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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 1

HOUSES AND HOUSE USE
OF THE
SIERRA TARASCANS

by

RALPH L. BEALS, PEDRO CARRASCO, AND THOMAS McCORKLE



LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 21, 1944.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans," by Ralph L. Beals, Pedro Carrasco, and Thomas McCorkle, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 1 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director.*

DR. C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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FOREWORD

The Smithsonian Institution published recently Doctor Charles Upson Clark's translation of the "Espinosa Manuscript," which he discovered in the Library of the Vatican.* This work contains the detailed report by a keen observer of conditions in Latin America as they were soon after the Spanish Conquest.

The Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology now begins to give an even more detailed account of life and conditions prevailing at the present time among the Sierra Tarascan in Mexico. It can readily be foreseen that not only may this study lead to improvement in these social conditions, but that it will be read by anthropologists of the future with the same type of interest which attracts them in the Espinosa Manuscript.

C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution,
June 22, 1944.

*Compendium and description of the West Indies, by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 102, 862 pp. 1942.

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PREFACE

The Institute of Social Anthropology is one of the many tangible responses to the growing sense of a need for closer cooperation and greater understanding between the peoples of the United States and of the other American Republics. It was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cooperation with the American Republics under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

The purpose of the Institute of Social Anthropology is to send scientific personnel to those countries which have expressed a desire to undertake a cooperative program of teaching and research in social or cultural anthropology. Social science methods are developed and a body of important data is obtained through university training of selected students followed by a period of field training in connection with a research project. The field program is carried out by the cooperating institutions, but other persons or institutions with special interest in the project are invited to collaborate, so that advantage may be taken of many diversified skills in subjects relevant to the problems.

Research interest centers in broad, social science studies of selected communities which represent samples of the basic populations of the country in question. Such studies will be thought of as "anthropological" because they principally concern peoples whose blood is partly or wholly Indian and whose culture, though not strictly aboriginal, contains an important element of indigenous practices and is often still organized in native patterns. But the studies are not restricted to preliterate cultures, which is the traditional field of anthropology. On the contrary, they follow certain modern trends in the analysis of contemporary cultures, which they seek to understand in terms of the environmental, historical, and other processes that have produced

their modern content and organization and of the potentialities they contain for future change.

An important part of the cooperative program of the Institute of Social Anthropology is the publication of research results. The publications will serve three purposes. First, the information they contain will contribute to a scientific formulation of the developmental and functional processes of culture. Particularly, it will contribute to an understanding of the formation of modern cultures. Second, the publications will provide specific and accurate data on which any successful action programs affecting the peoples concerned must be based. Third, they will afford an accurate picture of the peoples who constitute so great an element of many of the American Republics. Existing publications on these countries represent them disproportionately in terms of the city dweller or of special classes. There are extraordinarily few books from which the general reader can obtain an adequate and scientifically accurate account of the diversified peoples of indigenous ancestry.

One of the cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the *Escuela Nacional de Antropología* of the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* of Mexico. This program involves teaching anthropology, cultural geography, linguistics, and related subjects at the *Escuela* and field research among the Tarascan Indians of the State of Michoacán in Mexico. The research program for investigations among these Indians had already been formulated and partly carried out in recent years by the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* in cooperation with the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas* of Mexico and the University of California. It is fortunate that the Institute of Social Anthropology will be able to further the work begun by these institutions not only by direct participation in the field research but by publishing some of the results already obtained.

The present paper, "Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascan," by Ralph L. Beals, of the University of California; Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, California; and Pedro Carrasco, of México, D. F., is the first monograph to result from the work of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. Future monographs on other aspects of the program will be published under various auspices as opportunity arises.

"Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascan" is also the first of the publications of the

Institute of Social Anthropology. Subsequent publications of the Institute will include papers covering the work in Mexico and elsewhere. These will be published in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, and in Washington, D. C., or in the country in which the research was done, as circumstances dictate.

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director,*
Institute of Social Anthropology,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

PHONETIC NOTE

The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel *ɛ* is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ç is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.

č is the equivalent of English *ch*.

ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing".

ɺ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.

ř is equivalent of Spanish *rr*.

š is equivalent of English *sh*.

ç', *č'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.

f, *l*, and *ř* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans

By RALPH L. BEALS, PEDRO CARRASCO, and THOMAS McCORKLE

INTRODUCTION

The present paper is the first substantial publication resulting directly from the Program of Anthropological Investigations Among the Tarascans. The Program originated as a cooperative undertaking entered into by the Escuela Nacional de Antropología (formerly, Departamento de Antropología, Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now part of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. The program provided for the cooperation of other interested institutions, and the collaboration of the Institute of Social Anthropology is a logical extension of the plan.

The general features of this Program are set forth in "The Tarascan Project: A Cooperative Enterprise of the National Polytechnic Institute, Mexican Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the University of California," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla and Ralph L. Beals (*Amer. Anthropol.*, vol. 42, pp. 708-712, 1940). Two short papers based on field research have already been published: "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher (*Amer. Indígena*, vol. 3, pp. 295-304, 1943), and "Games of the Mountain Tarascans" by Ralph L. Beals and Pedro Carrasco (*Amer. Anthropol.*, vol. 46, pp. 516-522, 1944). Other papers are in preparation. These include "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, which will appear as the second paper in the publications of the Institute of Social Anthropology. A number of other papers have also appeared which contribute to the objectives of the Program but which are the

result of work which was undertaken independently. These include: "Tzintzuntzan-Ihuatzio, Temporadas I y II," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (*Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antropol.*, vol. 3, pp. 99-121, 1939), and "Exploraciones Arqueológicas Realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán Durante los Años de 1937 y 1938," by Jorge R. Acosta (*Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antropol.*, vol. 4, pp. 85-98, 1940).

The purpose of the Program is to provide a coordinated and integrated plan of investigation of the Tarascan Indians for the dual purpose of: (1) Making a comprehensive scientific study of a little-known major Mexican Indian group, and (2) providing a body of fundamental data for the administration of the Tarascan area. For both purposes of the study, it is felt that certain non-anthropological studies are essential. As the Tarascans have been a farming and fishing people into a remote past, and since Spanish times began have also been a woodworking and cattle-raising people, a thorough understanding of the environment and its potentialities is essential, not only in order to understand the past and present culture of the Tarascans, but also to provide an adequate basis for intelligent administration. To this end, geographical, botanical, and zoological studies are planned as well as a thorough soil reconnaissance followed by more detailed studies of agricultural methods, problems, and potentialities, together with similar studies of forest, grazing, and animal husbandry techniques. In a similar fashion, understanding of the present population requires the collaboration of medical and public-health workers with the physical an-

thropologist. At the same time, understanding of the contemporary culture and the processes which led to its formation requires a knowledge of the Tarascan past. The Program consequently includes plans for archeological research to illuminate the prehistoric period and for historical research to determine the events of the Contact, Colonial, and Republican periods.

Put in another way, the Program may be said

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The present paper is a frankly experimental effort to reconcile scientific and applied objectives in anthropology. The Tarascan Indians of Michoacán, Mexico, are one of the large Indian groups of that country and so are the object of great concern on the part of governmental agencies devoted to Indian problems. Housing is one of the usual subjects considered in programs of social welfare and, hence, is a suitable topic for discussion from this point of view. On the other hand, the Tarascans are very little known scientifically. Housing, as one of the important aspects of cultural activity, is, therefore, a legitimate subject of scientific study. The problem is whether these two purposes may be combined, either in the process of field study, or in the manner of presentation of data, in such a way as will be useful and satisfactory to individuals interested in either subject.

Interest in applied, or "practical," anthropology has been increasing in recent years among large numbers of anthropologists. In Mexico, results capable of application have long been regarded as one important end of all anthropological research in the country, although it must be confessed that there has been more tendency to consider purely scientific research to be a necessary prerequisite to the adequate solution of practical problems than has been the case with administrators in the United States. In the United States, the growth of interest in applied anthropology is evidenced in the recent birth of a journal devoted to this subject. Moreover, many anthropologists who have been reluctant to concern themselves with practical problems in studying the Indians of the United States, have confessed that it is undesirable and perhaps impossible to ignore the practical problems in such countries as Mexico where the Indian

briefly to envision a pooling of the techniques of all the various branches of anthropology with those of the other social sciences and the more pertinent natural sciences to the end of understanding the Tarascans and their past and present problems as fully as possible. The Program is anthropological only insofar as anthropology provides the central core of essential studies and is the integrating discipline.

question vitally affects the entire national welfare. It would, consequently, seem important to attempt a reconciliation of the objectives of "pure," or "scientific," anthropology and "applied," or "practical," anthropology.

As this paper will attempt to reconcile the two different approaches, a consideration of the abstract problems involved seems desirable. It is obvious that scientific ends in anthropology are often varied in character, but all depend to some extent upon the primary problem of description. It is obviously impossible to discuss anything related to Tarascan housing without first knowing its characteristics. Description, then, necessarily provides the raw data for any scientific objective. The amount of description necessary to any particular objective may, of course, vary, but unless a precisely limited problem is set in advance, the fullest possible description is apt to be of the widest use to the most people. To the applied field, description is likewise necessary. We cannot decide whether a people are adequately or poorly housed until we know how they are housed, what natural resources are available, or are used, and what skills exist for the utilization of these resources. So far, then, we may say in general that description of housing and house use is necessary both to applied and to scientific objectives, even though the amount and kind of description needed conceivably may vary.

As indicated, scientific study may be directed toward several objectives. One scientist may set himself the problem of discovering the history of the Tarascan house type, another may wish to learn the history of the Tarascan *use* of the house rather than the history of its construction. Yet another may wish to know what the functions of the house are within the total culture partly or

wholly aside from its use for shelter or storage, or he may wish to study the interrelations of the house and its use with other aspects of culture. It is possible, for example, that houses may represent prestige values or be symbols of status quite apart from any utility they may have. Yet others may wish to study the house from the standpoint of culture change: how changes in houses occur or how they are occurring, the effect of a dominant culture in close contact with Tarascan culture upon housing, and so on.

The foregoing suggests that an aspect of the scientific approach, aside from description, involves in part the setting of problems. However, this is not the exclusive property of the pure scientist; in the applied field, problems also exist or are set up. The nature and phrasing of the problems in the applied field, though, are apt to be different from those of the "pure" anthropologist, although in many cases they may be closely similar. In the applied field, the problem may be: "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" A pure scientist could well ask a similar question, but his purpose in so doing would be different. The pure scientist asking a similar question probably would be doing so in order to ascertain how good a "fit" the Tarascan had achieved in his adaptation to his physical environment. The student in the applied field would probably go somewhat further. He would perhaps ask: "What other type of house would be better suited to the needs of the Tarascans?" In addition, his final question might be either: "How may the use the Tarascan makes of his present house be improved?" or "How may the Tarascans be induced to change to a better type of house?"

Some of the questions of the applied anthropologist superficially seem to be of quite different character from those asked by the "pure" scientist, but it perhaps must be conceded that, theoretically, at least, they are capable of scientific approach. Even a problem involving change in use or type involves, for its successful solution, an understanding of culture processes and culture dynamics. At the same time, it is obvious that the applied anthropologist has introduced the whole field of values in his use of such terms as "suitable," "needs," "better," and "improved."

It must at once be asked whether these value terms are capable of scientific definition or not.

Before proceeding to the discussion of this point, it should be remarked that the pure scientist also frequently utilizes value terms in his work. Unfortunately, the "pure" scientist all too frequently either ignores this fact or is completely unaware of it. I have already pointed out that, in somewhat different context, the question, "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" could be a thoroughly respectable question in pure science if the objective were to determine the relations of the Tarascans to their environment. Anthropological literature of excellent scientific repute is full of appraisals of the adaptations primitive peoples have made to their environments. Actually, every such appraisal requires the existence of some sort of value standard on the part of the anthropologist. If he is a "pure scientist," however, he apparently considers himself above the necessity of explaining these values or else he takes them for granted. Actually, of course, he is often using "common sense." Other things being equal, a house that keeps its inhabitants warmer in cold weather, most people will agree, is a better adaptation than one affording less warmth. For the "applied" scientist, however, such "common sense" approaches are not permitted. He must make his value statements explicit and justify them.

Once an attempt is made to bring values into the open, the difficulties pyramid. How, for example, is one to determine what is "suitable?" An expression of an ideal on the part of the investigator usually will not be meaningful in terms of the realities of a given social situation. What is suitable housing is not alone a question of adjustment to climate. Realistically, what is "suitable" involves a complex balancing of what may be deemed most desirable taking into consideration such things as available raw materials, available technological skills, economic resources, and so on. It might be perfectly possible to arrive at the conclusion that, under given temperature and humidity ranges, a brick and frame construction with a slate roof, steam heat, modern plumbing, and a bedroom for every member of the family represents what is suitable, but among most Indian groups such as the Tarascans this

would be mere fantasy at the present time. Not only would materials be lacking, but there would be an almost complete lack of skills available for the construction; economically, it would represent an unattainable ideal even for the wealthy, and the Tarascans would have no idea what to do with such a house if they had it.

There are not wanting opinions that the establishment of values is entirely too complicated a business to be feasible. This seems, perhaps, too drastic a view to take. Admittedly, it is not possible with our present techniques to arrive at a complete statement, and, for the purpose of the approach to be used in this paper, it is not particularly necessary that we do so. What should be possible is to establish certain minimal standards of value which will be generally accepted and some of which are susceptible of empirical determination. In the last analysis, the decision as to how far beyond the minima it is desirable or feasible to go with respect to the Tarascans is a matter to be decided by administrative agencies in terms of the data which may be presented by research. This is, of course, begging the question of the ultimate establishment of desirable values, but, for the present, we wish only to establish the main categories within which value problems exist. Using these categories, it should be possible for the scientist to present the problems and data in such a fashion as to serve the interests of both the "pure" and "applied" fields.

The following categories of value problems are offered as representing the basic assumptions on which we may proceed:

1. A reasonable number of square feet of floor space and cubic feet of room space per person are necessary to good health. This assumes that good health in the population is a desirable goal, but we must make some assumptions if this discussion is not to be unduly protracted. The amount of space needed should be possible of empirical determination by medical experimentation, taking into account variations in climate, living habits, clothing, and similar factors.
2. The degree of ventilation necessary for health may be determined.
3. The housing should be sufficiently dry to preserve not only the health of the inmates but any furnishings, food, or other belongings kept in the house.
4. If the climate demands, some method of providing heat is needed, conditioned again by clothing and living habits.
5. The housing should be rodent and insect proof, again to protect health and property.

Other factors of a more complex nature could be brought into this list. Any mention of esthetic

satisfactions is also purposely avoided. It is hoped that, in the ensuing sections of the paper, it will be demonstrated that data on Tarascan housing can be presented sensibly in terms of these problems relative to costs, materials, skills, habits, and economic resources. Such a presentation should make it possible for administrators to set goals, and at the same time permit the scientist to establish the relative adequacy of the Tarascan adaptation to environment more explicitly than is usually done.

It perhaps must be emphasized that in the last analysis any system of values or goals chosen must rest with the administrative agency or agents, not with the investigator. It is obvious also that these values may be unduly influenced by the cultural background of the agents. Thus, a southern Californian might show a predilection for frame and stucco construction (or, if he is sensitive, a pronounced antipathy to such construction), while a New Yorker might prefer brick, and a Mexican might lean toward adobe or lime and stone. Such problems lie outside the immediate scope of our purpose. Rather we are concerned with ascertaining whether the data may be presented with reference to problem categories in such a way that the administrator can make a reasonable choice of values and a decision as to the means to be employed in achieving them.

An additional question is whether these data may be presented in such form as to be scientific in character and to meet the needs of the scientist in the pure sense. This is really a dual problem. The first is whether the collection of data for the two ends may reasonably be combined. The second is whether the presentation of data can be combined in a single report. It is our impression that the latter is more difficult than is the first. In any case, we believe we are in a good position to make the attempt. Although some of the funds used in the field work were supplied by a government agency, the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, absolutely no restrictions were attached to their use, and no efforts were made to influence the place or the direction of the study. We also have little direct personal interest in the solution of the problems posed and can have little hope of influencing any administrative decisions on value standards. Consequently, our attitudes toward values or goals should be relatively neutral. With this lengthy discussion of theoretical problems, we turn now to the concrete attempt to put these ideas into practice.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In the 16th century, the Tarascans occupied the State of Michoacán and some adjacent parts of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Guerrero. Today they are reduced to part of central Michoacán, including the regions of Lake Pátzcuaro, Zacápu, La Cañada, and the Sierra. The present area extends from Lake Pátzcuaro on the east to near Los Reyes on the West, and from La Cañada south to Uruapan (fig. 1).

This study refers solely to the region where Tarascan is still spoken, and, more particularly,

to the Sierra. The town of Cherán is taken as the basis of investigation. Beals and McCorkle spent nearly 8 months in Cherán, in 1940–1941, although visiting other towns briefly. Carrasco spent some time in Cherán in January and February 1941, but spent most of his time in Angahuan, Capacuaro, and Chilehota. Carrasco also spent part of January and all of February 1942, in the field, working especially in Paracho, but visiting extensively in the Lake Pátzcuaro region. Towns visited for varying lengths of time

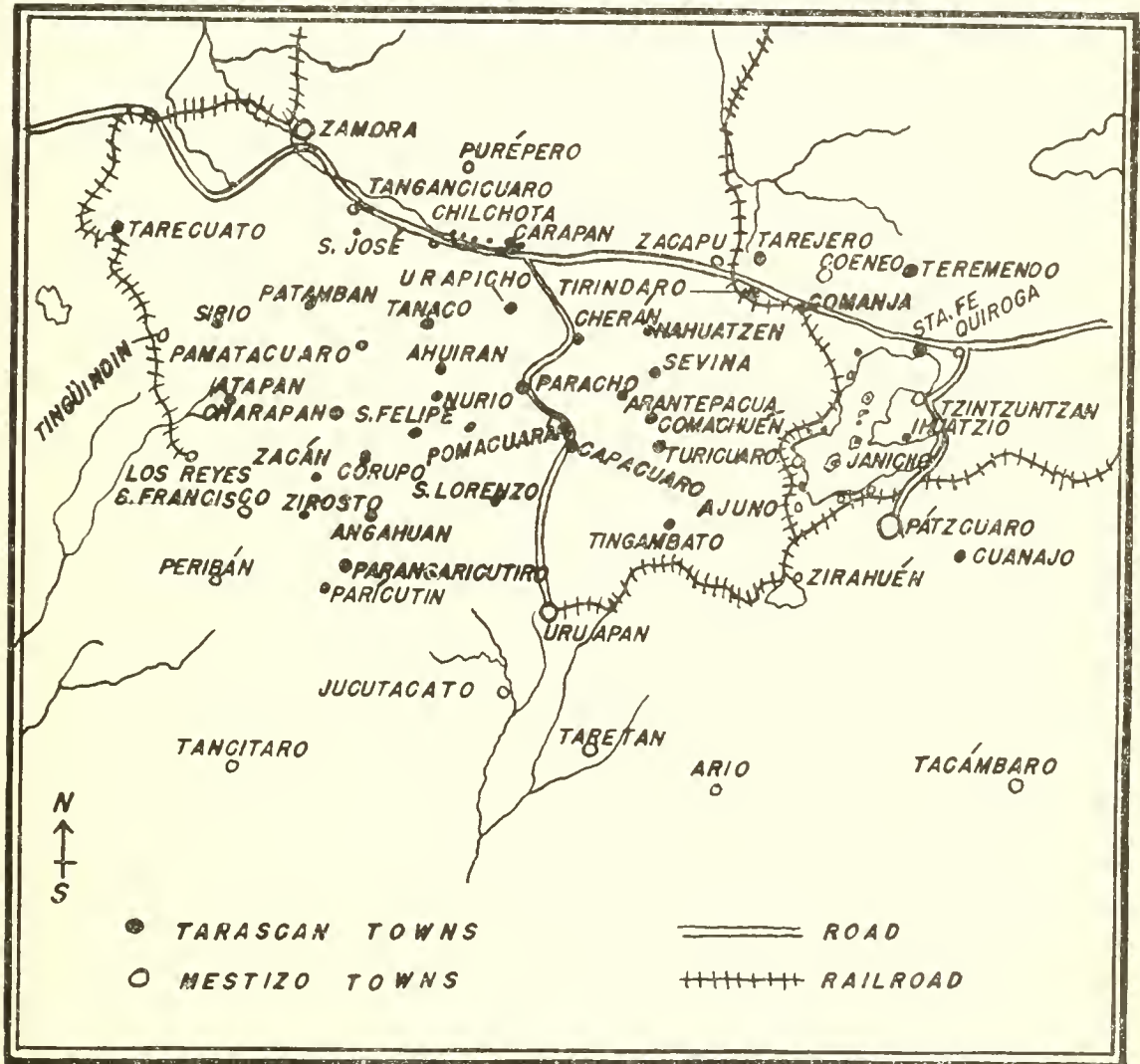


FIGURE 1.—Map of the modern Tarascan region.

by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:	La Cañada:
Ahuirán	Acachuén
Angahuan	Carapan
Aranza	Chilehota
Capacuaro	Huáncito
Charapan	Ichán
Cherán	Santo Tomás
Cocucho	Tacuro
Corupo	Tanaquillo
Nahuatzen	Urén
Nurió	Zopoco
Paracho	Lake Pátzcuaro:
Parangaricutiro	Cucuchucho
Parícuti	Huecorio
Patamban	Ihuatzio
Pomacuacán	Janicho
Quinseo	Jarácuaro
San Felipe	Tecuenta
San Lorenzo	Tzentzénhuaro
Tarecuato	Tzintzuntzan
Urapicho	Tzurumútaró
Zirosto	Yunuán

In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

Tarascan words are written in the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Except where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubtedly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuenta and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

Two clearly defined types of construction exist in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

THE TOWN OF CHERÁN

The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center. At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north-south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

The lots are all owned individually. They may be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

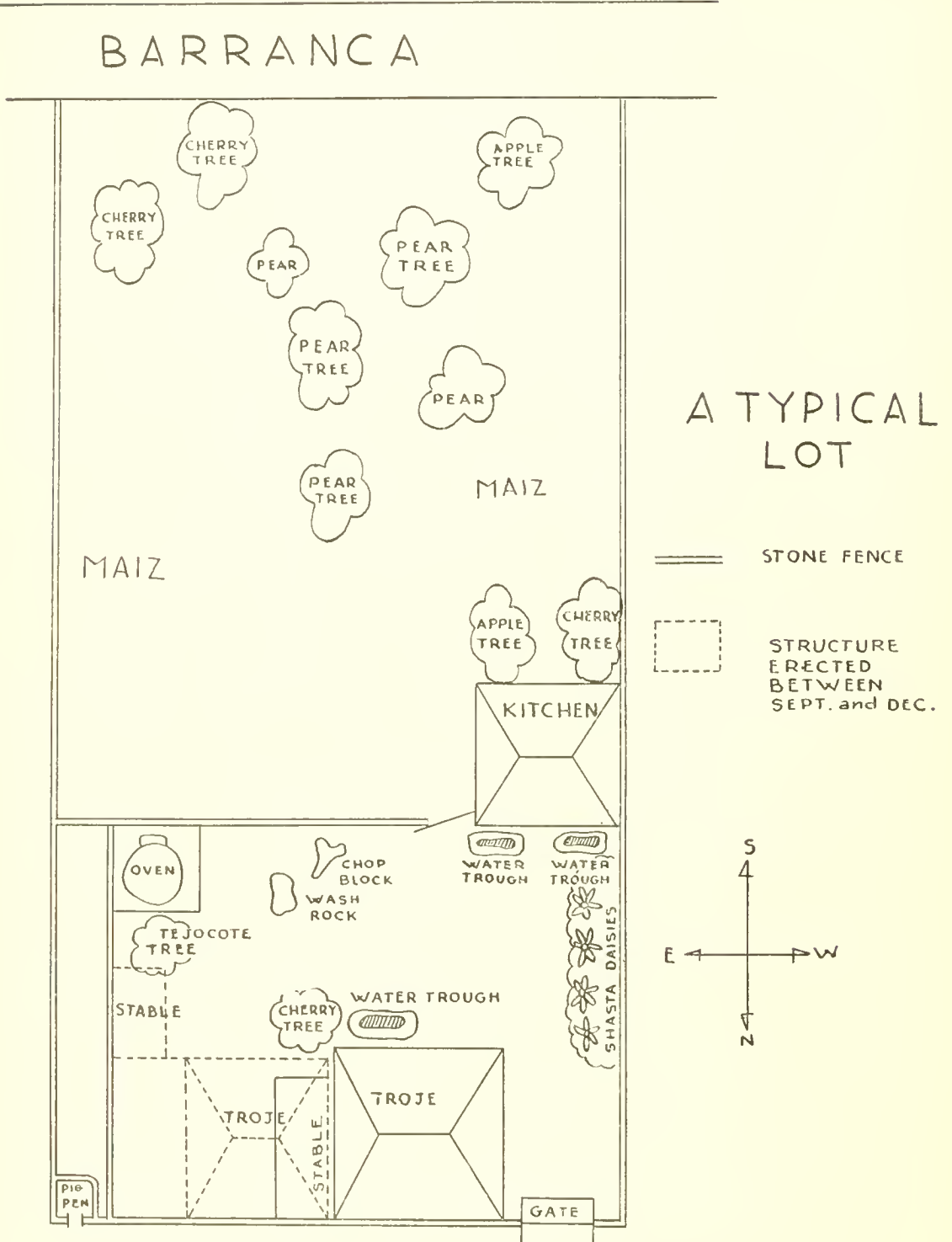


FIGURE 2.—Plan of a typical Cherán lot in the southeast section.

BUILDING MATERIALS AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

All wooden materials used in Cherán are produced from local timber. The forests stand almost entirely on public lands considered to belong to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if they were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and fir. Pine is most used and two types are distinguished, red (*iañini*), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.¹

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (*k'éreri a'ákutarakua*). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.²

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Angahuan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (*tasámbari sapírati*), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (*tasámbari iórati*), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (*tasámbari tiápití*), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (*irépita*).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

¹ The measure of length is the *rara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *rara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourth and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

² A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

In some towns, dried pine needles ("hainomo"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure. In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Huatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárakata.

STONE

Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town. The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and brick are made from clay occurring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly finished on the inside and, less frequently, on the outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "troje," or house (trója; in Angahuan, *árimba*), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (*kosína*), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a master carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "troje" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

The "troje," or house, is elevated on large stones (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "polines"³ (*píčekua*), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "atravesaño de

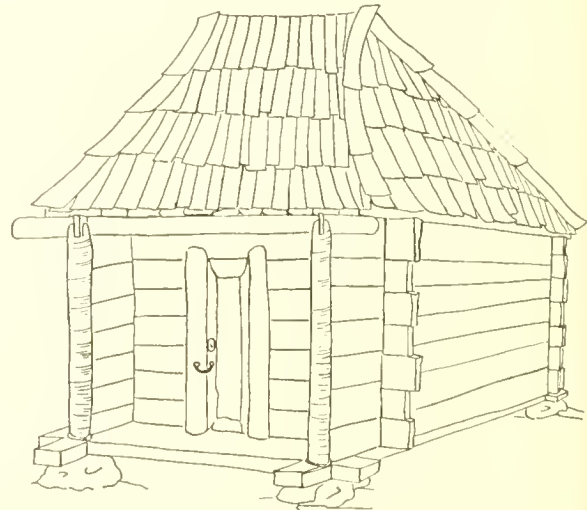


FIGURE 3.—Old "troje" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

la tarima" (*uanájčukua*). The foundation beams are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

³ Also "yarines," because they are usually made of heartwood (*jaññi*).

crosspiece, "*atravesaño de la tarima*," are placed first, then the two remaining foundation beams. The lower beams are notched at each intersection to half their thickness on the upper side; the upper beams are similarly notched on the lower side. Very frequently the front and back beams are notched to receive the ends of the floor planks (fig. 4; pl. 4, upper, left).

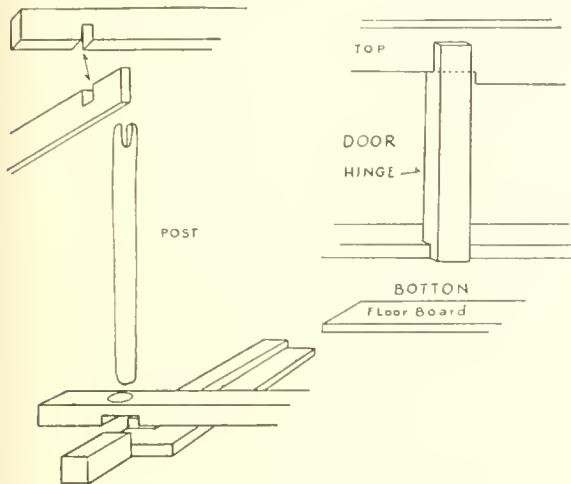


FIGURE 4.—Details of construction of the "*traje*" shown on figure 3.

Upon the foundation beams are placed the floor planks, "*tarima*" (*taçújpani*) (pl. 4, lower, right). Upon the floor planks are laid one or two more beams, "*planchitas*." One marks the line of the front wall with the door. If there is a wooden floor to the veranda, a second, somewhat heavier beam is laid at the outer edge (pl. 4, upper, right). These beams are morticed to received tenons on the lower ends of the pillars of the veranda and the side frames of the door.

The walls are of logs or, more commonly, of heavy planks set on edge. Both logs and planks are notched to interlock at the corners in the manner of the log cabin of North America and Europe. Assembling planks or logs in this fashion is spoken of as "to chain," "*encadenar*." Two methods of notching planks are used (fig. 5). The number of planks varies somewhat according to the total size of the house. The door is 9 *cuartas* (72 in.) in height, and the front wall up to this point is made of short planks. When four or five planks are in place, giving the required height for the door, the side frames of the door

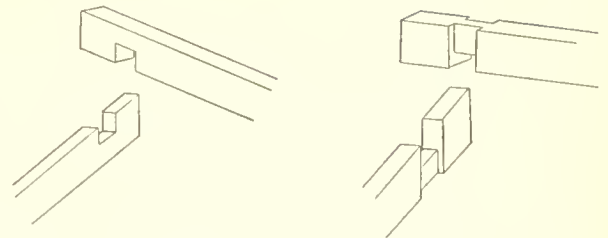


FIGURE 5.—Two methods of notching wall planks. That on the right is more recent and is a tighter fit.

(*añamárakua*) are put in place (pl. 4, lower, left). Each frame has a tenon at the bottom, fitting into a mortice in the "*planchita*," and a groove at the side to receive the wall planks.

Various methods of completing the doorframe are used. The simplest way is to notch the top of the doorframes to receive a long plank extending across the front of the house. Sometimes this plank is ornamented with carving; in this case it may be cut so the lower part is red heartwood, the upper part white sapwood. More often, the doorframe is finished with one or even two special pieces, "*arco de la puerta*" (*uáimukua*). These pieces are grooved to receive the upper wall planks (fig. 6).

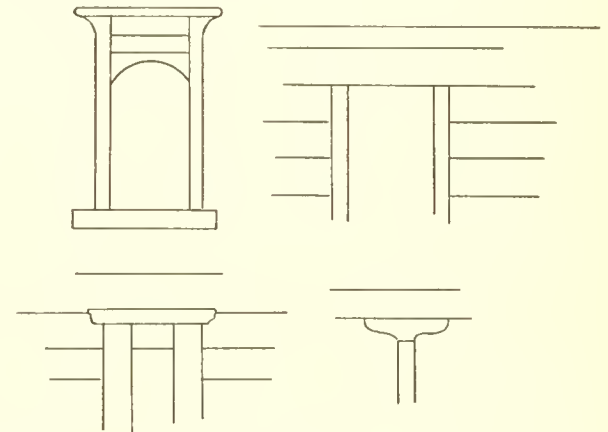


FIGURE 6.—Methods of finishing doorframes, windows, and pillars.

