos, especially females, living in Mexico City.

Decisions to leave Tlacoapa are often very difficult to make. Migration means giving up long and strong ties of friendship and going to places filled with strangers and different customs. Decisions must also be made on whether or not to leave elderly parents with little or no assistance in farming or housework. Feelings on this are expressed in one man's personal history of migration in Appendix

There is little difference between the number of males who migrate to urban areas and the number of females. Census A revealed that of 75 individuals who are now living outside of the Tlapanec area, approximately 48 per cent are female and 44 per cent are male. The sex of the remaining 8 per cent was not revealed in the data. Age at time of migration runs from 13 years to 24 years (Figure 6.1). Girls tend to leave at an earlier age than boys, probably because young girls are able to find work as domestic ser-

<u>Age</u>	<u>Males (n-23)</u>	<u>Females (n-22)</u>
24		1
22		1
21	1	1
20	7	3
19	4	1
18	3	3
17	3	2
16	2	2
15	1	3
14	1	2
13	1	3
Average Age	18.08 Years	17.18 Years

Figure 6.1  
Age at Time of Migration  
from Tlacoapa

vants while boys in their mid-teens would have a difficult time locating jobs. Additionally, boys are more likely to finish primary school before migrating than are girls. None of the women questioned in Mexico City were married when they left the community and only 10.6 per cent of the men were. This, of course, does not mean that no married women migrate. All of the men who were married when they migrated were married to Tlacoapa women, but these women were not included in the census. Nevertheless, the number of unmarried women migrants is exceptionally high in comparison to other places in Mexico. Betterworth (1962:110), for example, reports that all female migrants from the Mixtec community of Tilantongo, Oaxaca, were married when they left the community except young daughters who accompanied their parents.

#### Geographical Patterns of Migration

Mexico City is the focal point of most of Tlacoapa's migration. Forty-seven point ninety per cent of all Tlacoapa migrants now reside in that capital city (Figure 6.2). Mexico City's reputation for being the political, industrial, religious, and educational core of the Republic has been firmly planted in the minds of most Tlacoapa schoolchildren by their teachers, and this, more than any other factor, accounts for its popularity. In addition, past negative experiences in smaller, intermediary towns such as Tlapa

<u>Destination</u>	<u>Per Cent of Total Migrants</u>
Mexico City	48.0
Chilpancingo	11.0
Acapulco	6.8
Iguala	6.8
Cuernavaca	5.5
Tlapa	5.5
Guadalajara	2.7
Other Places	13.7
	<hr/>
	100.0

Figure 6.2  
Points to Which Tlacoapenos  
Migrate (n-73)

discourages migration to such places. In Tlapa, for instance, Tlacoapenos have to deal with condescending Mestizos who treat them detrimentally. In Mexico City, Indian origin eventually loses its importance, and one's identity can more easily be disguised to blend in with the masses of the working class.

Kemper (1971:38-39) suggests that in Latin America today there are three geographical patterns of migration. First, the pattern of "direct migration" occurs and is one in which persons move directly from their villages to large urban areas. Second, there is the "migration in stages" type in which people move from their villages to small towns and then, sometime later, move on to large cities. The third type of migration is "swallow" or "dispersed" migration in which migrants may move in a "somewhat random manner from villages to their ultimate destinations--usually the large cities--in response to available work or the location of friends and relatives."

While "direct migration" is the most common pattern in much of Latin America (United Nations 1957), in the case of Tlacoapa, migration patterns seem to be a combination of "direct migration" and "migration in stages." There is a clear distinction between male and female migration patterns, however. Census C revealed that while only 20.6 per cent of females questioned had lived and worked in places intermediary between the community and Mexico City, 58.6 per cent

of the males questioned migrated stage by stage to Mexico City, their final destination. Again, this discrepancy is probably due to the nature of employment sought by each group. Tlacoapa men, the majority of whom seek manual labor, are able to find employment in places other than the capital. Women, usually destined to become domestics, stand better chances of finding that type of work in the more affluent sections of Mexico City than in towns outside of the capital.

#### In Mexico City

Most migrants who arrive in the city are faced with a number of immediate problems, foremost of which is finding a place to live. Most people have kinfolks in Mexico city, fictive, affinal, or consanguineal, who have migrated before them. For these people, moving into a relative's house is a temporary solution to the problem. Those who do not have such contacts, if such migrants exist, presumably leave the community with enough money to engage a place to sleep until employment is found. Although the sample gained through Census C is inadequate to present a true picture of residential patterns in Mexico City, it does suggest that Tlacoapenos are not randomly distributed throughout the city but instead tend to cluster in certain colonias (wards) of the city. Like Beals' findings (1951), research among Tlacoapenos adds support to the "fairly well-

established dictum of urban studies that people tend to settle among their own kind." Approximately one half of those Tlacoapenos surveyed live in Colonia Portales, in the southern part of Mexico City.\* Many Tlacoapenos in the mountain community stated that Portales was the colonia most preferred by members of their family because they had friends and relatives there. Because there is such a high concentration of Tlacoapenos now living in Colonia Portales, petitions have been made to Mexico City officials asking that the colonia be renamed "Colonia Tlacoapa." Some people live in vecindades (tenements) occupied almost exclusively by Tlacoapenos. Girls who are live-in maids live in the houses of their employers, usually located in the more affluent sections of the city such as Colonia San Angel.

Another problem not as immediate as the first, is locating some type of work. Again, the contacts of those already living in Mexico City are exploited. For over 15 years, many Tlacoapa boys were able to find employment in a leather factory owned and operated by a Tlacoapeno who left the community 20 years ago. After some difficulty he

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\*Since the assistant who helped with Census C lived in Colonia Portales, the high percentage of Tlacoapenos living in that colonia may in part be due to the expediency of overseeing questionnaires with people living close by rather than with residents of more distant colonias.

had eventually opened a small shop and slowly built it up to a point where it was supplying the finest and most fashionable shops in the city with handmade wallets, briefcases, and purses. Men from Tlacoapa who worked in the leather factory liked their work and felt fortunate that such an opportunity had presented itself. It provided many Tlacoapenos the chance to adjust gradually to the city, with the help of friends and relatives who had already gone through the same process. Some continued to work in the leather business for many years, and others simply used it as a chance to become acclimated to the ways of the city before moving on to other jobs more to their liking. Because of management problems, the leather shop was forced to close in 1971.

Language is also a problem with which virtually every Tlacoapeno must contend. Since Tlapanec is the first language in the community and the only language most children know and understand prior to school age, command of Spanish is far from fluent for most Tlacoapenos when they arrive in Mexico City. A clear majority of people questioned stated that Spanish was the biggest problem they encountered. Some people mentioned that they had been ridiculed by urbanites for the way they spoke. Again, adjustment to this problem is achieved in most cases by tutoring from Tlacoapa migrants who have already mastered the language. Some Tlacoapenos re-enter primary school in order

to understand the Spanish language better, even though they may already have a primary school certificate from Tlacoapa. It is a difficult time for many, but most make the needed adjustments and successfully blend into the rest of the urban population. Some migrants find that they do not like urban life, and return to Tlacoapa within a short period of time. Others, however, find life in the city appealing and elect to remain there for the rest of their lives.

#### Formal and Informal Organizations of Tlacoapenos

##### In Mexico City

Two social organizations, one informal, the other formal, have emerged out of a need to cope better with the various dilemmas facing Mexico City Tlacoapenos. Both organizations act as buffers to the large and impersonal city. Buffer organizations are not unique to Tlacoapenos, but appear in most areas of the world which are experiencing similar processes of urbanization. Abu-Luybod (1961) and Lewis (1958), among others, have discussed the function and structure of such organizations, the former for peasants in Cairo and the latter for Tepoztlán migrants in Mexico City. Such organizations assist new arrivals from the country in adjusting to the tremendous problems of a new urban environment. They seek out and locate temporary shelter for their members, provide valuable contacts for jobs, and lend new migrants money when they fall upon bad

times resulting from illness, temporary job losses, and other misfortunes.

Such are the most apparent functions of the two organizations which now serve Tlacoapenos in the city. In addition, one of these, the informal one, provides legal, financial, and moral support for the mountain community. It has its headquarters in Colonia Portales where, on alternating Sundays, several dozen Tlacoapenos gather together in a *vencindad* which is principally occupied by people from Tlacoapa. There they have the opportunity to speak Tlapanec, swap news and hear reports of Tlacoapa from people who have recently returned from visits in the community. Additionally, they discuss the problems facing their friends and relatives back in the mountains of Guerrero and work toward finding suitable solutions.

While very informal, a loose structure has emerged, with a bank employee who left Tlacoapa in the early fifties at its head. This group is made up exclusively of migrants from the village of Tlacoapa, Tlacotepec, and the *rancherías* surrounding the village. Tlacoapa's Protestant population participates to the same degree as its Catholic population. People from outside of the communal land area do not attend these social gatherings but, instead, go elsewhere. People from Totomixtlahuaca, for example, have a house in Mexico City where they gather in a similar

fashion. The same is true for those migrants who come to the city from Malinaltepec.

In 1972, 12 men belonging to this group each placed 100 pesos into a fondo to be loaned to Mexico City Tlacoapenos, especially those who are recent arrivals to the city. The interest rate is five per cent per month and can be given only to fellow Tlacoapenos. It is the hope of this group that eventually the fondo will become large enough to purchase a more spacious and comfortable apartment in which Tlacoapenos can stay.

In addition to serving as a Sunday meeting spot, the Colonia Portales address is a place where many new arrivals from Tlacoapa bed down for the first week or so before being placed in more permanent and commodious locations. Community officials also stay at this address while in the city on official business, usually business pertaining to problems of communal land boundaries. Mountain Tlacoapenos also know that they can count on this group to assist them in other aspects of the communal land problem. Fausto Herrera, the informal leader and organizer of the group, still has strong connections with people at the Supreme Court where he was an employee for ten years. He assists in rewriting petitions in legal language, and directs Tlacoapa's land delegations to the proper departments of the government where they can find assistance. It was also he who suggested that a monument of Benito Juarez or

Morelos be erected on the lines of demarcation separating one communal land area from the other. His feelings are that such a monument would be a national symbol, respected by both parties, and would therefore escape destruction and violation. Unfortunately, Fausto is not aware of the present insignificance of national heroes to most Tlacoapenos.

Jorge Ortega, a senior law student, is also helpful with legal aspects of the land problem. He, too, gives advice on boundary disputes, has made extensive title searches on behalf of the Tlacoapa community, and, from time to time, has hired engineers to survey the communal land area.

In addition, the Portales group financially assists the mountain community. In 1971, it sent 1,500 pesos to Tlacoapa to be used at its own discretion. Several members of the group have also indirectly assisted the community by borrowing money from mayordomia fondos. One of the more affluent Mexico City Tlacoapenos borrowed 200 pesos from the mayordomia of San Juan Bautista. Although it is doubtful that he needed the money, his father was mayordomo and he borrowed the money more out of a desire to show support for the community than out of need.

The second organization, founded in 1971, is called the Asociación Civil Coordinadora Tlapaneca. It has a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and 30 or 40 members. It was formed under the auspices of the San

Antonio de María Claret order of the Catholic church and meets once a month in the order's headquarters in the 17th century San Hipolito church. Since the Claretinianos ideally serve the entire Tlapanec region, membership is technically open to anyone who comes from the larger Tlapanec area. Only Tlacoapenos, however, attended the meeting I visited. It is possible that since the order's mission is located in Tlacoapa, it is associated with that community and this association discourages Tlapanecs from other communities from joining. It will be interesting to observe this organization in the future when membership broadens to see how Tlapanecs from various communities interact with each other.

While its programs are presently very embryonic, the San Hipolito organization is attempting to promote regular social gatherings and to look into ways Tlapanecs in Mexico City can assist their communities of origin.

In the present, however, we can see that migration to the city does not mean a severing of ties with Tlacoapa. Most Tlacoapenos questioned retain a strong allegiance to the community of their birth and are keenly interested in its well-being. Virtually all migrants send money back to their families in the mountains from time to time. All stated that they consider themselves part owners of Tlacoapa's land, and the majority stated that they eventually plan to return to Tlacoapa to live and work the land. Per-

haps unsure of their successes in the city, Tlacoapenos continue to maintain their community ties so that they will be able to return "home" in the event the pressures of the city become too great.

As in the mountains, group identity for Mexico City Tlacoapenos stops at the boundaries of communal land; there are no organizations in Mexico City which draw their members from rancherías, comisarios, or municipios. To have come from the territory within the communal lands of Tlacoapa permits entry into the Colonia Portales group. Integrity of this territory is further strengthened through the support, especially legal and financial, provided by those who have physically removed themselves from the community but who, through sentimental attachments, still identify strongly with Tlacoapa and its problems.

This same organization filters out or regulates elements potentially disruptive to the mountain community. For example, men who spend extensive periods of time in the city often become changed by the city's attitudes of competition and individualism. Those principles such as communality and cooperation which hold Tlacoapa together are often abandoned. The Colonia Portales group requires much the same cooperation, much the same feeling of concern for the well-being of Tlacoapa, as is expected of those Tlacoapenos still residing in the mountains. Consequently, one

cannot remain a member of the Colonia Portales group without adhering to many of the same principles found in the mountain community. When members of the Colonia Portales group return to Tlacoapa, they do so without disrupting the harmony and homogeneity of the community.