If the veranda is floored, usually four pillars rest on the forward "*planchita*." The pillars are made of heartwood and are usually round but occasionally spindle shaped. Each end has a tenon, the bottom tenon fitting into the "*planchita*" (pl. 4, upper, right), the upper into a capital, *zapata* (fig. 6), or directly into a roof beam, "*arco del portal*" (*uanárukua*). If no capital is used, the roof beam is often carved into an arch between

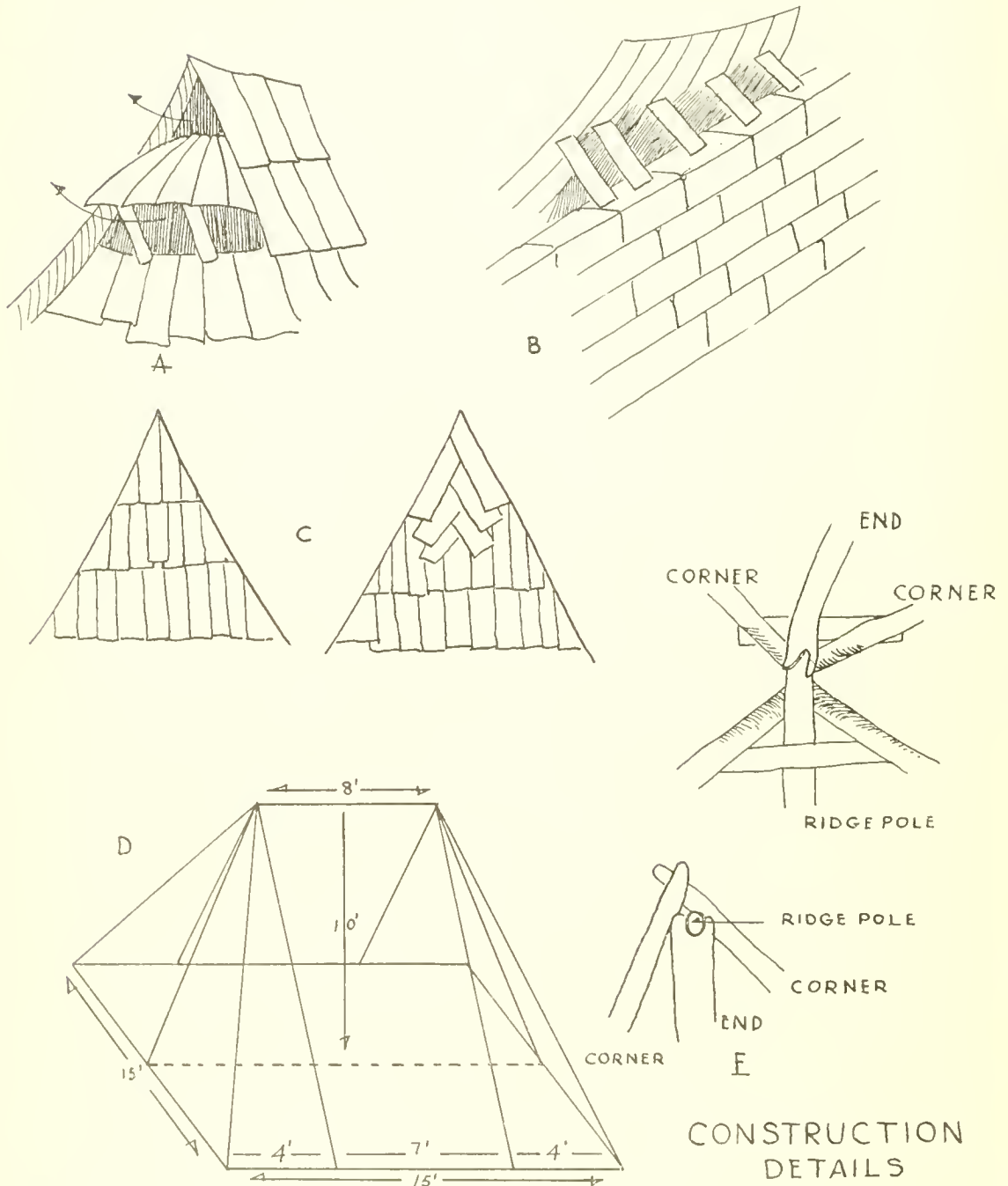


FIGURE 7.—Details of roof construction. *a*, Vent in roof of kitchen; *b*, lean-to kitchen built against an adobe wall with ventilation arrangement; *c*, two ways of finishing shakes at apex of an end roof section; *d*, arrangement of rafters in a small Cherán house; *e*, joining of rafters and ridge pole viewed from outside roof frame; and (above) same seen from inside roof frame.

each pillar. In any case, carved ornamentation is common, often covering roof beam, capital, and even the upper part of the pillars (pl. 5, lower, right). The pillars at each end of the veranda usually have a groove to receive the ends of the side-wall beams.

The topmost two wall planks and the beam above the pillars are usually one *vara* longer than the others, and the ends are cut into a curve and often carved. In addition, a special carved piece of red heartwood called a "*cornisa*" may surmount the usual wall.

The top of the wall and the beam supported by the pillars in front of the veranda must now be carefully leveled again. A morticed cross beam, "*atravesaño del tapanco*" (*uanásekua*), is generally placed in the middle of the room at the top of the walls. The ceiling is laid directly over the tops of the walls, and wooden pins attach the two outer planks to the walls. As the ceiling serves as the floor of the attic, the planks are usually of the same thickness as the lower floor. In one corner, almost always over the veranda, but occasionally inside the room, an opening is left to provide access to the loft or attic.

Upon the "*planchas*" is erected the frame of the roof. First are placed the "*tijeras*" (*jauárukua*) consisting of pairs of fir poles about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* apart. Half of the upper end of each pole is cut away, and the two are nailed together or, more commonly in Cherán, they are fastened with a wooden pin. The lower ends rest in sockets cut in the "*planchas*." Two pairs of rafters are now leaned toward each other and fastened together. Usually, three groups of rafters of four each are used. At each end of the house another rafter is now placed with a deep notch in the upper end. Within this notch is fitted a ridge pole (fig. 7, *d*, *c*). For further strength, pairs of rafters may be braced by crosspieces nailed to them below the apex of the roof.

In other towns the ridge pole is not used (pl. 5, lower, left). Additional smaller rafters may also be added after the main framework is erected, but in Cherán the house normally has 14 rafters of equal size, 3 groups of 4 and 1 at each end supporting a ridge pole.

Stringers, "*fajillas*" or "*costillas*" (*látasa*), are fastened horizontally to the rafters. The distance apart depends upon the length of shakes used. Nails are ordinarily employed now to fasten the

stringers, but wooden pegs (*tarúju*) of pine heartwood or wild crabapple, or string of maguey or bark fibers, may be used. The method of attachment is such that each shed of the roof is a separate unit and, by removing the wooden pins, may be lifted off intact in case it is desired to move the house to another location (pl. 5, upper, right). The stringers are crudely made with ax or saw. They are not measured, but after fastening, any surplus length is cut off.

The shakes are laid in two layers with the thick sides facing in opposite directions (fig. 8). They

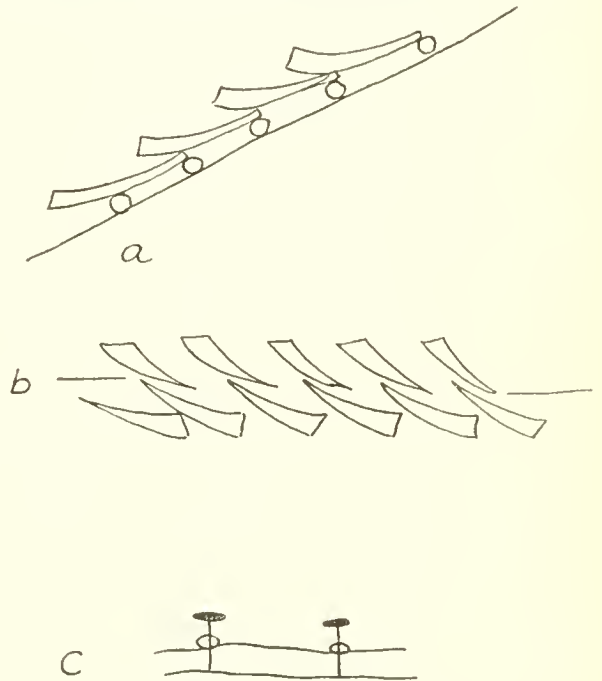


FIGURE 8.—Methods of attaching and laying shakes.

are fastened down now usually with 2- or 3-inch nails. However, they may also be fastened with small pins (*pirénçá*) of red-pine wood, or, preferably, of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. If pins are employed, a hole is made with an awl. The shakes must be put on while green; otherwise splitting is excessive. If it is necessary to use old shakes, they are first soaked in water.

In addition to the above methods, shakes may be held in place by long thin strips of wood placed on top of the shakes. Stones are placed on the wooden strips at intervals. This method is rarely used now on houses, where the steep pitch of the roofs makes it rather insecure, but it is common on the roofs of sheds and stables and is not infre-

quent on the roofs of kitchens. If the much inferior pine shake is used, the nails usually are not driven all the way in and a length of wire is run from one nail to another, a turn being given about each nail (fig. 8, *c*). This may be done with fir shakes also, in which case the nails are driven all the way in after wiring.

The door is usually carefully made and is bought from a master carpenter. The hinges and latch are usually of metal, although the hardware may be crude. If a well-made door cannot be afforded, however, the door may consist merely of loose upright planks fitting in grooves at top and bottom.

A hinged trapdoor is placed in the opening to the loft. This is usually a well-built door bought from a carpenter and fastened by a stout padlock. A ladder gives access to the door. Sometimes the ladder is a notched log (*kékua*).

Thirty days is considered the minimum construction time for a house.

Some further general comments on houses, or "*trojes*," may be made. Houses with carved ornament are called "*trojes labradas*." The parts decorated may include the beam over the front pillars, the piece over the door, capitals, the upper part of the pillars, and "cornices," or special pieces along the upper walls. A "*troje labrada*" usually is carefully made throughout. Undecorated houses, "*trojes lisas*," may be made crudely with only ax and adze as tools. Small "*trojes lisas*" are virtually the only ones to lack a veranda. Occasionally, heavy planks are not used for the ceiling. Instead, light boards are laid over several cross beams, which also support the "*planchas*," or frames, holding the roof.

The size of the "*troje*" is taken from the length of the rear wall. Other dimensions vary according to table 1. Lengths in the table are in *varas*.

TABLE 1.—Proportions of the houses, or "*trojes*"

Length of long side	Length of short side	Height of wall	Rafters	Length of rafters	Shakes
<i>Varas</i>	<i>Varas</i>	<i>Varas</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Varas</i>	<i>Number</i>
5	4½	2½	14	3	400
6	5½	2¾	14	4½	500
7	6½	3	14	5	1,000
8	7½	3	18	6	1,100
9	8	3½	18	6	1,500

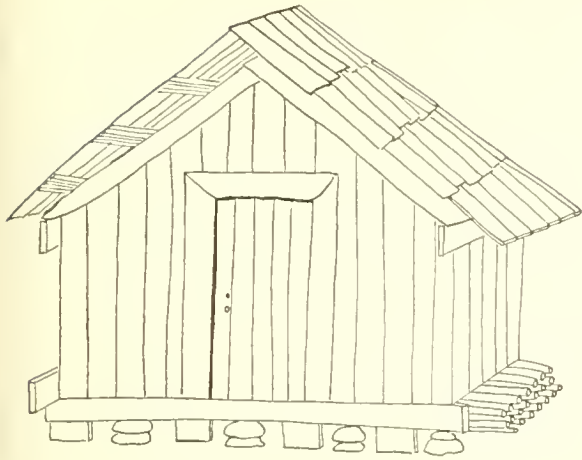
The measure of the back wall is also the length of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level. Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The simpler structure is called "*torita*," or *kosina tórueri* in Cherán (*kosina kukuarekata*, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (*añájtarakua*) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the



A KITCHEN

FIGURE 9.—Kitchen of simpler style (*kosína tórueri*).

wall planks or boards. The side-wall planks run horizontally, while those at the two ends are vertical, resting in grooves cut in the foundation beams or made by strips of wood nailed to the beams. The door is in one end (center of a short dimension of the structure) and is framed in the same manner as is the house door.

The tops of the corner posts are notched to receive two "*remates*," planks longer than the planks of the side wall and forming the top of the side walls. The vertical planks forming the front and back walls fit into grooves cut in rectangular rafters supported by the corner posts.

If the roof has no ridge pole, the frame is formed by pairs of rafters resting on the top planks of the side wall and joined together at the top. To the rafters are fastened stringers to which the shakes are nailed. In case a ridge pole (*uanájgikua*) is used, it rests in notches cut in triangular pieces called "*burro*" or "*zoquete*" which are placed above the door and the center planks of the rear wall. The rafters then rest on the ridge pole and the top planks of the side wall. Such a kitchen takes about 15 days' labor to build.

In "*cocinas de horeon*," four square posts (*ašáma*) are set in the ground. Construction of the walls then proceeds in the fashion described above. This type of kitchen always has a ridge pole which is supported by two additional posts, one at each end. The door necessarily is at one side, not in the center as is usual in the "*cocina*

de pie derecho." Both types have an earthen floor.

The above types are by far the most common and constitute the actual dwellings of the great majority of the Tarascans. Many variations from the described types occur due to differences in the skill of the builders and the economic resources of the owners. Dimensions vary according to table 2.

TABLE 2.—Relative dimensions of kitchens in varas

Short side	Long side	Height of wall	Length of rafters	Number of shakes ¹
4	4½	1½	3	600
5	6	1¾	3½	1,000

¹ This figure applies if a double layer of shakes is used; often only one layer is used, in which case the number of shakes is halved.

The more elaborate of the two types with its foundation beams, morticed corner posts, and roof without ridge pole, is said to be relatively modern. Formerly, no foundation beams were used; the corner posts were set in the ground, and a ridge pole was always present. The stringers were fastened to the rafters with wooden pins, while the shakes were fastened with wooden nails. Another way of fastening the shakes was to let the stringers project. Another stringer was then laid on the top of the shakes and the two tied together at the ends. Alternatively, the upper stringer might be held down with rocks.

Another and better type of kitchen is known as *trója kosína* or *kosína uiaipiti* (round kitchen),⁴ and more closely resembles the house, or "*troje*." The ground plan is square. The construction differs from the "*troje*" in only a few details. There is no loft and no veranda (pl. 6, upper, right). Two horizontal planks are morticed into the rear of the side walls and extend across the back of the kitchen to form two shelves. These shelves often occur in simpler kitchens, too.

The absence of the loft floor requires some change in the roof frame. Resting upon the uppermost planks of the wall are several cross beams. The simplest way is to place three beams running from front to back, one in the center and

⁴ The term round is also applied to a type of square house (see p. 17). After much questioning, Carrasco was told the term round is used because the structures are square rather than rectangular. This sounds like a rationalization. Round houses probably occurred anciently, although apparently they were not common (see p. 33).

one over each side wall. Upon these are placed the "*planchas*," and construction of the roof proceeds as in the "*troje*." In other cases, four squared beams are used. Two run from front to back, while two shorter beams run from the middle of each side wall to the nearest long beam (fig. 10). The "*planchas*" again rest on these. As in the "*troje*," the roofs have four sheds. A ventilator may be built in one shed (fig. 7, *a, b*).

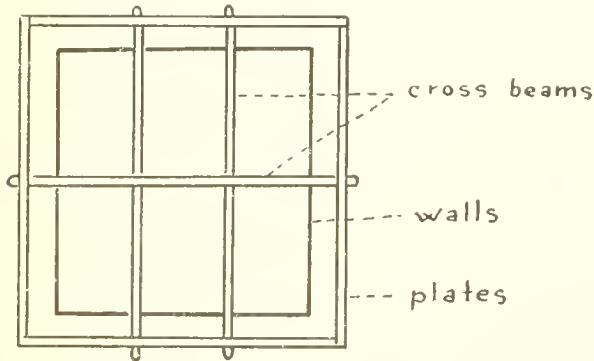


FIGURE 10.—Plan of ceiling in an elaborate kitchen (*trója kosína*).

The floor of these "round" kitchens is usually of earth owing to the character of the fireplace. In Paracho, however, a raised fireplace, called a "*chimenea*" (fig. 12), permits a wooden floor. Two additional foundation beams are placed as in figure 11. A wooden floor is then laid, leaving a space one meter square open for construction of the fireplace.

This type of kitchen varies from 4 to 7 *varas* in its longest dimension. As in the house, the top-most wall planks and the "*planchas*" are a *vava* longer than the other wall planks.

Although the kitchens, particularly the simpler type, are relatively inexpensive, they still may cost more than a man may be able to pay. In this case, he may construct one without the services of a carpenter. As a result, one sees all sorts of approximations of the types described. Perhaps most common is a structure in which the roof is supported by four posts set in the ground and the walls filled in with any convenient material—planks, lumber fragments, old shakes, and so on. A lean-to against a wall may also be used (fig. 7, *b*).

In Angahuan, and to a lesser extent in Parícutin and San Juan Parangaricutiro, storehouses (called *úmutakata* in Angahuan) are built on four posts some two meters (6 ft.) in height. Often these

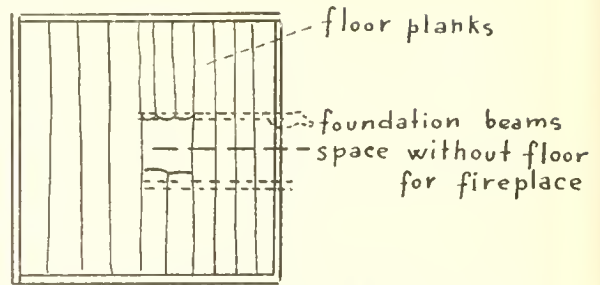


FIGURE 11.—Plan of floor of an elaborate kitchen (seen only in Paracho).

structures are at the entrance to the lot, but may also be inside (pl. 6, middle (right) and lower (left)). Two beams connect pairs of posts and a floor of planks is laid across these. Upon the planks rest four "*planchas*," supporting a roof similar to that of the "*troje*." The entrance is either through the floor or one of the gable ends. The floor plan is always rectangular.

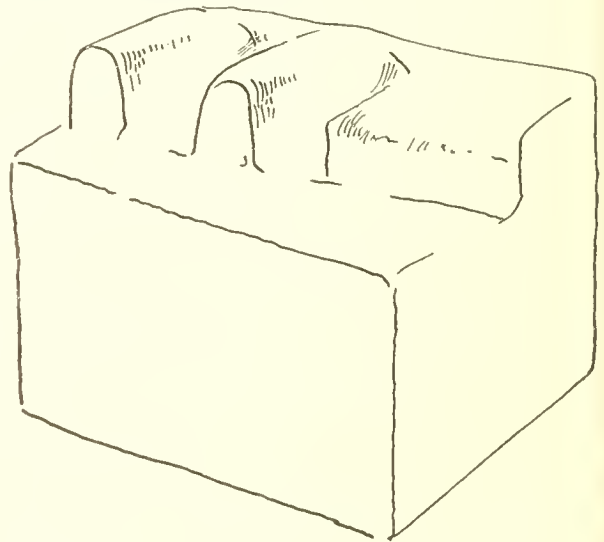


FIGURE 12.—A "*chimenea*," or raised fireplace (seen only in Paracho).

In Angahuan, the lower part of these structures is often walled and the structure then serves the function of a "*troje*." Often the walls are made simply of shakes or old boards, but sometimes the posts rest on foundation beams and the wall planks are well fitted (pl. 6, lower, center). In this case, the floor plan is square and, except for this, the structure is a "*troje*." Such square structures have a wide distribution and are called "*trojes*" in some towns, such as Paracho, but in Parícutin

they are called round houses (k'utá uiaípi). The latter term is known but not used in other towns.

In Capacuaro occur storehouses, called "*huacal*" (nakáli), made of four walls of interlocked logs or planks with a simple roof of two sheds (pl. 6, lower, right). In some other towns, the same type is made in the fields. The structures are used to store wheat before thrashing or to store straw for animals.

Occasionally, houses built on the edge of the street have the street wall of stone or stone and adobe, while the remaining walls are of wood.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada towns, a few old "*trojes*" are found. They resemble those of the Sierra but, except for two cases in Janicho, the roof is different. At either short end a triangular structure of adobe, "*capisayo*," is erected on the wooden walls and sustains a ridge pole. Rafters run from the ridge pole to the "*planchas*," or plates, in front and back. Stringers attached to the rafters support a roof of either shakes or tile (pl. 6, middle, left).

masonry is used to complete a wall; in others, the upper part of the wall is completed in adobe brick. In the latter case, the stonework wall is carried up at least half a meter (20 in.) above ground level.

Masonry is always extended about 50 cm. (20 in.) below the ground surface, whether used only as a foundation or for the complete wall. The stone used is the volcanic tufa brought from a nearby cinder cone. The walls are usually about 50 cm. (20 in.) in thickness. Larger stones are set with relatively flat faces outward. The flat faces will be dressed if this is imperative but no other shaping is done. To fill in irregular spaces in the wall face, stones of proper shape with one flat face are sought in the pile of materials. Small stone spalls are also employed abundantly to fill in any spaces between rocks. The mortar is of adobe mud mixed with animal dung, and the central part of the wall is filled in with irregular rocks and considerable quantities of mortar.

If the upper part of the wall is to be of adobe

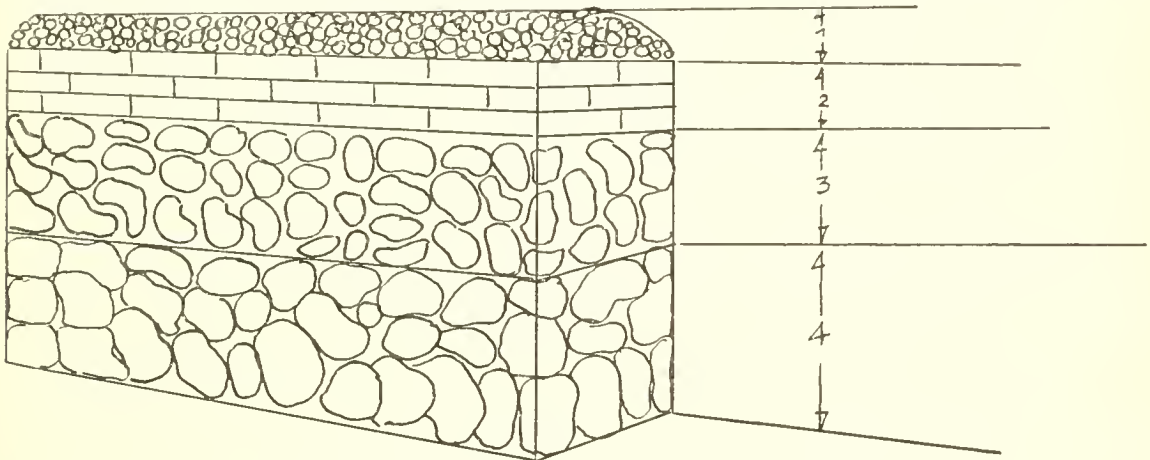


FIGURE 13.—Well-made masonry and adobe-brick wall in Cherán.

ADOBE-AND-MASONRY HOUSES

In its simplest form, the house with walls of stone (εαγάκατα), "*casa de pared*," or stone and adobe, has one rectangular room with the door on one of the long sides. Occasionally, houses of more than one room are encountered or even of two stories. The latter seem very recent and commonly belong to Mestizos.

Masonry is always used as the foundation, "*rehenchido*," of an adobe wall. In some cases,

bricks, these also are laid in adobe mortar (fig. 13). Two sizes of brick are employed; the larger size results in a somewhat thicker wall. The mortar is the same as that employed for masonry. In the Sierra and on those islands in Lake Pátzcuaro where adobes are not made, the stone base is usually higher than elsewhere.

In construction, a professional mason is employed. He erects a frame to which strings are attached to keep the wall straight. He also uses a plumb line to keep the wall vertical. A trowel

and a hammer are the other needed tools. As the wall increases in height, a crude scaffolding is erected, usually on each side of the wall, and the mortar is placed on a small portable platform of planks (pl. 7, upper, left ⁵).

Adobe-brick walls are frequently finished with a coating of adobe plaster, plentifully mixed with animal dung if the wall is to be used for a house. Somewhat less frequently, a lime-plaster coating is used to cover the wall.

In Cherán, usually only front and side walls of houses are made of brick or masonry. The back wall, and sometimes one side wall, will be of upright planks fitting into grooves in horizontal beams at top and bottom. Doors have door-jambes of stone and the doorposts rest on a stone base with a mortice to receive a tenon on the lower part of the post. A lintel at the top is morticed

in this plate, or may be pinned directly into sockets in the joists. The frame consists of a ridge pole supported by pillars from the walls and joists. The rafters are in pairs resting on the ridge pole. In large structures with tile roofs, additional pillars or braces may support the rafters (pl. 7, upper, right). The ends of the gable roof thus formed are usually closed with shakes. Sometimes a floor is laid over the joists to form a loft. Yet another common variant is a shake roof with four sheds similar to the roof of the "troje" (pl. 7, lower, left).

The wide eaves of this type of house usually extend to the edge of the sidewalk, a very convenient arrangement in a rainy country, although the purpose probably is to keep moisture away from the walls. No other feature so strikingly sets off the architecture of central Michoacán from

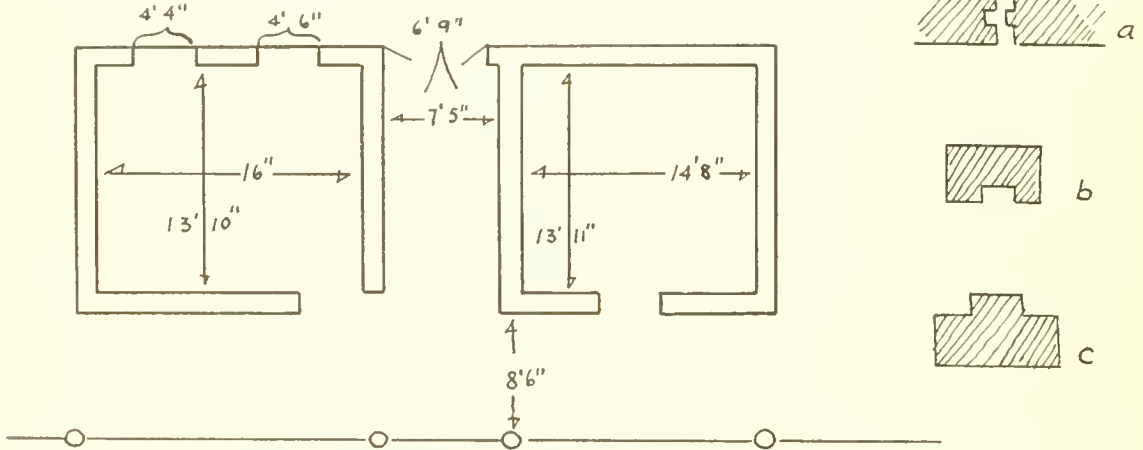


FIGURE 14.—Plan of house of Pedro Chávez, Cherán. Combination masonry and wooden walls. *a* shows tongue-and-grooving of vertical plank walls. *b* and *c* show notching of beams at top and bottom to receive wall planks, and (*c*) floor planks.

to the doorposts and extends beyond them on either side, being surrounded by masonry or bricks and supporting the wall if it continues above the door. Windows are made in the same way, but no stone is used.

Upon the leveled tops of the wall are laid wooden plates, or "planchas" (in this case also called "plantillas"). Across these are square joists, extending 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls. The ends are ornamentally carved. Across the ends of the joists, a second plate is sometimes laid and fastened to the joists with wooden pins, which sometimes pass through the joists and extend below them. The rafters are set into sockets

that of the remainder of Mexico than do these wide eaves (pl. 8, left). Structures fronting on the plaza often have a corridor with supporting pillars.

Many structures of masonry and adobe brick are approximating Mexican architecture in their ground plans, particularly if they are of any size. Usually two or more large rooms front on the street. A large entry way with double front doors, wide and high enough to permit the passage of animals, usually will be between two of the rooms. On the side facing the inner yard, there is a wide earth or brick-floored veranda (fig. 14). Doors and windows may open on both the street and the yard. Floors of such structures

⁵ The making of adobes and tiles will be described in another paper.

occasionally are of brick or cement but ordinarily are of wooden planks. There is also usually a kitchen of wood in addition to the masonry-adobe structure. The latter is more difficult to maintain in order and there is a reluctance to smoke up the interior.

Certain customs connected with the erection of masonry-adobe walls should be mentioned. Often a division wall is erected between the forward part of two lots which may later be used as a house wall by either or both lot owners. If the cost of such a wall is shared, half the wall rests on the land of each owner. As frequently happens, however, one householder pays all the cost. In this case, the entire width of the wall is on the land of the person not contributing money. The latter, however, may use the wall as part of a house wall at any later time.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions, house walls are almost always of adobe on a low stone-masonry foundation. Usually the houses have a veranda or corridor. The walls are erected as described. Five heavy planks then serve as plates, "*planchas*," one on top of each wall and one supported by pillars at the outside of the veranda. Sometimes there are capitals, *zapatas*, between the pillars and the plate. The plates at the two sides extend from the wall to the pillars, or the side walls are extended to the edge of the corridor. In this case, no corner pillars are needed (pl. 7, lower, right).

Upon the plates on the two shortest walls is erected a triangular adobe structure, "*capisayo*" (*kenzéjtakua*). Across the other plates are laid joists, in the more elaborate structures extending well beyond the rear wall and edge of the corridor, and carved at the ends. If the joists do not extend beyond the wall and corridor, the plates on the short sides may go only from the outer edge of the corridor to a point part way to the opposite side of the house. In this case, the "*capisayo*" may be partially an upward extension of the house wall.

If the loft space is not used, shakes may be laid on the joists to form a ceiling; often this is done only over the veranda. Alternatively, a plank floor may be laid.

Should the house lack eaves, two heavy planks, "*pisos*," are placed on the ends of the joists. Upon these rest the rafters. If the eaves pro-

ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, supported by the adobes of the "*capisayo*," and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*pisos*," the upper by a ridge pole (*pirijákua* in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito*," or "*zoquete*," forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

Supplementary structures consist of fences, gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called *sérka*. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (*uaşótakua*) are employed to divide lots, or especially in the outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called *şirindikua*.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

are connected by a piece of wood at top and bottom. Almost invariably they have a small gable roof (*úmutakata* in Angahuan, the name of the storehouses on posts already described). Two pieces are supported by the gate posts at right angles to the gate. The ends of these are connected with two pieces which support rafters. Construction is like that of a gabled house roof in miniature. Sometimes a light floor is laid, and the space is used to store maize husks for tamales or some similar, not very valuable, material. The gate roofs keep the gate from rotting or warping from rain. They are an inevitable part of the Tarascan landscape and may be seen sometimes in open fields over the entrance to the field even though there be no gate (pls. 3, right; 7, lower, left). In the Lake region, they are roofed with tile, a practice sometimes seen elsewhere (pl. 7, middle, right).

In some cases, however, simpler constructions are used. The gate may simply be upright planks resting in a groove at the bottom and held by cord loops at the top. In the fields, gates are often made by planting two posts with holes chopped in each to receive bars. Such gates are sometimes seen in town also. They are called "*agújas*" in Cherán, but in Parícutin they are called *jarásurita*.