Finally, I have shown how the Colonia Portales organization is able to translate the needs of the community into terms more acceptable to urban institutions such as the courts.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, this work has attempted to reinforce three main contentions: 1) that for Tlacoapenos the social community or the unit of group identity widens from the confines of the family, rancheria, and village affiliations to a point identical to the geographical boundaries of communal lands; 2) that the institutions within these boundaries are structured in such a way as to respond to the necessities of maintaining internal cohesion against continually threatening forces surrounding them; and 3) that maintenance of this internal cohesion is achieved and preserved through a series of regulatory devices hidden within Tlacoapa's institutions. These devices sift out potentially disruptive demands made upon Tlacoapa by agents of change outside of Tlacoapa, and re-interpret them in terms more meaningful to the community. These devices control information going out of Tlacoapa as well as information going in.

The maintenance of communal land boundaries requires that Tlacoapenos organize their lives in a fashion conducive to harmony and homogeneity. Internal competition gives way

to cooperation, the individual to the group. That which is good for the "vecinos" takes precedence over individual concerns, often at the cost of great personal sacrifice. Threats to any part of the community are considered threats to the entire group, and community members react to face any immediate dangers to their neighbors, knowing that they may be asked to risk their own personal safety. They do so year after year after year, without hesitation.

In Chapter II we have seen that the village of Tlacoapa acts as a microcosm for the community, and its residential composition consists of families from within the communal land area and therefore conforms to the geographical boundaries. But, more importantly, out of an extremely dispersed settlement pattern, the village has emerged as an integrative factor. Residential patterns within the village are not established along lines of rancheria affiliation, but are randomly mixed. Families which would normally be separated from each other are brought into close association with one another in the village as physical neighbors. No families are strangers to other families in Tlacoapa. Ties of friendship are continually reinforced during these periods of periodic village residency.

The structural distances of the civil and religious organizations, discussed in Chapter III, also extend to the boundaries of the communal land area. Tlacotepec, whose political distinction as a comisario excludes participation

in the political structure of Tlacoapa, is free to participate in the religious life of the community. And we have discussed how these two realms cross each other. Protestants from the rancheria of Chirimoya, on the other hand, are excluded from Catholic religious life but are encouraged to hold political cargos.

Money lending, especially through the mayordomía fondos, extends to all people living within the communal lands of Tlacoapa, including Chirimoya Protestants and those from Tlacotepec. People from outside of the communal land area must have special contacts within the geographical community before borrowing money. Income realized from these ventures is often used to support the legal battles over territorial limits.

The cargo system also has its integrative qualities. Community identification is strengthened through shared participation in the administration and maintenance of common goals. Communal living serves to cement internal friendships which, otherwise, might disintegrate as a result of the highly dispersed settlement pattern. Participation, at any level, reaffirms one's commitment to the community and shows support for its objectives.

Finally, the civil-religious organization was shown to be a regulatory device through which pass demands from outside agents of change. As these demands enter the community, they are often re-interpreted in terms more accep-

table and meaningful to the community by appropriate sections of the civil-religious organization. Tlacoapa's *sindico*, for example, might bend Mexican law to a point acceptable to the well-being of the community, or the rituals of the *mayordomias* are expanded to include certain extra-Catholic personnel and custom so that they are more meaningful to the community. Additionally, responses from the community which are initially unacceptable are restated in terms acceptable to outside agents of change by these regulatory devices within the civil-religious organization. The fictional death of Pedro Perez, for example, satisfied outside politicians and maintained internal community harmony.

In Chapter IV we saw that the market structure serves as a useful tool in measuring group identity. Market participants organize themselves spatially in terms of the communal land areas to which they belong, with Tlacoapenos occupying the central section. As with the limits of money lending, breaking into this exclusive group requires special internal connections.

Because of Tlacoapa's high degree of economic autonomy, the need to depend on resources outside of the communal land area is minimal. There is little inter-community dependence at economic levels. Money gained through animal sales and from family members who have migrated to urban areas reduces the need to establish ties

with the outside, and enables people to spend time cementing internal ones.

Tlacoapa's Sunday market brings people of the community together, not so much out of economic necessity as out of a need for social interaction. Again, distant members of the community become neighbors during weekend markets. Also, we saw that there are two main regulatory devices within Tlacoapa's economy, the fondos and animal husbandry, which work to satisfy outside demands of the government and the national economy. These devices also work for the well-being of the community. The fondos and animal husbandry allow Tlacoapenos to acquire money from within the community in a way conducive to community harmony. These monies are used to pay the taxes required by the government and to meet the demands of new life styles which require participation in a national monied economy.

In Chapter V we saw that bride choice extends to the boundaries of communal lands. Although a high percentage of Tlacoapeno marriages are endogamous at a rancheria level, this is not a prescribed pattern. Inter-rancheria marriages have a high occurrence. Very few marriages take place with people from outside of the communal land area.

Tlacoapeno marriage also has its integrative aspects. Through the multiple ties of bride service and matrilocality, compadrazgo, and relocation of male siblings, the internal structure of the community is strengthened.

Rituals connected to marriage, especially the Burning of the Firewood ceremony, symbolically recognize that out of two different and often distant families emerges a new one built on the elements of the old and therefore binding them closer together. Additionally, certain aspects of Tlacoapeno marriage, principally its ritual, serve as regulatory devices. Through the Burning of the Firewood ceremony, the final phase of marriage, Tlacoapenos are able to add a dimension which is more meaningful to group solidarity than can be realized through the Catholic ceremony alone.

Finally, in Chapter VI, we moved outside of the confines of the mountain community and into Mexico City. We saw that even though migrants are physically separated from their natal community, community esprit de corps remains high. Membership in the Colonia Portales organization in the city is limited to members of the same communal land area.

Concerns of the community are shared by those living in urban areas. Assistance, legal as well as monetary, is offered by migrants to see that the territorial integrity of Tlacoapa is maintained. In addition, the informal Colonia Portales organization functions to regulate input into the community by re-inforcing attitudes of communality and cooperation. By being a member of this organization, a Tlacoapeno migrant retains the ideals of communal

responsibility and cooperation which will be necessary if he is to return to the community as an acceptable member.

#### Tlacoapa Community and the Future

Tlacoapa, which today is a tightly knit, highly homogeneous group with its boundaries clearly defined and continually re-inforced, is faced with changes in the political, economic, and social lives of the people which threaten to break down the boundaries which are presently so rigorously defended.

There are many aspects of culture change present in Tlacoapa today. Principal among these is the school which is attempting to educate over 500 Tlacoapeno children to the ways of the outside world. Its effect on the present sense of community and group identity will probably be considerable. P. Oettinger (1973) has dealt at length with the possible implications of multiple socialization forces facing Tlacoapa's school population. A child receives his initial training in traditional Tlapanec culture during his residency in the mountain rancherías. Upon reaching school age, Mexican law requires that school attendance begin. Because of the widely dispersed settlement pattern and the presence of the primary school in the village of Tlacoapa, school-age children move into the village and reside in the second homes of their parents or godparents during most of the school year. During these pe-

riods of absence from their families of orientation, three new socialization agents enter into their lives. Mestizo teachers, most of whom are from outside of the Tlapanec area, speak of the glamour of urban life, replace traditional Tlapanec heroes with Mexican national figures, and talk about the merits of individuality.

The more acculturated men serving cargos in the village also influence the children. Some of these men accept the propaganda of national political parties and speak of identities more important and wider than those of the community. They see a progressive Tlacoapa, integrated with the national economy and character.

The third influence on the children is a peer group association which has grown in the village to replace, at least at times, the family association. When the children are in school, they develop their own group perspective, different from their parents', teachers', or elders'; and this influences their behavior and future goals.

That aspect of education which is most likely to take its toll on attitudes toward communal lands is the revelation of alternative life styles. Ignorance of the outside world, and particularly the Spanish language, has, up until the present, left no alternatives to life in the mountains. Strict maintenance of communal lands is the only assurance of survival, especially to the older members of the community. To lose them would mean the end of the

only survival mechanism known to many Tlacoapenos. Today, however, school children are being alerted to the possibilities of different lives elsewhere, and are being provided the tools which prepare them for such choices. The time they spend away from the fields of their ancestors is causing a loss of the closeness between the individual and the earth. Science, mathematics, and Spanish are replacing an intimate knowledge of farming. Hence, maintenance of geographical boundaries becomes less essential and desperate for school children than for their parents.

The Catholic mission is also taking its toll on the future survival of the integrity of Tlacoapa community. Banned are the traditional integrating rituals such as the Burning of the Firewood ceremony discussed in Chapter IV and the communal animal sacrifices of the Day of Akuniya. Allegiance to local dieties is being replaced by loyalty to a diety which is said to be universal and to belong to the whole human community. The mission's education program is also providing alternatives for Tlacoapeno boys and girls. Placement in outside jobs for the brighter students is actively pursued by mission personnel.

Social institutions are also beginning to yield to non-integrative pressures. Bride service, Tlacoapenos are being told, is Indian, old-fashioned, and non-Mexican. With the diminishing occurrence of bride service and frequently extended matrilocality in the future, the strong

inter-rancheria ties which are characteristic of the institution will also diminish. Consequently, the internal strength of the community must suffer.

The cargo system is also changing in ways potentially detrimental to the maintenance of communal land boundaries. The new presidente municipal is highly acculturated and the part-owner of a bakery in Chilpancingo, which he visits frequently. His allegiance is divided between the community and the outside world. He is like Wolf's "new cultural broker," whose orientation and many of his interests are outside of the confines of Tlacoapa (1956). With a very viable personal alternative, the presidente municipal's concern over communal land and the life style which it assures is not as vital as it would be to others who lack alternatives. Toward the end of this research, an older member of the community was overheard criticizing the new presidente municipal for spending too much time in Chilpancingo with his bakery and not enough time on the problem of communal land boundaries. Ironically, the presidente municipal was appointed primarily because of his strong contacts in the State capital, which were judged to be beneficial for pending land litigation.

Tlacoapeno migrants who are now assisting the community in its struggles are mainly first generation migrants. What will happen when they blend more completely into the ways of urban life? Will they continue to share

in the community's struggle? What about their children? Will they share the same affection for the community once held so strongly by their parents? Some migrants who are generously assisting in the legal battles over land are seeing a switch to the ejido\* (system) as a possible answer to Tlacoapa's land problems. While this may be beneficial in some respects, it has the potential of forcing realignment of community boundaries.

Probably the most serious threat to the homogeneity and harmony of life in Tlacoapa today is the proposed road which will directly connect Tlacoapa with the outside world. This road, seen as the saviour of Tlacoapa by the more modern-minded members of the community and as its destroyer by others, is scheduled to arrive within five years. For the first time, Tlacoapa will be easily accessible to outsiders. Not only will Tlacoapenos be able to leave the community, but strangers, non-Tlacoapenos, will be able to enter the community easily. Tlacoapa's privacy will be vulnerable. Land, Tlacoapa's most prized commodity may become threatened by Mestizos and other non-Tlacoapenos.

Outside demands for change have flowed slowly until

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\*The distinction between ejido land and communal land is difficult to make. Ejido land is essentially the same as communal land except that ejido land is a consequence of the 1910-1920 Mexican Revolution and therefore is not as "traditional" to many communities as communal land is. More governmental control is exercised with ejido lands than with communal land. Unlike people who farm communal lands, people who participate in ejido systems are eligible for loans made by the Federal Ejido Bank.

now and are buffered by various institutions within Tlacoapa such as the civil-religious hierarchy. With the arrival of the new road, the possibility that the buffer system may overload and break down is heightened. Demands may be coming into Tlacoapa too fast for regulatory devices to handle.

In conclusion, the integrity of Tlacoapa community is now threatened by forces seemingly out of the control of those who have fought so long to maintain it. It appears strong now, perhaps stronger than ever, because of the immediacy of the threats which besiege it. But the institutions which support the community are showing signs of corrosion. There is concern about the future, not just communal concern, but--more damaging to the group--individual concern. The anticipated arrival of the road from the outside is prompting questions such as "What will I do? How can I take advantage of the new situation?" Individual concerns, muted in the past, are now becoming more audible. For the first time in centuries, Tlacoapenos are beginning to wonder, "When the voice of 'los vecinos' calls, will the neighbors be willing to heed it?"

GLOSSARY

## GLOSSARY

- adio <sup>y</sup>jama (Tl.)\* - Term of address for "son."
- aguardiente (Sp.)\* - A strong alcoholic drink distilled from sugar cane.
- Akunba (Tl.) - Tlapanec earth god.
- Akuniya (Tl.) - Tlapanec water god.
- alacrán (Sp.) - Scorpion. A name given to a Tlapanec celestial formation. It is different from the "Scorpio" formation, however.
- alguacil (Sp.) - A civil office. Primary duties are to assist presidente municipal on trips and to run errands. One of the lowest civil offices in Tlacopa.
- añu (Tl.) - Term of address for "father."
- Apetzuqueño (Sp.) - One from the community of Apetzuca, Guerrero.
- atole (Nah.)\* - Corn gruel.
- ayuntamiento (Sp.) - Municipal government. Similar to board of aldermen in the United States.
- barbecho (Sp.) - Plow agriculture; first plowing of the season.
- bastón (Sp.) - Staff or cane used in Tlacoapa to designate certain civil or religious offices. A staff of authority.
- bitu (Tl.) - Firefly.
- cabecera municipal (Sp.) - Administrative center of a municipio. The cabecera municipal of the municipio of Tlacoapa is the village of Tlacoapa. Corresponds roughly to the United States county seat.
- cacique (Nah.) - Chief or political boss.

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\*Tl. - Tlapanec

Sp. - Spanish

Nah. - Nahuatl or Nahuatl derivative

- cacicazgo (Nah.) - A chiefdom. An area controlled by a cacique.
- cal (Sp.) - Hydrated lime, CaOH.
- cantor (Sp.) - A religious office in Tlacoapa. One who sings or chants in church.
- carga (Sp.) - In Tlacoapa, a shelled corn measure containing approximately four medias or 288 liters.
- cargo (Sp.) - An office connected to either the civil or religious organizations of Tlacoapa. Service is mandatory and alternating. Only males hold cargos.
- cecina (Sp.) - Dried beef which is prepared by hanging in the sun and salting.
- chilote (Tl.) - A slightly alcoholic drink made from sugar cane and consumed in great quantities in Tlacoapa.
- colonia (Sp.) - Ward or zone of a city.
- comadre (Sp.) - The name by which godparents address the mother of their godchild and by which the mother also addresses the godmother.
- comal (Nah.) - A flat griddle for baking or toasting. Usually ceramic.
- comandancia (Sp.) - Police force. Also police station.
- comisaría (Sp.) - A settlement which has its own representative body of officials and is to the municipio as the municipio is to the districto, the last political division before that of the state.
- compadrazgo (Sp.) - System of co-parenthood.
- compadre (Sp.) - The name by which godparents address the father of their godchild and by which he also addresses the godfather.
- copal (Nah.) - Incense made from resin of the copal tree and used on festive occasions in Tlacoapa.
- comprador (Sp.) - A buyer. In Tlacoapa, compradores are men who come into the community several times a year to purchase livestock.
- cuñado (Sp.) - Brother-in-law.

- curato (Sp.) - Catholic mission offices and living quarters of Tlacoapa's priests.
- enahuaja (Nah.) - Wraparound skirt worn by indigenous women of Mexico.
- encomienda (Sp.) - Spanish colonial land trusteeship.
- escribiente (Sp.) - Scribe.
- estancia (Sp.) - Settlement or small aggregate of population.
- fiscal (Sp.) - Religious office in Tlacoapa. Duties include caring for the cemetery and assisting the mission.
- fondo (Sp.) - Monetary funds held and maintained by mayordomías in Tlacoapa. Money is loaned to members of the community at 25% interest per annum.
- gabán (Sp.) - Cloak-like garment similar to a blanket with a hole in the center for the head. Made of natural-colored wool, handwoven by women, and worn mainly by men in Tlacoapa. Approximately one by two meters in size.
- ganadería (Sp.) - Livestock. Includes horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, goats, sheep, and pigs.
- hablador (Sp.) - Matchmaker. One who acts as a go-between for family of prospective groom and family of prospective bride.
- hectare (Sp.) - Surface measurement equal to 2.47 acres.
- hoja (Sp.) - Unit of measurement for brown sugar in Tlacoapa. Two conical cakes, about 500 grams each, make one "hoja."
- huipil (Nah.) - A loose-fitting, sleeveless blouse worn by indigenous women of Mexico.
- I.N.I. (Sp.) - Instituto Nacional Indigenista. A federal organization concerned with Mexico's indigenous population.
- ixtle (Nah.) - A fibrous material from the maguey plant. Used to spin thread to make nets and ropes.
- jacal (Nah.) - A hut made of wattle and daub sides and a thatched roof.

jícara (Nah.) - A cup or bowl made from the fruit of the crescentia cujete, or gourd tree.

juez (Sp.) - Court judge.

juzgado (Sp.) - Court of justice.

La Ciénaga (Sp.) - A mountain swamp in Tlacoapa believed to be the abode of the water god.

lasso (Sp.) - A string of flowers wrapped around a wedding couple as a symbol of unity.

lienzo (Sp.) - A Spanish colonial map or other document painted on canvas.

maíz (Sp.) - Corn. Zea Mays.

mano (Sp.) - Stone muller. Used for grinding corn and other foods on a metate.

manta (Sp.) - Cotton cloth, unbleached muslin.

mashigo (Tl.) - A paper-thin tortilla served on festive occasions in Tlacoapa.

mayor (Sp.) - A religious office which is the same as mayordomo 2nd. Assistant to the majordomo.

mayordomía (Sp.) - Religious fiesta stewardship. Consists of a group of men who are in charge of sponsoring a festival in honor of a saint.

mayordomo (Sp.) - One who is in charge of a mayordomía.

Mbatsu (Tl.) - Tlapanec fire god.

mépa (Tl.) - The Tlapanec word for those who speak the Tlapanec language.

meso (Tl.) - A Tlapanec shaman.

Mestizo (Sp.) - Mixed blood. The offspring and/or descendants of a white and an Indian union.

metate (Nah.) - A curved stone slab usually supported by three legs, used with mano for grinding corn and other foods.

milpa (Sp.) - Cornfield.

- Mingwi (Tl.) - The Tlapanec word for Tlacoapa. "Hot place." Refers either to the hot quality of the food or the fierce character of the people of Tlacoapa.
- municipio (Sp.) - A political division roughly the same as a county in the United States.
- ocote (Nah.) - A resinous pine tree of Mexico. Pieces of this tree are used for torches in Tlacoapa.
- padrón (Sp.) - A register of vital statistics in Tlacoapa. Maintained by the fiscales.
- panela (Sp.) - Brown sugar. Round blocks of crystalized brown sugar.
- partera (Sp.) - Midwife or one who is a specialist in pregnancy and childbirth.
- patrón (Sp.) - Boss or employer.
- pesado (Sp.) - Heavy or difficult. Used to describe a task or an office which is difficult and which carries with it great responsibility.
- petate (Nah.) - A palm leaf mat used mainly for sleeping.
- plaza (Sp.) - Village square around which are usually located civic buildings.
- pozole (Nah.) - Boiled whole kernel corn usually eaten like soup.
- presidencia (Sp.) - Office of the presidente municipal and his regidores.
- principal (Sp.) - A community elder and advisor. Always exempt from communal labor and taxes.
- protesta (Sp.) - A solemn declaration. The swearing-in of new officials in Tlacoapa.
- pueblo (Sp.) - Village.
- ranchería (Sp.) - A collection of huts or a hamlet.
- regidor (Sp.) - A high civil office in Tlacoapa. Similar to alderman in the United States.

- riego (Sp.) - Irrigation farming.
- sacristán (Sp.) - A religious office in Tlacoapa. Similar to sexton in the United States. In charge of cleaning and decorating the church.
- señorio (Sp.) - Territorial division in Spanish Colonial Mexico. A dominion.
- síndico (Sp.) - The attorney-general of Tlacoapa. Also the regidor 2nd and second only to the presidente municipal in importance.
- shmabu (Tl.) - Long, green straw-like needles found in swampy regions of Tlacoapa. Used in religious services.
- socio (Sp.) - Associate or member of an organization.
- tamal (Nah.) - A dumpling-like food made of cornmeal and stuffed with meat, beans or other edible.
- temascal (Nah.) - A small structure designed to be used for steam baths. Hot rocks are placed inside and water is poured over them to produce steam.
- temporal (Sp.) - Non-irrigation or rainfall agriculture. A seasonal rainstorm or the epoch or season of same.
- tierra caliente (Sp.) - Low, hot land.
- tierra fría (Sp.) - High, cold land.
- Tlacoapeño (Nah.) - One from the community of Tlacoapa, Guerrero.
- tlacolole (Nah.) - Hoe or digging stick agriculture. Usually done in areas unsuitable for plowing.
- tlacuache (Nah.) - An opossum-like animal which is a threat to Tlacoapa's crops.
- tlayecanque (Nah.) - A civil office in Tlacoapa. Main responsibilities involve providing room and board for visiting dignitaries.
- topil (Nah.) - A low civil cargo. An errand boy.
- tortilla (Sp.) - A thin unleavened pancake, 15-20 cm. in diameter by 1-2 mm. thick, made of ground hominy corn and cooked on a griddle. The main form in which corn is consumed in Tlacoapa and the rest of Mexico.

toyatado (Nah.) - The lowest office in a mayordomia.  
Similar to a "topil" on the civil side of Tlacoapa's  
system.

tuza (Nah.) - A mole-like animal which is a threat to  
Tlacoapa's crops.

vecino (Sp.) - Neighbor. Used to refer to anyone who is  
an integral part of Tlacoapa community.

yaho (Tl.) - Term used to denote wild herbs and vegetables.  
Very plentiful in Tlacoapa the entire year.

APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

Annotated Tlapanec Bibliography

The following bibliography attempts to bring together all available publications dealing with the Tlapanecs. Only a few of the publications listed here deal solely with the Tlapanecs. Most mention them only in passing, often with no more than a sentence or two.\*

In addition to the following publications, valuable information on the Tlapanec region can be gleaned from various valuable repositories in Mexico. The best of these is the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. Volumes catalogued under Ramo de los Indios and Ramo de las Tierras contain important and significant data on the Tlapanec region, and are listed according to place name. Also, the various censuses compiled by the federal government may serve as useful tools of research. Unfortunately, most local archives (Chilapa, Chilpancingo, Tlapa, etc.) have materials which deal only with the 20th century, as earlier documents were destroyed during the 1910-20 Revolution.

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\*The most important sources are indicated by an "x" placed after the date of the book or article.

I have read all of the following entries, and the list is the result of a four-year search in both Mexico and the United States. This bibliography is by no means closed, and it is my hope that, in time, other publications will be brought to my attention.

Abbreviations:

AA - American Anthropologist

BAE - Bureau of American Ethnology

BMNAHE - Boletín del Museo Nacional de Arqueología  
Historia y Etnografía

EMA - El México Antiguo

IJAL - International Journal of American Linguistics

UMPL - University of Michigan Publications in Linguistics

Aguirre, Porfirio

- 1922x Informe del ayudante. (Sobre la máscara de turquesa y jade encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero), BMHAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 34-35. México, D.F.

A report on the discovery and acquisition of a Teotihuacan-type mask with turquoise mosaic from the Tlapanec village of Malinaltepec, Guerrero. Part of a larger work in which the authenticity of the mask is debated.

Almstedt, Ruth F.

- 1972 A Bibliography of Western Mexico. MS, 40 pp.

Mainly linguistic. Partially annotated with helpful comments on Tlapanec entries.

Alvarez, Luis

- 1945 México: Leyendas, Costumbres, Trajes y Danzas. Editorial Layac. New York

A brief and very general account of the Tlapanec, giving locations and population figures. Includes brief statement on male and female dress.

Anonymous

- 1922 A counterfeit mosaic mask. Ethnos. Tomo I. Nos. 8-12, pp. 263-264. México, D. F.

A brief article in Spanish and English refuting the authenticity of the mosaic mask found in Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

- 1936 Revista Mexicana de Sociología. Vol. V. No. 4 México, D.F.

- 1957x Etnografía de México: Síntesis Monografías. UNAM. L. Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.). México, D.F.

Provides a synopsis of the Tlapanec region, giving data pertaining to physical characteristics, history, material culture, and social life. No depth.

Arreola, Jose M.

1922 Carta de. (Sobre la máscara de turquesa y jade encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero. BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, p. 36. México, D.F.

Argues against the authenticity of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Barlow, Robert H.

1948 Apuntas para la historia antigua de Guerrero. El Occidente de México, Cuarta Reunión de Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, pp. 181-190. México, D.F.

Deals mainly with archaeological and ethnological surveys of the Costa Chica and Balsas regions of the State of Guerrero. Mentions the presence of Yope (Tlapanec) speakers in the town of Chilapa, Guerrero.

1949x The Extent of The Empire of The Culhua Mexica. Ibero-americano. Vol. 28. Mexico, D.F.

Data gathered from "Matricula de Tributos" which, most likely, were compiled for Cortez following the Conquest. Mentions several Tlapanec towns and lists types of tribute paid to the Spanish. Refers to the northern Tlapanecs as "Tlapanecos" and southern Tlapanecs as "Yopes."

Basauri, Carlos

1940x La Población Indígena de México. 3 Vols. Secretaría de Educación Publica. México, D.F.

Vol. 3 has a general and very superficial account of the Tlapanecs. Devotes some attention to distribution of population, language, material culture, spiritual culture, economy, and social structure.

Beyer, H.

1922 Una máscara prehispánica con mosaico de turquesa. BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 51-52. Mexico, D.F. (Also in Revista de Revistas. No. 598. México. 26 de Octubre de 1921.)

Speaks in favor of the authenticity of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Bosch García, Carlos

1944 La Esclavitud Prehispánica entre los Aztecas. Centro de Estudios Historicos, El Colegio de México. Fondo de Cultura Economica. México, D.F.

Mentions that 102 slaves were taken from Malinaltepec during the period of Aztec domination of the area.

Brinton, Adela C.

1922x Manuscritos que existen en el Museo Británico. Ethnos. Tomo I. Nos. 8-12, pp. 223-227. México, D.F.

Discusses documents in the British Museum dealing with various parts of ecclesiastical organization in Colonial Mexico. Good data from Tlapanec area in the 18th century dealing with linguistic composition of communities.

Brinton, D. G.

1891 The American Race. New York

Gives a very brief account of the Tlapanecs on page 151. States that Tlapanecs, Coviscos, and Yopes spoke the same language as the Popolocos.

Castillo Ledon, Luis

1922 Una máscara con mosaico con turquesa. BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, p. 34. México, D.F.

A brief introduction to the discussion of the authenticity of mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Clark, Cooper

1938x Codex Mendoza. Edited and translated by James Cooper Clark. 3 Vols. Waterlow and Sons, Ltd. London Wall, London.

Good historical documentation concerning the fall of Tlapa, the ancient Tlapanec capital, and its subjugation by the Aztecs. Lists tribute paid to Aztec rulers and later to the early Spanish Colonial Government. Provides a good explanation of the various glyphs representing Tlapanec villages.

Cornyn, J. H.

1922 Dictamen del filólogo. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, p. 48. México, D.F.

Strongly supports the authenticity of mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Cubas, Antonio G.