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

While a high degree of specialization is characteristic of the Tarascan in comparison with most primitive people, such a term is always relative. Actually almost any man in Cherán is first of all a farmer; only landless men, which means also poor men, are not farmers. Probably most Cherán men are fairly skilled with an ax, sufficiently so to do a reasonably competent job felling a tree, trimming poles, cutting fence posts or ties, and hewing out rough timbers. On the other hand, to make a living at woodworking occupations requires more skill and speed than would be possessed by many men. In the same way, any man might do a fair job of building a dry-stone field wall, but he would not be as fast as a specialist, nor could he put up a masonry wall or lay adobe bricks in a fashion that would meet Cherán standards of fitness. Nevertheless, these facts make an absolutely correct assessment of the

Sheds are usually built leaning against a house or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

Many houses have pigpens made of poles. These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

In some house yards there are large domed ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

Temporary shades (*ónjetarakua*) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters.....	9
Masons.....	5
Brick and tile makers.....	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

ployed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe or stone structures are also built under contract, but in this case the workmen are not fed.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

No complete survey of construction types has yet been made but some general data are available. It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capitol. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

known distribution of types within Tarascan boundaries:

<i>Mostly wood</i>	<i>Mostly masonry-adobe</i>	<i>All masonry-adobe</i>
Ahuirán	Cuanajo	Cuechucheo
Angahuan	La Cañada (all towns)	Huecorio
Arantepakua	Puacuario ²	Huatzió
Aranza	Tarecuato	Janicho
Capacuaro	Uruapan ^{1,2}	Jarácuaro ²
Charapan	Zacápu ¹	Naranja
Cherán	Zamora ¹	Pareo
Cocueho		Pátzeuaro ¹
Corupo		Quiroga
Nahuatzen		Santa Fé
Nurió		Tarejero
Paracho		Tecucna
Parangaricutiro		Tirindaro
Paricutin		Tzentzénhuaro
Patamban		Tzurumútaró
Pomacuarán		Yunuán
Quinseo		
San Felipe		
San Lorenzo		
Sevina		
Tucutacato		
Tingüindin		
Urapicho		
Zirosto		

¹ Indicates Mestizo town showing influence of styles.

² Indicates shake roofs common.

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

The terms "house," or "troje," and "cocina" as employed in the Sierra refer to the construction of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "troje," a "cocina de torito" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "cocina," or kitchen.

The "troje" contains a minimum of furnishings. The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

generally has a table against the wall opposite the door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is caring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

room, the number depending upon the economic status of the family. They are rarely used except to seat visitors. Tin trunks or wooden chests are usually found for storage of clothing. Clothing may also be hung on a pole extending from front to back wall. A sewing machine is a fairly common item of equipment. Rather rarely, the room will contain a wooden bedstead; this again is used

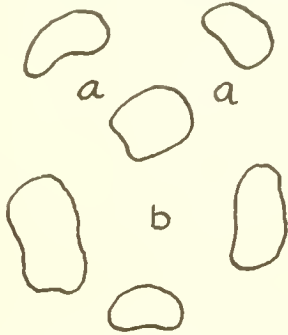


FIGURE 15.—Fire hearth of stones. *a*, Space for pots; *b*, space for *comal*.

only for guests, when mats are spread over the bed. In emergencies, the room may also be used for the storage of harvests. A portion of the veranda may also be boarded for this purpose. The second floor is customarily used to store maize on the cob.

The kitchen always has a hearth on the ground, usually made with six stones (*parángua*), arranged as in figure 15. Infrequently, the hearth or stove is of clay (fig. 16). Space is provided for three fire places, one (fig. 15, *b*) for the *comal* or tortilla baking dish, and two (*a-a*) for cooking pots. This hearth is usually at one side of the structure. Near the fire a branched stick (*čuríngu*) is set in the ground; on this stick pitch-pine splinters (*k'uerámu*) are burned for light at night. At the back of the kitchen are one or two shelves, "*tinajera*," (*plátu jatákua*). On the upper are the old ollas and large vessels. On the bottom are new ollas (*pureči*), plates (*plátu*), jars (*ičłamatarakua*), wooden spoons (*iołésł*), and knives (*kučó*). Below the shelves on the ground, are the three-legged metates (*iauári*), *molcajetes* (*jiúmatakua*), *comales* (*eróksł*), and large water jugs (*k'amúkua*), including one set on a fiber ring (*uančłari*) containing drinking water. Also on the ground are baskets (*čłakiáta*), tortilla baskets ("*tascal*," *kuatásł*), and gourds (*uaáni*). Either on the floor or on the shelf may be wooden bowls (*batiečł*), other types of baskets (*čłakiáta kanímu* and *šundi*, "*čłándi*"), and fire fans (*p'unítatarakua*). All the manufactured articles are imported.

The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats

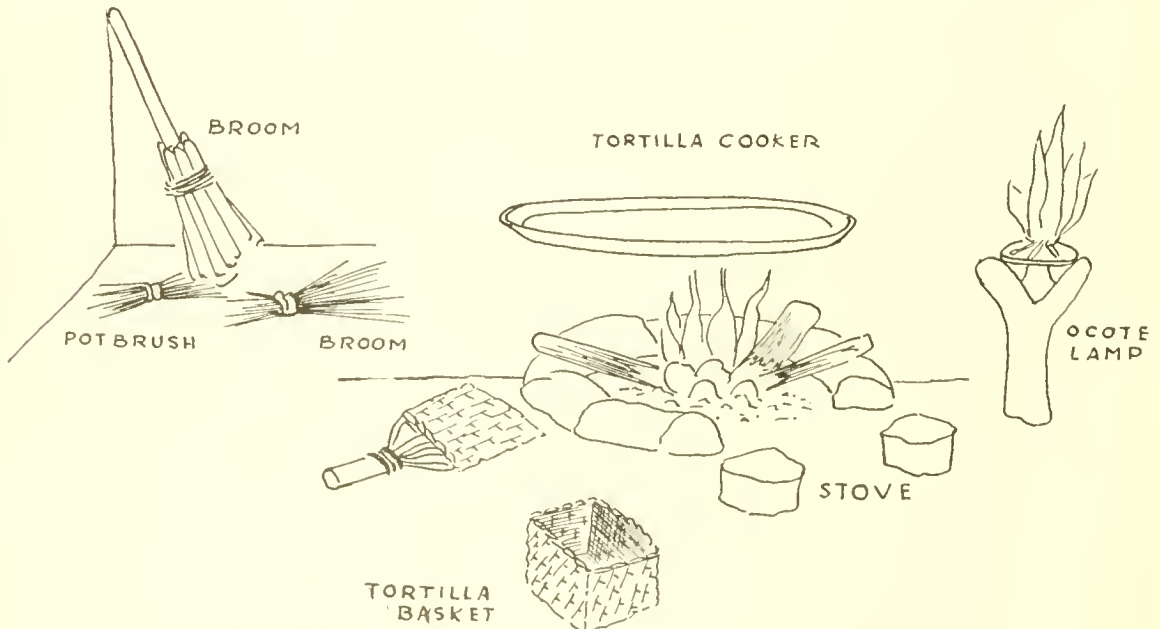


FIGURE 16.—Utensils and furnishings commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

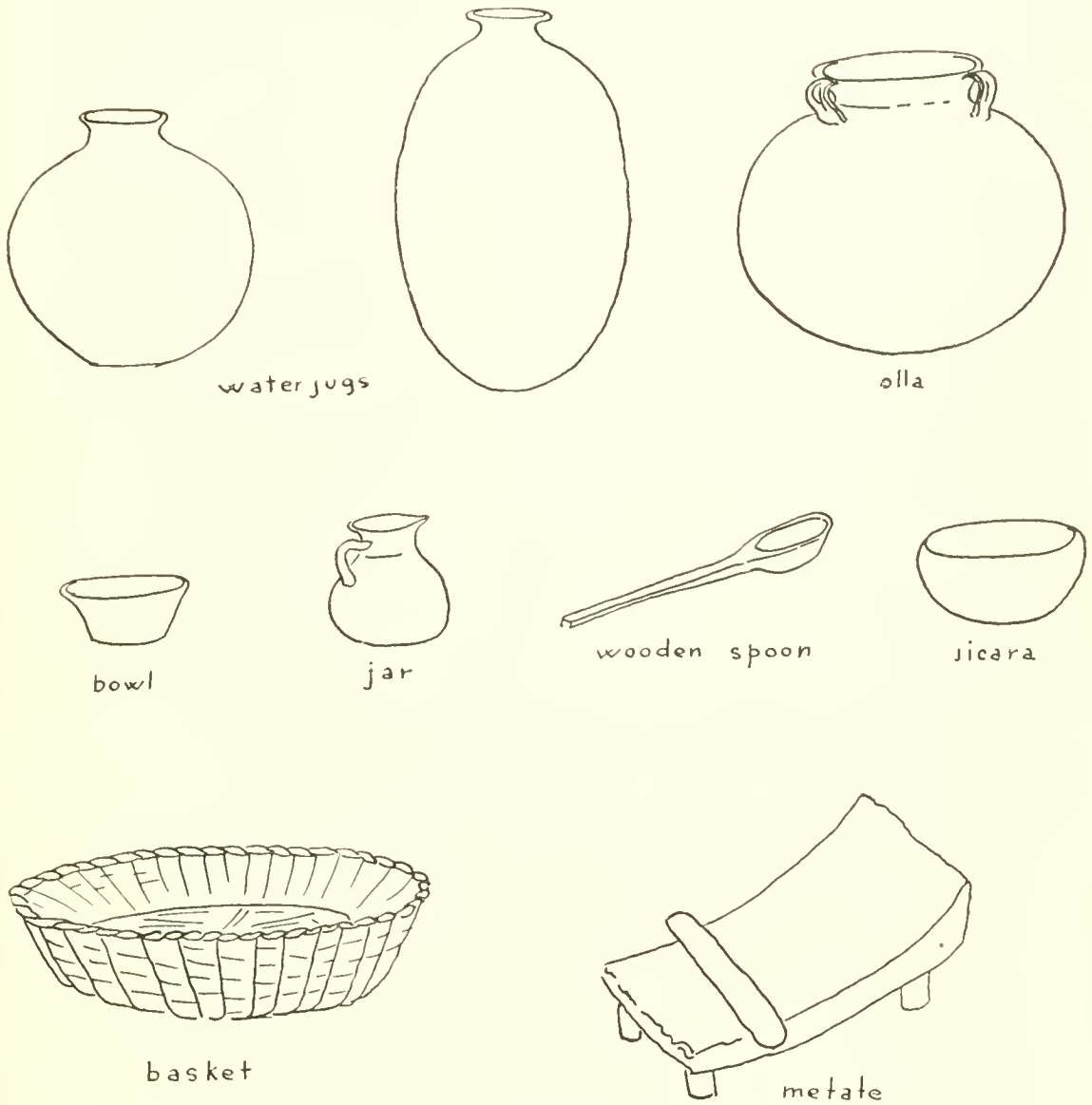


FIGURE 17.—Utensils commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (*burfitu*) or low chairs (*uašánčakua*). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (*sársu, zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (*tiápatarakua*) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is lacking. Often one room serves all purposes. If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

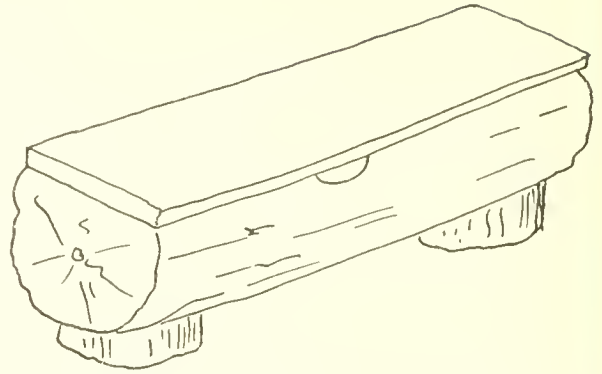


FIGURE 18.—Hollowed log with wooden cover used for storage of water outdoors.

“*chimenea*,” is more common, and there often is also a special fireplace for the *comal*, a circular ridge of clay with an opening on one side to feed the fire similar to that shown for Cherán in figure 16.

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

The following tabulation presents the cost of those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

	<i>Price in pesos</i>
Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b. ¹	
Seven- <i>vara</i> (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen.....	6. 60
Range of other estimates.....	7. 00-9. 00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen.....	7. 00

¹ Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are adzed.

	<i>Price in pesos</i>
Heavy square beams, each, f. o. b.....	1. 50-2. 50
Delivery charge, each.....	1. 50
Veranda pillars, each, f. o. b.....	1. 25-2. 00
Delivery charge, each.....	1. 25-1. 50
Shakes, bundle of 400.....	5. 00
Rafter poles, dozen.....	4. 00
Roof stringers, dozen.....	2. 50
Trap door.....	1. 50-3. 00
Door.....	2. 00-8. 00
Foundation stones, delivered average (2. 50 each).....	9. 00-22. 50
Nails, per kilo.....	1. 00

Planks at Paracho were more costly in January 1942. Boards, six *varas* long, cost 0.75 to 1.25 pesos each, depending on width. Heavy planks cost according to length:

Length in <i>varas</i> :	<i>Price in pesos</i>
5.....	1. 50
6.....	1. 75
7.....	2. 00
8.....	2. 50
9.....	3. 00

Shakes, 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length; cost, 6 pesos per bundle of 400 (*irépeta*).

COST OF CONSTRUCTION

Table 3 represents the most accurate account secured of the materials, labor, and costs of a wooden house, or “*troje*.” This house was built in July 1940 at Morelos 31. Its outside dimensions were 16 by 14 feet (6 by 5.2 *varas*), and it was raised off the ground about 18 inches (46 cm.)

on nine large stones of hard gray rock brought from the barranca north of town. The porch was not floored. Other materials used were pine beams and planks, fir shingles, and nails. Doors were purchased ready-made.

TABLE 3.—Materials, labor, and cost of constructing a wooden house, or "troje," at Morelos 31 in June 1940

House parts	Materials used	Labor		Cost in pesos	
		In days	Description	Labor	Materials
Foundation	9 big stones ¹	1/2	Ox team and driver to haul.	2 (2.50)	2.50
Foundation frame	5 beams, 10×10 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.25×4.9m.)				2.50
Roof base	4 beams, 8×8 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.20×5.5m.)				2.00
Floor	20 planks, 8×3 in.×16 ft. (0.20×0.067×4.9m.)				10.00
Walls	44 planks, 10×3 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.067×4.9m.)	15	Straightening planks.	322.50	20.00
Ceiling	24 planks, 8×3 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.067×5.5m.)				12.00
Door	1 wooden				8.00
Trap door	1 wooden				3.00
Porch-roof supports	4 pillars, 9×9 in.×8 ft. (0.226×0.226×2.45m.)				8.00
Roof	15 poles				1.50
	18 stringers, 4-16 ft. long				3.50
	2,400 shakes, (6 irépitás)				30.00
<i>Labor</i>					
Carpenters		35	Contract	50.00	
Total		50 1/2		72.50	103.00
Grand total		50 1/2			175.50

¹ Presumably quarried by builder.
² Included under cost of materials. See rocks for foundation.
³ At rate of 3 pesos per dozen.

As in all other cases, informants did not include the cost of nails for fastening the roof shakes, the only place nails are employed. In this case, the builder made some of the planks, charging the value of his product into the estimates above. However, no costs were included for haulage, except possibly in the case of the pillars. If this was the case, the pillars were secured rather cheaply. We may, therefore, add the following items omitted in the above statement:

Additional costs:	Price in pesos
Nails, 3 kilos (probably a little generous)	3.00
Hauling beams and planks	60.00
Fiesta for roof raising	25.00
	88.00
Builder's estimate	175.50
Probable total if all labor paid for	263.50

In this case, probably the haulage was all done

by the builder, and there may have been no fiesta for the roof completion. The builder sold the structure for 200 pesos and estimated he had made a profit of 25 pesos, plus payment for his work as a plank maker.

To gain a clearer idea of the cost of a house, a summary of all detailed estimates is given below. Unfortunately, these may cover different-sized structures, but they are said to be for average-sized buildings. Items the owner may have provided are indicated, in which case in some estimates the low entry might be considered zero; however, as we are anxious to get an average cost, this point is omitted for the present.

TABLE 4.—Summary of detailed estimates of cost (in pesos) of a house, Morelos 31, June 1940

Item	Estimates	
	Lowest	Highest
Foundation stones	19.00	22.50
7 dozen planks	42.00	63.00
9-10 beams	4.50	15.00
1 door	2.00	8.00
1 trapdoor	1.50	3.00
4 pillars	4.00	6.00
12-15 poles (rafters)	1 1/2	4.00
18-12 roof stringers	1 3/5	15.00
5 to 6 irépitás (bundles) of shakes, best-quality fir	25.00	30.00
2-3 kilos of nails	2.00	3.00
Haulage of planks	1 49.00	49.00
Haulage of beams	1 15.00	15.00
Haulage of pillars	1 4.00	6.00
Straightening planks	21.00	30.00
Carpenter's fee	50.00	50.00
Roof raising fiesta	2 20.00	50.00
Total	254.00	369.50

¹ Items owner might provide himself.
² Without music.
³ If relatives do not help.

The lowest figure given here may be further reduced, as suggested, by the owner doing part of the work. If we reduce the lowest figure by deducting all the items which the normal Cherán man might do himself (if he owns oxen to do the haulage or may borrow them from friends or relatives) and eliminate the fiesta, we get the figure of 152 pesos. This is the least for which it would appear a Cherán resident may secure an averaged-size wooden house, or "troje," approximately 14 by 16 feet (4.27 by 4.88 meters).

This estimate of 152 pesos may be compared with gross estimates secured by McCorkle and Beals. These ranged from 180 to 300 pesos. Carrasco secured estimates of from 250 to 300 pesos. However, in every case where a gross

estimate was obtained and then an itemized statement secured from the same informant, the total of the itemized statement ran well below the original gross figure given. A careful check of material costs indicates that the lower estimates probably are more nearly correct.

Detailed estimates on kitchens were not secured. A home-made affair could probably be made by any man by the purchase of two bundles (irépitás) of shakes for about 11 pesos (shakes 10 pesos, nails 1 peso).

One of several approaches used in getting costs was to secure estimates on a given section of wall for different types of construction. These estimates indicated that a 16½- by 16½- foot (5- by 5-m.) house, exclusive of roof, would cost 138 pesos; and a well-built kitchen the same size, 75 pesos, exclusive of the roof.

Carrasco secured estimates of 20 to 25 pesos for a poorly-made kitchen of the "torito" type in Cherán. The materials probably were second-hand. Even without any delivery charges, new materials would cost over 20 pesos, exclusive of labor. However, a "torito" could be built by most men without hiring a carpenter. A well-built "round house" kitchen, Carrasco was told, would cost about 100 pesos. This seems reasonable in terms of material and labor costs.

Carrasco secured comparative prices for Paracho which, considering the slightly higher cost of materials, probably are above the prices in Cherán. The figures also were obtained from a master carpenter, who obviously would have an interest in establishing higher prices.

Size of "troje" in varas:	Labor cost	Total cost in pesos
5.....	\$60.00	250.00
6.....	90.00	300.00
7.....	110.00	400.00
8.....	130.00	500.00
9.....	150.00	600.00
Size of trója kosína in varas:		
4.....	30.00	60.00
5.....	45.00	85.00
6.....	70.00	125.00
7.....	100.00	182.00
Size of "torito" in varas:		
4.....	25.00	50.00
5.....	30.00	72.00

MASONRY-ADOBE STRUCTURES

The costs of materials and labor in building masonry-adobe structures are as follows:

	Total cost in pesos
Adobes:	
Small size (2½ spans long) per 100 ¹	2.50
Large size (3 spans long) per 100.....	3.00
Laying adobes, average cost, small size, per 100:	
According to one informant.....	2.00
According to another informant:	
To shoulder height.....	1.00
Shoulder height to 9.8 ft. (3 m.).....	1.50
Above 9.8 ft. (3 m.).....	2.00
Manure for mortar (2 sacks per 100 adobes) per large sack (this may be furnished by the mason).....	0.25
Stones:	
Quarrying, per 100 ²	2.00
Transporting, per 100.....	2.00
Mason's charges per sq. m. (householder to furnish water and materials).....	1.00
Roofing tiles, per 1,000.....	25.00 to 30.00
Bricks (mostly used for flooring or corners and doors in masonry structures) per 1,000.....	32.00

¹ 100 adobes will make 43 sq. ft. (4 sq. m.) of wall, large-size adobes make a somewhat thicker wall.

² "100 stones" really means 50 burro loads and will make 43 to 53 sq. ft. (4 to 5 sq. m.) of wall.

Masonry appears to be somewhat more expensive than adobe construction. A wall 8 feet (2.46 m.) high, 16.5 feet (5 m.) long, and of normal construction with 1½ feet (½ m.) of masonry buried, would cost as follows:

	Price in pesos
Masonry-adobe (2 estimates).....	19.65 to 21.00
With large adobes.....	23.00
All masonry (1 estimate).....	27.00
The same extent of wall in the usual wooden house construction.....	23.00

The best indication of costs of masonry-adobe houses is supplied by a study of the house of Pedro Chávez, school teacher of Cherán, under construction during 1940-41. The costs were checked in every possible way, in terms of materials and labor and also in units. It probably represents as accurate an estimate of costs as can be secured.

The house itself presents certain peculiarities. The front and side walls are of adobe brick on the usual masonry foundation. The ground plan consists of two rooms with an entryway, or

zaguán, between them. The walls facing the *zaguán* and the patio are of wood. A foundation of morticed beams resting on stones supports a wooden floor and walls. These beams are grooved as shown in figure 14. Wall boards are tongue-and-grooved, a type of construction used in Uruapan but new to Cherán. The wall boards are vertical and fit in a channel in the ceiling beams. One room has two windows opening on the street (fig. 14). The roof is of shakes. Chávez actually paid for only half of one side wall and nothing for the other (which rests entirely on his land), as his neighbor paid all the cost. In formulating the cost estimate, however, the wall was carefully measured, the number of adobes counted, and the cost of all masonry-and-adobe work was included in the total. All the woodwork was done on a definite contract which included wood materials, so it is unnecessary to itemize this.

Masonry, 32 m. (106 ft.):	Costs in pesos
Stone.....	24.00
Mason's charges.....	32.00
Adobe ¹	70.00
Four stone bases for veranda pillars.....	10.00
Zaguán door (not included in carpenter's contract).....	25.00
Carpenter's contract.....	275.00
Shakes, best grade, 8 bundles.....	40.00
12 kilos of nails.....	6.00
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	482.00
Roofing fiesta (not including contributions of relatives).....	30.00
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total costs.....	512.00

¹ 1,433 adobes were used; door and window openings make a lineal estimate impractical. This figure takes into account different mason's charges at different heights.

Two "*trojes*," or houses, of approximately the same size would cost between 500 and 600 pesos, but the above-described structure has much more loft storage space through utilization of the area over the entryway and veranda. The cost probably would be less if the interior walls were made of masonry and adobe. A tile roof would have cost between 100 and 120 pesos, adding 54 to 74 pesos to the cost. Its longer life would make it cheaper in the long run, however. The owner probably will lay a tile roof when the shake roof needs replacing. It should be remembered also that a kitchen will be employed apart from this structure.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

The main supplementary structures to be considered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zaguán* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

Sheds are usually built by the householder. A sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

It is clear from the foregoing data that a masonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje*." It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

An interesting comparison is made in table 5 of the costs of the following four categories of Tarascan houses:

(a) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(b) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(c) A respectable standard for a small family.

(d) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

TABLE 5.—Costs of housing in Cherán

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal.....	One poorly built "torito" kitchen.....	25-50
b. Low standard, small family.....	One small troja kosina, or one "torito" kitchen and one small "troje."	175-200
c. Adequate standard, small family.....	One medium troja kosina or "torito" kitchen and one medium "troje."	375-500
d. Wealthy.....	One large troja kosina and two good "trojes." One troja kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	550-800 750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter could be as low as \$11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascan.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b*; the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be followed.
3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

USES OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen. Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the weather.

In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the

kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur. The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

A survey of Cherán houses was made to determine the relationship between size of buildings

and the number of persons in the household. A sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which

pied a lot, 6 had no house. These cases must be ascribed to poverty in all probability. The same is true of the 4 cases where single families occupying a lot had no houses. The housing situation suggests, then, that 19.2 percent of Cherán residents are inadequately housed according to Cherán standards.

Considerable inequality in the amount of living

TABLE 6.—Data on Cherán houses showing relation between size of house and number of persons in household in comparison with similar data on Sevina houses

Town and cuartel	Data														Remarks
	Lots	Houses measured	Families per lot		Persons per lot		House size per lot		Average living space		Average storage space per lot	Average kitchen area			
			Average	Range	Average	Range	Average	Range	Per lot	Per person		Per lot	Per person		
Cherán:	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Feet	Feet	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.		
Cuartel 1.....	190	10	1.7	1-3	5	2-11	13×14	9×9-18×18	295	59	124	197	40	6 out of 10 lots had no house.	
Cuartel 2.....	280	13	1.6	1-3	5	2-16	14×16	11×9-25×40	349	69.8	178	142	28	4 out of 13 had no house.	
Cuartel 3.....	390	17	1.65	1-3	5.47	3-10	15×17	12×12-26×22	439	80.3	300	164	30	3 out of 17 had no house.	
Cuartel 4.....	270	12	1.6	1-3	5.25	3-9	13×11	9×9-25×20	239	45	76	90	19	2 out of 12 had no house.	
Sevina.....	-----	18	1.4	1-3	4.67	2-8	15½×13½	9×7-24×22	452	97	286	-----	-----		

they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

It is evident that in an appreciable number of cases more than one family occupies a lot. This situation may be due to several causes. In some instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty. In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

In those cases where no house existed, 15 out of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however, that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

space per person is evident, even when averages from the different *cuartels* are compared. This difference is even more marked in terms of the individual families. Individual households may vary from 179 square feet of living space per person to as little as 22 square feet per person. This inequality appears less marked, however, if only kitchen space is considered. In view of living habits, the amount of space per person in the kitchens is a more accurate indicator of living conditions. This also varies appreciably from household to household but the range appears to be from 14 square feet (1.3 sq. m.) of kitchen space per person in cases with a house also—or from about 20 square feet (1.85 sq. m.) in cases without a house—to as high as 95 square feet (8.82 sq. m.) per person. The smallest kitchens, with relation to number of persons, appear in cases with a house as well. However, the largest kitchen space appears in connection with households also having a house or houses.

It is probable that a number of these families are inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards, but no minimum figure can be set from present knowledge. An abstract minimum of the proper number of square feet per person

could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

and are expected to attend or send excuses. When they arrive, they give the householder or his wife a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife. The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsy. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguardiente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is completed, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (*čurípu*), and tamales (*kurúnda*).

The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.⁶ The house

⁶ Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Partcutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuclgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies occur in connection with houses is when a house is moved from one location to another. A man wishing to move a house to a new location hires a master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cigarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it. Another special feature in connection with weddings is also worth mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses. Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous community obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the repair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrío*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors. We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the gate or call out, announcing themselves. As sometimes the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

with whom especially friendly relations exist, normally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

So far as is known, customs in other mountain towns are similar in all respects except for the attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness.

The major insect pests are fleas. In some villages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

In the lack of good medical statistics, it is impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

mitted by contact and particularly respiratory and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance, seem to have similar conditions. Local variations, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE⁷

In this section we try to determine the antiquity of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.⁸ This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and "*trojes*" and the *trója kosina* of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into "*los antepasados*" and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada, where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would be untrustworthy.

Some of the data available from the 16th century refer to a wider area than that covered by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"⁹ of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.¹⁰ The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.¹¹

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."¹²

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (*iauárukata*), stone (*tsintsicata*), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "*quahta, casa*" (today *k'uta'*, in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxeata*."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j, k; m* is described in the text as a provisional

⁹ Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

¹⁰ F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

¹¹ Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

¹² Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 135. Mexico, 1938.

⁷ This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

⁸ In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word *adobe*, while in the Lake area a native word (*iauárukata*) is known.



FIGURE 19.—Representations of houses in the plates of the "Relación de Michoacán."

shelter). The roofs appear to be of straw or palm, in some cases with a very large comb or crest undoubtedly resulting from the manner of interweaving the palm at the ridge of the roof. In other cases, the roof is pyramidal or conical and is surmounted by something which may be an inverted pottery vessel. This is what may be referred to by Gilberti: "hucahtsiqua, *un remate que se pone en cima de la casa,*" and "*chapitel de casa pajiza, hucahtsiqua.*"¹³ Verandas are depicted in the plates and references to them are made in the text.

It is evident that modern houses do not correspond to those of the 16th century. Adobe walls may be pre-Hispanic, but the present methods of construction reveal Spanish influence.

Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

Wooden houses are not mentioned in the "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the *cabecezas* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identifiable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the *úmutakata*, for in Gilberti occurs "*tsirimba troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (*tsirindacata* of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

The principal historical problem is to determine whether the shake roof and the log wall with interlocking corners is of European or pre-Hispanic American origin. Both elements are well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil, tasámami*) are both derived from the Nautl *tlaxamanilli*, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,¹⁴ and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.¹⁵ A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

¹³ Hucahtsiqua (in the alphabet of the "Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas" *jukájtákua*) can be analyzed as "a thing placed on a summit."

¹⁴ In shepherd's huts of the Basque country. *Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español*, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1935.

¹⁵ *Papeles de Nueva España*, vol 6, p. 281. Madrid, 1905.

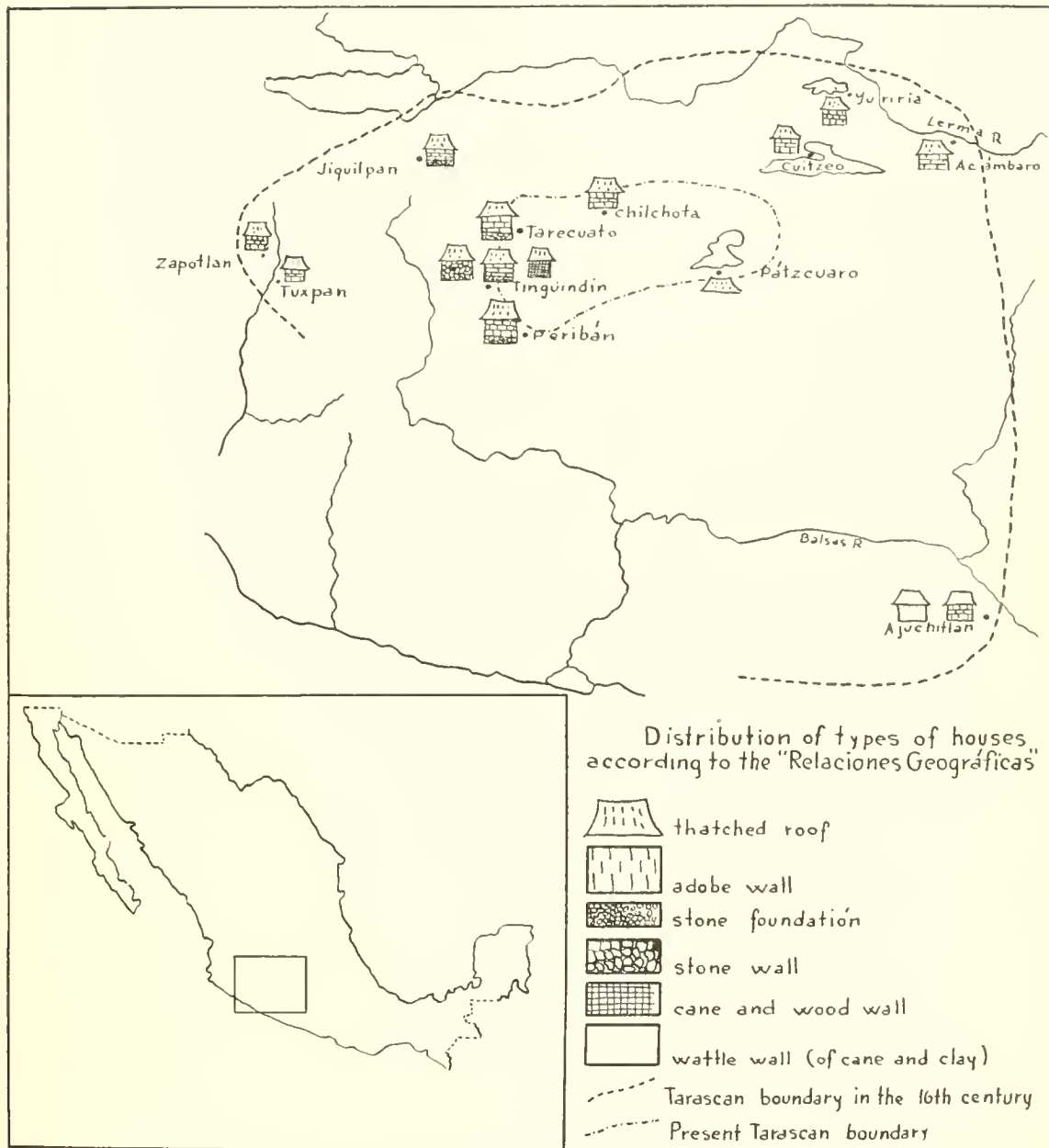


FIGURE 20.—Distribution of types of houses according to the "Relaciones geográficas."

Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.

It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nautl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

The history of shakes and of interlocked log structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and the Tarascan *ǵarimba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe, with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cberán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

plished: changes in construction methods, and changes in living habits and house use.

One needed alteration in construction methods is in the direction of better ventilation for living quarters. This means more ventilation for masonry-adobe structures and better controlled ventilation for wooden structures (including adequate smoke-venting). Moisture-proof concrete foundations for masonry-adobe structures would remove a major drawback to this type of construction. Neither of these changes would increase costs beyond the reach of most of the 80 percent who approach present Cherán standards of adequate housing. In less prosperous towns, however, the added expense of concrete foundations would be more serious, particularly in towns not accessible by road.

In Cherán, living habits are a more serious drawback to adequate housing conditions than are economic factors (always excepting the lower 20 percent). As has been shown, actual living goes on in the kitchen, which serves for both eating and sleeping. Much potential living space thus is unused. Whether a wooden or a masonry-adobe house is owned, it is not used for any part

of healthful living. The problem, then, is to secure use of more of the available living space. This may prove more difficult than providing additional living space. It is our impression that the answer to this problem lies partly in introducing practical, economical, and cleanly ways of heating parts of the buildings other than the kitchen, partly in persuading Tarascans to purchase and care for additional bedding and clothing. Economically, the introduction of heating would be easier for the Sierra Tarascans (who can cut their own wood) than would the purchase of more bedding and clothing. Introduction of adequate care for bedding likewise would be difficult.

Essentially, then, for the majority of the Cherán population, improvement of housing conditions is not an economic problem. Rather is it a problem of altering basic patterns of culture. It may be concluded, therefore, that in addition to the economic betterment of the lower segments of the population, a program of education and directed acculturation is required. The housing problems consequently merge into the wider problems of education and culture change.



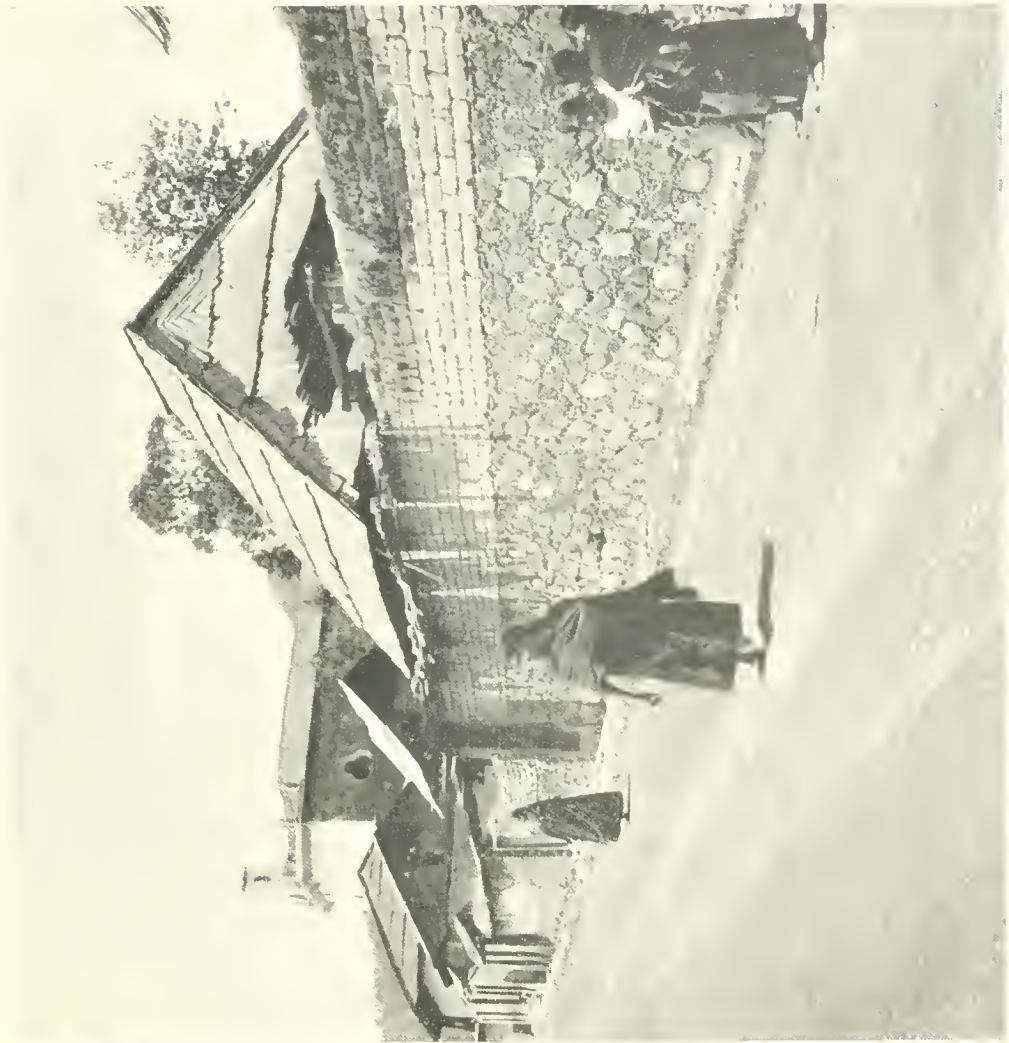
Upper: Angahuan, showing the rectangular arrangement of streets and the large lots. *Lower:* A portion of the town of Cherán, viewed from the hill in the northwest section, which furnishes most of the stone used in building.



Upper—*Treco's* Ancestral home with a shed in front in place of a veranda. *Lower*—A street on the outskirts of the town of Cheran. *Fences* are carelessly built of dry stone, supplemented by poles.



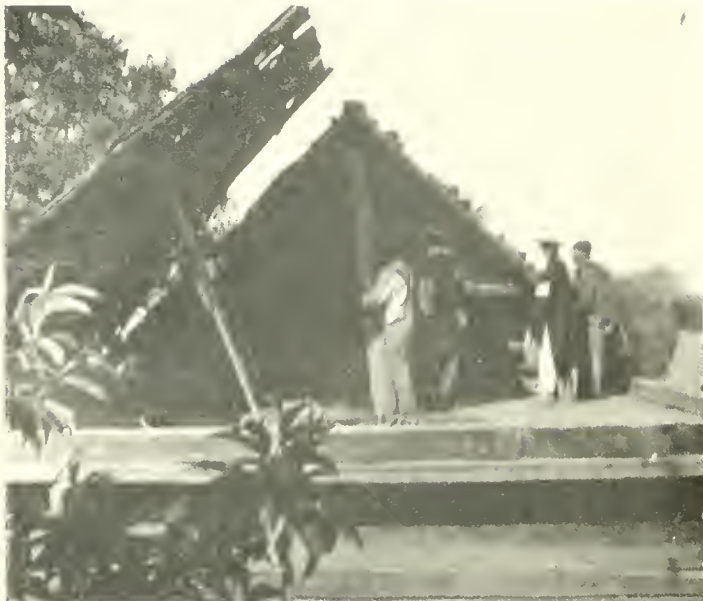
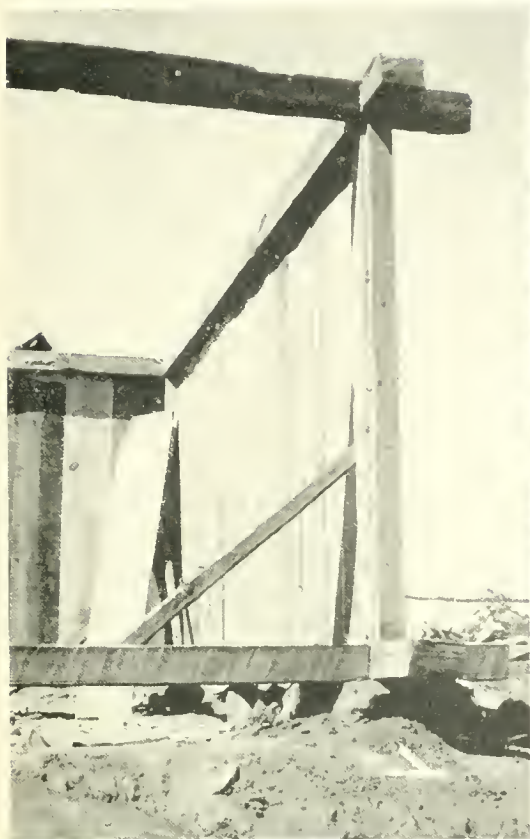
Right: Street near the plaza in Cherián. A stone-and-adobe whitewashed structure is visible near the church. The center shows a well-built stone-and-adobe fence capped with straw and stakes, while the houses are of wood. A typical roofed gate is visible left of center. *Left:* Two types of pole fence in Capatán. In Cherián such fences are usually found only between lots.



Left: Two types of pole fence in Capatán. In Cherián such fences are usually found only between lots.



Upper (left): Leveling the foundation beams for a house. *Upper (right):* The "planchas" in position. Two side wall planks and one front wall plank in place. Notice the mortice for a pillar in the front "plancha." *Lower (left):* Placing one of the doorframes. *Lower (right):* Laying the floor boards of a house.



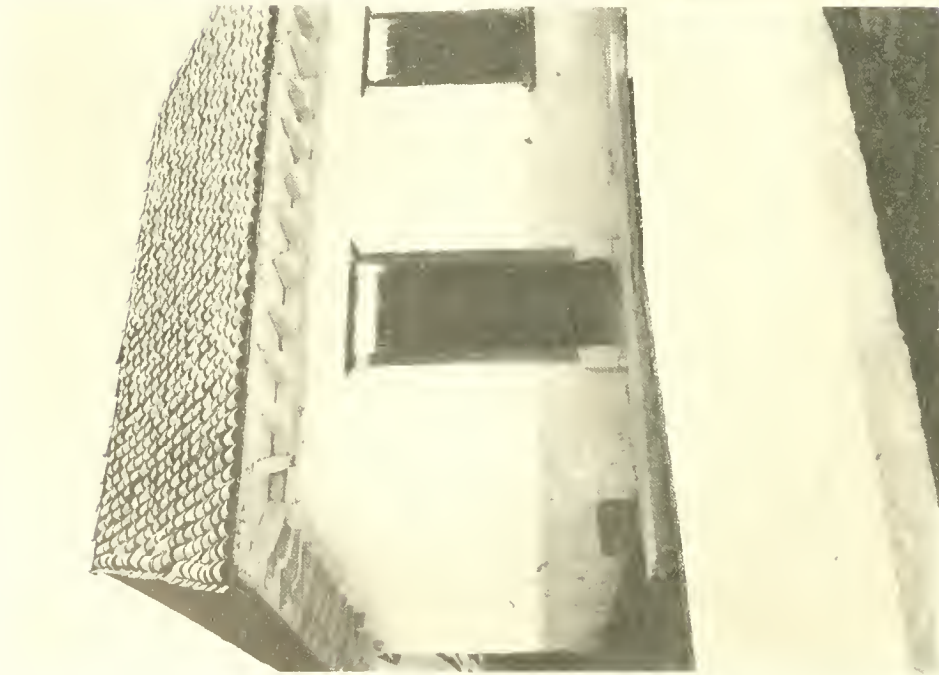
Upper (left): Simple kitchen under construction in Cheran, "pie derecho" type. *Upper (right):* Two roof sections in place in process of moving a Cherán house. *Lower (left):* Arrangement of rafters in Paracho house without ridge pole. *Lower (right):* Old house in Paracho of unusual style. The elaborate carving and absence of capitals of the pillars should be noticed. The walls are of vertical planks rather than the normal horizontal construction.



Upper (left) Kitchen of simple type with cogee posts (Angahuan). *Upper (right)* Kitchen of elaborate type (Angahuan). The gate and half door is here in Chocoma. *Middle (left)* Wooden "traje" at Ihuatzi, Lake Patzeuano, with tile roof and adobe support for the cogee posts. *Middle (right)* Storehouse of style found mainly in Angahuan (tmutakata). *Lower (left)* Large storehouse (tmutakata) over gate. *Lower (center)* Storehouse (tmutakata) with lower part made into a room. *Lower (right)* Storehouse (tmutakata) Chocoma.



Upper (left): Mason at work in Cheran. Upper (right): Fairly elaborate roof construction at Huatzio typical of adobe structures. Middle (right): Gate roofed with tile, Huatzio. Lower (left): Stone house at Paraclio with shake roof of "troje" style. Lower (right): Huatzio house with veranda, seen from one end. The "plancha," or plate, is carried clear across the house in this case and doubled at the ends. The wooden support, or "burrito," for the ridge pole is clearly seen.



L. 6: A well-built stone structure in Parícho, with the wide eaves characteristic of Central Michoacán. *Right:* Scene in a house-roofing festival in Chetum. The house owners in the foreground bedecked with strings of bread and flowers; the relatives are in the background.



L. 7: Scene in a house-roofing festival in Chetum. The house owners in the foreground bedecked with strings of bread and flowers; the relatives are in the background.



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
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by

RALPH L. BEALS

*Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of
State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 21, 1944.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 2 of the Institute of Social Anthropology, which has been established by the Smithsonian Institution as an autonomous unit of the Bureau of American Ethnology to carry out cooperative work in social anthropology with the American Republics as part of the program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation.

Very respectfully yours,

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director.*

DR. C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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FOREWORD

By JULIAN H. STEWARD

The Institute of Social Anthropology was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

One of the most important cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. The field research of this program will be directed toward a study of the Tarascans of Michoacán, a large group of Indians whose culture is of great interest to science and whose role in national life is of great importance to contemporary Mexico. In undertaking this work, it is the good fortune of the Institute of Social Anthropology to help further a program already extensively carried out by the University of California in cooperation with the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. The present monograph is a community study of Cherán, a Tarascan village, made by Dr. Beals in collaboration with the Mexican institutions.

This study is a basic document for understanding native American communities from the point of view both of their individuality and of their gradual assimilation to national life through economic and ideological acculturation. Although Cherán, like many other towns of the Tarascan area, is thought of and thinks of itself as Indian, it is difficult to identify anything that is aboriginal besides its language and racial type. Cherán's domesticated animals, many of its crops, its patterns of cultivation,

and its general technologies and material culture are almost exclusively European. It is presumably European in its individual land ownership and inheritance, though the assumption that aboriginal America had collective land ownership needs further proof. Wholly European is its cash system, involving even a monetary standard of values, loans made for interest, and the purchase from elsewhere of most goods other than the local agricultural and forest products. It might be expected that these European economic patterns would have repercussions in other aspects of the culture; actually, the degree of Hispanicization of religious and social life is astonishing. Religion is strictly Catholic, witchcraft is European in type, and even the curers with their herbs and applications betray virtually nothing that is clearly aboriginal. Cherán's large, compact community of 5,000 persons is seemingly in the Spanish rather than Indian settlement pattern (a problem to be solved by archeology), and it may have been facilitated partly by the use of pack animals for transportation. The social configurations are likewise Spanish: the family, with a large circle of relatives by blood and marriage; the innumerable godparents; the *mayordomías* (festivals for the saints); the elaborate wedding ceremonies; and the dances, music, games, and other recreations.

With virtually all aspects of Cherán culture that can be formally categorized clearly Spanish in origin, why is Cherán considered Indian? Cherán's strong attachment to the locality, to the local group, and to traditional culture characterizes many other "Indian" communities in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes. The essential characteristic of an "Indian" would seem to be his failure to integrate emotionally and actively with national life rather than a demonstrable aboriginal content in his culture. The culture that he preserves in com-

parative isolation may, in fact, be far more that of 16th-century Spain than that of native America. This is not to say, however, that a pure 16th-century Spanish culture survives anywhere. In the case of Cherán, Beals suggests that the distinctive characteristics may represent the "pattern influence of native ideas" on European features, together with the effects of Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's application of Thomas More's "Utopia." For historical anthropology, these communities clearly pose important problems concerning 16th-century Spanish culture, its imposition through the conquistadors and priests on the Indians, and the subsequent long interval during which many areas stabilized their culture in comparative isolation.

Despite being considered Indian, Cherán seems to contain the potentialities for rapid acculturation. Its essential economic patterns will, so far as local productivity through agriculture or manufactures permit, facilitate further economic development as the new highway

stimulates increased commerce with other areas. Its essentially Spanish social patterns and its present proletariat consciousness and political sense seem to afford a ready basis for further assimilation of national culture through the informal means of outside contacts and the more formal means of governmental programs. Its strong Catholic background will pave the way for further Church influence. One cannot predict the future of such a community in detail, for it will depend partly upon national and even international developments as well as upon Cherán's reaction to them. General trends are now observable among comparable communities; and the work that the Institute of Social Anthropology is now carrying on in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexico among other Tarascan villages that have slightly different characteristics and degrees of acculturation and the Institute's studies in other parts of Latin America will yield data that will both clarify general trends and high-light local peculiarities.

PHONETIC NOTE

The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel *Λ* is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ϕ is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.

č is the equivalent of English *ch*.

ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."

Λ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.

ʀ is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.

š is the equivalent of English *sh*.

č', č', k', p', and t' are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.

f, *l*, and *r* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village

By RALPH L. BEALS

INTRODUCTION

The study of Cherán was carried out in 1940-41 as part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative undertaking of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (formerly the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional), and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. In general, the program aims at a thorough investigation of the Tarascans and their culture, both past and present.¹ An extensive program of this character is obviously the work of many persons and involves many individual projects. Consequently, a number of subjects which might have formed a part of the study of Cherán were not undertaken because they will be dealt with in other studies. The chief omission has been the lack of any general consideration of the Tarascans as a whole or any investigation of historical backgrounds. In some respects the study of Cherán would be more rounded and intelligible had fuller knowledge of the historical changes in Tarascan culture been available.

Unfortunately, the historical aspects of the Tarascan program are still little developed. Several years of documentary research would have been necessary to approach the study of Cherán with reasonably full background knowledge. Consequently, the description of Cherán is primarily a cross section of the culture of the community at the time of the study without any effort to interpret its historical development.

Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara-Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The non-Tarascan families were more or less transient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

¹For a fuller discussion of the Program, see Rubín de la Borbolla, D. F., and Beals, Ralph L. (1940) and Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944).

The exceptions were two storekeepers, both from essentially Indian towns themselves, two school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuán, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuán, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entrée into the homes of his almost innumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

his aunt, Doña Feliciano Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

A word should be said about field methods at this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

Certain other problems in field methods arose. Cherán habits place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. As women will not talk with strange men in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

viewed independently by other staff members. Data were likewise taken from as many women as possible. In another instance, accounts were secured of as many fiestas and *mayordomías* as possible. Each *mayordomo* and other ceremonial official was then visited and interviewed, often several times. Finally, in this instance, as many ceremonies as possible were observed. In the case of economic life, virtually every specialist in town was interviewed and the data were checked and cross-checked. In addition, a representative sample of forest workers and farmers were interviewed. This process was facilitated by the existence of a complete roster of males of voting age for two *barríos*, together with their major occupations, given to us by the town authorities. In the case of farmers, the tax rolls of the tax collector's office were opened to us, giving some check on land ownership. Some fields were paced to estimate size (measurement was out of the question for various local reasons), and observations were made on the length of time taken to complete various farm tasks. At harvest time, the actual production of fields was determined by observing the harvest closely. In this case, data given by informants proved markedly variable from the facts. Prices of all products were established by questioning numerous producers and also by questioning buyers. Obviously procedures varied with different topics, but the examples given perhaps sufficiently indicate the general method employed.

In conclusion, acknowledgment should be made of assistance and encouragement given by persons not directly concerned with the field study. Dr. Morris Swadesh, director of the *Proyecto Tarasco*, an experiment in bilingual education with headquarters in the nearby town of Paracho, together with all the members of his staff, was extremely helpful in many ways. Scores of residents of Michoacán at one time or another rendered personal assistance. In Mexico City, Dr. Paul Kirchhoff and Miguel O. de Mendizabal were helpful, both in personal matters and in giving numerous suggestions and leads for problems to investigate. Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, then chief of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas,

gave much time and effort to forward the program. Dr. Alfonso Caso discussed many problems and gave valuable advice. Numerous members of the staff of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional also gave of their time. President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, arranged a special leave of absence to make the study possible. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, then head of the Department of Anthropology of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional and now director of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, collaborator in the general program, who gave many days of his time in completing necessary arrangements to make the study possible.

In addition to the persons mentioned, I wish also to express my gratitude to those who have helped further the general Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans: General Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of the United States of Mexico; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, Berkeley,

Calif.; Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, former Chief, Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico; Dr. Gerardo Varela, Director of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Biológicas, Mexico; Lic. Gilberto Loyo, Director General of the Census, Mexico; Dr. J. B. Lockey, former Chairman, Board of Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; and the late Dr. Charles B. Lipman, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

The excellence of the drawings is due to the intelligent cooperation and skill of Virginia More Roediger, who worked not only as an artist but as an illustrator.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for editing this manuscript and for publishing it in this series, which is devoted to inter-American cooperation.

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

The modern Tarascans occupy the west central section of northern Michoacán, Mexico. In prehistoric times the Tarascan area was larger, including most of the State of Michoacán, except possibly the rather abrupt and not very hospitable seacoast, as well as parts of the State of Jalisco to the northwest, Guanajuato to the northeast, and the lower end of the Balsas River basin in Guerrero to the south. This expanded area apparently represented the results of a series of conquests. Two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascan area probably was not greatly different from that of today.

The State of Michoacán is one of the most densely populated rural States of Mexico. It lies to the west of Mexico City, and its capital, Morelia, is about 250 miles from the National Capital by road or railroad. Despite its dense population, much of the State is rugged and mountainous. Its eastern and northern parts are on the plateau of México. Level areas are often above 7,000 feet elevation, but, although it is technically a part of the Central Mexican plateau, only the northern margins of the State

have large level tracts, for most of the elevated part of the State is in the so-called "volcanic axis" of Mexico. In many regions, and this is particularly true of the area occupied by the Tarascans, the characteristic sky line is a series of old volcanic cones, often surrounding basins or long depressions, in which more recent low cinder cones frequently occur (pl. 1, upper and lower left). Dozens of peaks have elevations of over 10,000 feet, but only one may exceed 11,000 feet.

To the south and southwest the terrain drops sharply toward a great basin formed by tributaries of the Balsas River. The slope is steep and so thoroughly dissected by streams that, despite the opening of many roads and truck trails in recent years, it still is not possible to reach the Balsas River by road from highland Michoacán. This great basin forms an important portion of Michoacán and is much visited by the Tarascans. Tropical vegetation and climate characterize the basin except for a semiarid section in the west.

The Pacific coast of the State is paralleled by a large range of mountains, the Sierra de

Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzcuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

The present-day range of the Tarascans cannot be defined with great accuracy, partly because of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

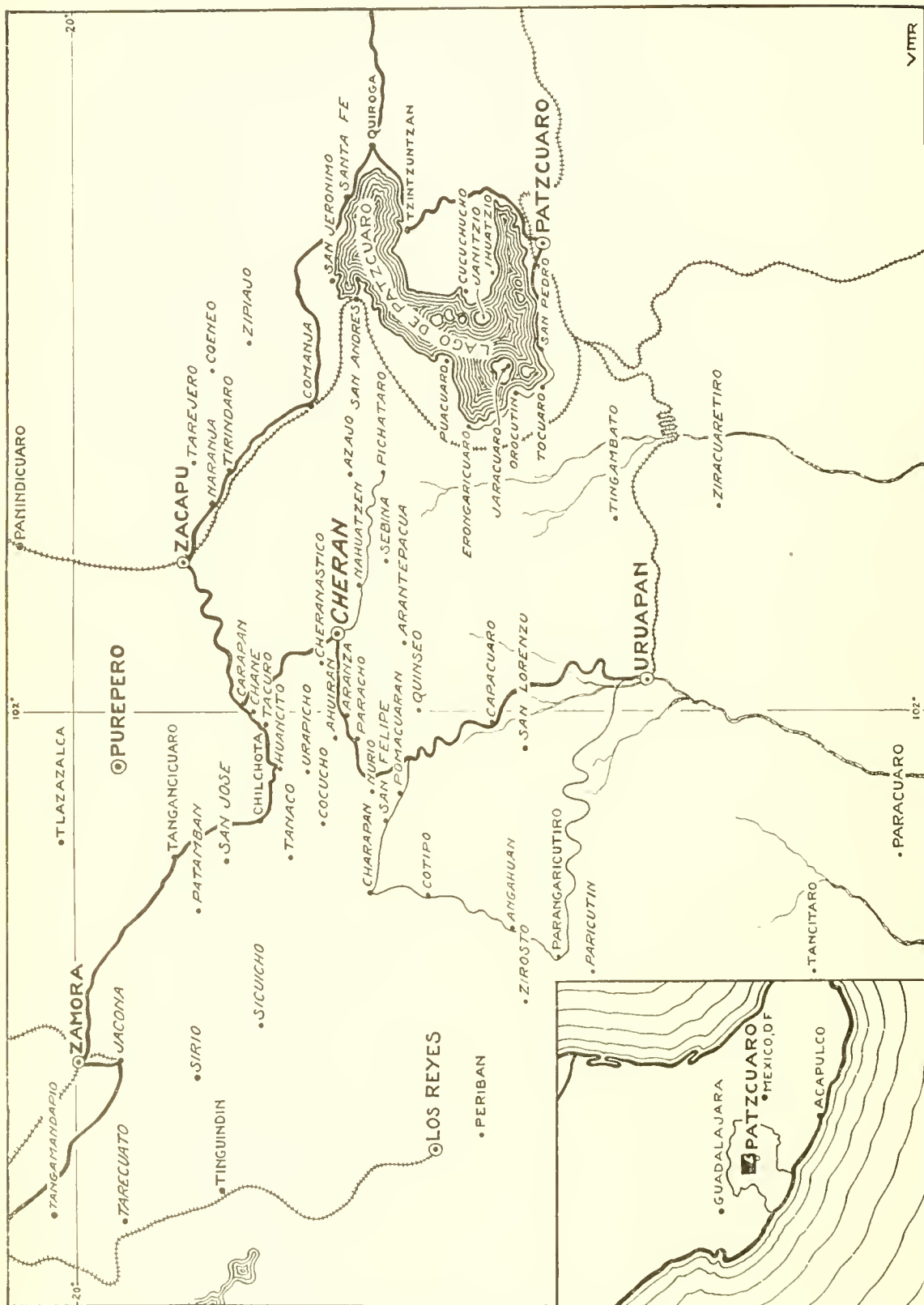
ritory is close to the railroad which runs through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes. The southern boundary might be defined roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan and thence close to the railway from Uruapan to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs just inside the northern limits and in others, just outside. Within or near the borders of the present-day Tarascan area occur a number of old Mexican towns closely associated with the historic Tarascans and their contemporary culture, which provide the administrative centers and the major market places. These towns are Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other towns of local importance have arisen more recently, towns which were once Tarascan but are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated Tarascans. A good example of such a town is Chilchota.

Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may be characterized generally as an elevated temperate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood forests. In detail there are differences, and a number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages are either on the shore or upon islands in the lake. The forests have been cleared away around the lake except upon lands too steep to cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but is concentrated in the summer months. The climate is temperate and cool even in mid-summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about by hills and mountains covered with forest. Although there is but little difference in elevation from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warmer and some tropical or subtropical plants such as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada. Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas, and similar tropical and subtropical plants.



MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in *italic* are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestizo origin or are primarily Mestizo in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cherán; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcuaro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

Except for occasional marginal farm clearings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

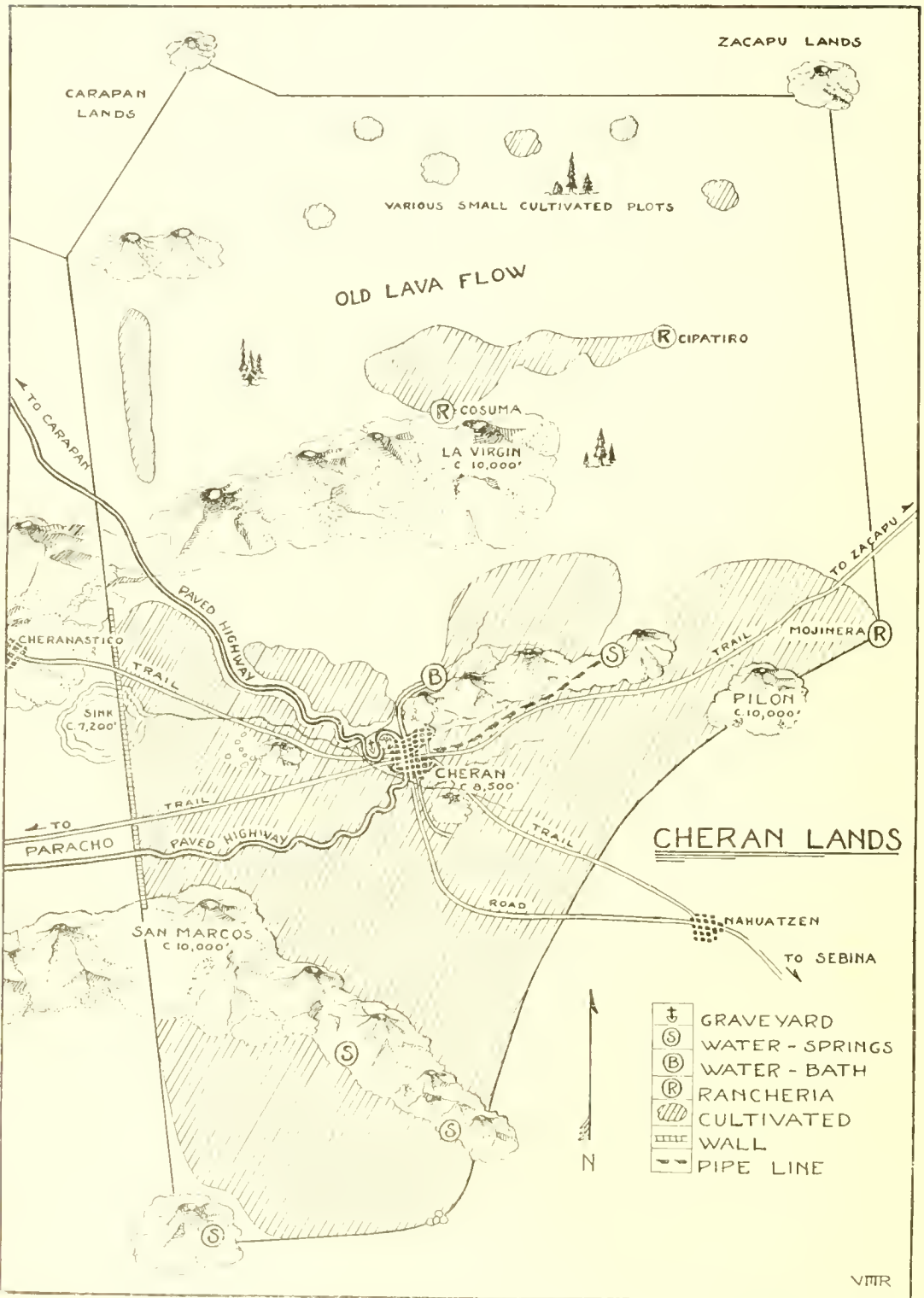
Wherever the land is sufficiently level to permit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smaller extent, wheat, are almost the only field crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

of the forest resources and the breeding of a few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

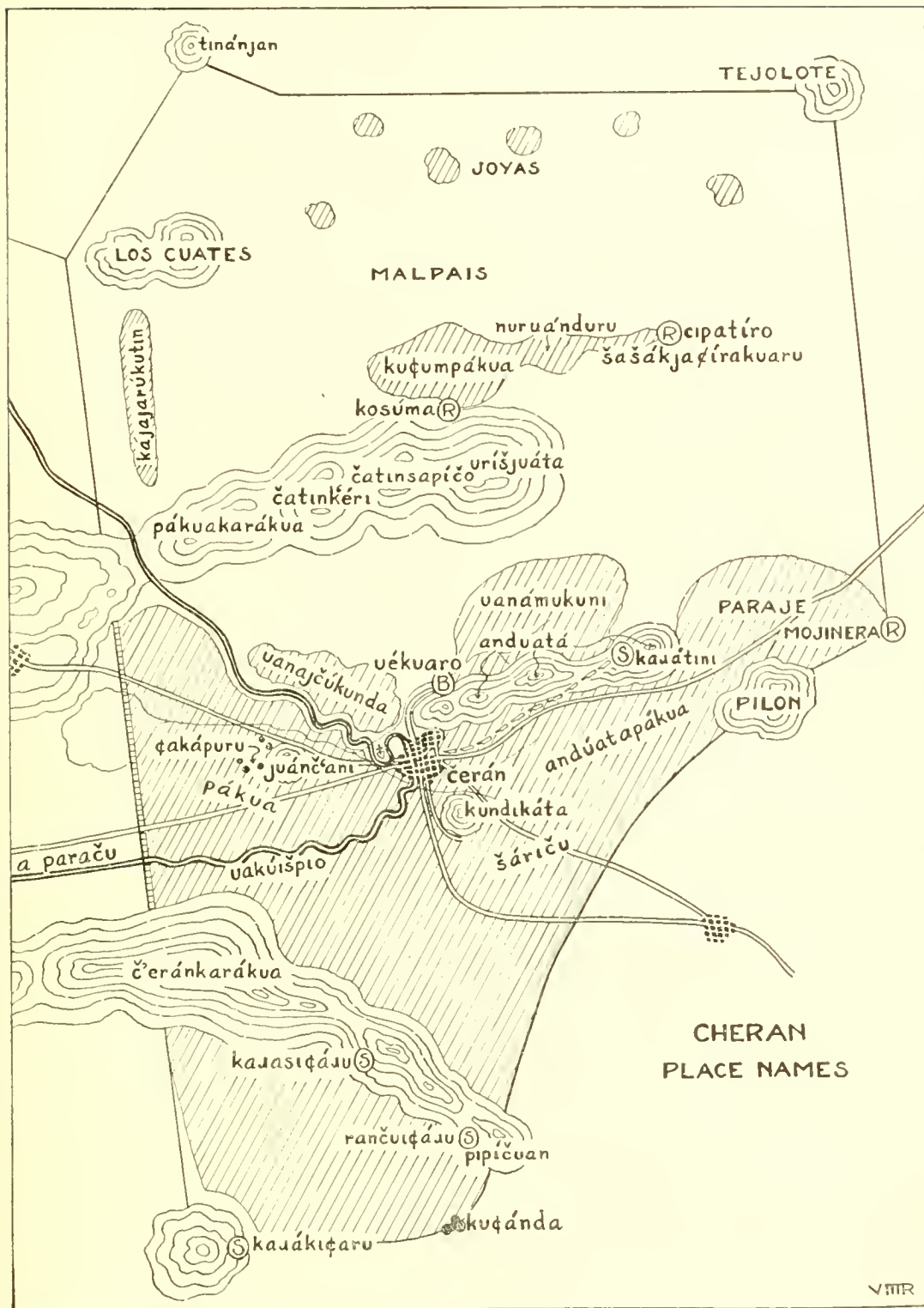
The town of Cherán has a population of about 5,000. The community is unique among Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherías. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherías or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises a large area. Much of this area is mountain and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

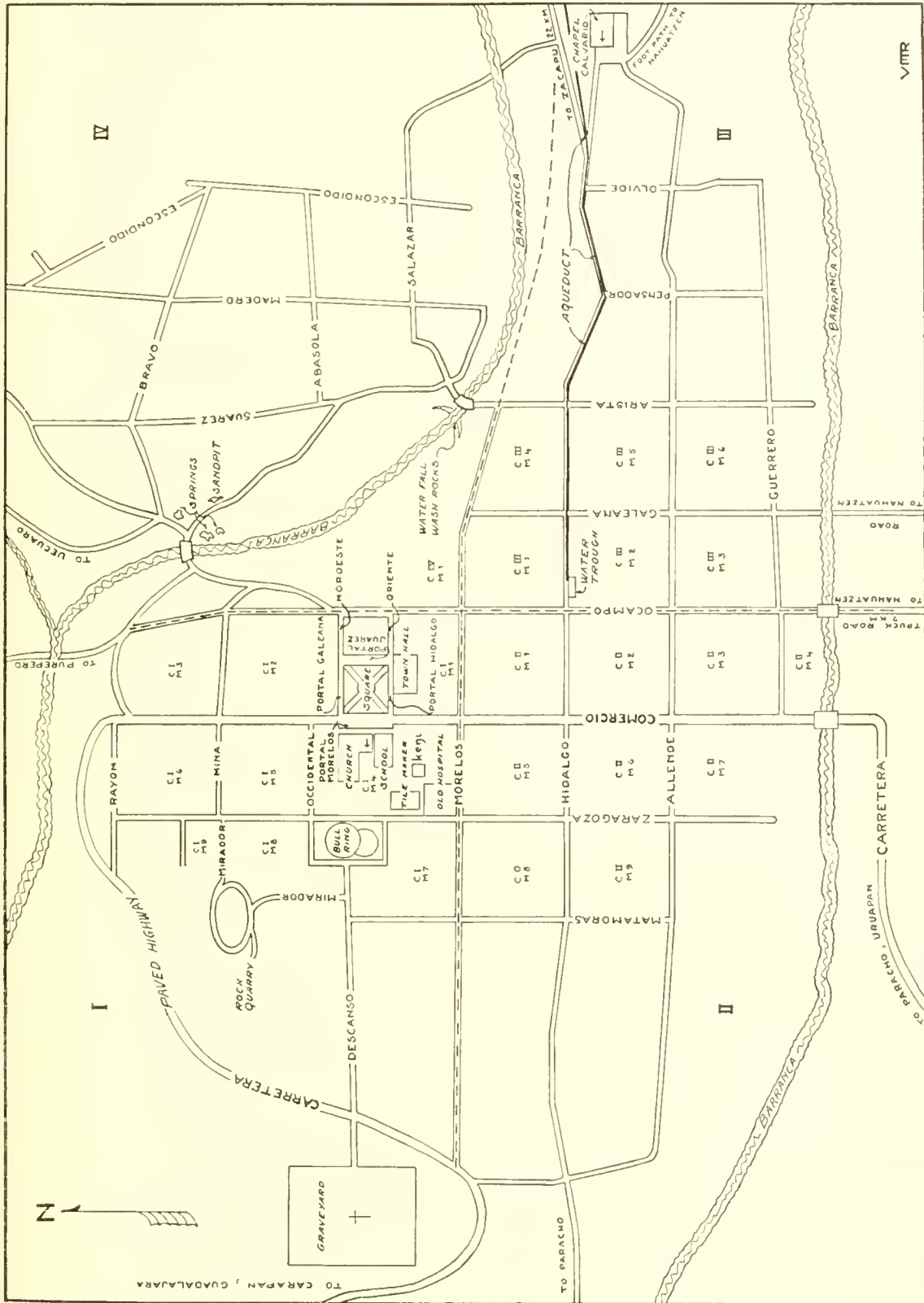
Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed



MAP 2.—Cherán lands, showing topography, principal cultivated areas, and various cultural features.



MAP 3.—The *municipio* of Cherán, showing the more important place names. See map 2 for explanation of symbols.



MAP 5.—The town of Cherán, showing street names and the *barrio* numbers. C, *cuartel*, or *barrio*; M, *manzana*, or block. Numbers indicate the town numbering system.

in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it may be surmised that Cherán is an old settlement. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town was in the center of the agrarian movement in Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is unstudied botanically. The situation with respect

to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an inconsiderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricultural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Corpulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or incipient goiter is common, especially in the mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

Plants.—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the most commonly used plants such as *kulántro* (*silantro*),² the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*, probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is collected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.³

A root, *čalankóte*, is used for washing woollens and is considered superior to soap.⁴ It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuán, Rendón found seeds of a bush called *kómerame* used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called *apúpen* and roots of the plant *pačánkua*.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

³ In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *baya* (*hóngakua*), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

⁴ The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

² Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

clear honey is desired, it may be strained through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten, either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.⁵

The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal* (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are employed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these. The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack boxes.

Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

⁵ At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and taken into town on muleback.

Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles ("huinomo")⁶ or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Parícutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest resources was also open to everyone. The Department of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.⁷

⁶ Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

⁷ This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is \$0.35 a *carga* (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is \$0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuán make a business of taking firewood to Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

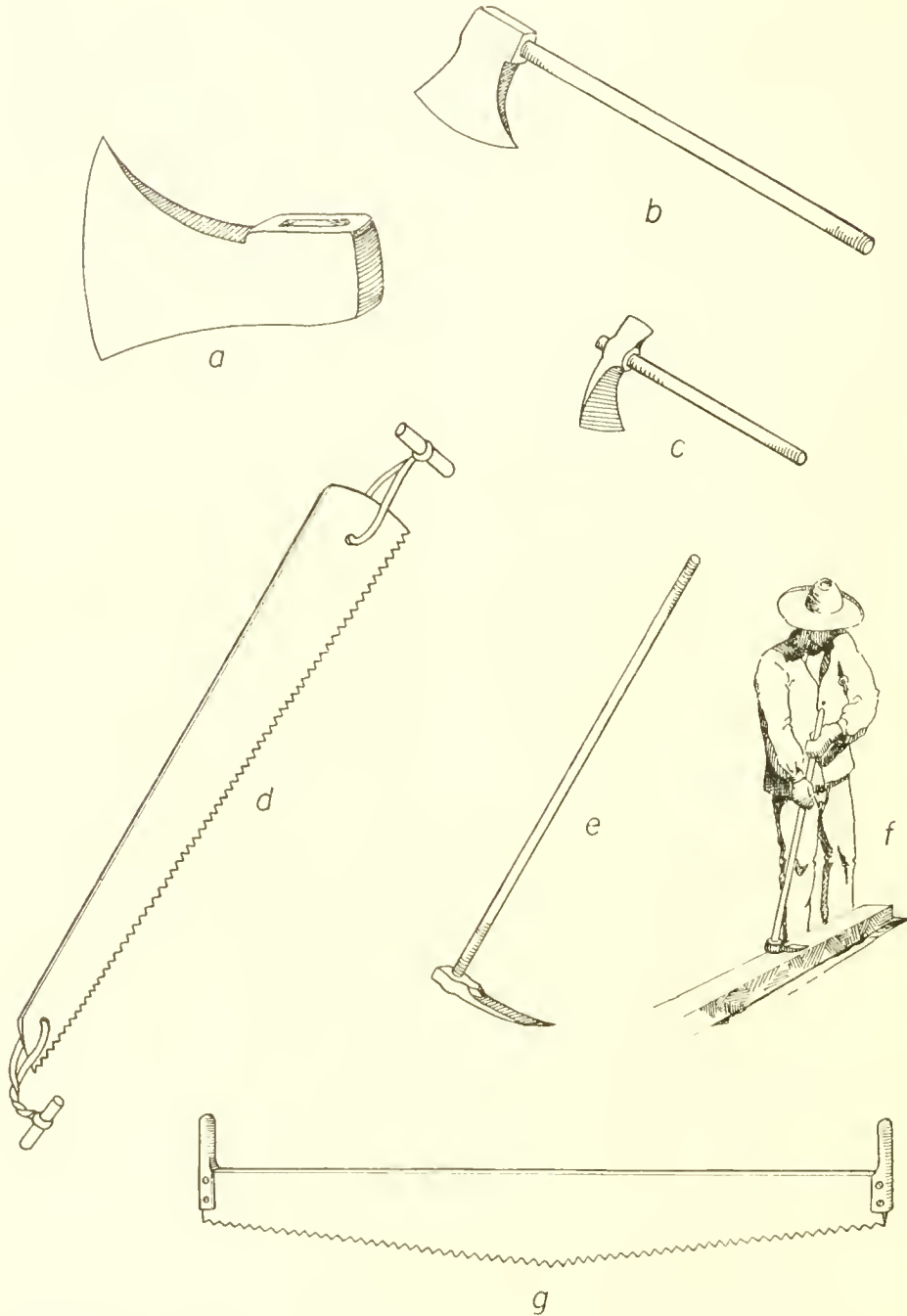


FIGURE 1.—Woodworking implements. *a*, Typical ax head, weighing 6 to 8 pounds. *b*, Same as *a*, with handle; total length about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. *c*, Short-handled adz (angáru). *d*, Saw used for cutting planks (k'ére'ri arácutarakua), about 6 feet long; the lower handle usually is of metal and clamps over the end of the saw, engaging the saw teeth to hold it in place. *e*, Long-handled adz. *f*, Method of using long-handled adz to dress beams or planks. *g*, Logging saw, "sardina," used to cut felled timber into desired lengths.

Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (*jáca*). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw ("*sardina*") (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs ("*tachones*"), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called "*vigas*" (anything over 2 inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (*angáru*) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (*k'ére'eri*), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (*k'ére'eri a'jákutarakua*) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

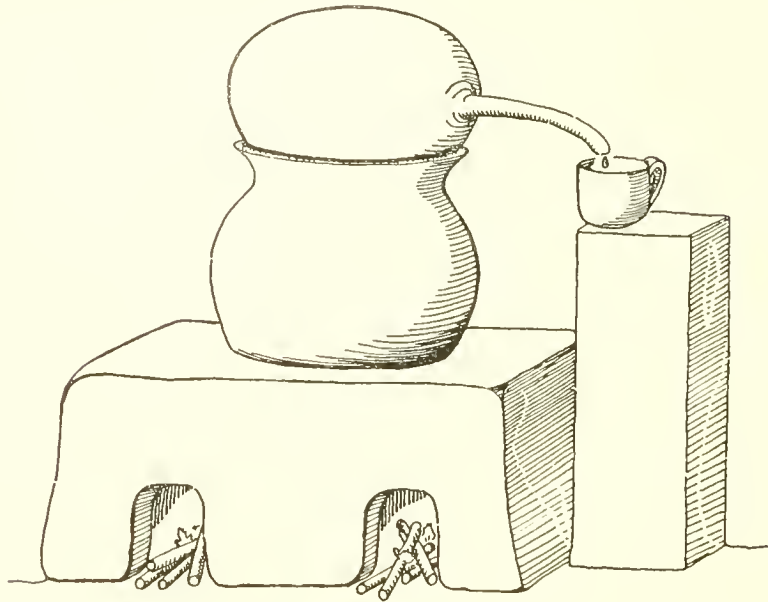
An important product of Cherán is shakes, *tejamanil* (*tasámani*). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (*péri*) with a wedge, *cuña* (*injárukua*). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (*uáηgua*). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

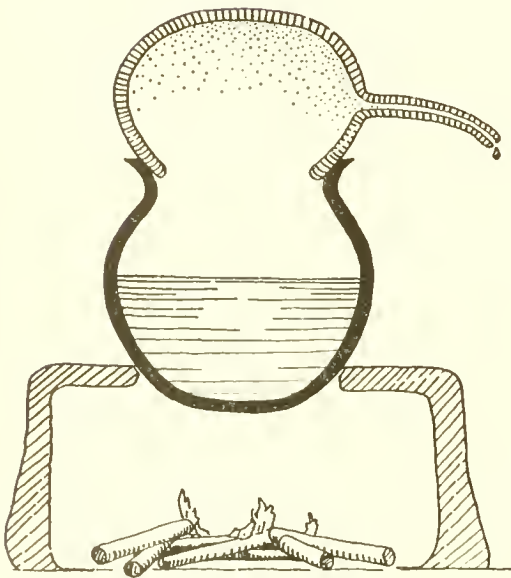
The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied into bundles of 400 called an *irépita* (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.⁸

1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a day (16 *cargas*), which sold for \$1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

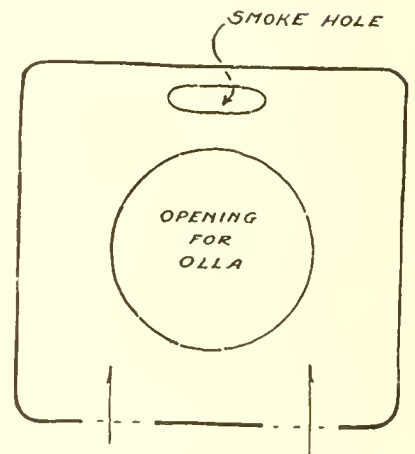
⁸ A *cuarta* equals $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *vare* (the standard measure of length, about 32 inches long).



a



b



c

FIGURE 2.—Turpentine still. *a*, Perspective view. *b*, Cross-sectional view from side. *c*, Schematic view of fireplace from above.

Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length, called "thick shakes" (*tasámani tiápití*). Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*, or "small shakes" (*tasámani sapíratí*). Shakes 6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan towns, are called "long shakes" (*tasámani iórati*). In Angáhuán, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are sold in Zamora and are sometimes called *Zamorana*.

Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows: On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled. Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two *irépitás*) in a week.

Railroad ties are usually made under contract arrangements. The workers leave town on Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

A minor industry is cutting out blocks of *madroña* and *jaboncilla* wood. These are sold in Paracho, where they are made into doors, spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small wooden objects for which Paracho is famous. A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán. Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but, for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called *gúrbia*. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patambán), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any considerable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (*guákin*), squirrels (both ordinary, *kuínike*, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to catch quail and pigeons. Quail snares are hung

in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

Deer meat is sold in the village at the price of beef. It is said not to be liked very well. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacapu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

Cherán is primarily an agricultural village. Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (<i>haba</i>)	Plums
Squash (<i>chilucayote</i>)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

Maguey (agave)
Chayote

Crab apples
Zapote blanco

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans all have soils almost exclusively composed of volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called "*joyas*," consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The "plains" are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

The largest "plain," usually referred to simply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

boundary with Aranza and Cherañástico (pl. 1, upper left). The second most important "plain" is south and southeast of the town and extends on the east to the boundary with Nahuatzen. On the north and south the plain is bounded by hills and mountains, on the west by the slope to *el plan*. This area is usually referred to as Sharicho (šaričo). The "*plan* of Arantepacuaro" is south of the range of mountains of San Marcos, and extends to the boundary of Arantepacuaro on the south. The fourth and smallest "plain" of importance is northeast of the mountain of El Pilón.

Patches of sloping land under permanent cultivation are found scattered throughout the *municipio*. A large number of plots are found on the slope between *el plan* and the town and on the lower, gentler slopes of many mountains and cinder cones. These lands may be fenced or, more commonly, protected by deep ditches with hedges of agave on each side. Thorny crab apple or other fruit trees sometimes are also planted along ditches. Weak spots may be guarded by thorny brush and poles (pl. 4, lower left).

The so-called "joyas" are usually patches of only a few acres, often in isolated places far from town. They may be fenced or ditched to keep out animals and, like the other areas, are privately owned. Unless they are unusually fertile, "joyas" are cultivated only every other year.

The garden plots are within the town proper. In a few cases they may occupy an entire block, but normally they are merely part of a building lot (*solar*). Few of them are as large as half an acre. They are fenced and, unlike any other areas, they are cultivated every year.

Temporary fields are created by clearing the forest on community lands. Permission must be obtained from the Federal Department of Forestry, Hunting and Fishing. Extra forest taxes must be paid, but charges are nominal. Usually the areas cleared are steep and the soil is poor and badly leached. Frequently, serious erosion results from such fields. Although cultivated only in alternate years, these fields are short-lived and are abandoned after a decade or so. Only use rights exist for such fields and after abandonment they revert to the public domain.

THE FARMING CYCLE

A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

Land is prepared for field and garden crops (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940-41 no single instance was observed on Cherañ lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisel-like metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

A great many farmers own oxen; if they do not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

MAIZE

Except in the garden plots and a few other highly favored places, corn is never planted on the same ground on two successive years. Garden plots are more carefully cultivated and are fertilized to some extent by depositing organic refuse of all kinds and, if available, manure. Good farmers will even carry surplus manure to the fields, but some are lazy and simply throw it in one of the arroyos. It is then carried down to the "plain" west of town. As a

result, a part of the "plain" where the water sinks into the ground can be farmed every year.

The basin, of which the "plain" forms a part, has no outlet. So porous is the volcanic soil that streams run only briefly after heavy rainfall. The drainage of the entire basin collects on the Cherán-Aranza boundary, where it sinks into the soil within a few hours after a storm. The entire sink area is cultivated and is highly fertile. No rotation of crops is ordinarily practiced on the plain; but in the mountains,

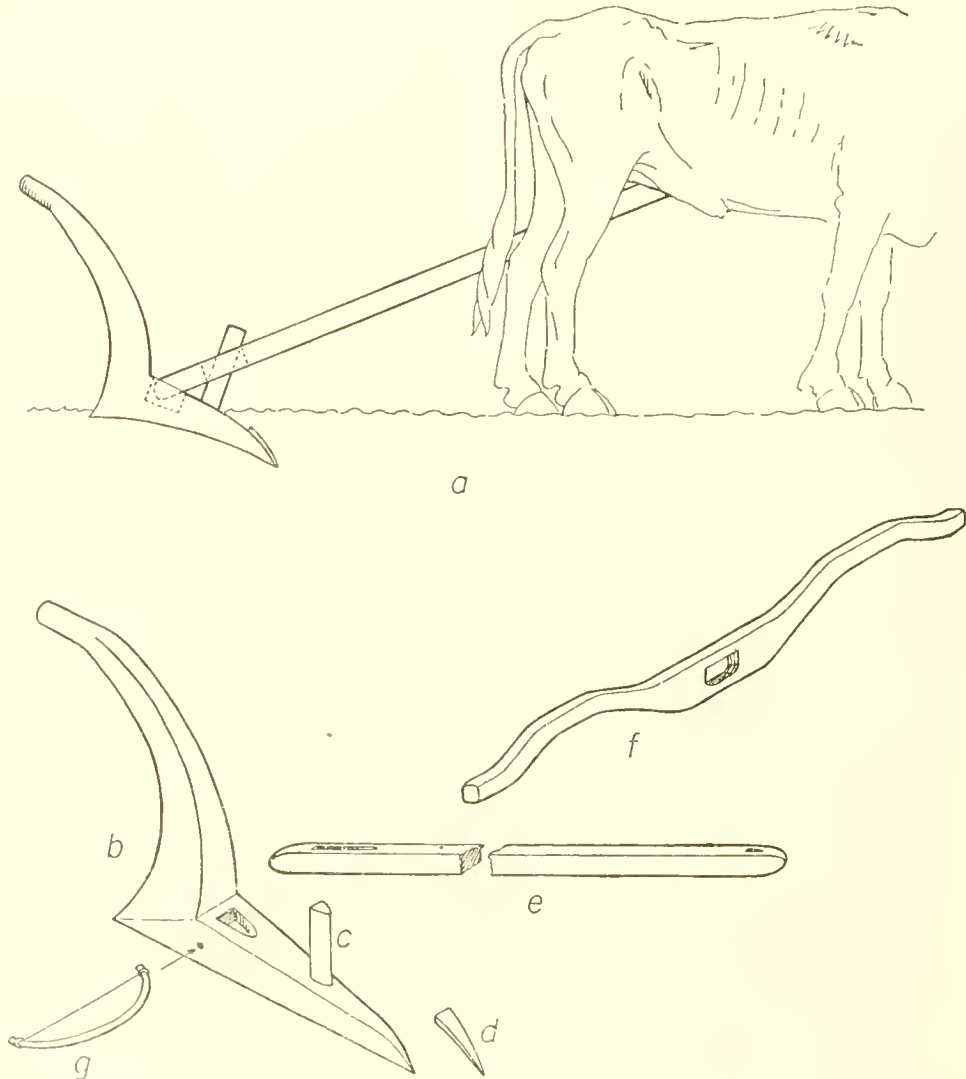


FIGURE 3.—The Cherán plow. *a*, Plow in use with oxen (see also pl. 4, upper left). *b*, Main frame, made from a single piece of wood. *c*, Peg over which the tongue fits. *d*, Steel plowshare fastened on the point of the main frame. *e*, Tongue which goes over peg (*c*), while the end fits in a socket on the main frame. *f*, yoke; the tongue (*e*) passes through the opening in the yoke and is held by a tapered peg (not shown). *g*, Bow used on the plow in planting to spread the dirt into the already planted furrows; the bow is inserted into the indicated hole.

when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work is done by men. There is no exchange of labor or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (*čiráŋki*) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types. Red ears are called *čóču* and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called *čústika* and a coiled shape called *tokére čústika*.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest. All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shelling is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fungus. The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

Trespass by domestic animals and theft must be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

Unseasonal frost often damages corn, particularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated ("*escarda*" also "*trozando*") by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded "*chaponado*." This is done by hand with a short machete, called "*os*," with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

As soon as grain is well formed on the ears, some maize is used for food, usually roasted. At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder ("*rastrajo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-splint burden basket (*šundis*) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (*čaránda*).

Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-

wheeled ox carts is possible, although they are rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different places. If the "plain" west of town is planted, the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even though not communal in character, it also is a rather festive and social occasion. Moreover, many workmen have more money than at any other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).

December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.

December 16. Western part of Sharicho.

December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

White maize and yellow maize are stored unshelled in the lofts of "*trojes*." Little effort is taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or beetles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in the house. Most black corn is consumed as roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is ground on the metate and made into bread or atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

Beans.—The soil of Cherán is said not to be good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Usually it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the "troje" or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.⁹

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, *čurípo*.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (*kulántro*), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (*kuačitiniš* and *kuačitiniš kamáta akúa*) are grown for use in atoles.

Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (*akámba*) are planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some collection of the juice, *agua miel* (*urápi*). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rake-like implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.¹⁰

Pears.—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (*uérgamóte*), *pardo* (*čarápiti*), and *t'áčani* (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the *uérgamóte* transports well.

Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

⁹ In Paricutin village, chayotes (*apúpo*) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

¹⁰ Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuau the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as *quôte*; the leaves are called *ičkua*, the stalk or bud, *šamáš*. Mestizoized Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

Pears and other fruit trees are not pruned, cultivated, or fertilized. Fruit to be shipped, especially pears, is picked with a special implement to prevent bruising. Three narrow pieces of shake are cut to a point at one end. They are then tied with string to one end of a long light pole, forming a triangular funnel. The funnel is placed under the fruit and raised, detaching it gently from the tree (fig. 4).

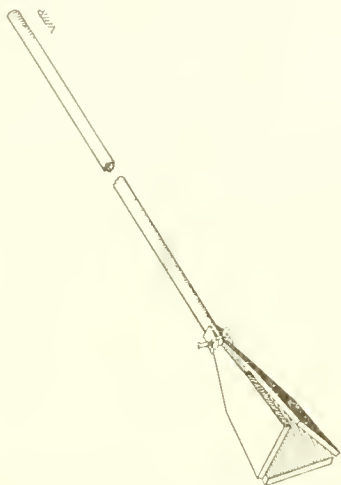


FIGURE 4.—Pear picker, made of trimmed shakes, cord, and any convenient long pole. The fruit is caught in the opening, lifted until the stem breaks, and then lowered to the ground. Bruised pears will not stand shipment.

Miscellaneous fruits.—A bitter apple, *manzana agria* or *chata*, is grown in Cherán. A larger, sweet apple is grown in Pichátaro, but only four or five trees exist in Cherán.

Three kinds of peaches are grown in Cherán: *blanco*, a type with red flesh near the pit (name uncollected), a green peach (*prisku*), and a yellow peach (*melókuta*). Relatively few peaches or apples are exported.

Two kinds of cherries, black and white, are grown in Cherán. Both are dried in some quantities and are sometimes sold in the market at Paracho.

A few *zapote blanco* are grown in Cherán, but most of this fruit consumed in Cherán is imported. The same is true of plums.

The *tejocote* is said not to be cultivated, but it sometimes is planted deliberately along field borders and its fruit is used. As, with the exception of pears, this is all the attention ever given to other fruits, it is fair to include the

tejocote as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and preserves. A few are used locally.

Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, *čóču*. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and *ače* (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (*šaninkuáte*), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

Pigs.—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

Sheep.—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as shearers. Most shearers, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily shearers return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shearers, the wife returns to town periodically to cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

The average wages of shearers are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shearers may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool in two shearings, which sells at from \$1.00 to \$1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

Goats.—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

Horses.—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indicators of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses are given names similar to those used by Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are imported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with

the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the more common animals in Cherán. Often kept in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals" such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, shepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Parícutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squirrels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

Chickens.—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chickens are also fed *nixtamal*. Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chickens are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasel-like animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. However, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult pigeons are killed.

Bees.—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are believed to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells in Cherán at \$2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women. Wax is used mainly for making candles.

Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and as a treat for children.¹¹

For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are specialists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, "*posición*," in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or "*salitre*," a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"*Onia*" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general, overwork is regarded as an important cause of sickness.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"*Roncha*" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"*Pirojon*" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo*, may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

In the previous sections were described the technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

¹¹ Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuán and Paricntin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Paricntin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

ties. Neither are descriptions of dress or house use entirely appropriate under the heading of manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, there is a certain cultural or associative logic involved which would be violated by too rigid adherence to the literal meaning of categories.

CERAMICS

No native ceramic industry exists in Cherán. Pottery is not made, but in 1940 two men, both non-Tarascons, made roofing tile and brick.

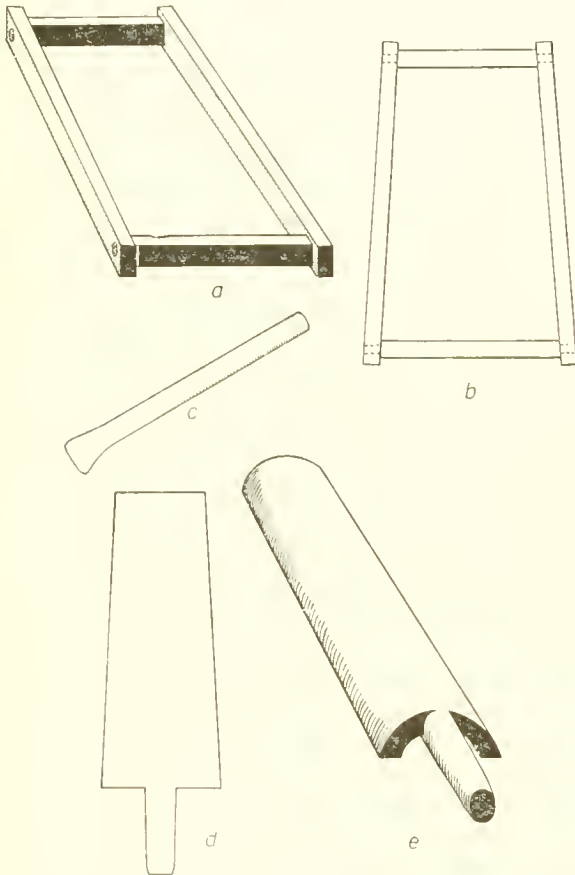


FIGURE 5.—Tilemaker's implements. *a*, Perspective view of the mold. *b*, Direct view of the mold to show proportions and the shape, which is narrower at one end than the other. *c*, Wooden chisel or knife used to loosen clay from mold if necessary (length about 18 inches with other artifacts in proportion). *d*, Outline of the form for tiles. *e*, Perspective view of the form for tiles. The mold is filled with clay and the top smoothed. The mold is then lifted up, leaving the clay on a bench top. The clay is then slid onto the form to receive the curved shape of the tile. After a few minutes drying, the unfired tile is slipped off the form onto the floor to complete the drying process.

Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	<i>Days</i>
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

Mats.—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules imported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

Hat making.—About four men manufacture men's hats of palm straw braid, although production does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales, whence it is transported to the market at Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is done by women of the several small villages in the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day. Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

Sometimes hats are whitened. They are first treated with glue, then successively coated with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sín*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.—A number of women ornament women's blouses or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

of petticoats are made by one woman, although this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

Blanket weaving.—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

Carding is done with commercial steel cards which cost \$8.00 a set and last about 3 years. A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6).

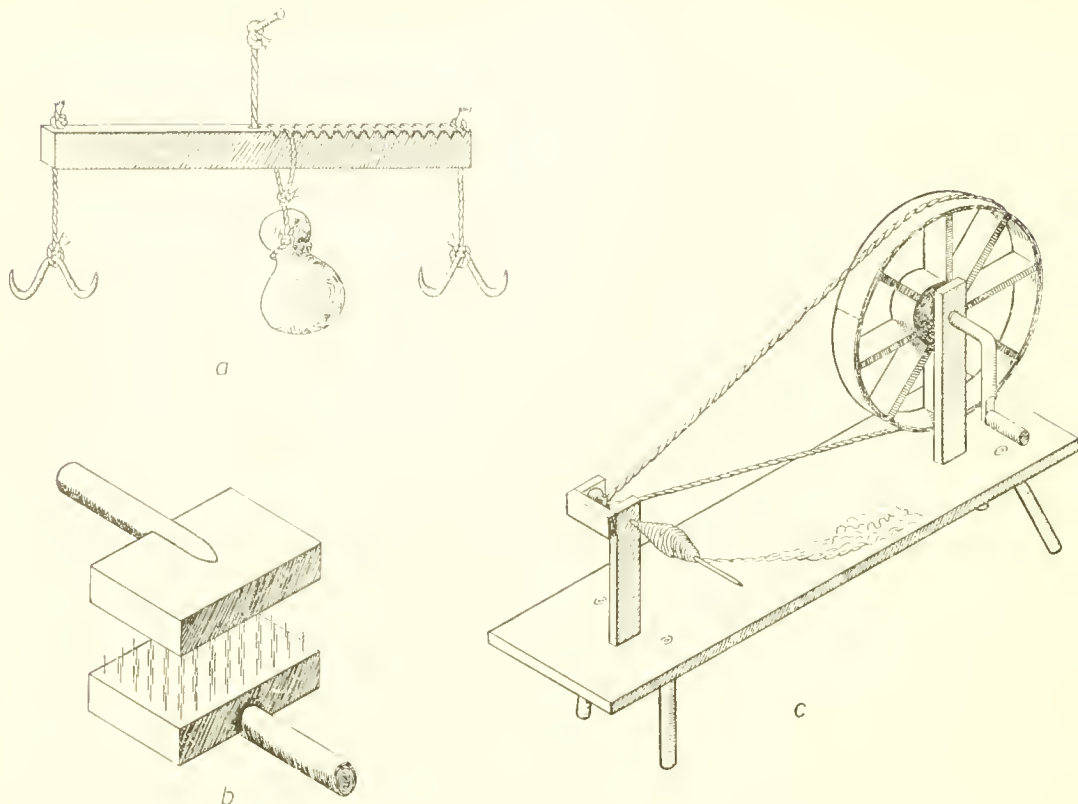


FIGURE 6.—Spinning wheel and associated implements. *a*, Scales for weighing wool; the weight is a 1-pound stone; length of the beam is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. *b*, Carders used to prepare wool for spinning, about 9 by 12 inches; the wires are merely indicated schematically and actually are much more numerous. *c*, Home-made spinning wheel; the wheel is turned with the right hand, the wool fed into the thread with the left hand; the spinner stands to operate the apparatus.

Weaving is done on a wooden European type loom with heddles and treddle. A blanket is always woven in two strips, and then sewed together with an opening left in the center so it may be worn as a poncho. Further details are omitted pending a study of the handicraft in a town specializing in weaving.

Lace weaving.—It is probable that this technique is misnamed. In any case it is not properly a Cherán technique, the only weaver being a woman from Aranza. So far as is known, only six or eight women in the latter village know the technique.

A broadloom frame is used, about 8 feet by 4 feet. It is warped with white cotton thread. The weft, also of cotton thread, is placed with the fingers. Designs are set off by open work and consist of human and animal figures. A bedspread or tablecloth takes 2 months or more to make and sells at \$75.00 and up (asking price). Often the design is

arranged to be cut up in small pieces. A 2-foot square piece in coarse thread (which weaves faster than fine thread) with figures of a man, a burro, and two deer, was purchased for \$2.00.

Belt weaving.—Perhaps five or six women in Cherán weave narrow belts for women. A small belt loom is used. One end is tied to a house post or tree, and the weaver kneels on a mat. A circular warp slips freely about the yarn beams. Two heddles, a spreader, two or more shed dividers, and a batten are employed (fig. 7). The belts always have a central design with plain border. The main warp is cotton, but the central design area has a double warp, one being of wool. Sheds for intricate parts of the design are picked up with a small stick, not with the heddle. There is no shuttle; the weft threads are wound in small balls or on a piece of paper. No patterns are used for designs. Belts take about 2 days of fairly in-

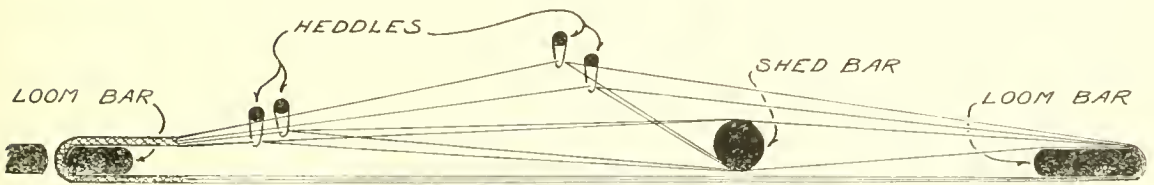
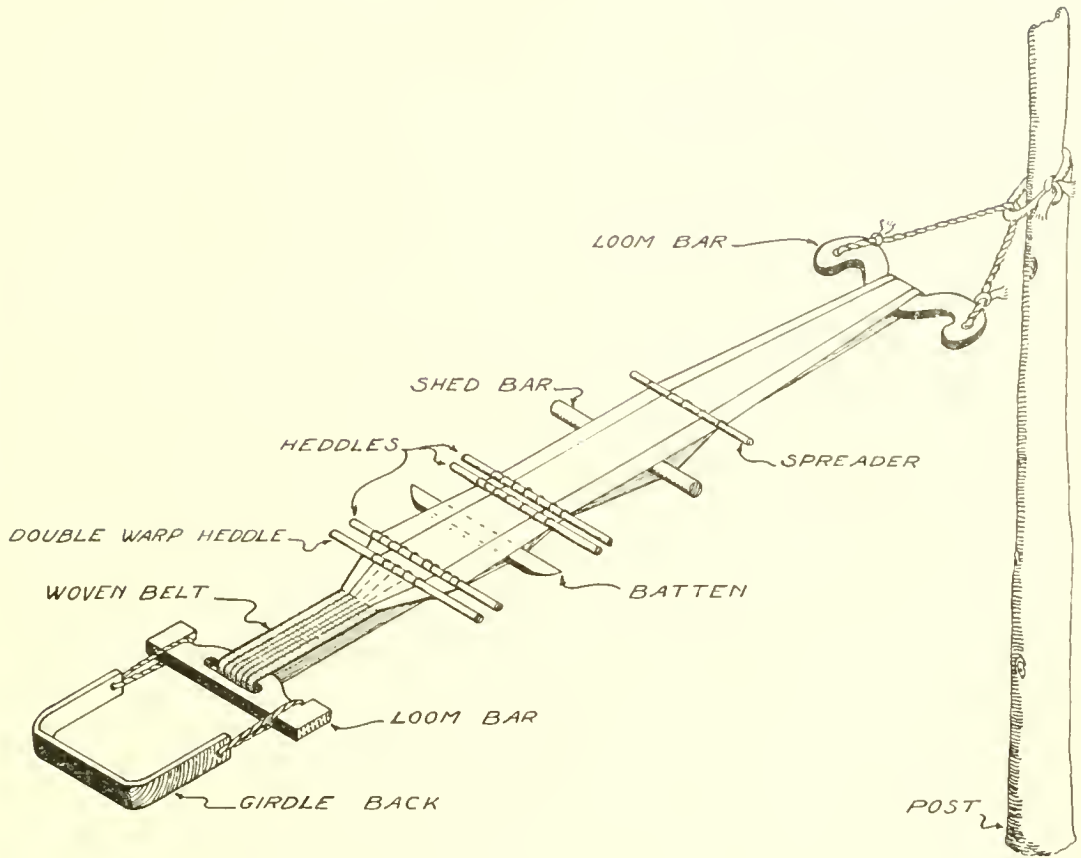


FIGURE 7.—Belt loom. Proportions are distorted to show detail; the actual width of the belt is about 1½ inches. The central part of the warp is double. The lower view shows schematically the various sheds created by the shed bar and the four heddles. Length is 3 feet 9 inches between the loom bars.

tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

Clothing manufacture.—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town knows how to fit a garment, and as standards approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

Men's dress.—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

The most prominent and significant change in men's dress in Cherán is not the entry of the *catrin* garments of storekeeper and professional man of the towns, but of the blue denim jeans or overalls of the mechanic and factory worker, the garment of the proletariat. As the controlling group in town is allied to the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanas, the town officials, including mayor and secretary, often wear overalls, reserving their *catrin* clothes for visits to Uruapan or Morelia or for important civic events.

The working dress of Cherán males, and the exclusive dress of many, is trousers (*calzones*), shirt or blouse of unbleached muslin (*manta*), straw hat, and sandals (*guaraches*). A blanket or poncho (*serape*) is worn or carried as protection against cold or rain (pls. 3; 4, lower right).

The *calzones* or trousers are tight-fitting in the legs but cut full at the waist with a baggy seat. There are no buttons on the fly; instead of a fastening, the two ample sides of the fly are lapped over each other, and a sash, about 6 inches in width, is wrapped about the waist to hold the trousers. The lower part of the trouser leg has a piece of cloth tape attached which is used to tie the bottom of the *calzones* tightly around the ankle. The shirt, or more properly, blouse, likewise has no buttons. It usually has no tails, or very abbreviated ones, and is usually worn outside the *calzones*. It is open part way down the front and has a roll collar, but neither opening nor collar ordinarily is fastened. Buttons are never used, except in attempts to copy city garments, but strings may be provided. Such fitting as is attempted is badly done. A coat of *manta* may also be worn on special occasions; it differs from the blouse primarily in being open down the front and in being of heavier material. It may also be stitched in bright-colored thread.

Both shirt and coat may be modified by attempt to copy urban models and sometimes are purchased ready-made.

Sandals or *guaraches* have a heavy pointed double thick leather sole and leather heel. Part of the top is of leather pieces nailed to the sole, but the major portion is made of woven leather strips passing through slits in the upper sole

and the nailed portions of the uppers. The toe is open. As the manufacture of *guaraches* is practiced by only a few Cherán residents, most of them recent arrivals, no detailed description of techniques is given.

An inseparable part of the costume is the straw hat. From infancy, every male is equipped with a hat, which he always wears outdoors, no matter how inconvenient the circumstances. Awkward jobs, such as carrying heavy timbers, are infinitely delayed because every time a man's hat falls off, the entire operation stops until the hat is replaced. Moreover, the first way in which a man makes an extra "luxury" expenditure in clothing is to buy a more expensive hat. The hat is frequently embellished by a bright-colored string about the front of the crown and, passing through two holes at each side, then going around the back of the head. Flowers also are often worn on the hat. Hat manufacture is described under weaving.

From the above-described working costume, many departures occur. Without achieving *catrin* styles, a gay and well-dressed man may wear a brilliant rayon blouse or shirt of blue, red, or yellow, and bright-yellow high shoes (the latter without socks). A brilliant rayon kerchief may be added, as well as a colorful *serape* or poncho, although in Cherán the latter is usually dull in color. In such a town as Capacuaro, however, Sunday or fiesta dress might consist of *calzones* of *manta* supported by a brilliant red sash, a vivid blue rayon shirt, bright green rayon kerchief, yellow shoes, a striking orange or strong pink poncho folded over one shoulder, and a large whitened straw hat with a big spray of pink gladiolus or a cluster of geraniums. Worn with an air, the ensemble is impressive.

In Cherán a good many men have shirts bought in market or in Uruapan; a necktie; a pair or two of cotton trousers, perhaps made by a tailor in Uruapan; a woolen sack coat; and a felt hat. Such a costume normally would be worn on Sunday or on trips by bus to Uruapan or some other town. Very rare, though, are individuals with a complete wool suit. Sweaters are fairly common for lounging about home or on the streets.

The dress of male children is similar to that

of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only one boy in Cherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remembered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only



FIGURE 8.—Women's dress. See text for description. The petticoat is made more visible than usual in order to indicate the embroidered edging. The apron commonly reaches the bottom of the skirt. The *rebozo* would normally be on the head or about the shoulders, but is shown on the arm to permit a view of details of the blouse, hairdress, etc.

for visiting or receiving guests, while a great many conservative women wear it constantly. In the latter case, if they can afford it, women have two costumes, an old one for everyday, a newer one for special occasions.

The complete Tarascan woman's dress consists of petticoat, skirt, blouse, apron, *rebozo* or shawl, and a number of woven belts (fig. 8). The greatest variation is in the blouse. This may be of cheap *manta* or even discarded flour sacking, in which case it merely has an opening for the head, short sleeves, 4 to 6 inches in length, and is unsewn down the sides. The open-sided blouse is often worn by nursing mothers, even though the materials are of better quality. No matter how cheap the materials, however, some design in cross-stitching is usually found about the neck opening.

Finer blouses may be of good cotton, rayon, or even silk, although cotton is the most common. The short sleeves may have a drawstring at the end to tie them closely about the arm. This gives a puffed sleeve appearance, although there is no fitting. More commonly, except in garments made for tourists, the lower end of the sleeve is finished with a crocheted band about 1 inch wide in a contrasting color. Often the lower seam of the sleeve is not carried to the body of the garment. The side seam of the latter is also often incomplete for about 2 inches below the sleeve. The opening left compensates to some extent for the lack of fitting. The neck opening is bound either by solid cross-stitching or a crocheted band similar to that on the sleeve. An extensive cross-stitched design usually gives the effect of a yoke, although front and back of the blouse are a single piece. The neck opening is tied together with two pieces of cord, a piece sewn to each side. Garments for sale may have a drawstring about the neck opening, which then is not extended down the front of the garment.

Cherán women's blouses are usually plainer than those worn in other villages. The decoration is usually a dull yellowish brown and is applied with restraint. No study of the designs was attempted, as it is hoped a general study of the Tarascan textile and garment industry will be made.

The petticoat is of white cotton cloth or *manta*. It reaches from the waist nearly to the

ground, and the lower edge is decorated with a band nearly 2 inches wide of cross-stitched designs in blue, strong pink, or red. These designs are made in Nahuatzen on long strips of *manta* and are purchased and sewn on the lower edge of the petticoat. The garment itself is tubular with a circumference of at least 6 yards. The top edge is folded back a foot or more, giving a double thickness of cloth about the waist. It is worn flat across the front and then skillfully gathered in knife pleats across the back, forming almost a ridge of material across the back. The pleats are not sewn but are laid in place each time the petticoat is donned. The top of the petticoat comes at least 6 inches above the waist. A woven belt of wool, usually in brilliant colors, about 2 inches wide and 2 or more yards long, is then placed very tightly about the waist to support the petticoat. Only training from childhood makes it possible to endure the tightness of the belt constantly.

If Tarascan dress is worn constantly, women frequently wear the petticoat without the skirt and apron while working. This is true even when running errands on the street. Any formal occasion, however, is thought to require the outer skirt and apron.

The outer skirt is of very dark-blue or black wool cloth, either of commercial origin, or hand-loomed materials from Paracho or Nahuatzen. Two widths of the latter are required. The skirt is tubular also, and the circumference should equal or exceed that of the petticoat, the limit being the purse of the family and the fortitude of the woman. Skirts over 30 yards in circumference are known; a 15-yard circumference is probably about the minimum for a really stylish garment. The top is folded in, and the surplus material is gathered, as in the petticoat, in knife pleats across the back. The top of the skirt is well above the waist and is held in place by several narrow woven belts of bright colors and designs. Despite their elaborate designs, these belts are wrapped one on top of the other. Although one would suffice, ideally one belt is superimposed on another until they reach a thickness of as much as 2 inches (pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2, upper right and left).

The pleats of the skirt must be prepared more carefully than those of the petticoat.

When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children or small objects are slung on the back in a fold

of the *rebozo* (pl. 2, upper right and left). The bare arms are also usually covered by the *rebozo*. The ends may be used to lift hot objects or as a handkerchief. The *rebozo* is worn with cotton dresses as well as with the traditional costume.

Women usually go barefooted on all occasions. Today some wear shoes, but no woman was even seen to wear *guaraches*. Occasionally women may wear a man's straw hat over the *rebozo* when traveling in hot sun. Usually, though, a leafy branch is plucked and held to shade the head.

Women dress one another's hair. The hair is carefully combed and brushed, frequently with brushes from urban sources or with brushes of *raiz de paja*. Oil or lemon juice is often rubbed on the hair to impart a sheen and preserve the hairdress for 2 or 3 days. The hair is parted in the middle and then carefully braided in two braids. Young women and some older women braid in pieces of bright-colored yarn or narrow ribbons. Small girls usually have yarn or ribbon only in one braid. Very old women sometimes do not comb the hair, letting it hang in a tangled mass, possibly because they have no relatives or friends to do this. A band or cord may, in this case, be tied around the head to keep the hair out of the face. In Mestizoized Chilchota, women still do not comb their own hair but do it for each other.¹²

Girls frequently are put in the traditional costume before they can walk. Usually a portion of a worn-out skirt or *serape* is bound on the infant with a belt. When the child can walk, a miniature blouse and petticoat are provided, and usually a portion of a skirt, even though ragged. Thus, even from infancy, the girl is tightly bound about the waist and at an older age is able to stand the tight belt necessary to support the heavy petticoat and skirt (pl. 2, lower right and left).

Both women and girls wear necklaces of tubular red glass beads called *corales* (corals). Three or four to several dozen strings are worn. The strings go only part way around the neck, being attached to two ribbons which are tied behind the neck. Earrings are also worn.

¹² In Sopoco in La Cañada, women dress each other's hair after the weekly bath. The hair is "fixed" with lemon juice and the juice of an unidentified herb.

Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs about \$35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

The differences in the economic well-being of towns situated only a few miles apart are sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive \$1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

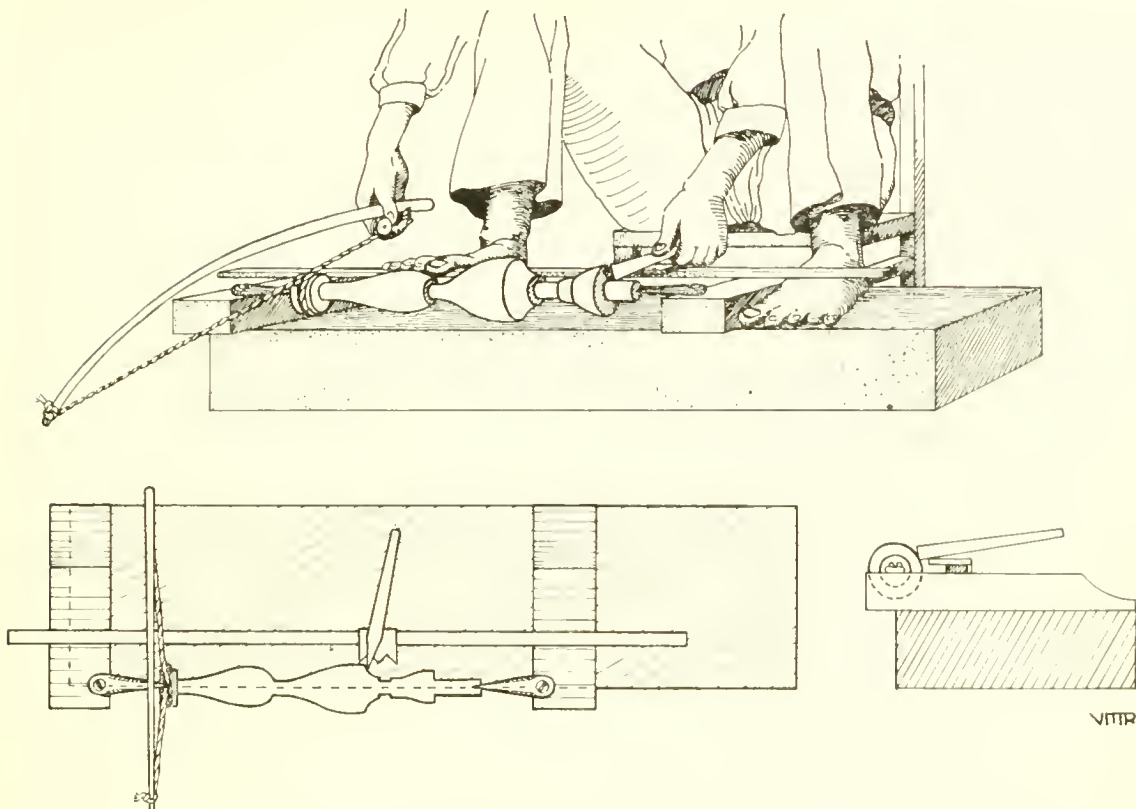


FIGURE 9.—Lathe driven by a bow. A candlestick, about 12 inches long, is in process of manufacture. The two bottom views show the position of the cutting tool.

carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type. They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

Broom handles are made by one family, as already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

Wax bleaching and candlemaking.—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

Candles are made by men. Two candle-makers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheel-like frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943. He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between \$10 and \$12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, \$3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, \$1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, \$1.08; or a cash outlay of \$6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer making in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

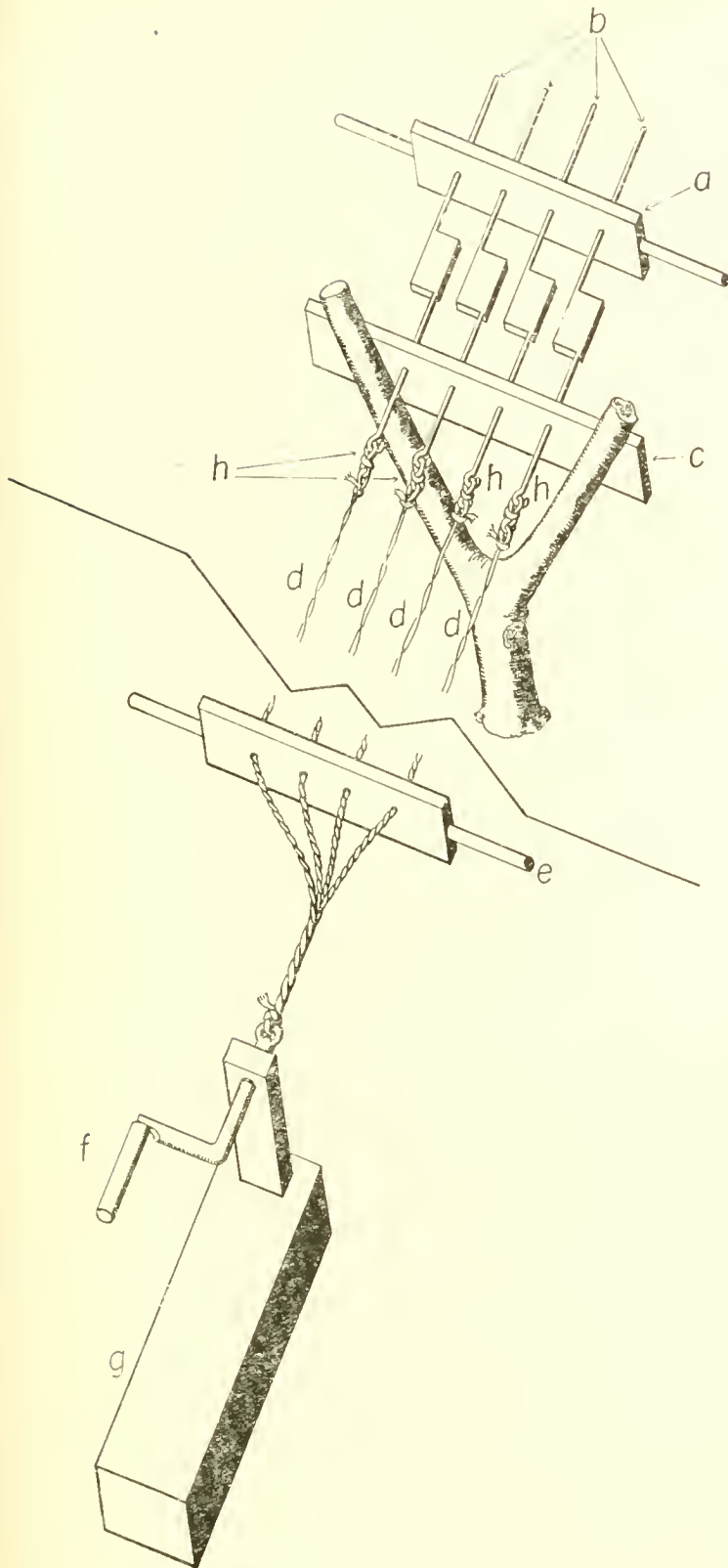


FIGURE 10.—Four-ply rope-twisting device used in making horsehair lead ropes. Three men are needed to operate the device. Four groups of horsehair threads (spun on a simple spinning device, not illustrated) are fastened at *h* and at *f*, passing through the holes in the piece of wood *c*. *c* is a second perforated piece of wood fastened to a Y-shaped stump. Crank *f* is first blocked so it will not revolve. The first operator rotates the piece of wood at *a*, causing cranks *b* to revolve and twist the four hanks of thread (*d*), into cords. Crank *f* is now released. The first operator holds the board (*a*) stationary, a second operator rotates the crank (*f*), and a third operator moves the board (*c*) toward *e* as the rope is formed by twisting the four cords (*d*) together. *g* is a heavy billet of wood, about 5 by 1 by 1 foot. As the cords and rope are twisted, the increasing tension drags *g* forward about 6 or 8 feet. *h* are short maguey fiber strings attaching the cords (*d*) to the cranks (*b*). These strings are not part of the finished rope.

Shoemaking.—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

non-material things, such as “prayers” or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

Butchers.—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a “slaughter house,” a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. Individual sales are usually small, and the portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nixtamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

The miller must have some mechanical knowledge as well as capital and business ability. Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

Except for a few very poor families, everyone in Cherán now patronizes the mills. Each mill serves from about 330 to 360 customers a day.

Wheat threshing.—One wood-burning steam-driven threshing machine has operated in Cherán for several years. The machine is stationary (although it could be moved, it is too cumbersome to do so), and the customers bring their wheat to the machine. Two tenders, who feed the wheat into the machine, and a water carrier are required besides the operator. Firewood is purchased. Exclusive of interest on the investment and repairs, the operator nets about 25 pesos a day above operating expenses.

In 1940 a smaller gasoline-driven thresher, which could be moved from house to house, was said to have made considerable inroads on the trade. However, as the bulk of the Cherán wheat is still threshed by hand, there seemed to be ample business for both threshing machines.

Painters and plasterers.—This is a rare occupation followed by two or three men on a part-time basis. Only a minority of the houses of adobe or stone are plastered, and few of them are painted. The pay is fairly good, but the best worker probably does not put in more than 90 days' work a year. Brushes and stencils are used in painting.

Masons.—As the house owner normally provides all materials, the mason sells only his services. His equipment is a trowel, hammer, a board frame for holding mud mortar, a shovel for mixing mortar, an ax to cut poles for

scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

Barbers.—Most men in Cherán now have their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

Water carriers.—In most households the women bring the water from the fountain or aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders. However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

Consideration of food processing in this section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

The storage of food is confined primarily to maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

Eating habits show considerable variability as between families. They also change with the season and the prevailing occupations. Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later. Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (*čurípo*) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or *čurípo* is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat *atapákua* (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, *čurípo*, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (*oépos*), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.¹³

MEAT FOODS

Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of beef, usually containing cabbage, a few garbanzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot. Salt and a considerable quantity of ground dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

¹³ Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*joconocostle*), is used as greens in *čurípo* and in making chile sauce (*sindurakua*). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

and as a daily food by all who can afford it, which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as *kurúndas*, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into *čuripo*, usually is boiled.¹⁴

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cinnamon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as *pasíya* or "*chileancho*." The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh, broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Eron-garicuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Eron-garicuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with onion and *silantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (*čaráles*), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

It is believed to be injurious to eat any kind of fish when ill of the "*bilis*."

Game is eaten to some extent when available. Deer meat is sold in pieces or in retail quantities by the hunters in much the same fashion as beef. Squirrels, doves, and ducks are all liked. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos, doves at 5 centavos, and ducks at 50 centavos to 1 peso. Ducks come from Zacapu. A few people eat pigeons. Only adult pigeons are eaten.¹⁵

Eggs are eaten to a considerable extent, fried, mixed with fish, or scrambled with cheese. But poor families, even if they have chickens, prefer to sell the eggs and buy beans.

MAIZE FOODS

Maize is made into tortillas, *gordos*, posole, or tamales, and is also used to thicken some types of broths and sauces. It is also eaten green, and certain foods are made from green corn. No maize foods are salted. Maize types include white, yellow, red, and black, the latter two types not being common. White maize is sold chiefly outside the village.

Methods of initial preparation vary. For tortillas and *gordos* the maize is boiled with lime. This softens and to some extent dissolves the outer shell of the grain. After thorough washing in a special basket, it is ground into *nixtamal* or dough. If economically possible, grinding is done at the power mills in the town, followed by further grinding at home. Some people are too poor to pay for the mill, and the women do all the grinding on the metate.

Tortillas are made of the *nixtamal* or maize dough. A quantity is scooped off the metate and shaped into a flat disk in the hands. This is then skillfully slapped between the palms until it becomes a thin sheet about one-eighth inch in thickness and 6 or 7 inches in diameter. This sheet is baked on a dry flat clay dish, the *comal*, with moderate heat. Usually the tortilla is turned two or three times in the process. Tortillas are served at virtually every meal, regardless of the rest of the menu, and are the main article of diet.

Gordos are smaller and thicker cakes fried

¹⁵ The people of Ichán in La Cañada are well known for their fondness for small wild birds such as *kongotos*, doves (*huitotas*), wild pigeons, *torcazes*, and *jarrines*.

¹⁴ The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos* more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with *čurípo* but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

With *čurípo*, the kurúnda is one of the most typical of Tarascan dishes.¹⁶

There are various forms of the kurúnda, which are eaten on special occasions. The details follow.

Atápakwa kurúnda.—*Atápakwa* is a sauce made of any kind of chile, cooked, toasted, or raw. This is ground with green tomatoes, garlic, and onion, and seasoned with salt. Fresh or dried cheese, finely broken up, may be added. The regular kurúnda is simply dipped in the sauce as it is eaten. This dish may be served at any time, but it is most frequently used when men come home to lunch from the fields or on other occasions in the middle of the day when the family do not ordinarily have a midday meal.

Agwákata kurúnda.—Beans of any sort are cooked and ground. They are placed in layers alternating with layers of *nixtamal* until a thick cake is formed. This is wrapped in maize leaves and steamed. *Agwákata kurúndas* are made primarily at the time of the bean harvest (*Cherán* grows few beans) and are eaten at any of the main meals. They may also be given to children between meals.