1876 The Republic of Mexico In 1876. Mexico.

Briefly suggests linguistic parallels between Popolocas of Puebla and Tlapanecs of Guerrero.

Cuevas, Mariano P.

1921 Historia de la Iglesia en México. Tomo I, Tlalpan. Imprenta del Asilo Patricio Sanz. México, D.F.

Touches on the establishment of Augustinian missions in Tlapa and Chilapa, Guerrero in 1533.

Cummings, Byron

1922 Dictamen del director del Museo de Arizona. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp 38-39. México, D.F.

Speaks strongly in favor of the authenticity of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Davies, Claude Nigel Byam

1968x Los Señoríos Independientes del Imperio Azteca. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. México, D.F.

Chapter III is entitled "Yopetzingo" and deals with the Southern Tlapanecs and their relationship with the Aztec Empire. Also briefly deals with the pre-Aztec history of the Tlapanecs of the region. An informative, annotated map of the region follows the chapter's conclusion.

Dávila Gáribi, José Ignacio

1942 Toponimias Nahuas. Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. Publicacion #63. IX. 251 pp. México. D.F.

An etymological analysis of Nahuatl place names. Totomixtlahuaca is among those Tlapanec villages included.

Estrada, Genaro

1922 Dictamen del Historiógrafo. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 40-42. México, D.F.

Speaks strongly in favor of the authenticity of mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Ferriz Savinión, Abraham

1922 Dictamen de. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 41-42. México, D.F.

Offers an analysis of the type of glue used to attach pieces of turquoise to stone mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

García, Luis G.

1922 Dictamen del Arqueólogo y Arquitecto. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, p. 39. México, D.F.

Speaks in favor of the authenticity of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

García Payón, José

1940x Estudio preliminar de la zona arqueología de Texmelican, Estado de Guerrero. EMA. Tomo V, pp. 341-364. México, D.F.

While this article deals mainly with the archaeological site of Texmelican, García Payón also provides interesting present-day ethnographic data. Speaks of contemporary Tlapanec social organization, and provides a brief description of material culture of the region.

Gerhard, Peter

1972x A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain. University Press. Cambridge.

A nicely compiled publication which provides important data on the Tlapanec region from the time of Aztec dominance until the end of the

Colonial period. Deals with both ecclesiastical and secular influences on the area through a four-hundred year period. Lists major settlements and population figures. Supplemented by numerous maps of the area.

- Gómez de Orozco, Frederico  
1945x Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de preceder de los Indios de Nueva España. Tlalocan. Vol. 2, pp. 60-61.

Rich ethnographic data, possibly taken from the Codex Mendocino. Describes Yope (Tlapanec) wedding ceremony. Also mentions differing dress among married and unmarried people. Describes punishments for adultery and briefly discusses auto-sacrifice.

- Guzmán, Edgar Pavía  
1970 El Siglo XVI En La Historia del Actual Estado de Guerrero. Tesis Profesional. Universidad de Guerrero. Chilpancingo, Guerrero.

Informative account of the State of Guerrero during the 16th century. Contains linguistic and demographic data from Tlapanec region in 1550 and 1580. Also mentions Yope Rebellion in 1531.

- Krickeberg, Walter  
1961 Las Antiguas Culturas Mexicanos. Trans. por srta. Sarst y Jasmin. . . . Fondo de Cultura Economía. Mexico, D.F.

Discusses briefly the possibility that Xipe Totec was of Tlapanec origin.

- Kroeber, A. L.  
1961 Linguistic time depth results so far and their meaning. IJAL. Vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 91-104.

Compares glottochronological results with other linguistic facts and evidence. Of interest for geographical spacing of Pacific Coast Hokan languages, including Tlapanec.

- Lehmann, Walter  
1915 Uber die Stellung und Verwandtschaft der Subtiaba-Sprache der Pazifischen Kuste Nicaraguas und uber die Sprache von Tachula in Sudchiapas. Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie. Vol. 47, pp. 1-34.

A comparative linguistic work with Tlapanec as one of the languages subjected to analysis.

1920x Zentral-Amerika. Berlin

Provides a Tlapanec vocabulary and shows the close association between Tlapanec and Subtiaba.

Lemley, H. V.

1949x Three Tlapanec stories from Tlacoapa, Guerrero. Tlalocan. Vol. III, pp. 76-82.

The three tales: "The Deluge"; "The Rain God and the Fire"; and "The Man That Exchanged Places With a Buzzard" are offered in English translation.

1955 La raíz Tlapaneca--ak--. EMA. Vol. VIII, pp. 279-282.

Deals with the --ak-- root in many Tlapanec words.

León, Nicolas

1903 Familias lingüísticas de México. Anales del Museo Nacional de México. Vol. 7, pp. 279-335.

Places Tlapanec under Zoque-Mixeana classification along with Popoloco, Coahuixca, Yope of Tecamochalco, Mothuan, Cotum, Humal and Chuchona of Puebla.

1912x Vocabulario de la lengua Popoloco Chocha. Anales del Museo Nacional de México. Sec. 3. Vol. 3, pp. 1-48.

Provides a Tlapanec word list of 69 words.

Longacre, Robert

1967 Systematic comparison and reconstruction. In Handbook of Middle American Indians. Vol. 5, pp. 117-159. University of Texas Press. Austin.

Places Tlapanec in Hokaltecan family and lists it under the Supanecan subgroup.

López, Hector F.

1942 Diccionario Geografico, Historico, Biografico, y Linguístico del Estado de Guerrero. Editorial Pluma y Lápiz de México. México, D.F.

Dictionary of the State of Guerrero giving persons, places, and things in alphabetical order. Covers many parts of the Tlapanec region.

Marino Flores, Anselmo

- 1952- Bibliografía antropológica del Estado de  
1953x Guerrero. Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana. Vol. XVI. Pt. 1, pp. 233-289.

A very thorough bibliography of the State of Guerrero. Contains many entries pertaining to Tlapanecs and other indigenous groups of the state.

- 1959x Hablantes de Lenguas Indígenas del Estado de Guerrero. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. México.

A 17-page account of the current linguistic and demographic situation for the State of Guerrero. Data are divided by "municipio." Supplemented by numerous linguistic maps.

Mena, Ramon

- 1922 Dictamen del Prof. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 37-38. México, D.F.

Speaks strongly in favor of the authenticity of mosaic mask found in Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Miranda, Fernando

- 1970 Resumen de Actividad del Servicio Social Que Presenta el Alumno: Fernando P. Miranda. Para Obtener Derecho A Presentar Examen Profesional de Medico Cirujano. Manuscript. UNAM.

A very superficial account of the community of Tlacoapa, Guerrero.

Miranda, Salvador

- 1922 Dictamen de. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 50-51. México, D.F.

Speaks in favor of the authenticity of mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Mota y Escobar, Fr. Alonso de la

- 1945x Memoriales del Obispo de Tlaxcala. Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Tomo I (1939-40), pp. 191-306.

Gives a brief description of a 1610 trip to the Tlapanec villages of Tlacoapa and Totomixtlahuaca. Also mentions Tlapa and its subject villages. Earliest written report of Tlacoapa.

Muñoz, Maurilio

- 1962 La región Nahua-Tlapaneca. Los Centros Coordinadores. Edición conmemorativa en ocasión del XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Instituto Nacional Indigenista. México, D.F.

A brief synopsis of the newly founded Indian institute in Tlapa, Guerrero, which serves the Tlapanec region. Information is expanded upon in a later publication (Muñoz, 1963).

- 1963x Mixteca, Nahua, y Tlapaneca. Instituto Nacional Indigenista. México, D.F.

A broad and very general ethnographic report of indigenous groups living in the districts of Morelos, Zaragoza, and Alvarez of the State of Guerrero. While mainly an economic and demographic report, this publication contains data concerning life cycle, material culture, health practices of the Tlapanec, Mixtec, and Nahua groups. Accompanied by numerous graphs and maps.

Nida, Eugene A.

- 1949 Morphology. UMPL, 2nd edition.

Provides some Tlapanec verb forms with partial analysis on pages 32-33. Information from H. V. Lemley.

Noguera, Eduardo

- 1933 Importancia arqueologica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelican, Guerrero. BMNAHE. Epoca II, pp. 42-44.

A brief summary of the archaeological excavations in the Tlapanec area of Texmelican, Guerrero, showing their significance to Mesoamerican archaeology. Supplemented by photographs.

Ochoa Campos, Moises

1964x Guerrero: Analisis de Un Estado Problema.  
Editorial F. Trillas, S. A. México, D.F.

A broad look at some of the problems besetting the State of Guerrero. Concentration is on economic situation. Contains good quantitative data gathered by state and federal agencies.

1968x Historia del Estado de Guerrero. Porrúa Hnos. y Cia., S.A. México, D.F.

A general history of the State of Guerrero. Contains brief section on Tlapanecs in chapters 1, 2, 3, and 7. Lists encomiendas in the Tlapanec region during the 16th century. Gives brief account of the Yope Rebellion in the 16th century.

Oettinger, Marion, and Oettinger, Patricia Parsons

1973x The Burning of the Firewood Ceremony: Final Consecration of Marriage in the Tlapanec Community of Tlacoapa, Guerrero. In Balance y Perspectiva de la Antropología de Mesoamerica y el Norte de México. XIII Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología. México.

This article describes the "Burning of the Firewood" ceremony, the final step in marriage among the Tlapanecs of Tlacoapa, Guerrereras. Although mainly descriptive, it also includes a brief functional analysis. It is supplemented by various diagrams.

Oettinger, Patricia P.

1973x A Village of Children: Multiple Socialization Influences and the Problems of a New Cultural Identity in a Tlapanec Indian Village. M.A. Thesis. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

An in-depth look at varying socialization influences upon children of Tlacoapa, Guerrero, and the possible ramifications of such multiple influences. Open-ended. Supplemented by various charts and graphs resulting from personal interviews and projective tests.

Olivera, Mercedes y Blanca Sánchez

1964 Distribución Actual de Las Lenguas Indígenas de México. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. México, D.F.

Provides distribution of Mexican linguistic groups. Places Tlapanec in Joca Meridional group. Lists seven towns in which Tlapanec is spoken.

Olmsted, D. L.

1969 Tequistlatec and Tlapanec. In Handbook of Middle American Indians. Vol. 7. University of Texas Press. Austin.

Provides a very sketchy account of the Tlapanec. Author did not visit the Tlapanec region. Should be read with caution. Tequistlatec section is good.

Orozgo y Berra, M.

1864x Geográfica de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México. México, D.F.

Mainly linguistic. Lists towns within the district of Tlapa which speak only Tlapanec, Tlapanec-Nahuatl, and Tlapanec-Mixtec. States that they (Tlapanec) are the same as the Chochos or Chochones of Oaxaca and of Vera Cruz, the Popolocos of Puebla, the Tecos of Michoacan, the Tecoxines of Jalisco and the Populucas of Guatemala. Accompanied by linguistic map of Mexico.

Ortega, Miguel F.

1940x Extención y Limites de la Provincia de los Yopes a Mediados del Siglo XVI. EMA. Tomo V. México, D.F.

Gives the geographical distribution of the Yope (Tlapanec) in the 16th century. Deals mainly with the Yope of the Costa Chica of Guerrero around San Luis Acatlán.

Palacios, Juan

1922 Dictamen de. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 42-45. México, D.F.

Speaks strongly in favor of the authenticity of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del

1905x Papeles de Nueve España. 2nd Serie Geografía y estadística. Vol. 5, pp. 174-182. Madrid.

The pages cited above concern the "Relación de Chilapa," written in 1582. Description of Yope (Tlapanec) dress, territorial boundary, warfare and customs is given.

1953 Tratado de las Idolatrías, Supersticiones, Dioses, Ritos, Hechicerías y Otros Costumbres Gentílicas de Las Razas Aborígenes de México. Ediciones Fuente Cultural. 2 Vols. México, D.F.

Vol. I, pp. 104-105 makes brief mention of a traditional religious ceremony held in the area of Malinaltepec, Guerrero. Vol. II, p. 42, talks about a similar ceremony which occurred in the province of Tlapa, Guerrero.

Pimentel, F.

1874 Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México. 3 Vols. 2nd Edición. México, D.F.

Places Tlapanec in Mixtec-Zapotec family of languages. Quotes Orozgo y Berra (1864) and tries to prove linguistic affinity between Popoloco and Tlapanec by way of cognates. Presents three pages of possible cognates between Mixtec, Zapotec, Popoloco and Chuchó.

Pimentel, Luis García (ed.)

1897 Descripción del Arzobispado de México y Otros Documentos (1570).

Defines parts of the Yope (Tlapanec) area in Guerrero. Also mentions Yope speakers in Aca-pulco during the 16th century.

1904 Relación de Los Obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca, y Otros Lugares in el Siglo XVI. Paris.

An early census of the Tlapanec region giving location of various towns and the number of tribute payers in each.

Radin, Paul

1933x Notes on the Tlapanec Language of Guerrero. IJAL. Vol. 8, pp. 45-72.

Radin claims this study to be no more than an annotated vocabulary of the Tlapanec language. Gives notes on Tlapanec grammar and provides an English-Tlapanec vocabulary. States that both Tlapanec and Subtiaba of Nicaragua are sub-dialects of the same language. Worked in Mexico City with three Tlapanec speakers from areas around Azoyu and Illatengo, Guerrero.

- 1940 Notes on Schultze-Jena's Tlapanec. Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana. Vol 4, pp. 70-74.

Radin attacks Schultze-Jena's report (1938) on Tlapanec language and points out what he feels to be certain inaccuracies. Contains useful material on Tlapanec grammar and phonetics.

Sahagún, Fr. Bernardino de

- 1961x The General History of the Things of New Spain (Florentine Codex). Translated from the Nahuatl by Charles Dibble and Arthur Anderson. The School of American Research. Santa Fe.

Contains two paragraphs on the Yope (Tlapanec) and describes the land in which they live and briefly mentions their social characteristics and dress.

Sánchez Castro, Alejandro

- 1970 Etnografía del Estado de Guerrero. Chilpancingo, Guerrero.

A booklet containing a brief section on the Tlapanec. Should be used with great caution.

Salazar, S. L.

- 1922 Dictamen de. (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca, Tomo I. No. 3, p. 41. México, D.F.

A statement concerning the composition of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Sapir, Edward

- 1925 The Hokan Affinity of Subtiaba in Nicaragua. AA. Vol. 27, pp. 402-35, 491-527.

Demonstrates the relationship between Tlapanec-Subtiaba and Hokan. Suggests broader relations of a Hokan-Siouan group. Bases data on word list from N. León (1903).

Schuller, Rudolph

1928 Las Lenguas Indígenas de Centro America con Especial Referencia a Las Idiomas de Costa Rica. Vol. 13. 132 pp.

Attempts to show relationship of Tlapanec-Yope language to other Mesoamerican languages.

Schultze-Jena. L. S.

1938x Bei Den Azteken, Mixteken und Tlapaneken der Sierra Madre de Sur von Mexiko. Indiana. Vol. III. Verlag von Gustav Fischer in Jena.

Best work available to date on Tlapanec. Contains two major sections--one on religion and one on language. Prayer texts are in both German and Tlapanec. Supplemented by photographs and diagrams.

Squier, E. G.

1852 Nicaragua: Its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the Proposed Interoceanic Canal. New York.

Provides a 200 word list of Subtiaba language. Helpful for comparison with Tlapanec.

Starr, Frederick

1899- Notes Upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico.  
1903 Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. Vols. 8-9.

Goes along with Orozgo y Berra (1864) saying that Tlapanec and Chochones are one and the same. Later describes Chochones of the District of Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca.

Swadesh, Morris

1960 The Oto-Manguetan Hypothesis and Macro-Mixtecan. IJAL. Vol. 26, pp. 79-111.

A lexicostatistical study which includes, in part, Tlapanec.

1967x Lexicostatistic Classification. In Handbook of Middle American Indians. Vol. 5, pp. 79-115. University of Texas Press. Austin.

Postulates time separation of Tlapanecs from Subtiaba, Chiapaneco, Mangué and several other Hokan languages.

Thomas, Cyrus and J. R. Swanton

1911 Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America and Their Geographical Distribution. Smithsonian Institute Publication, BAE, bul. 44. Washington, D.C.

In reference to the Tlapanec, this publication is in accord with the linguistic classification of Orozgo y Berra (1864) but does nothing to further it.

Thompson, J. Eric

1966x The Relación de Tecuanapa, Guerrero. Tlalocan. Vol. V. No. 1, pp. 85-96.

Discussion of an early Spanish Colonial document (1580) concerning the Costa Chica of Guerrero. Provides physical and cultural geography of several areas occupied at that time by Mixtecs, Tlapanecs, and Amuzgos. Points out strong ties between Tlapa and Azoyú.

Tlapa, Padrón de

1791x Ramo de Padrónes, Vol. 21. Archivo General de la Nación. Mexico, D.F.

A general census of the area pertaining to Tlapa, Guerrero in 1791. Lists many Tlapanec towns. Interesting to note the many social categories (castes).

Torquemade, Fr. J. de

1723 La Monarquía Indiana. Tomo I, Libro 3. Madrid.

Gives location of Yope (Tlapanec) group and describes it as being a "very large nation."

Toscano, Salvador

1943x Los Codices Tlapanecos de Azoyú. Cuadernos Americanos. Vol. 10, pp. 127-36.

Deals with two codices from Azoyú, Guerrero. Since neither has been deciphered, this article only describes the conditions under which these documents were discovered and gives a physical description. Text is accompanied by photographs.

Villaseñor y Sánchez, José Antonio

1746x Teatro Americano, Descripción General de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva España y sus Jurisdicciones. 2 Vols. México.

Gives linguistic composition of various Tlapanec communities and states their distances from administrative centers. List Olinalá, Guerrero as having large Tlapanec population. Also provides population figures of many Tlapanec communities.

Vivó, J. A.

1946 Culturales de Guerrero. México Prehispánico, Antología de Esta Semana 1935-46. Edited by A Caso and J. A. Vivó. México.

Mentions the importance of the Tlapanec linguistic group in the total composition of the indigenous population of the State of Guerrero. Places it within the Hokan linguistic group.

Waitz, Paul

1922 Dictamen del Petrógrafo (Sobre la autenticidad de la máscara encontrada en Malinaltepec, Guerrero.) BMNAHE. 4th Epoca. Tomo I. No. 3, pp. 45-48. México, D.F.

Speaks in favor of the authenticity of the mosaic mask from Malinaltepec, Guerrero.

Weitlaner, Robert and I. Johnson

1943 Acatlán y Hueycantenango, Guerrero. EMA. Vol. 6, pp. 140-204.

Contains vocabularies of three Aztec dialects, of Tlapanec, and of Popoloca-Tlapanec.

Weitlaner, Robert and Robert Barlow

1944 Expeditions in Western Guerrero. Tlalocan. Vol. I, pp. 364-75.

A summary of an expedition into regions of the Costa Grande and the Balsas River Basin of Guerrero. Mentions that Tlapanec speakers were encountered in area around Politepec.

Winning, Hasso Von  
1940 Un Viaje al Sureste del Estado de Guerrero.  
EMA. Vol. V, pp. 329-336.

States that Chilapa, Guerrero is visited by  
Tlapanecs on market days.

Investigador \_\_\_\_\_ Pueblo o Ranchería \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha \_\_\_\_\_

N O M B R E	En relación al jefe de la casa	Edad	Ocupación	Educación	Lengua	Lugar mas lejos que ha viajado	DONDE NACIO	Sexo
	Jefe de la Casa							

¿Tiene usted hijos o hijas que no estén viviendo en casa? Si  No  ¿Donde viven ellos? \_\_\_\_\_  
 ¿Cuántos niños suyos han muerto? \_\_\_\_\_ Cuántos años tenían los que se murieron? \_\_\_\_\_  
 ¿Que tipo de casamiento tienen ustedes? Unión Libre \_\_\_\_\_ Civil \_\_\_\_\_ Por la Iglesia \_\_\_\_\_ Las dos leyes \_\_\_\_\_  
 ¿Tiene usted otra casa en otro lugar? Si  No  ¿Dónde \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inmediatamente después del casamiento, dónde vivieron ustedes? ¿En la casa de la mujer? \_\_\_\_\_ ¿del hombre? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Según usted, ¿cual es la diferencia entre los tlapanecos y otras personas? \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX 2

Census A

## APPENDIX 3

Planting Census

NOMBRE \_\_\_\_\_

NUMERO DE PERSONAS EN SU FAMILIA \_\_\_\_\_

CUANTOS LITROS DE MAIZ SIEMBRO? \_\_\_\_\_

RIEGO \_\_\_\_\_

TEMPORAL \_\_\_\_\_

HA USADO PEONES PARA SU TRABAJO EN LA MILPA? \_\_\_\_\_

CARGO--SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX 4

Census C

1. NO. \_\_\_\_\_ SEXO \_\_\_\_\_
2. DONDE NACIO USTED? \_\_\_\_\_ EN QUE AÑO? \_\_\_\_\_
3. OCUPACION \_\_\_\_\_
4. COLONIA \_\_\_\_\_
5. CUANDO SALIO USTED DE SU PUEBLO EN LA MONTAÑA? \_\_\_\_\_
6. VIVIO USTED IN OTROS PUEBLOS ANTES DE LLEGAR A MEXICO?  
CUALES? \_\_\_\_\_
7. CON QUIEN VIVIO USTED CUANDO LLEGO A LA CIUDAD? \_\_\_\_\_
8. QUIEN LE AYUDO A ENCONTRAR TRABAJO CUANDO USTED LLEGO  
A LA CIUDAD? \_\_\_\_\_
9. ERA CASADO CUANDO LLEGO A LA CIUDAD? \_\_\_\_\_
10. SI NO, SO CASO CON UNA MUCHACHA TLAPANECA (O MUCHACHO)  
AQUI EN LA CIUDAD? \_\_\_\_\_
11. CUANTOS HERMANOS Y HERMANAS TIENE USTED AQUI EN MEXICO? \_\_\_\_\_
12. CUANDO USTED ESTA BUSCANDO UN COMPADRE TRATA DE BUSCAR  
UN TLAPANECO? \_\_\_\_\_
13. CUANTOS COMPADRES TLAPANECOS TIENE AQUI EN MEXICO? \_\_\_\_\_
14. TIENE AMIGOS TLAPANECOS AQUI IN MEXICO? \_\_\_\_\_ MUCHOS? \_\_\_\_\_
15. POR QUE SALIO USTED DE SU PUEBLO? \_\_\_\_\_
16. QUE FUE EL PROBLEMA MAS GRANDE PARA USTED CUANDO LLEGO  
A MEXICO? \_\_\_\_\_
17. FUE UN PROBLEMA LA LENGUA CASTELLANA? \_\_\_\_\_
18. HABLO BIEN EL CASTELLANO CUANDO LLEGO A LA CIUDAD \_\_\_\_\_
19. EN GENERAL, COMO SE LE TRATO A USTED CUANDO LLEGO A  
MEXICO? \_\_\_\_\_
20. MANDA USTED DINERO A SU FAMILIA EN LA MONTAÑA? \_\_\_\_\_
21. TODAVIA TIENE USTED TERRENO EN LA MONTAÑA? \_\_\_\_\_  
QUIEN LO SIEMBRA? \_\_\_\_\_
22. ESPERA USTED REGRESAR A SU PUEBLO PARA VIVIR? \_\_\_\_\_  
PORQUE? \_\_\_\_\_
23. PARA MEJORARSE, QUE NECESITA LA ZONA TLAPANECA? \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX 5

Interview A

Nombre del cargo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Edad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Habitación \_\_\_\_\_  
 Quien le llamo a servir? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cuantos anos tenia Usted cuando empezo a servir en la sistema? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Era casado cuando empezo a servir? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Los nombres de los cargos que Usted ha pasado:  
 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. \_\_\_\_\_  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Donde vive Usted cuando esta en Tlacoapa? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Quien prepara sus tortillas? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Esta pesado el cargo que Usted tiene ahora? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cuales responsabilidades lleve el cargo que Usted tiene ahora?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Como le gusta su cargo? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Esta Usted perdiendo dinero durante el tiempo de su servicio? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ha tenido que vender ganado para vivir? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ha tenido que pedir prestamo de dinero para vivir? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 de quien?  
 Si Usted tiene que escoger alguien para servir el cargo que Usted tiene ahora, que tipo de persona buscara?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Despues de su tiempo de descansar, espera Usted a servir otro cargo? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cual? \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX 6

Cargo History of Gustavo Espinosa, PRINCIPAL

The following cargo history has been edited to show how this particular man ascended to the position of principal. Gustavo Espinosa is an extraordinary man, gifted with an unusual ability to get along with others, and to read and write Spanish better than the average Tlacoapeno. No doubt these qualities greatly assisted him in gaining the exalted position which he now holds. His history of service to the community includes holding positions in both sides of the system, religious and civil.

In addition, it provides the reader with Espinosa's own interpretation of what duties and responsibilities were attached to each cargo he served.

For the sake of clarity, I have placed first mention of each of the steps in his cargo history in capital letters. My questions to him are in parentheses.

\* \* \* \* \*

I started serving the community of Tlacoapa in 1940, at the age of 20. I began with a cargo connected with the mayordomia of San Juan Bautista. I was a TOYATADO, which is similar to the position of topil. (Was this service

for one year?) Yes, it was for one year. I was there to cooperate with others, to give service, service to the community. I say the community because the mayordomo receives his instructions from the presidencia. We all cooperated. There were eight of us, and we all cooperated. (Was one of your duties to procure goats for the fiesta?) Yes, each Sunday when we all came down to Tlacoapa, we came together in the house of the mayordomo. There were the mayordomo primero, the mayordomo segundo, and the scribe. Also there were five toyatados. We all gathered together there at the house of the mayordomo. Then the more important members of the mayordomia came to a decision as to how we were to work for a person in order to procure a goat. One large goat was worth the work given by three men. (Do you mean that it took three men to bring the goat down to the village?) No, I mean that it took three men working to complete the payment for a goat. Well, anyhow, we decided on a fixed day to do this type of work. The date which was decided upon by the leaders of the mayordomia was passed on to the owner of the goat. We came to an agreement on the time of our work with the owner of the goat. We usually worked for various persons until we had the necessary number of goats. I think in those days it was four goats for a fiesta of this type. We did not purchase these goats with money but with work. After the animals were purchased, we continued to come down to the village on Sundays to

discuss ways we were to conduct the fiesta. The leaders of the mayordomia were the ones who actually decided because a toyatado was a person who had just started serving the community and his participation was limited--he only listened. He still didn't give an opinion. After the leaders had reached accord, they would sometimes announce to us, "This, boys, is the way things are to be done." Sometimes they would ask us, "Are you all in accord?" But what could we say except that we were?

(Did the mayordomia of San Juan function in the same manner as now?) Not entirely. It was slightly different. In those days all of those connected with the mayordomia donated money and, in addition, they went to work for people in exchange for a goat. Now they help people who want assistance and they are paid money for their work. For example, as in my case now, I will go to the mayordomo and say: "Hear me, mayordomo. I need your help. I will pay you." We will then come to an accord as to the price which I will pay those who work for me.