Nákatamal.—This is a tamale made with maize dough filled with meat and chile sauce. Beef is commonly used, although pork may also be employed. The meat is boiled in water and cut in small pieces without bones. It is then mixed with a chile sauce made of the dry chile known as *pasiya*, which is cooked in water and ground with tomatoes, garlic, and onions. These tamales are not wrapped in maize leaves but in dry maize husks soaked in water. A small quantity of dough is spread over the leaf and on this is placed a small quantity of meat and sauce. The leaf is then doubled over and the tamale cooked in boiling water. The *nákatamal* must be small in size to be properly made. The name and the type suggest it is of Valley of Mexico origin. It is ordinarily made only for the fiestas of the dead on the 1st and 2d of November, although it was served to me once on an ordinary occasion. It forms a part of the offerings made to the dead and is also eaten in the graveyard by the mourners and

¹⁶ In *Parícutin* kurúnda means "corn husks." *Kurunduráni* means "to wrap tamales in maize leaves."

guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st and 2d of November.

Tamalito.—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco*.

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The *čarikurúnda* is about the size of the *kurúnda*. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (kamáta) of various kinds are made. The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nurite kamáta.—This is the most common form of atole. It is made as is described above but is flavored with an herb called *nurite*. It is usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. *Nurite* is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena*. No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean "white atole." It is made of dough from either white or yellow maize cooked in water with a little thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (*nurúkata*). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente*. The atole

is drunk throughout the day, even by children (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried *nurite* is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *caseabel* (*káwas guajílyo*). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. *Turípiti* is usually eaten with *nákata* tamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atole de cascara de cacao*, "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May, June.

Srímiba kamáta or téri kamáta (šrímiba, "cane," or teri, "sweet").—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of *nurite kamáta*, to which salt and three or four red

chiles are added. Everything is passed through a colander before cooking.

Puñti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čárkata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Ičúkuá kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.¹⁷

Tóquera ičusta.—Uncooked maize tóquera (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo*.

Uáčakata.—This is red or black maize which has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

Arroz kamáta, rice atole.—Well-cooked rice, milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

¹⁷ It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These are made primarily in the town, partly for sale in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. *Semítas* are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house owners who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

BEVERAGES

Peanuts are often on sale on the streets. They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring. If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually, cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents. They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.¹⁸

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, cspantos*).

Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

¹⁸In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into *jojóke*, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

One of the poorest families in town, consisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½ liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

straits as the one mentioned above, would probably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco*. Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3½ pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilario Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	1\$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish) . .	.21
Total expenditure	\$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	2\$0.96

¹This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

²Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

meat. At this time of year there may have been a few meals with immature squash or wild herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán. The results are full of guesswork, but they are at least suggestive. The results show that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B₁ and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Some interesting comparisons are afforded by data from other towns. The most complete information was secured from Chilchota in La Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

- Broiled beef
- Boiled beans
- Black atole
- Chile sauce
- Tortillas

- Chile sauce
- Tortillas
- Coffee (black)

- Broiled beef
- Chile sauce
- Tortillas

- Poor household:
- Chile sauce
 - Tortillas

- Broiled beef
- Chile sauce
- Tortillas

- Very poor household:
- Greens of wheat plants (boiled)
 - Tortillas

- Wealthy household:
- Pork cooked with chile
 - Fried beans
 - Tortillas

- Fried pork
- Boiled beans
- Milk
- Tortillas

- Pork cooked in chile sauce (mole?)
- Fried beans
- Tortillas
- Black coffee

Dinners (2 p. m. or later):

Average household:

- Meat broth with cabbage (cooked)
- Meat (beef) from which broth was made
- Boiled beans
- Tortillas

- Meat broth with cabbage
- Boiled beans
- Rice, cooked in water

- Pork broth (with rice and bitter *tunas* or prickly pears)
- Rice boiled in water
- Beans
- Tortillas

- Fried rice with tomatoes
- Pork in chile sauce
- Tortillas

Poor household:

- Broth
- Meat from the broth
- Beans boiled with chile and silantro
- Tortillas

Wealthy household:

- Meat broth
- Meat (different from that from which broth was made) cooked with chile
- Beans
- Tortillas

Suppers (about 7 o'clock in the evening):

Average household:

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Milk

Very poor household:

Beans
Posole (hominy, probably with a little boiled meat)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Broiled meat
Milk

Fairly common suppers are tamales (with or without meat) and atole or coffee or a piece of bread (a whole-wheat bread slightly seasoned) and a cup of tea made from the herb *nuríte* or a type of orange leaf.

In all cases quantities are probably small, except of tortillas. Rarely would more than one piece of bread be eaten, perhaps 2 to 3 ounces at most; perhaps half a cup to a cup of beans; meat, if broiled or boiled, two pieces about 1½ inches in greatest dimension—if in sauce, perhaps a couple of tablespoonfuls with the sauce.¹⁹

With substitution of different foods, these would represent Cherán menus on the whole, although there would not be so much meat with breakfast-luncheon, but rather atole, while the meat broth and meat would more commonly be served together.

At the Indian town of Sopoco in La Cañada, the following midday meals were observed:

Boiled broadbeans
Tortillas

Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)—Possibly because Capacuaro is a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (*kuašanda*), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (*kuinikes*), deer, gophers (*khumás*), wood rats (*heyáki*), peccary, jackrabbits (*apácis*), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (*talpanal*), fresh water crawfish (*čapus*), wild crab apple worms (*kauaš*), and *tlacuache* (*takuache*). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole *nuríte* and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de *čápata*, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (*čápata*; the plant is *puári*), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričuskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (*harípukata*), eaten frequently at meals.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1 for more data on Chilchota.

Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuán, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuán, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

Little milk is consumed. However, the town produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*" (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.²⁰ It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

Men working in the fields or woods often carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*" (guaníto). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

²⁰ In Oaxaca, "*tepache*" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

In times of famine, acorns are cooked like maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

A special "bread" of maize is used as an offering at the house altar. This is made of maize toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted. Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas*."

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabeccera* for Angáhuán and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque, mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of *čurípo*. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

first, then the men, and then the married women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably have been marked in recent years. Old people say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

The techniques of raw material production, manufacturing processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money economy signifies more than ease in the study of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however, that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

Recognition of the interrelations of various economic activities in different regions is not a new idea to the Tarascans. The economy of the region tends toward individual and local specialization with a consequent high development of trade. While undoubtedly the majority of the Tarascans are members of self-sufficient family groups so far as the bare necessities of existence are concerned, very large numbers are partly or wholly dependent upon employment, manufactures, or trade. Consequently, the internal economy of a Tarascan village not only is complex by primitive standards but also fits into tribal and extratribal patterns of even greater complexity. Quite apart from relations with the national economy of Mexico, and, through it, with international economy, large numbers of Tarascans have been traders and middlemen on a large scale. Not only have they carried local products from Tarascan village to Tarascan village, or outside the Tarascan area; they have bought goods in non-Tarascan areas to sell in other non-Tarascan areas. The study of Cherán economy, then, must be considered an incomplete picture of Tarascan economy just as the study of the economics of a single small town would inadequately describe the economics of the United States.

The following tabulation gives the units of measure used in Cherán.

CHERÁN UNITS OF MEASURE

Dry measure

- 1 *litro* = 1 liter, or 0.908 quart
- 1 *medida* = 5 *litros*
- 1 *fancga* = 20 *medidas*, or 100 *litros*, or 1 *hectalitro*

Weight¹

- 1 *libra* = 1 pound
- 1 kilo = 2.2 *libras*
- 1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos
- 1 *carga* = 161 kilos or 14 *arrobas*
- 1 burro load = ½ *carga* (approx.), 7 or 8 *arrobas*
- 1 mule load = 1 *carga* (approx.), 14 to 18 *arrobas*

Capacity

- 1 *cuartillo* = 1 pint or ½ liter
- 1 *litro* = 1 quart (approx.) or 1 liter
- 1 *decalitro* = 10 *litros*

Square measure

- 1 *hectarca* (hectare) = a piece of land about 10,000 sq. paces or 10,000 sq. m.

Cubic measure (used in masonry)

- 1 *barra* = 1 yd. × 1 yd. × 16 in.
- 1 *metro* = 1 m. × 1 m. × 50 cm.

PRODUCTION

Production in Cherán depends more directly upon the land than it does in most other Tarascan villages. Although the land ultimately is the source of all Tarascan raw materials, some industries require relatively few of such materials. In some cases—for example, the straw hat industry—all the raw materials are imported from outside the Tarascan area. Even more numerous are instances where the raw materials are secured from some other Tarascan town.

While Cherán economy is primarily self-sufficient in character, it is less so than are most Indian economies of Mexico. Cherán does supply most of its own basic food and housing needs, but it does not supply its own clothing. Moreover, many foods every Cherán resident desires are not produced locally. Numerous Cherán families also depend on wages more than upon their own direct exploitation of the land or upon industry. Finally, Cherán produces many goods for export, although to a far less degree than neighboring Paracho.

LAND

Tarascan land is of three main types: farm, forest, and residential. To these might be added public roads, water courses, and mineral deposits. The latter are relatively unimportant. Public roads and trails of course serve communications and do not enter directly into production. Water courses are also mainly in the public domain. Virtually their only use is to supply drinking water for man and beast and for washing purposes. Public lands also supply the small requirements of sand, clay, and building stone.

All permanent farm lands are privately owned. The only exceptions are occasional temporary fields cleared from the forest on lands too steep for cultivation for more than a few years. On the farm lands the major products are white or yellow maize and wheat. Beans, squash, fruits, oats, and barley are produced only in small quantities.

¹ The beam balance is widely used for determining weight.

The value of farm land is startlingly low, although accurate figures on either the amount of farm land in the *municipio* or the amount owned by any individual were impossible to secure. The tax rolls of the town are an inadequate guide. A very large number of lands are not listed and in many cases the area given is much smaller than actual size. A number of farmers admitted this fact. The tax rolls show only 303 farmers, although most men in town own some land. The total parcels listed number 759 with a total area of 1,913½ hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres) with a value of \$259,620. Community-owned lands are listed as 1,667 hectares valued at \$100,000. This would total slightly less than 9,000 acres, or about 14 square miles. This is probably less than half the total area of Cherán.

The average holding according to the tax rolls is 2.5 pieces of land, totaling 6.41 hectares valued at \$856.86. This average is misleading, however, possibly through an error on the part of the tax collector's office staff, or perhaps because a few large landowners hold high-priced lands. From \$80 to \$100 per hectare is the most common valuation. An average of one page of the tax roll listing 58 farmers gave 2.62 plots per person, averaging 5.1 hectares valued at \$377.07 or \$74 a hectare. The largest holding on this page was 32 hectares, valued at \$2,560; the smallest was one-half a hectare, valued at \$50. Bearing in mind that these figures represent taxable values, actual values probably average around \$150 a hectare.

Data from individuals probably are even more unreliable, yet show surprising uniformity. The average value is \$77.08 per hectare. Estimates from six landowners are as follows:

Area (hectares)	Value
2	\$110
4	350
16	1,280
1½	40
14	1,080
8	640
—	—
44½	\$3,530

The surprising closeness of owner evaluations to the average assessed values suggests that farmers are well aware of the latter. Information from more individuals is desirable but is difficult to obtain. Even good friends nor-

mally either refuse information or obviously lie about the size and value of their holdings. The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of \$40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, \$400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as \$25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as \$10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community. They serve as the source of firewood, lumber, and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

The use of forest lands formerly was open to all who paid a small fee to aid the community to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European—children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

The bulk of the population of Cherán falls into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages, especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to \$1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

Bearing in mind that most men have some land, the list of occupations in Cherán is extensive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

Hat making (few)
Plank making
Shake making
Cutting railroad ties
Charcoal burning
Blanket weaving (few)
Broom-handle making (rare)
Gathering *raiz de paja* (few)
Wild-honey collecting (few)
Bee keeping (few—one woman)
Baking bread (one making *pan dulce*)
Ice cream making (one)
Brickmaking and tilemaking (rare)
Carpentry (few)
Wood turning (rare)
Blacksmithing (rare)
Masonry (few)
Brush making (few)
Painting and plastering (rare)
Fireworks making (one)
Tailoring
Twine making (few)

Women

Embroidering
Belt weaving (few)
Paper-flower making (rare)
Herb gathering (rare)
Gleaning
Cloth weaving (one)
Baking bread
Tailoring
Mat making (rare)

DISTRIBUTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Storekeeping
Trading
Selling at markets
Butchering
Transport

Women

Storekeeping (helpers)
Local food selling
Selling at markets

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Grain threshing
Operating *nixtamal* mills
Barbering (few)
School teaching (few)
Billiard-hall operation (two)
Marriage managing (few)
Water carrying for pay (rare)
All political offices¹
All formal church offices¹
All public works¹
*Mayordomías*¹
Musician
Rezadores (men who pray)

Ritual dancing¹

Sorcery

Women

Midwifery

Domestic service (rare)

Curing

School teaching (rare)

Minor church services¹Ritual dancing (pastorela only¹)

Sorcery

¹ Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensitive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *pecons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about \$1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning \$25 a day.²¹

Unemployment for laborers usually comes about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay \$2.50 a dozen for building stones delivered at his store for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

²¹ In Angáhuán, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

Low as wages are, Rendón collected an account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

In addition to paid labor or labor for one's own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán. I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

Ownership of livestock similarly poses questions. The wealthy man who keeps a considerable number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

Probably the minimal capital required in Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10 pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raíz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made. Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.²² The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

²² In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed \$100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production problems may be gained by detailed studies of specific activities. These data throw light upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

Maize.—Data on farm production were difficult to obtain. On no other subject is there so

much secrecy or misleading information given. Three sources of information were used: (1) Data from farmers about their own activities. All this information is suspect, even after eliminating obviously false answers. (2) Data from Agustín Rangel, who was interested in establishing himself as a farmer and probably was a good and relatively unbiased observer. (3) Observation of farm practices and participation in harvests on roughly measured fields. Actual measurement of fields was undesirable and would have caused trouble.

In table 1 are given the various data collected on farm yields. The average of figures given by farmers is about the top figure given by Rangel for average land in a poor year. It is slightly above the figure for the yield of average land in a poor year as secured by participation in the harvest. The cross checks suggest the figures given by farmers are on the whole plausible although probably low. The figures given by any individual farmer, however, may be quite incorrect. This should be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*
ESTIMATE BY OWNERS

Number of hectares cultivated	Yield (per hectare) in—		Value of crop
	<i>Cargas</i>	<i>Faneegas</i>	
2 1/2	40	30	.....
10 1/2 ¹	180	135	.....
3/8	27	5 1/4	.....
1 1/2 ²	20	15	\$90-110
1 1/2 ³	10	7 1/2	60-70
1 1/2 ³	5	3 3/4	25
1 1/2 ³	10	7 1/2	65
1 1/2 ³ (early-frost area)	3	2 1/4	15
4	90	70	350-400
1	10	7 1/2	40
1 1/2	10	7 1/2	40
1 1/2	12	9	55
1 1/2	12	9	55
Average	...	11%	.....

ESTIMATE BY AGUSTÍN RANGEL

Type of land and year	Average yield per hectare	
	<i>Cargas</i>	<i>Faneegas</i>
Best land:		
Average year	40	30
Bad year	15-25	11 1/4-18 3/4
Average land:		
Average year	30	22 1/2
Bad year	5-20	3 3/4-15
Poor land	.....	1 1/2

¹ An exceptionally rich "joya," a fertile depression in the mountains fertilized by drainage from surrounding slopes.

² This is a stupendous yield, if true, but the land is said to be exceptionally located, with fertilization from adjoining slopes.

³ Data in this line are typical of information from owners. One area given as 1 1/2 hectare yields a crop to be expected of a full hectare; on inspection, it proved to be nearly 3 hectares.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán—*
Continued

ESTIMATE BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AT HARVEST

Type of land	Yield in <i>fanegas</i> per hectare	Remarks
Poor to average land.....	3	Maize badly damaged by early frost.
Average land.....	12	Maize slightly damaged by frost.

In addition to securing data on yield, i.e., income, for maize, an effort was made to secure data on production costs. General statements as to the amount of time put in on farm work proved worthless. Usually the time given would scarcely provide for a single weeding. The best figures were secured by breaking down the different steps and getting experienced farmers to estimate the time necessary for cultivating 1 hectare. A summary of such data gives the following:

Labor of owner:	<i>Days</i>
First plowing	10
Second plowing (at right angles)	10
Sowing	3
First cultivation (with plow)	4
Second cultivation (with plow)	3
First weeding (with sickle or machete)	3
Second weeding (often omitted).....	3
Harvest	1
Carrying maize to house (estimated average)	5
Total	42
Hired labor:	
Sowing (2 peons)	3
Harvesting (3 peons).....	1
Costs:	
Owner's labor (42 days valued at \$0.45 a day outside of planting and harvesting time)	\$18.90
2 peons for 3 days	3.00
3 peons for 1 day	1.50
Total	\$23.40

On the assumption that a man will own sufficient land to require hired labor, the summary given above includes 9 man days of hired labor at a cost of \$4.50 or a total of 51 man days of labor worth \$23.40. To this must be added \$30 for hire of an ox team if one is not owned, probably \$1 in taxes, and \$2.50 for the value of the seed corn (one-half *fanega*), or a total of \$56.90. If this is about an average piece of land, the yield will be 15 to 20 *fanegas* of shelled

maize, for which the farmer should receive from \$75 to \$120, or a profit of \$22.10 to \$63.10. From this, in theory, should be deducted interest on the investment in land and equipment as well as a depreciation allowance on the equipment. If the land is worth \$90 (above average), it would seem fair to allow at least \$11 for these charges, which still leaves a profit of \$11.10 to \$52.10.²³

As will be seen in later discussions, this makes maize farming on average or better land probably one of the most worth-while businesses in Cherán. Obviously there are elements of risk. Farmers on poor land, moreover, probably get no profits at all on this basis, for labor and expenses would be reduced very little relative to reductions in yield. The second weeding and part of the harvesting expenses might be eliminated. But if the yield is as low as 1½ *fanegas* (as has been reported) a man would get virtually no return at all. If he had his own ox team and did all his own work (with the help of sons or his wife), he might get \$4 to \$5 worth of maize for his effort after deducting the costs of seed and taxes. From the standpoint of our economy, there is obviously a very considerable net loss.

To view the agricultural situation in Cherán only from the standpoint of our economy, however, would be grossly misleading, for to do so does not take into account numerous cultural factors. The Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits, and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage house. I have already mentioned that harvest workers refused an increase in wages from 50 centavos to \$1 if the right to glean were rescinded. Most observers agree that the amount of maize obtained from gleaning in a day is less than can be bought for 50 centavos. At \$1 the workman could therefore buy more corn than his wife could obtain by gleaning. The large farmers would get a more thorough harvest and would not have to employ supervisors. On a bookkeeping basis, everyone would benefit. But the harvest hand would not have a load of maize, small though it might be, to carry home from a day's work; he would have only an inedible silver peso in his pocket.

²³ Charges for animals to carry the crop and for watchmen and storage facilities are not included.

In the case of the farmer who slaves at producing a scanty crop on submarginal land, similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

Even in the case of the average or somewhat better than average case cited in detail, the calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

In case maize is raised for sale on any scale, however, the farmer encounters new marketing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

From the statements given above it should not be concluded that the idea of a return for land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers in Cherán is unknown, but probably is considerable. Small landowners often farm additional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from \$37.50 to \$60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

A number of factors still have not been treated in the foregoing discussion. It should be observed that the hypothetical farmer could still further decrease his cash outlay if he owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from \$100 to \$120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about \$30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at \$1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be \$52.50 a year. If the saving of \$30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or 3 days while in pasture.

The question may be raised why horses or mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands which will produce good maize. Wheat is often grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the same or perhaps a little less (the second plowing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:	<i>Days</i>
First plowing	10
Second plowing	10
Sowing and harrowing	2 (or less)
Harvesting	4½
	<hr/>
Total labor	26½
	<hr/>
Costs:	
Labor (26½ days at \$0.45, value)	\$11.92
Rent of oxen (20 days at \$0.75, value)	15.00
Taxes	1.00
Seed	1.00
	<hr/>
Total production costs	\$28.92
Interest on capital investment	11.00
	<hr/>
Total cost of cultivation	\$39.92

The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas* of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ *cargas* are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost \$2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from \$22 to \$30 a *carga*, depending upon the market (\$26 in 1941).

The return in cash, then, is between \$33 (1½ *cargas* at \$22) and \$60 (2 *cargas* at \$30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus \$10.67 and plus \$15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received \$33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be more stable, and in days when transport was all on pack animals the greater value of wheat per volume and weight made it much more attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The price paid at flour mills is about \$4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* produces about 14 *arobas*, or about 250 pounds of flour, of which the mill takes $2\frac{1}{2}$ *arobas*, or $62\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. The farmer receives $187\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

One agricultural activity for which few data were obtained is fruit growing. No information was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

Another view of farming activity may be gained by examining the income of individual farmers. These data are probably somewhat unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his children, but he regards himself as a farmer by preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over \$300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fancgas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

It is virtually impossible to secure useful data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets. Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

TABLE 2.—Data on farm income
[Data for 1940, claimed; for 1941, estimated.]

Case No.	Land cultivated		Yield				Value of crop ¹		Total income for year		Combined income for 1940-41	
	Number of parcels	Number of hectares	Value	Crop	1940	1941	1940	1941	1940	1941		
1 ²	2	2	\$140	Maize	20 <i>fancgas</i>		\$100-140		\$100-140		\$150-240	
	1			do		10-15 <i>fancgas</i>		50-100	50-100			
2 ²	1	1	350	Maize	35 <i>fancgas</i>		175-200		175-200		175-200	
	1	Town lot		Peas	10 100's		8 100's					
3	1	8		Wheat	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>cargas</i>		3358-571				733 1,231	
	1	1		Maize	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fancgas</i>		40		448-561			
	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,280	do	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fancgas</i>		40					
	1	Town lot		Peaches	25-100's	25 100's	10			285 670		
	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$		Maize		55 110 <i>fancgas</i>		275 660				
4	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		Wheat	1 <i>carga</i>		25				135	
	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	120	Maize	9 <i>fancgas</i>		55		80			
	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		do		9 <i>fancgas</i>		55		55		

¹ Values of fodder or wheat straw not included.

² Land rented; crop values represent owner's share (one-half).

³ Cost of threshing deducted.

⁴ Value not included in \$1,230.

pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to fatten, valued at from \$5 to \$7. According to size, the animal may bring from \$30 to \$75, a gross profit on the fattening process of from \$12.50 to \$70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos less if the pig was bought. If an adequate market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few. The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth \$2.50 to \$5.00 apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed \$20 a month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only \$5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor quality), which sells for \$1 to \$1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of \$750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives \$20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least \$5, and a sheep worth, on an average, \$3.75, or a total of \$28.75 a month (\$345 a year). Wool would produce \$200 to \$250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or \$55. Total income from these sources would be \$255 to \$305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at \$2.50 apiece, they would bring in \$187.50 a

year, or a total of \$442.50 to \$492.50 a year. Deducting expenses of \$345 leaves a return on the investment of \$107.50 to \$147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—\$30 to \$40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary form to bring out the essential factors of capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

½ *irepita* (an *irepita*, or bundle, is 400)

a day at..... \$5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) \$2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

*Plank making:**Tools:*

Oak mallet
Oak wedges
Ax
Two-handed saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)
Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

\$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings \$0.25 to \$0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

Charcoal burning:

Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day week, no economic data were secured. The little charcoal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

*Carpentry:**Tools:*

Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about \$20-\$30

Products, labor, value:

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

- (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost \$4, selling price \$17, gross profit \$13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) \$4.25.
- (b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost \$4, selling price \$12, gross profit \$8, daily return \$2.
- (c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price \$5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than \$1.
- (d) House building or house moving, \$1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably \$2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house moving jobs at \$1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than \$1.50.

*Wood turning:**Equipment:*

Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen \$1-\$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under \$1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

*Brickmaking and tilemaking:**Labor (per 1,000 tile or brick):*

	<i>Days</i>
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 per cent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	\$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

Tile, per 1,000	\$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at \$1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

*Masonry:**Equipment:*

Trowel ("cuchara")
Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("marro," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("picadera")

Production:

Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

Price:

From 80 centavos a meter to \$1.25; about \$1 a meter seemed most common

Average return:

From 80 centavos to \$1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

Tools:

- 2-pound iron mallet
- Chisels
- Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

- Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) 3 days
- Door bases (pair) 1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

- Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) \$9
- Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a \$3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

Tule mats:

Costs:

- Tules at Erongarieuaro, per bundle \$0.25
- Rent of burro, 3 days 1.00
- Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load) 3.50

Labor:

- Getting tules 3
- Weaving 13 mats 6½
- Selling mats 2½-3
- Average total time 12

- Sales price at 60 centavos each \$7.80
- Gross profit 4.30
- Daily profit per worker .35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

Hats:

Cost of materials:

- Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at \$0.30 to \$0.40 \$0.90-\$1.60
- Thread, per hat .15
- Sizing materials for white hats Unknown
- Total 1.05-1.75 (?)

- Labor, per hat 3-9 hours (approximately)
- Selling price, per hat \$1.25-4.00
- Gross profit, per hat \$0.20-2.10
- Return for labor, per hour \$0.06%-0.23 plus (?)
- Return for labor, per day \$0.60-2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs \$40 to \$50 second-hand, or rents at \$10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the \$1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

- Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated) \$1.00
- Labor (part time) 1-3 weeks
- Selling price \$4.00-\$12.00
- Gross profit \$3.00-\$11.00
- Return for labor, per week \$3.00
- Return for labor, per day \$0.40-\$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:¹

- Cards, life 3 years \$8.00
- Spinning wheel, life indefinite 12.00
- Loom, life indefinite ?

¹ Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

Cost for 6-pound blanket:

Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season)	\$11.25
Labor:	<i>Days</i>
Purchase of wool	1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time)	1
Carding	2
Spinning	2
Weaving	2
Total	8
Asking price	\$25.00
Average sales price	20.00
Gross profit	8.75
Return for labor per day	1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis .....	.58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

*Belt weaving:**Equipment:*

Loom, home-made

Costs:

Materials, thread and yarn	?
Labor, part time	2 days
Asking price	\$1.25
Actual selling price	1.00
Gross profit, estimated .....	.80-.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5-6 hours) .....	.40-.45

Clothing manufacture:

Capital investment:

Sewing machine \$40.00-150.00

Expenses:

Materials (for work on order)	None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements)	\$0.75-\$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.

Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched. Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a week, selling them at 80 centavos to \$2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring \$1.50 worth of material she sold for \$1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring \$0.40 worth of material she charged \$0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

Candlemaking:

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	\$2.25-\$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	\$0.50-\$1.00

Rope making (horschair):

Horsehair \$0.50 per kilo	\$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	\$1.50
Gross profit per day	\$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is home-made and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

Shoemaking:

Equipment:

Sewing machine	\$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?

Labor:

1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices	
Value of product (per pair)	\$3.00-7.00
Estimated gross income:	
Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50-3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

Tanning:

Charge per cowhide	\$5.00-\$10.00
Charge per sheepskin .....	.50
Average daily return	1.25

Comment: The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

Lacquer:

Weekly income about \$5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than \$5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

Bakers (commercial):

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 arroba (25 pounds)	\$3.50-\$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	\$6.08-\$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually 3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated \$10.00-\$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven) \$3.80-\$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

Threshing machine:

Equipment:

Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine.
Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.

Charges for wheat threshing (a <i>carga</i>)	\$2.50
Capacity daily	12 <i>cargas</i>
Income daily	\$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):

Wood	\$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	\$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):

June	8	<i>Days</i>
July	25	
August	25	
September	20	
October	15	
Total	93	

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at \$2.50 a *carga*) \$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately \$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

Nixtamal mills:

Cost of equipment	\$300.00-\$1200.00
<i>Costs daily:</i>	
Gasoline and oil for gas engines	2.00
Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80-1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00-15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00-12.00

Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

(\$9 every few weeks) is also an item not included. Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

Barbers:

Prices:

Haircuts:

Weekdays	\$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15

Number of "jobs" daily:

Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15

Income (a week) \$6.00–\$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under \$1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

Musicians:

Wages:

For 2-day fiesta	\$10
For wedding	2

Number of engagements (individual cases):

(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

Painters, plasterers:

Daily wage \$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

Billiard parlors:

Equipment	\$1,500–\$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

Butchers:

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	\$80–\$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

15 arrobas (375 pounds)	\$90
14 arrobas (350 pounds)	65
16 arrobas (400 pounds)	92

Retail price (per kilo)	.70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo)	.40–.45
Price of pigs	30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week	7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig	3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for \$10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of \$5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitability at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

Field watchers:

Wages:

In maize 1 row in 30	
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize)	\$60–\$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—\$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

Water carrying:

Charge for two 25-liter cans	\$0.06
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Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

Beekeeping:

12 hives produced:	
15 liters of honey at \$0.60	\$ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at \$2.25–\$2.50	6.70–10.00
Wax:	
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth	3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth	9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles	18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activities.

Fireworks making:

Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

Materials and prices:	Per kilo
Nitrate	\$1.70
Chlorate	5.00
Sulfur . . . . .	.80
Fiber string	1.00
Shakes, cane, etc.	Nominal
(Shakes are \$5 a bundle of 400, but the number used is small; 3 or 4 per dozen <i>cohetes</i> , for example.)	

Comment: Cohetes are made to order and sell at \$3.00 to \$4.00 per dozen. *Castillos* or set pieces are done on contract. Gross income from this source was at least \$400 in 1940. Between times *cohetes* were made fairly steadily. Probably the fireworks maker's income is above average.

DISTRIBUTION

The problem of distribution affects primarily those goods which are exported from Cherán and those things which are imported. Only a small fraction of the materials produced locally are sold locally; in the main each family produces the local products it consumes and sells its surplus for export.

The export goods of Cherán consist almost wholly of forest products and farm products. The first are usually sold on contract or are transported by the producer to market. Railroad ties, for example, are always cut on contract. Charcoal is mostly sold to dealers from Zacapu and is delivered to the nearest spot where it can be picked up by trucks. However, there is some small local sale, mostly for operation of producer gas generators for *nixtamal* mills, and a little is carried on burros to such a town as Uruapan. Similarly, planks and beams are mainly sold, either to dealers who pick them up in trucks for export or locally on contract to someone building a house. In towns close to Uruapan, Zamora, or other centers, much of the sale of such products as charcoal, planks, and beams is direct, the maker carrying the goods to town on market day.

The major exception to the marketing methods for forest products described above is tejamanil, or shakes. For the local market, the shake maker usually works on order. For the export market he usually takes his product on burros to some nearby Mestizo town. These expeditions may be combined with other trading operations. Thus, shakes may be taken to Turetán via Nahuatzen, Tingambato, and Ziracuaretiro, a full-day trip with burros from 5

a. m. to 8 or 9 p. m. As Turetán is considered the source of the best bananas in the region, a return load of bananas frequently is purchased. Tejamanil may also be taken to Uruapan, Zamora, or Zacapu.

Marketing of farm produce follows several patterns. Bulk crops, such as maize and wheat, are today sold mainly to dealers who come to town with trucks to carry off their purchases. Maize and wheat are sold as far away as Morelia. While large farmers may sell quantities directly to such dealers, the storekeepers also play a considerable part by their purchases of small quantities of corn or wheat. Most of the purchases in this case are of one or two *almuds* at a time when the family happens to need a few centavos. Nevertheless, some wheat is carried to the mills by the owner on burro back, and corn may be taken to one of the larger markets. Individual small-scale buyers also occasionally visit the town, mainly to purchase eggs, chickens, or even small pigs. Today they arrive by bus, as a rule, and put in the day going from house to house, generally taking their purchases to Uruapan for sale.

Some local vegetables and fruit are also taken for sale to Paracho or, more rarely, to Uruapan. Bread, atole, or tamales may also be carried to market by the women. The most important fruit export, pears, is often carried considerable distances into Colima or into Guerrero. Sometimes the owner will carry his own pears, but more frequently a regular trader or *viajero* will buy the fruit. Other exported fruits include tejecote, cherries, apples, and quinces.