But also the members of the mayordomia had to contribute money. For this they also worked. In those days a man earned very little--more or less 50 centavos per day. (You mean in 1940?) Yes, because the people earned very little. Sometimes many people went to help with the work. Sometimes a toyatado would bring other members of his family to help. The money needed to be completed be-

cause it was decided that there was to be a quota of ten pesos per member of the mayordomia. This money was used to pay for such things as a mass in honor of the saint of [our mayordomia]. For example, San Juan cost 30 pesos for a chanted mass.

(Did the mayordomia of San Juan lend money in those days?) Yes, also. But the money of the mayordomia was not to be used for the fiesta and it was not to be taken by the mayordomo. In those days, the interest was much higher than today. For each peso borrowed, the borrowers had to pay 50% interest. (Could the people withstand such high interest?) Some could and some couldn't. It was very strenuous. But that was the way it was.

By and by, the day of the fiesta of San Juan arrived. We gathered all of the goats which we had earned; and, with the money we had earned, we bought candles and arranged to pay for the mass. Then the mayordomo primero went and talked to the authorities--that is to say, to the presidente. He also advised the principales on the day of the vespers of San Juan. Then, on the very day of the fiesta, of the mass, everyone came together. The mass was said, and everyone returned to the house of the mayordomo; and the accounts of the fondo were examined and the money of the fondo was distributed. But remember that in those days it was at 50% interest. All of the neighbors who borrowed had one year to repay the principal and the interest.

If, after the fiesta was over, there was a deficit in the money needed to pay for the fiesta, all of the members of the mayordomia had to come back to work for more money. (How much did a fiesta cost in those days?) It was expensive, but not too much so because in those days life was still inexpensive. For example, corn cost 10 centavos per liter or 12 centavos or 1 real. It usually came out to about 20 pesos per person. The money was used to purchase animals which were not earned by exchange for labor and to pay for mass, candles, and to purchase chilote. In those days we used a lot of chilote. Each person had to give three containers of chilote. (Where did all of that chilote come from?) Well, in those days there was a lot of sugar cane in Tlacoapa.

The mayordomo gives service for two years, and there are two groups of toyatados; each group serves the mayordomo for one year. The same was true when I was a toyatado. The toyatados change in January. For example, those toyatados which you have seen here, they are serving a mayordomo until next January. Then they change for another group of toyatados. They have to seek money to purchase goats, etc.

(Who appoints the mayordomo?) The presidente and the inspectores [regidores?] have the names of the prospective mayordomia members, and they have to talk it over with the principales. But some of those appointed say that they

do not want to serve because they are poor and that they do not have money and they do not have a house here in Tlacoapa. (Is it important for a mayordomo to have a house here in Tlacoapa?) Yes, it is important. Some people do have houses however. But the principales say to those who are refusing: "If you do not accept the responsibility for the cargo, we will have to go to another community to obtain a mayordomo." They say to them that we all have to cooperate here in the community. Then the person usually accepts. He may make a protest, but he always accepts in the end. After he has received the notice of his new cargo, he must wait until the current mayordomia is completed.

After the mass is said and the people have returned to the house of the mayordomo, the accounts of the fondo are arranged and the money is handed out. Many people come forth and ask for money. They say, "I want 50 pesos, 60 pesos, 100 pesos." And so the money is distributed. But first an account is made of the money that is in the "fondo." There is a list of those who have borrowed the preceding year. The scribe has a list of those who have not paid their debts. The mayordomo charges some of his toyatados to go and collect money from those who have not paid their debts. They have to go to the rancherias where the people live to collect the money which is owed. They try to collect all of the money which is owed before the mayordomo's term is out. There are some who can pay both principal

and interest and there are those who can pay only interest. They remain still owing the principal. And so they remain in debt, and their names remain on the list. After that, all of the money is accounted for by the mayordomo and the scribe. They make a list of how much they have gathered, how much principal and how much interest, and how much is still owed. Later, when the principales arrive, they are shown the accounts, and the names of those who have not paid are read aloud. There are those who have paid only interest and those who have not paid anything. Then the principales say that it is not the fault of the mayordomo, but the fault of those who have borrowed money and have not repaid their debts. The list is made. Sometimes the same names appear from year to year. (Are there those who cannot borrow money because they have a reputation for not paying their debts?) Yes, they usually are not given money again. There are some who are negligent. There are some, but not many.

At the end of the fiesta, which marks the end of the mayordomo's term, the newly-appointed mayordomo receives his cargo and the new responsibilities which you have seen. He is invited to sit at the table with the principales, the old mayordomo, and the town authorities. The accounts and the money of the fondo are given to him and he accepts them. But the money is not for him. The money is completely for the principales and the community--

nothing else.

(After 1941, did you rest?) Yes, I rested for two years. (Did they call you again?) Yes. (For which cargo?) I was given the cargo of ESCRIBIENTE DEL INSPECTOR. He is the person who collects the community contribution. (Ten pesos for each head of a family and two liters of corn?) Yes, that is right. But in those days it was still cheap. The contribution per head of each family was 15 centavos per month and the same for each boy over the age of 18. (Was it important to know how to write to hold this cargo?) Yes. In 1945 I was not the actual escribiente del inspector but the assistant to the escribiente. (And your responsibility was to go and collect the contributions from the neighbors?) I did not go to collect the contribution; this was the responsibility of the topiles who were sent by the inspectores. I worked in the office. I helped make the list of those who had paid or not. They paid 15 centavos per month or 1.80 pesos per year.

(And which cargo did you have after this one?) I rested for two years. In 1947 I received another cargo. I became ESCRIBIENTE DEL FISCAL. (What were your responsibilities?) The fiscales were for guarding the church and assisting the Fathers. They also had to go and guide the Fathers to Tlacoapa because in those days there were no Fathers here in Tlacoapa. Also, the fiscales had the responsibility to look over those persons who were not married

by religious law and who were living together by common law. The fiscal and the escribiente had a list of those people who were not married by the two laws, religious and civil. We sent topiles to bring those people who were living in such a way so that they could be married by the church. (Did you also have the responsibility to bring those who had just died?) Yes, and also to guard the cemetery where they are buried. Also, the fiscales were in charge of cleaning the cemetery. The escribiente also had a list of all of the neighbors of Tlacoapa. (Was the cargo of fiscal very costly?) Yes, also. It was sort of like that of mayordomo. We also had a fiesta to sponsor. In those days, the fiscales were in charge of the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

There was also another very important responsibility of the fiscales. It was to look over the women, those who were not married. The fiscales had to look for a mid-wife to rub these women. Each Sunday, the topiles were sent to visit the young girls and to advise their fathers to come to the house of the fiscal. Because there, in the house of the fiscal, was the woman, the mid-wife, who would inspect the girls. She would look to see if the girl were carrying anything: to see if she were pregnant or not. If not, the girl was allowed to go free. If she was pregnant, the fiscales had the responsibility to ask her: "Well, you are carrying a baby; who is its father?"

There they made their investigation. There were some women who were dumb. They would not say who the father was. They didn't say anything, and they would say that they had nothing in their stomachs. But the fiscal still made his investigation. There were those who didn't say; and they were sent to the presidencia, where they were punished. (And what happened to the father?) If the woman did not name the man, she was placed in jail. If the man was found out, he was also punished. He had to register the name of the child when it was born. He also had to pay the expenses of the registration of birth. (Did he have to marry her?) No, because there were some who were already married. This was usually the reason why a woman did not name her lover. The man and the girl had an understanding between them not to tell. But when the time of punishment arrived, they had no choice. They told because of force. All of this was done by the fiscales because there have been cases where women threw their children away in the mountains. This responsibility was for women who were not married and who were between the ages of 18 and 25. There was no responsibility for those who were married. (When the illegitimate child was born, whose name did it carry?) It carried the name of the father. Even if the man was already married to another, the child carried his name. Problems, problems. This was the responsibility of the fiscal. The fiscal also made a list of all illegiti-

mate births for the Father, and when he came it was given to him.

(Did you rest after this?) Yes, I did. I started again in 1949. I was again ESCRIBIENTE DEL FISCAL. (Again? Is this normal and common?) No, it is rare to have the same cargo two times. If an escribiente conducts himself well with the fiscales and the mayordomo, he is given a reputation of knowing how to do things. They will say: "We are going to use the same man to help us again!" That is why I served the same cargo two times. But a fiscal always gives service for one year and not two.

(And after this cargo?) In 1951 I was named ESCRIBIENTE DE LA MAYORDOMIA DEL ROSARIO. (You had to guard the fondo?) That is right. But only the list and the accounts; the money was the responsibility of the mayordomo. (How did you like this cargo?) I served this same cargo for three years. It was not too much work. We only got together each Sunday; no more. (But service of a mayordomo is for two years?) Yes, but the escribiente may last longer--three years, eight years, or ten years. Sometimes they pass from one mayordomia to another, the same escribiente. This is why I served for three years. A mayordomo serves for two years, and then there enters another one who serves for two years. After three years of service as escribiente, I didn't want to do it any more.

I was tired of it. I told the principales that I could not do it any more, and that they should seek another escribiente.

(Did you rest after that?) No, I did not. Because in 1951 I was also asked to serve as TESORERO MUNICIPAL. It was at the same time that I was serving as escribiente for the mayordomia of Rosario. I had two cargos at the same time. In those days, the tesorero gave service of two years. I was the last regidor or the fifth regidor. I had this cargo for two years. (Was it difficult?) Yes, it was very difficult because the position did not allow one to tend his fields. I had to be here in the village all of the time. I served for '51 and '52, and then left.

(Did you rest?) Yes, I rested. I rested for two years. In 1954 I became SUPLENTE DEL PRESIDENTE DEL PARTIDO. (What did you do?) I was there with the presidente del partido. I was there; no more. (The partido appoints the new presidente municipal?) Yes, he does. I later became PRESIDENTE DEL PARTIDO. I was with the partido for four years: two years as suplente and two years as presidente. (What did you do as presidente del partido?) I was in charge of selecting who would become the new presidente municipal. We in the party had to choose and establish accord with the principales and the members of the current ayuntamiento to decide who would be the new presidente municipal. (The other regidors also?) Yes,

all of the regidores. This was the responsibility of the presidente del partido. (And the inspectores, tlayacanques, and the other cargos?) No, the presidente del partido did not have the responsibility for those people. Only those who are to be in the ayuntamiento. (Did you work together with the principales and the outgoing presidente municipal?) Yes. This cargo carries much responsibility, and it is very delicate. We also made sure that the authorities conducted themselves well. It is very difficult. If the presidente municipal is bad and is not conducting himself correctly, or if he is injuring the community or the people, the presidente del partido has to be in charge of removing him. (Have there been such cases?) No. But the responsibility is still there.

(Did you rest after this cargo?) No, not for long--one year, no more. In 1957 I became TESORERO DE LA GANADERIA. (Was this cargo difficult?) No, not very, but there were always problems. I was with Domingo Neri who is the sindico now. He was the presidente de la ganaderia. We had these cargos for three years. (Did you have to be in the village every day?) No, we came every Sunday, Wednesday, or rather three days a week. (Did you rest after these days in the village?) Only to return to my rancheria to work. Then at the end of each month, when there was a lot of paper work, we were here for several days to make a report. The presidente de la ganaderia has to send a

report to Chilpancingo each month. He has the responsibility to look after all of the animals, the cows, sheep, horses, etc. If there is a sickness, he has to inform the authorities in Chilpancingo immediately. Or if there is a person who has an animal without papers or if a person sells an animal without papers, it is the responsibility of the organization of ganaderia to see that the fines are paid. (During this time did you live in the village or in the mountains?) I lived in the mountains. (But you had a house here?) In 1951 I started building the house here. There was a house of my father's here, but it fell down. It was an jacal, and he did not know about adobe. It was only a house for occasional use, no more. At first I lived together with my brothers, but afterwards I built my own house apart. My brother went to Mexico.

(After 1960, did you rest?) Not for long. In 1961 I returned to serve as PRESIDENTE DE LA GANADERIA. I served for three years. I left in 1964. In 1965 I returned to serve again as PRESIDENTE DEL PARTIDO. (Is it common to serve the same cargo twice?) No, it is rare. But I am peaceful. I have calm words. I don't speak violently, and I don't fool the people. I always speak with respect. I speak well and I can settle things. Because of this, I was called again. But this time I did not stay long. I was there for one and a half years. I was in this cargo when they named me to be the new PRESIDENTE MUNICIPAL.

I received the cargo of presidente municipal in 1966. (How was it? Did you like it?) It was very hard. But I had much experience in doing things, and I had lots of interest to improve things. In 1966 I, with my regidores, made a plan of work. We decided what the community needed, what the mission needed; we cooperated greatly with the mission. We made schoolrooms. We put a new roof on the church. We placed a tin roof on the church. We provided the transportation, and the Fathers paid for the cement. (Did you have to carry things from Atlamajalcingo del Monte?) Yes, it was 11 hours on the road with animals. Then we finished. We carried materials during the time of rain. We also brought mosaic tiles for the floor of the altar. We also brought metal windows. We re-plastered the walls. In 1967 we built the hospital. We also did much work on the road that goes from here over Piedra Ombligo. (Was this communal work?) Yes. We also cleared a road to Apetzuca. We made many roads. We repaired many others. In 1967 a cyclone came to Tlacoapa. The road was partly destroyed. Because of this we did not finish the road through Piedra Ombligo. It came in September. (Did it do much damage?) Yes, it did. It took away much of the land near the river, many fruit groves, much cane. It took away my orchards down below here. It destroyed everything. We also constructed the house of the inspector escolar in 1967. We also re-plastered the

school and repaired the patio of the main square. There was a gigantic rock in the middle of the square, and we moved it.

After my period as presidente municipal, I became a PRINCIPAL.

## APPENDIX 7

## Tlacoapa Price List

The following list represents the average price of key items bought and sold in Tlacoapa. Since prices of some items vary with the season, prices quoted here are based on a yearly average.

ITEM		ITEM	PESOS
<u>Animals</u>			
Ox	1,200-1,500	Horse	500-800
Cow	800- 900	Donkey	500-600
Bull	1,000-1,200	Mule	1,200-1,500
Sheep	100- 150	Chicken	8- 12
Goat	100- 150	Turkey	30- 40
Piglet	60- 80	Dog	10- 12
<u>Food</u>			
Shelled Corn	1-1.50/liter	Panela	15/stalk
Eggs	.40 each	Pineapples	1- 2.00
Onions	.20	Prickly Pears	.20
Squash	.80	Mangos	.20
Avocados	.20	Bananas	.20
Mushrooms	.60 (handful)	Soft Drinks	1.50

ITEM	PESOS	ITEM	PESOS
Cheese	2.00/cake (10 cm.)	Sweet Bread	.20
Wheat Tortillas	.20	Corn Tortillas	.20

Household Items

Water Gourds	1.00	Cooking Pot	1-1.50
Metate	50-75	Ixtle Net	3-5.00
Comal	2- 4	Wooden Chair	5-8.00
Petate	10	Malacate	5
Candle (40 cm.)	1		

Hired Labor

Team of Oxen and Owner	15 pesos/day with breakfast and lunch
Field Labor	5/day with meals or 10-15/day without meals

## APPENDIX 8

Dialogue Between Hablador and Father of  
Prospective Bride

The following transcription is taken from a recording made in Tlacoapa. It deals with the formal exchange of words between the hablador and the family of the prospective bride. Since much of what the hablador says on his first visit is repeated on each subsequent visit, repetitious statements are omitted. The transcription offered here is as literal as translation allows.

First Visit

Hablador:

In the name of God, I come asking your pardon, into this house and home in which you live and from which God has sent a work which is the grace of Mother Mary and my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. They have spoken and have sent to this house a new living being with the grace of spirit which always guards your home. This being has grown, endowed with the beauty of nature. That same nature has given to me a man on whose behalf I come to translate his feelings.

He tells me that he has finally arrived at a point, higher than all, from which he could see in all directions and from which he has chosen your home which is like a tree of shade where he will live and in which he will always have fire, water, food and protection. Therefore, on this day, I clearly express his desires and feelings in your honorable home.

But first, may God, our Lord, and you forgive me for coming to bother you. Also, I ask forgiveness of Mother Mary, Father and Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Eternal Father. What was begun centuries ago, the legacy of Adam and Eve, was that we should multiply.

This is why I come to your house--to give the feelings and desires of this poor boy who has expressed his wishes, and who, after looking in all other places, sees that there exists here a tree of happiness, filled with white clouds and which has sufficient shade to give him protection. He desires to be protected by this tree of ample shade under which will always be a woman to prepare his daily food. I beg that you accept my sincere and humble words as well as my sentiments and those of this poor boy. I also ask in his behalf the pardon of Jesus Christ, Mother Mary and Adam and Eve who have left here on earth the ability to reproduce. This is why I am here. It is in his behalf that I have come to your honorable home at such a late hour.

Girl's Father:

You have come, sir, to express the desires of the boy who has seen many things. I understand, sir, that he was created by the same nature, through the work of Mother Mary, Father and Lord Jesus Christ. Well, sir, I sincerely have nothing to say to you, but we hope that the matter that brings you here can be arranged by the Grace of God our Lord.

Hablador:

Very well, sir, again I ask that you forgive me for bringing up this matter. I have come to fulfill the desires of Mother Mary and Father and Lord Jesus Christ who have allowed for the multiplication of men, from generation to generation. This boy has begged me to translate his feelings so that his desires may be fulfilled. He has designated your home, his tree of shade, so that he will always have his daily meals for the rest of his life.

Girl's Father:

Very well, sir, I hear, in detail, your desires and the desires of the boy. Return again in one week to talk more about this matter while I ask my daughter so she can state her desires. I cannot obligate her to anything. Rather, I await your next visit before speaking of this more.

Second VisitHablador:

In the name of God I have come again to your honorable home to ask forgiveness of you as well as forgiveness of Holy Mary, Father, Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who have left us in this world of suffering but who suffered first for us. This necessity again obligates me to come, sir.

Girl's Father:

You have come for that purpose. It seems that your request is going to be granted. I also asked my daughter, and she told me that she accepts the boy as her husband whose desires you have conveyed. Only first, we shall arrange the matter well.

Third VisitHablador:

In the name of God, I have come here for the third time, again asking for your pardon and to see if you accept the humble words of Mother Mary, Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the words of the boy who has chosen his tree of shade, your house, and who has done so after looking to the four cardinal points [of the compass]. I want you to grant my request so that you can hear the desires and sentiments of the boy. I also want you to hear the voices of Mother

Mary and Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Girl's Father:

Very well, sir, I accept it, and more importantly, my daughter accepts it. Well then, we will make the arrangements.

#### Fourth Visit

Hablador:

I again speak to you as I did before. Sir, you say that you accept. I now want for you to tell me a date when I can bring the boy here so that you can personally hear the voice of the boy who has chosen his tree of shade in this house.

Girl's Father:

Very well, bring him here so we can hear his words.

#### Fifth Visit

Boy:

I ask your pardon, sir. I have asked this gentleman to come in my name and translate my words. Nobody has forced me, neither my father, nor mother, nor any of my aunts and uncles. My own eyes, desires, and feelings made me choose the tree of shade in this house where I will be protected. In its shade I will always have fire, water and someone to feed me. Therefore, I have sent this gentleman to tell you all. Please forgive me, sir, and him,

too. Perhaps I speak well or poorly, but you accepted, for which I am grateful.

Hablador:

Very well, sir, you have heard from the boy's own lips his desires, his sentiments, his will and all that he feels. Now we request that this matter be arranged as soon as possible so that all will be done with for once and for all, and so that everyone in this house will forgive us.

Girl's Aunts and Uncles (to the hablador):

Whenever it be certain that he has seen clearly and pondered his situation carefully, and so it will not be that tomorrow or the day after something has gone wrong and the girl is not well chosen. For these reasons, we do not give it [permission] to you.

Hablador:

Very well, sirs, I have given the boy all of the necessary advice to live life, and he must know what he is accepting. This is not a game. It is a delicate thing. But if something bad occurs, I will be responsible and will see that he receives the necessary punishment. The boy is a person who has grown up here and knows the girl well. He knows if she is old enough to marry or not. He understands well the customs here.

Girl's Aunts and Uncles:

Very well, we have heard you. We only want that he take good care of the girl, like a sacred object, because we know that she has nothing, nor does she know how to do anything. She does not know how to spin or weave wool. Only her father knows how she manages to dress herself. If the boy accepts, he must buy her the necessary clothing.

Hablador:

Yes, sirs, I hope that he will do all of this. Since this poor boy has desired all of this, I believe that he will be very responsible in respect to all of these things. I request that the matter of this boy be settled now.

End

## APPENDIX 9

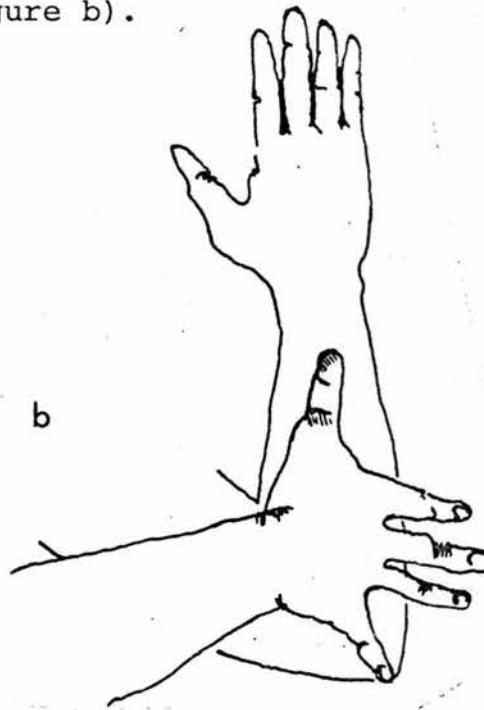
Tlacoapa Divination

Divination is a widely practiced custom in Tlacoapa. Many people divine, and the only requirement seems to be that of having people place faith in the practitioner. Divination is used to assist in making decisions concerning love, work, health, and, most prominently, in determining the exact numbers of items involved in sacrificial offerings to traditional Tlapanec dieties as well as to Catholic saints. Divination is done in a variety of ways. Some diviners read kernels of corn or embers and ashes, while more acculturated people read cards. The most widely used method of divination in Tlacoapa is by mediendo el hueso (measuring the bone).

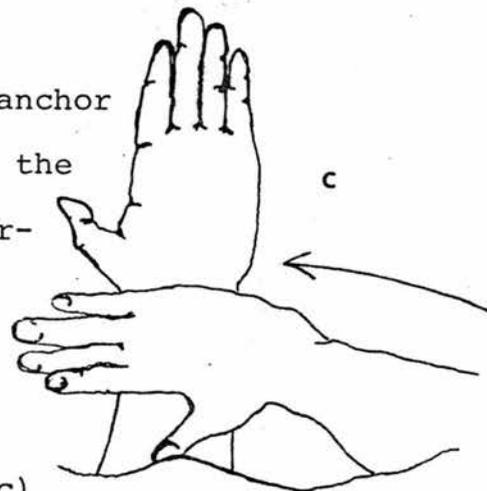
1. The palm of the right hand is rubbed against the palm of the left hand in a circular, counterclockwise fashion (Figure a).
2. Circular motion stops, and the opened right hand, with the little finger extended in a downward position, is slid down



the inside of the forearm  
until the little finger  
touches the elbow of the  
left arm (Figure b).



3. Using the thumb as an anchor  
to the inside forearm, the  
hand is pivoted counter-  
clockwise to a point  
about forty-five de-  
grees to the left of  
the left hand (Figure c).



4. The direction of the pivot is reversed, and the slightly bent fingers of the right hand glide across the left palm. It is at this moment of contact that the diviner reads the signs appearing in the palm of the left hand (Figure d).



These signs manifest themselves in the forms of lines and are read in much the same fashion as a palm reader reads them in the United States.

5. The hands are then cupped together, and the diviner blows into them, and the process of "measuring the bone" is repeated three more times.

## APPENDIX 10

The following story is one Tlacoapeno migrant's account of his experiences with the world outside of Tlacoapa. It begins with the time when Ignacio Hernandez Neri decides to leave the community, records his adventures in Chilpancingo, Acapulco and Mexico City, and ends when he returns to Tlacoapa almost ten years later. While this brief history is not entirely typical of most of those who migrate to large urban areas, it does show some of the problems which Tlacoapenos face upon arriving in worlds drastically different from the one in which they grew up.

\* \* \* \* \*

My name is Ignacio Hernandez Neri and I was born on the 28th of November, 1944. I am 28 years old and second son of Sr. Fausto Hernandez and Sra. Angelica Neri de Hernandez. My father was born in the rancheria of Ahuehuete, which is near to this village. My mother is from the rancheria of El Mirador, also near to this village. After the marriage of my parents, they went to live in the rancheria of my father in Ahuehuete.\*

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\*A period of bride service and matrilocal residency preceded this residency in the rancheria of Ahuehuete.

I was born there. My parents have told me that I entered school at the age of five years, here in Tlacoapa. During my childhood, I had troubles with my studies because I could not learn very rapidly. We, my brother and I, lived in the second house of my father in Tlacoapa village while we were going to school. We lived alone and had to bring our tortillas from Ahuehuete each Monday morning. We returned each Wednesday to Ahuehuete to get fresh tortillas for the rest of the week. It was the same then as it is now for school children. We also lived in two rancherias. During the rainy season my father went down to El Mirador with his animals and in the dry season, he returned to Ahuehuete with his bulls, cows, horses, sheep, and goats. For several years, I also alternated living with an aunt and uncle in El Mirador for one week and the next week I spent with my parents in Ahuehuete. My aunt and uncle had no children, and they treated me as a son. This is common in Tlacoapa.

I finished the sixth year of school here in Tlacoapa at the age of 15 or 16. My parents, upon seeing that I had finished primary school, told me that I should get married because it is a custom here for a young man to form his own home after he has finished school and to dedicate himself to his fields. But, in my mind, to finish primary school was not sufficient. In reality, I could not speak good

Spanish. I could speak Spanish, but it was "taught" Spanish and nothing else. I was unable to speak it fluently.

Finally, I told my parents that I wanted to learn to speak better Spanish and to understand more about life. I wanted to know more than those who were here in Tlacoapa. I told them that I wanted to leave and go to the city. They said that they could not let me go from here because my older brother had already left and was in Mexico City. I pleaded with them to let me go to the city to learn to understand, not only to speak Spanish, but to understand other things which I was unable to learn here in Tlacoapa. They said, "Very well." Finally the day arrived when they let me go. I remember that day exactly. They gave me ten pesos, and they gave me two chickens. They told me that the ten pesos were for my passage and the two chickens were for me to sell in Coloclipa in order to pay for my meals.

We were three boys who left from here together. We arrived in Coloclipa and I sold the two chickens for ten pesos each, or 20 pesos for the two. This, plus the ten pesos I had from my parents, totaled 30 pesos. Perfect. As my parents had indicated to me, the ten pesos were for my meals because where I was going, I would have no family, no place to live, absolutely nothing, nothing. I was like a person without roots, like a vagabond.

I arrived in Chilpancingo at the bus terminal. I met a man there who was the caretaker of the terminal and I told him my situation. I explained that I came from the village of Tlacoapa and that I did not know anything about this place [Chilpancingo]. I asked him if I could leave my things with him and go to look for work in Chilpancingo. He said, "Sure, why not?" I left my things in the terminal and began walking from house to house, looking for work, knocking on one door after another, telling the inhabitants that I was from such and such a place and that I wanted work. I had no luck, and I returned to the bus terminal and spent the night there on a bench. I covered myself with a gabán which I had brought with me from Tlacoapa.

I awoke early the next morning with the same worry of finding work. I left the terminal and started knocking on doors again. I knocked on one door and a person asked me, "What is it that you want, boy?" It was six o'clock in the morning. I did not know the customs of the city, and the lady who answered the door was mad that I had knocked so early. It was a pharmacy, but I didn't know what it was, a grocery store or what. She asked me why I was calling so early, and told me that the stores in Chilpancingo did not open until nine in the morning. I asked her indulgence and told her that I was looking for work. She asked me where I was from. I told her that I

was from Tlacoapa, and she asked me if I was an orphan. I told her no. She wanted to know why I was walking around in such a manner. I told her that I wanted to understand more about life and work in the city. She said that she understood. She said that if I wanted to work I should return the next morning. A general from Acapulco was going to pass by her home, and he was looking for a boy to work for him. I was excited, and I had great faith in getting the job.

The next day, I was there very early. Again, I arrived too early and angered the woman. I told her that I had great interest in the job she had mentioned. She wanted to know what I would do if the general did not pass by her house. I told her that I would continue looking for work. She told me to wait, that the general should pass by on that day. I waited. Finally, he arrived, thanks to timing and God. The woman spoke with the general, and then I went into the house and spoke with him. He asked me where I was from, why I had left my village, had I robbed anyone, had I killed anyone. I told him no. I had done none of those things. I explained to him that in my village the people were very backward and that I wanted to study, and that I was an adventurer and I wanted to improve myself. He commented that I was very young and he asked me if I were an orphan. I said no, that I had a mother and a father. He said, "Very well, if you have done

nothing bad, I will take you to Acapulco." I felt very happy. He told me that he would be leaving for Acapulco at three o'clock in the afternoon. I told him that I would wait for him in the terminal where the buses leave for Acapulco. He said no, that he had his own private car and we would go to Acapulco in the car. I waited in front of the door of the pharmacy for five hours.

We arrived in Acapulco in darkness and went to the general's house. He gave me an old blanket to place on the floor. I was to sleep with the dogs. This did not upset me. I arose the next morning, and he told me the work I was to do. I had to wash the dogs, sweep the garage, clean the garden, and, if time allowed, polish his cars. I also had to assist the cooks with things they needed. I said, "perfecto." I was very happy because I was in Acapulco and because I did not know anything else. He paid me five pesos per week with meals and room. Several days passed.

The general had a chauffeur with whom he had problems. After a week, while the general was in Mexico City, the chauffeur told me that I should leave and go elsewhere. I told him no because I had a contract with the general. He said that he ran things while the general was away. I told him that I did not want any problems. My Spanish was so bad that I feel he did not understand what I was saying, and maybe I insulted the chauffeur, but I did not intend

to. I didn't know why he wanted to get rid of me. He told me that he would take me down to El Centro and there I could find work. He gave me 15 pesos to leave. I left with a satchel and my huaraches. The chauffeur left me in El Centro all alone, without a home, and without anywhere to go. I passed the day looking for work. I walked from door to door, with my satchel in my hand; and I couldn't find any work, nothing. That night I slept on one of the benches in front of the cathedral. I was hungry.

While I was sleeping, a lady arrived. She asked me if I were drunk. I said no. She asked me why I was sleeping there on the bench. I told her that I had been looking for work all day long and could not find anything. She told me that it was bad for me to sleep there, and that the police would throw me in jail if they found me. She asked me if I had money to get out of jail. I said no. She then asked me where I was from, and I told her that I was from the State of Guerrero. She said that Acapulco was also in the State of Guerrero, and I indicated that I knew that. She said that she had great love for the people of Guerrero, and that she felt sorry for the Indians. She told me that her ancestors were also Indians. She told me that she would take me to her house, and I could sleep in her hallway. We went to her house and she gave me dinner. I remember it exactly.

I arose early the next morning. The lady told me, "Son, if you are going to look for work, you must wash first." She asked me if I had any money. I said that I only had 15 pesos, and she gave me 15 pesos to buy a pair of pants. She told me that if I walked around like a beggar, I would not be able to find work. Following her advice, I went to the market and bought some pants and then washed and went to look for work.

I searched for work all day, and finally I found a bakery named "La Esquina." I arrived there at seven o'clock in the evening. The owner told me that he could give me work and that he would pay me 30 pesos per day. I was ecstatic. I would become a millionaire. He told me to return the next day, but I asked him if I could sleep that night in the bakery. He agreed. I returned to gather my things from the house of the lady and told her of my new job. She was excited that I was to be paid 30 pesos per day. She told me that if I had any further problems I would be welcome in her house. I thanked her for her kindness and left for the bakery.

The next morning they gave me a very, very large basket, the type carried by bread sellers. They told me that in order for me to earn my 30 pesos I had to sell three of these large baskets each day. Two would be filled with sweet bread, and the other with rolls. I left very

early to sell the sweet bread. I tried very hard, but did not sell one piece. I returned with the basket completely full. I left at midday with rolls, and I returned without selling anything. I left in the afternoon for a third time, and returned again without selling anything. I didn't sell anything all day long, nothing. I thought to myself, "I will die of hunger here." I was not accustomed to eating bread because it was not eaten in Tlacoapa. I could not eat what was given me free. The owner of the bakery told me that I was not doing a good job. The next day the same thing happened. Three days passed without selling anything. The owner told me that he could not use me for anything, since I was not selling any bread. He told me that he could not give me anything to eat because I was not producing anything. He said that he would pay me 30 pesos per day if I would sell three baskets of bread. I told him that I had tried and that was all I could do. The men who were working in the kitchen told me not to worry. They said that if I tried to sell the bread in the streets, I would naturally fail. They told me that I should learn to make bread. The owner warned me not to get mixed up with the kitchen workers because they were full of vice and they would lead me astray or kill me. He told me that he wanted me to work in his house and that he would pay me 30 pesos per month, plus room and board. He promised to send me to places already

established as buyers. I was glad, and I thanked him. The next day I began distributing bread to the best hotels in Acapulco, the Ritz, the Papagayo, etc. I was very content. My stomach was full, and I learned to eat bread which was given to me free.

I was happy with my work. On occasion, the owner would take me in his car with him. He sent me to bathe myself so I would arrive at the hotels clean. We worked very well together. I worked for him for six months. After six months, I began having problems with him. He began giving me many more things to do, but in the same time as before. I was very busy, and I did not have time to bathe myself three times a day as he had asked me to do. In Acapulco it is very warm and humid. Well, anyhow, one hotel called my boss and told him that I had arrived in the hotel very dirty and that I smelled. He stated that since only people of high caliber, North Americans, stayed there, they would be bothered and upset that the breadboy was so dirty. The man at the hotel asked my boss why he had sent such a foul boy to the hotel in which fine people were staying. He was told that he must send someone who was clean and who wore clean clothes. My boss asked me why I did not bathe. He was afraid that he would lose his good accounts because of me. I told him that I did not have time to bathe because I was too busy with the many things he had given me to do.

I knew that I had a brother in Mexico City and that I had saved all of the money which I had earned, which would be enough to get me there. I had not spent anything. I thought that if the boss was not happy with me then it was best that I leave. I did not want any problems. I told my boss that I was free and that I did not want to harm his business. I asked him to pay me what he owed me and that I would be on my way. He told me that he was not going to give me my pay. He told me that he did not want to fire me but only to call to my attention that I needed to bathe more frequently. I told him that I understood but that I did not have time to do so with all of the work which he had given me. I decided to go to Mexico City to see my brother. The men with whom I worked advised me to leave, and they gave me five pesos. I left in the night, without telling my boss. I had only an empty satchel and the clothes on my back.

I arrived in Mexico City with my brother. He was working in a leather shop where they make billfolds, belts, briefcases, etc. The name of the shop was "Comercial Sánchez." It was owned by a relative of mine, Roberto Sánchez, who was from Tlacoapa. He is the brother of Don Julio.

My brother was a bit upset that I had left my parents alone. But I told him that I too wanted to learn more about life. He asked me if I were willing to suffer in the

city. I told him yes. We then went to speak with our relative who owned the leather shop. My brother asked Don Roberto for time off so he could help me look for work. He said that he could not afford to give me housing, food, and pay for my schooling while I was in Mexico City. My relative asked me if I wanted to work for him, and I said yes. He told me that I could work with my brother. He told me that I could make good money working for him, and so I started working in the leather shop. It was very difficult learning to make things of leather. I had to call upon my brother many times to help me. He seemed bothered by me, and told me that I was not interested in learning. But, with the help of God, I learned. I began to earn good money.

Some friends of mine suggested that I go to school and learn, since I was young, and that one day I would be returning to my village and that I should not return without learning more about the world. I liked the idea. I told my relative that I wanted to return to school, and asked him if he would allow me to do so. He said yes and told me that I could continue to work in his shop.

I had to enter primary school again in Mexico City. I entered the fourth year, and completed that year and the fifth and the sixth. They gave me a diploma. I was happy because I liked Mexico much more than Chilpancingo and Acapulco. The people there were more open and friendly.

Since I could not speak good Spanish, my friends helped me by correcting it. They told me what was proper for Mexico City. They told me to buy newspapers to see how the proper Spanish was used.

My relative was glad that I was interested in studying. One day he called me into his office and told me that I was the only one from Tlacoapa who had been interested in continuing school, and that I should not stop at primary school but go on to secondary or commercial school. He told me that he would give me time off to continue study, and so I started looking for a school. I asked friends for suggestions. They told me the papers I needed and took me to a commercial school and recommended me to the director. I passed the entrance examination. The name of the school was "La Escuela Técnica #8," located at the corner of Pino Suarez and Republica de Salvador. I finished one year of study which was very hard; but at the beginning of the second year I became ill. All year I was sick, and I lost a whole year of study. I returned one year later to finish my second year. Then a friend of mine asked me if I would like to work for a bank and I said yes. He gave me a recommendation.

Since I had been in Mexico City for several years, I knew the city well. I started working for the bank as an office boy. I rose to the position of collector, and did a good job. The manager of the bank called me into his

office one day and asked me if I would like to learn how to drive a car. This, to me, was one more adventure, so I said yes. I learned to drive in one month. It was a Volkswagen. The bank sent me out on my own to collect money. I learned all about the city of Mexico by driving the car around collecting money; and in order to work better, I bought a street guide to the city. I really enjoyed my work, and they liked me a great deal at the bank because I worked hard and well. I was earning good money, and I did not suffer so much as before.

I had a cousin by the name of Juan Ruiz who lived in Colonia Portales. It was at his house that I met a girl from Tlacoapa, Lupe Martinez. When I first met her, I didn't notice her much because I had other ambitions. I didn't have any plans at that time to form a home or anything like that. Although we were both from Tlacoapa, we had not known each other when we were young. Because she was suspicious of me, she wanted to know who my father was, etc. I told her who I was, what type of work I did, etc. She asked me for my telephone number, and I gave it to her; but I didn't have any ideas about marriage. She worked in Colonia del Valle as a maid. She called me and wanted to know when I was going to visit with her. And so I started to see her, but only because we were friends and we were both from Tlacoapa, nothing else. We saw more and more of each other.

I started thinking about my situation. I was getting older, and I would have to make some decisions about a family shortly. I had many girlfriends from school and from the bank. I could marry a girl from the city, but I am from another place and my parents were from there also. They were from the mountains; they were poor and they were farmers. I knew exactly how my village was, and that one day I would want to return there to live. How would a woman from the city manage to live in Tlacoapa? How would she eat? I knew how it would be, and that if I carried a girl from the city back to Tlacoapa it would be my fault if she suffered. And so I thought that a woman from my type of background and from my own village would know what life was like in a small mountain village, without communication, without transportation. I decided that it would be best for me to look for a woman from my village. She would suffer, as we all must do, but not much. And so I chose Lupe, and she is now the mother of my children. I love her a lot. We began to live together there in Mexico City. We found a small apartment, and our first son was born there.

I worked for the bank for three years. I left for two reasons. First, a cousin of mine from Tlacoapa arrived at my house and told me that my parents were very sad and that my mother was very ill. They did not have anyone to help out with the farming and tending the animals. I felt

very guilty that I had left, and wanted to return to Tlacoapa to live for a while.

Next, I had some problems at the bank. One night some friends of mine invited me to a dance. We went and had a good time and left late. I had the bank's car, and I was stopped by a traffic policeman who asked me if I had been drinking. I told him yes, but that I was not drunk. He took me to the station, where I showed him the car papers. The bad luck came when he informed the manager of the bank. The next day, I was called into the office of the manager. He was upset with me, since the car was my responsibility. We had a frank discussion. I don't know exactly why, but I then asked the manager if I could have three months off to visit with my parents and help them out for a while. He said no, that I would have to quit if I wanted to take so much time off. I really had a strong urge to see my parents and so I quit. The bank gave me 6,000 pesos, and I returned to Tlacoapa with an uncle of mine and found my mother sick in bed. My father was also very sick. I told them that we had come here to live for a while and we would later return to the city. They were very happy that I had not forgotten them; and they started to cry and tell me how much they had missed me and how much they needed me. We returned in September of 1968, and I have been back in Tlacoapa for four years and will probably remain here.

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