Another aspect of distribution, naturally, is concerned with the supplying of imported goods to the inhabitants of Cherán. Practically all manufactured goods used in the village are imported. This applies not only to machine products but to household industries as well, for the specialists of Cherán in no field supply all the local demand. Three principal agencies of distribution exist: First are the stores, specializing primarily in machine products; second, are the local markets, although for everything but foodstuffs the principal occasions are when fiestas occur; third, are the *arrieros* or *viajeros*, the traveling traders of Cherán who bring back products from as far away as the Balsas Basin in Guer-

ero or even from the Pacific Ocean. Even men who are not regular traders will go on local market. Finally, it should be noted that individuals often visit markets, especially those in Paracho or during fiestas at nearby towns, and make purchases of needed goods. Especially since the highway has brought bus service to the town, for important purchases a man may even go to Uruapan. It is not uncommon for well-to-do men, for example, to have garments made to order by the tailors in Uruapan.

It is impossible to compile from present data a complete list of the products imported into Cherán. The list extends from chile and beans to horses and sewing machines. Many articles are available only on special occasions. For example, the almost universally used type of water jar in Cherán is made only in Patamban, and is offered for sale only on the occasion of the fiesta of the patron saint in October. Householders must anticipate their yearly needs of these fragile (but quite long-lived) articles at this time; otherwise they are forced to attend a fiesta in some other town and pick up a different plain style of jar made in Uruapan or La Cañada.

Nearly all goods sold in the stores are imported (except occasional local products such as clothing). A considerable list of these goods is given in the discussion of price (p. 88). Tarascan products imported include fish and tules from the Lake area; hat braid of palm straw, chairs, tables, beds, and various wooden objects from Paracho; pottery from Santa Fe, Quiroga, Patamban, La Cañada, and the "hot country," or *tierra caliente* (the last is non-Tarascan); axes from Tingambato; knives, machetes, plow points, and jewelry from Nahuatzen; oils, garlic, spices, and vegetables from Zacapu and the Lake region; *rebozos* and cloth from Paracho, Nahuatzen, and elsewhere; pigs from La Cañada; beans from the Lake region; chiles from various places; and a variety of fruits. The latter include bananas, coconuts (from non-Tarascan sources), sweet and sour lemons, oranges, guavas, mameys, plums, mangoes, watermelons, cantaloups, avocados, zapotes of all sorts, and cherimoyas.

From non-Tarascan sources, but still outside the more conventional commercial channels, are

to be mentioned pottery from Guanajuato (and even from Oaxaca), dried meat from *tierra caliente*, cattle, and horses. Machinery and tools made in industrial establishments include axes, saws, hoes, hatchets, plow points, engines (for *nixtamal* mills), sewing machines, flat irons, and, quite rarely, radios, phonographs, typewriters, and trucks. The functioning of the principal distributive agencies will now be examined in some detail.

TRADERS

A fair number of men in Cherán who engage in trade are known as *arrieros* or *viajeros*. Whether there is any distinction between the two is uncertain. The impression received—and it is no more than an impression—is that originally the *arrieros* traveled to distant places outside of Tarascan territory, while the *viajeros* traded among the local villages. At present the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.

In the town voting register a number of men are listed as *arrieros*. Nevertheless, so far as could be learned, none of them dedicates all his time to trade. At the same time, there were numerous other men listed as farmers or laborers, yet who make fairly regular trading trips. The main distinction seems to be that a man listed as an *arriero* ordinarily makes about three long trips a year, while other men may make only one. Some men who make fairly regular short trips are not listed as traders. For example, one man who carries palm leaves regularly to the Paracho market is not included.

The main season for trading is from late fall until June, that is, the dry season. The principal routes followed for long trips are to Guerrero, Coacomán, and Colima. A good many shorter trips may be taken to local fiestas, especially the great fiesta and market at San Juan Parangaricutiro. In addition, some men go to Guadalajara and Celaya for goods to carry to Guerrero. Finally, a long trip usually involves a number of short local trips around Cherán, either to purchase goods for transport to the *tierra caliente* or to dispose of merchandise brought back.

The *arrieros* are all men, with a single exception (reported but not seen). Wives, however, frequently accompany their husbands. Sickness is the greatest hazard. Women are

believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; however, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

sold locally (usually a minor part) or taken to the weekly Paracho market or to fiestas in nearby towns. Often goods are kept some weeks if there is a prospect of a scarcity developing, or an important fiesta is scheduled.

The majority of the long trips are to Guerrero, usually to Petatlán, where the fiesta of Holy Week attracts the greatest number of Cherán traders. The length of the trip taken depends to some extent on the rapidity with which goods are sold; once stocks are exhausted, traders turn back. One trader reported having reached Acapulco on one of his trips.

Some typical trips follow:

M. F. goes on Sunday to Paracho, where he awaits his trading partner from another town. Monday the two go to San Francisco and buy sweetpotatoes. Thursday they arrive in Tepic (Colima) and sell the sweetpotatoes. Friday they go to Guajuya (Jalisco) and buy chiles. Monday they return to Tepic and Saturday M. F. reaches Cherán. The trip involves 12 days' traveling and 2 days' resting, buying, and selling.

The schedule in detail is as follows:

Sunday	Paracho
Monday	San Francisco
Tuesday	Periban
Wednesday	Buena Vista
Thursday	Tepic
Friday	Guajuya
Monday	Tepic
Tuesday	Buena Vista
Wednesday	Periban
Thursday	San Francisco
Friday	Paracho
Saturday	Cherán

Some traders go to Colima proper by way of Zaragoza, but details were not obtained. It is 17 days' travel each way.

M. F. also goes to Coalcomán, carrying pottery from La Cañada which he buys in Cherán or Paracho. The route is the same as far as Tepic. Thence he stops at Obregón, Las Parotas, and Coalcomán. The round trip takes 3 weeks, of which 18 days are spent in traveling.

On his trips to Petatlán, Guerrero, M. F. buys wooden toys from Paracho and pottery from Santo Tomas. Starting on a Thursday, he goes to Pichataro. On Friday (market day) he is in Pátzcuaro and buys garlic, oils, and

spices (*marjoram*, *pincente*, etc.) The trip to Petatlán takes a total of 18 days (see itinerary below); San Gerónimo is 5 days farther. A round trip usually takes about 6 weeks.

J. G. also leaves on a Thursday. Leaving his burro at Pátzcuaro, he goes to Quiroga to buy pottery (probably on the bus, as he does not take his burros). Returning to Pátzcuaro, on one trip he bought 500 strings of garlic, 15 liters of oils at \$1.50 a liter (salad oil, olive oil, *aceites de razar*, *malza mantequilla*, *canaldo*, *mastral*, and *verbena*), and spices (*pimicente*, rosemary, *mandruje*, *flor de azaleo*, and *manzanilla boraja*), and 2½ dozen wooden spoons of assorted sizes.

At Paso de la Vaca, J. G. began to sell a little, but only enough to buy food (he had run out of money). His itinerary is similar to that of M. F., but he made one more stop. On his return he loaded one burro with dried meat and rode the other because he was sick. For the same reason he spent 8 days at one place. The two itineraries follow:

<i>Arriero</i>	M. F.	J. G.
Pichataro	Thursday	Thursday
Pátzcuaro	Friday	Friday
Santa Clara	Saturday	Saturday
Ario de Rosales	Sunday	Sunday
Alinonzita	Monday	
Corral de Piedras		Monday
Cayaco	Tuesday	Tuesday
Guadaloupe	Wednesday	Wednesday
Río de las Balsas	Thursday	Thursday
Paso de las Vacas	Friday	Friday (began to sell)
Límón	Saturday (began to sell)	
Zopilote		Saturday
Tepehuaje	Sunday	Sunday
Colmenaros	Monday	Monday
La Unión	Tuesday	Tuesday
La Onía (close to Pacific from here on)	Wednesday	Wednesday
Pantla	Thursday	Thursday
Puerto Sijuatanejo	Friday	Friday
Cuicuayul		Saturday
San Geronimito	Saturday	Sunday
Petatlán	Sunday	Monday

San Gerónimo is 5 days' traveling beyond Petatlán; Acapulco is 6 days' traveling from San Gerónimo.

Another example is C. S. C. who makes only one trip a year, a visit to Holy Week in Petatlán, Guerrero. He carries woodwork from

Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried meat. He normally travels only a half day. (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

Arrieros probably have superior techniques for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery ("*posición*") is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class undoubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves. Although trucks are not supposed to carry passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos. It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

goods, but may make buying trips in person to Purépero for cloth or to Uruapan for groceries. Some storekeepers make clothing in their spare time or have sewing machines for rent. In addition, storekeepers may add to their income by buying corn, wheat, or eggs in small quantities. It is no uncommon thing in some stores to see a small girl arrive with some wheat tied up in one end of her *rebozo* and perhaps one egg, and bargaining with the storekeeper for some small purchase. It is noteworthy, though, that the transaction is not on a barter basis. First the sale of wheat or eggs to the storekeeper is completed and the money paid over. The seller then indicates what she desires to purchase.²⁴

Time did not permit the making of a detailed study of the functioning of Cherán stores. It would be of considerable interest to do so, and if the cooperation of the wholesalers in Uruapan and Purepero could be secured, probably a fairly accurate idea of the movement of goods into the Cherán market would be possible. In the discussion of price some idea of the range of goods carried is given (p. 88).

Although not forming an important item in Cherán trade, it should be observed that women, children, and occasionally elderly men, sell some goods on the streets, usually at a street corner. Perhaps half a dozen corners always have one to three vendors selling such things as cooked squash or sweetpotatoes, fruit, peanuts, and other things which are purchased primarily as *golosinas*, or between-meal snacks. Similar vendors appear in some numbers at harvest time, often out in the country, at which time their stock also includes *charanda* (sugarcane alcohol and water).

MARKETS

An important mechanism of exchange among the Tarascans is the market. In a great many towns markets are held only on the occasion of a religious fiesta or, if present at other times, are small and relatively unimportant. Taras-

²⁴ An hour in the store of M. S. is typical. A small girl brought 1 liter of shelled maize, two ears of maize, and one egg for which she received 11 centavos. Several other persons came in, bringing single liters of wheat or corn. One person brought 20 liters of beans (this is unusual as Cherán raises less beans than it consumes). In addition to a number of sales of less than 5 centavos, the following sales at 5 centavos were made (there were none larger): one cake of soap, *criolina*, castor oil, lime.

can economy is also linked with the national economy through the markets. The Sunday market at Uruapan, for example, is an important occasion for the disposal of Tarascan goods and for the purchase of supplies. The Uruapan market, however, is primarily a Mestizo market, and the Indian part in it is minor and far from obvious.

Quite otherwise is the market at Pátzcuaro. Although it is perhaps even more of a Mestizo town than Uruapan, the markets at Pátzcuaro on Fridays and Sundays are predominantly Indian markets. The Pátzcuaro markets are probably the most important agencies of exchange to be found in Tarascan territory. They would well merit intensive study.

The Sunday market in Paracho is the only large, regular market in the Sierra Tarascan area. While numerous Mestizos participate, the bulk of the vendors and almost all the buyers are Tarascans. Although subject to fluctuation in size from week to week, the Paracho market compares favorably at any time with the occasional large markets held in other towns on the occasion of a fiesta.

Cherán does boast of two weekly markets in addition to the infrequent affairs on the occasion of important fiestas. These markets, however, are merely insignificant reflexes of the Paracho market. Traveling salesmen or *viajeros* whose route to Paracho leads through Cherán often set up shop in the Cherán plaza on Saturday afternoon. In the evening or early the next morning they move on to Paracho. If they have not sold out their goods in Paracho, they may stop Monday morning in Cherán for a few hours. The number of vendors and the amount of goods sold, then, are relatively insignificant. Fresh vegetables are the main items, and housewives who do not expect to go to Paracho the following day may stock up for the week.

The Saturday market at Cherán usually gets under way about 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Vendors continue to arrive, however, until as late as 4 o'clock, and the main activity of the market is between 5 o'clock and dusk. The market occupies the street on the south side of the plaza in front of the municipal building. The vendors form two facing lines on opposite sides of the street. Only on unusually busy

days do the lines extend the full length of the plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

Product	Number of vendors selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on—	
		Nov. 9	October 6 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Anillos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Arbetes (carrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cahetes (jellies)			×
Calabazo cocido (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweet potatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seco (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changuingas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	×
Cherimoya			×
Chiles	13	1	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Devales (thimbles)			×
Dardonistas		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidos (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Helotes cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jicamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Manos			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecas (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)		×	
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Pera (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds) ²	3	2	×
Petates (unats)		×	×
Platanos (bananas)		×	×
Pitsekwas ³		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		
Queso (cheese)	1		
Rebozos (shawls)			×
Religion (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hecho (clothing)			×
Sahorias (carrots)		×	
Silantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tascales (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunas (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

¹ Black and red chile from Querendaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancha; chile guajillo; chile mirasol; chile verde cirápsi.

² Chara (kuéřepo—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; turuci—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

³ Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

TABLE 4.—Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940

Origin of vendor ¹	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito
Do	Apples	Pichataro
Do	Pears	Cherán
Do	Pottery	Huancito
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán
Cherán	Apples	Do
Do	Apples	Pichataro
Do	Pears	Cherán
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente
Pátzcuaro	Green chile	Pátzcuaro
Cherán	Onions	Cherán
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Uricho
Do	Onions, chile	Do
Pátzcuaro	Tomatoes	Pátzcuaro
Uricho	Yellow chile	Uricho
Uricho	Tomatoes	Uricho
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro
Pandicuaró	Sweet potatoes (purple)	Zipajío
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez
Zunapario	Chile	Zunapario
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán
Caranco	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu
Do	Tomatoes	Do
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?)
Pandicuaró	Sweet potatoes	Pandicuaró
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?)
Etucuaró	Lentils	Etucuaró
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu
Lasalga	Sweet potatoes	Purépero
Pandicuaró (2)	do	Zacapu
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon)
San Pedro Caro	Dried fish	Hacienda de la Luz
Carapan	Lemon	Carapan
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala

¹ Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

TABLE 5.—Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940

Product	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Agua fresca (sweet water)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Aguaates (avocados)	Cañada	(?)	1	1
Anillos (rings)	Patamban	Paracho	1	1
Aretes (earrings)	Nahuatzen	do	1	1
Bagas (burden ropes)	Paracho	do	2	2
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	Nahuatzen	Nahuatzen	1	1
Cablo (broth)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	La Azarea	La Azarea	1	1
	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
	Purépero	Purépero	2	6
	Paracho	Paracho	2	
Cebollos (onions)	Paracho	do	2	2
Cerezas (cherries)	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	2
Cestas (baskets)	Pandicuaró	Zacapu	2	2
Chabacanos (apricots)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	1
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	Nahuatzen	Nahuatzen	1	1
Changungas	Tierra caliente	Uruapan	1	1
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	1
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	9
	Pátzcuaro (?)	Pátzcuaro	3	
Chiles (peppers)				
Col (cabbage)				
Coliflor (cauliflower)				
Dulces (candy)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	6	
Duraznos (peaches)	Pichataro	Pichataro	8	20
	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	
	Cherán stiro	Cheránástico	1	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
	Tierra caliente	Cherán	2	
Fibra de palmas (palm leaves)	(1 woman, maybe all, carried it up)	Paracho	1	7
		Pátzcuaro	1	
		Barsi	3	
		Pátzcuaro	1	
	San Jerónimo	San Jerónimo	2	
Frijoles (beans)	Carapan	Carapan	2	8
	Tirindiro	Tirindiro	1	
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Tangancicuaro	Tangancicuaro	1	
	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Guitarras (guitars)				
Habas (pulse or broad-beans)	Cañada	Cañada	2	3
	Carapan	Carapan	1	
	Paracho	Paracho	1	
	Cheránástico	Cheránástico	1	3
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Higos (figs)	Cañada	Paracho	1	2
		Cañada	1	
Huaraches (woven sandals)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Jicamas (root)	(?)	Paracho	1	1
Lechuga (lettuce)				
Limas (sweet lemons)	Chilchota	Chilchota	3	3
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Chilchota (?)	Chilchota	3	5
Limonas (lemons)	Tierra caliente	Guanajuato	1	
	Guanajuato	Purépero	1	
	Huansito	Huansito	1	
	Patamban	Patamban	3	
	do	Nurió	1	9
	Quiroga	Zacapu	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Quiroga	Tzintzuntzan	1	
Manta	Nahuatzen	Nahuatzen	1	1
Mandils (aprons)	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
	Pichataro	Paracho	2	
	do	Pichataro	13	
Manzanas (apples)	Cherán	Cherán	1	18
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	1	
	Pichataro	Paracho	1	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	3	4
Mostacillos (?) (beads)	Guadalajara	do	1	1
Muebles (furniture)	Paracho	do	2	2
	(?)	Paracho	1	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	5
	Limón	Limón (?)	1	
	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Nuezes (nuts)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	2
Pan (bread)	Tanaco	Tanaco	2	6
Pan dulce	Cherán	Cherán	4	
Papas (patatas) (potatoes)	Nahuatzen	Paracho		1

¹ No data.

TABLE 5.—Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940—Continued

Products	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	Arantepacua	Arantepacua	3	3
	Pichataro	do	4	
	Cherán	Cherán	4	18
Peras (pears)	Pichataro	Pichataro	9	
	do	Cherán	1	
Pescado seco (dried fish) ¹				
Platanos (bananas)	Tierra caliente	Paracho	1	
		Uruapan	4	5
Queso (cheese) ¹				
Robozos	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Serapes	do	do	2	2
Sigras (large, lemonlike citrus fruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Silantro seeds	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Sombreros (flat-top, white hats)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	
	Nahmatlan (?)	do	1	10
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
Toronja (grapefruit)	Morelia (?)	Paracho	1	
	Cherán (?)	do	1	
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	2
Tomates (prickly pears)	Tanaco	Tanaco	3	4
Uakinikin (a long nut)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Ukumu (yellow fruit?)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	2
Ukumu (yellow fruit?)	Los Reyes	Paracho	1	2
Tela (cloth)	Gimotlan	Gimotlan	1	2
Violin	Paracho	Paracho	2	1
Yerbas (herbs)	do	do	1	1
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
Zapatos (shoes, orange; also white)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	1

¹ No data.

interviewed. The number of vendors and the articles sold, by classes, are as follows:

Articles:	Number of vendors
Fruits	52
Vegetables	26
Prepared food (including bread)	12
Wearing apparel	21
Baskets and pottery	15
Furniture	2
Ornaments and musical instruments	3
Palm fiber for hats	7
Total	138

Most vendors not interviewed were engaged in the sale of fruits or vegetables, mostly vegetables.

Another example of an unimportant market is given by Rendón for San Juan Parangaricutiro. The main articles sold were small quantities of tomatoes, chile, jicamas, onions, cabbage, silantro, garlic, limes, oranges, guavas, cherimoyas, peanuts, and sugarcane. Two persons sold candies from Zamora, two booths sold sweetpotatoes, one each sold pottery and shoes,

TABLE 6.—Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20 ¹	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 20
Agua fresca (sweet water)	1	4	2	1		
Agua gaseosa (pop)		3	8	3		1
Ajo (garlic)					2	
Aguaques (avocadoes)	1			1		6
Anillos (rings)	1					
Aretes collares (earrings; necklaces)	1	1				3
Alolo (maize gruel)				2	2	2
Ayates (nets)				2	2	2
Baños (burton ropes)	2					
Bateas (laundry trays)				1		
Bateas (wooden bowls)		1	1			
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	1				2	
Borrera (mitten)		3		3		
Cacahuates (peanuts)		4	5		9	2
Cal (lime)		4			2	
Caldo (broth)						
Calabacitos (small squash)	1					
Calabazo cocido (cooked squash)		4	5	14	12	1
Cakes (cakes)					1	
Camas (beds)	1				7	
Camotes (sweet potatoes)	4	8		2		1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	2	2				
Caña (sugarcane)			3	1		
Canastas (flat baskets)				1		1
Carné de puerco cocido (cooked pork)		1	1	2		3
Carné seco (dried beef)		1		6	12	6
Carbón (onions)	2	15	11	12	18	15
Cerezas (cherries)	2		1	5	1	
Cerezas secas (dried cherries)			1			1
Cestas (baskets)	2	3	1	4		
Clubacanos (apricots)	1					
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	1					
Chamunzas (a fruit)	1					
Chayotes			3	1	7	
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayotes)		3		4		
Cherimoyas (a fruit)				4		
Chicahuites (harvest baskets)				1	3	
Chicharos (peas)		1	3	4		
Chicharos cocidos (cooked peas)				1		
Chiles (peppers)	9	53	32	15		
Chiles, large wide, red				7		
Chiles, large long, red				15		
Chiles, small, red				20		21
Chiles, verdes (green)				8		18
Chile, negro (black)				2	5	7
Cintas (belts)						1
Cinelas (plums)	2					
Coros (coconuts)			3			
Col (cabbage)		14	10	2	6	7
Coliflor (cauliflower)		1			2	
Corbatas (neckties)			1			
Cucharas (spoons)		1		2		
Cucklings				1		
Mustard					1	
Dibujos y arte, flores						1
Doughnuts				1		
Dulces (candy)	1	6	4	7	4	2
Dulces de membrillos (fruit paste)		1				
Duraznos (peaches)	20	22	1	3		
Escobas de palma (brushes of palm)	1					
Escobas de paja verde (brushes of green straw)						1
Espinaca (spinach)			1			
Fajas (sashes)		2	2	2	1	3
Fibra de palma (palm leaves for hats)	7	5		1	11	
Floresas (flowerpots)					2	1
Fls res (flowers)						
Flores de papel (paper flowers)						2
Frijoles (beans)	8	13		6	24	
Gorditos (fried maize cakes)				1		
Granadas (pomegranates)		6		31	30	2
Guavas					1	2
Guitarras (guitars)	1					
Habas (broadbeans)	3	1		1	4	
Habas verdes (green broadbeans)					1	
Hilotes (green corn on cob)	3	1	4	6	2	
Higos (figs)	2					
Hoja de betabel (chard)		3				
Hoja de limones (lemon leaves)		2				
Hoja de naranja (orange leaves)		1			2	
Huraches (woven sandals)	1	1	4	1		
Itle (magney baltes)	11					
Jalatin (jelly)				1		
Jicamas (a turniplike root)	5			3	6	
Jitomates (tomatoes)					6	
Juegos de naipes (card games)				5		
Juguetes (playthings, e.g. dolls)	5	2			2	

¹ Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

TABLE 6.—Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20 ¹	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Juguetes de losa (pottery figurines)		3	8	13	1	
Lana (wool)		1			1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1				
Limas y limones (lemons and limes)	8	17	7	16	13	7
Loquats				1		
Losa (pottery)	9	1		61	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandils (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maize (corn)	6		1			
Macetas (flower-pots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Mascaras (masks)		2	1			
Maza (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize ears)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostacillos (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nueces (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid) ²					1	
Pan (bread)	6	28	28	29	28	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	8	6	2	6	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Pelujeros (barbers)				6		
Peras (pears)	18	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)	5	4	1	10	3	2
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Queso (cheese)	1	17	9	3	8	2
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	2	4	2	1	7	8
Servietas (napkins)					1	
Sigras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring)	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	2	1	1	2	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		19		23		1
Tejecotes (wild crab apples)	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tesquisquite		1		2		10
Tomates (small husk tomatoes)	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit)	2					
Tortillas					5	3
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears)	4		3		4	1
Uakinim (nut)	1					
Violina (violin)	1					
Velas (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowfruit		1		1		
Yams			1			
Zanhorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	8	3	9	7

¹ Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

² An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market on Sunday which is not notably different from a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans. Rendón, who collected the data, observes that there is a fairly clear sex division in market activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota

Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	6	0
Green chile	0	3
Dry chile	7	7
Calabage	3	1
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	3
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Chirimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and murte	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	1	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	1
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Sonpoot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	1
Pitch pine	4	4
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

riage, and to a lesser extent with birth and death. A very significant consumption of goods occurs in connection with religious activities, particularly in relation to the *mayordomías*. Less important, perhaps, is consumption in connection with governmental activities. All of these, nevertheless, are subordinate in importance to consumption by family groups.

tities may be consumed in connection with any festal occasion. Consumption of any other items will depend upon the amount of money available.

The major food consumption of the family has already been analyzed (Beals and Hatcher, 1913). In monetary terms it has been shown that great differences exist. Food expenditures

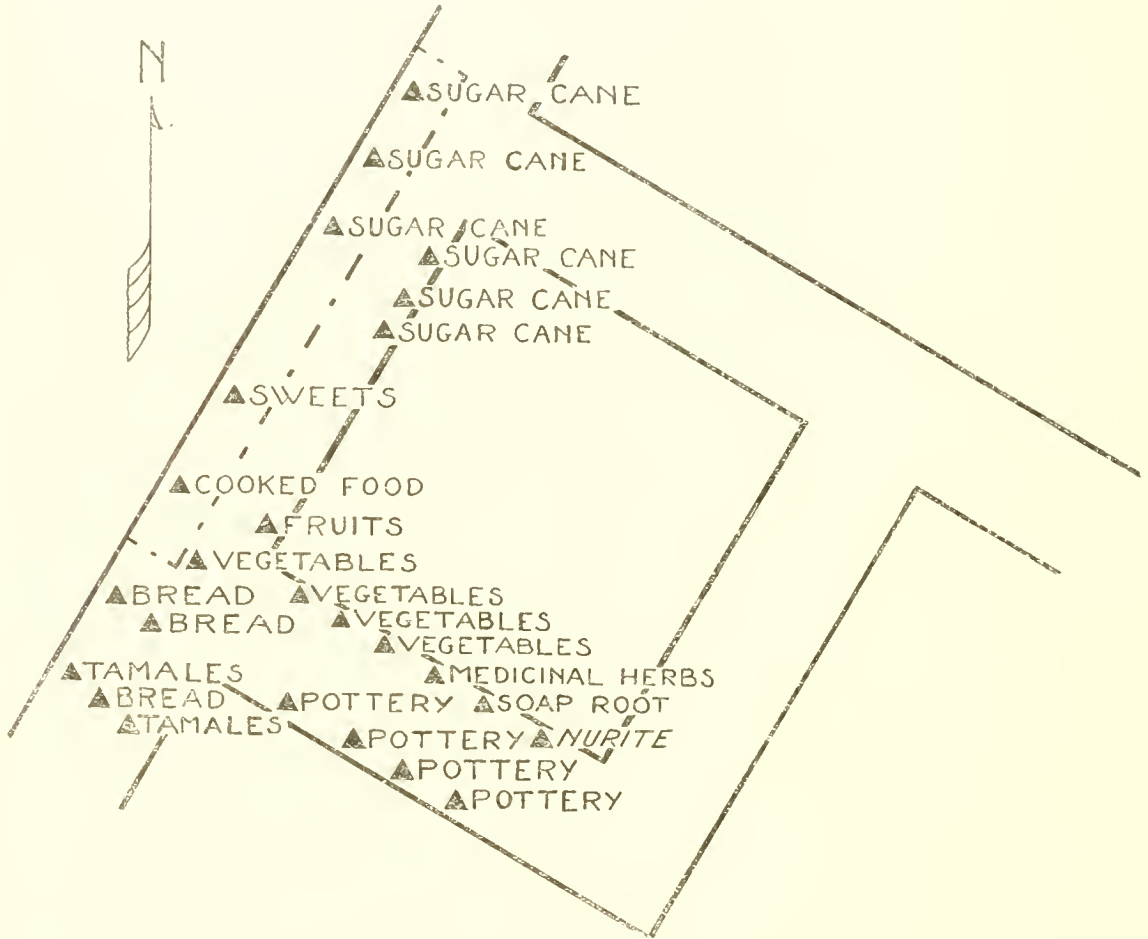


FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

The major product consumed by the family is maize. In the vast majority of cases most of, if not all, the maize consumed is produced by the family. The same is true of a number of supplementary items in the diet such as fruit, cabbage, and other vegetables. On the other hand, beans, meat, cheese, and fish, important constituents of the diet, are usually purchased. Maize consumption is about one-half liter a day per person (averaging the consumption of all ages). Much greater quan-

vary from 11.6 to 17.8 centavos a day per person. In general, a very poor family with its own maize supply will spend 5 to 10 centavos in chiles a week, 3 to 5 centavos in cheese every 3 or 4 days, 1 or 2 centavos in sugar or brown sugar daily, and perhaps occasionally 5 to 8 centavos in beans. Unless the family is quite poverty-stricken, about 2 centavos a day is spent in having the maize ground in a *nixtamal* mill. Among families in slightly better circumstances, about a peso a week is

spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.²⁵

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

Home-produced goods consumed:	Per day	Per year
Maize, 2½ liters daily	\$0.15	\$54.75
Vegetables and fruit . . . . .	.10	36.50
Firewood . . . . .	.08	29.20
		<hr/>
Total value		\$120.45
		<hr/>
Goods requiring cash expenditure:		
Expenditures at store and		
butcher shop	\$1.00	\$365.00
Man's clothing (a rough estimate		
of minimum requirements for		
work clothing plus some "dress"		
clothing)		27.00
Woman's clothing (one typical		
woman's outfit of Tarascan		
type clothing, plus a couple of		
cotton dresses a year)		60.00
Clothing for 3 small children		15.00
		<hr/>
Total cash expenditure a year		467.00
		<hr/>
Total value of goods consumed a year		\$587.45

In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

²⁵ In Mestizo Chilchota, Readón collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 22 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pitch pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

tures, there will also be less frequent ones. In the life time of the average family, a house and kitchen will have to be bought or built. By usual Cherán standards, this will mean a capital expenditure of \$170 to \$450. Animals must be replaced from time to time, an item difficult to estimate, but probably involving capital expenditures of around \$200 every 10 years as a minimum.

Periodic expenditures will also include a blanket every few years at about \$20, reroofing of house and kitchen every 10 years or so at a cost of about \$40, an occasional *mayordomía*, and the expenses of weddings, births, and deaths. Finally, there are taxes on property and contributions to the church. All these are impossible to estimate accurately with the available data. A *mayordomía*, for example, may vary from an outlay of perhaps \$15 or \$20 for Mass, candles, and ornaments for the altar in the house to a cash expenditure of about \$500 for the *mayordomía* of Nochebuena plus extensive use of maize and butchering of animals etc. belonging to the *mayordomo*. Weddings likewise may vary enormously according to economic resources, but may run up as high as \$500 in cash outlay. In addition, there are the innumerable occasions when one must participate in weddings, roofing or house-moving fiestas, etc., each of which involves more or less expensive gifts aside from possible contributions of labor.

The above factors suggest that a Cherán family of five in about average circumstances makes a total outlay on consumption goods of not less than \$500 a year if such capital expenditures as housing are allowed for. This does not include the value of home-produced foods. Many families unquestionably have a much smaller cash outlay than the amount suggested, but, equally certainly, some families spend more. Furthermore, these estimates assume that the family has inherited all the land it needs and is not making any expenditures for land purchases.

The preceding considerations suggest that insufficient attention has been paid to the quantity of exports and the movement of money in Cherán economy. Such data are difficult but not impossible to secure, although a considerable margin of error must be expected.

The motivations of consumption appear several. Primary is the need of food, shelter, and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

In general, wealthy people do not display their wealth ostentatiously except through undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more violent revolutionary days are close enough that people conceal their wealth rather than display it. That this was not always the case is evidenced by the considerable number of ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy before the revolution. Today wealthy men live modestly. Their table differs primarily in quantity rather than in quality from that of the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule, than do other women, and on special occasions they display more and better jewelry. There are few servants in Cherán, and their place is taken by dependent relatives or orphans who are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a *moro* dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

The values of the major commodities and services in Cherán are expressed in monetary terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.²⁶ The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

In general, the coming of the highway is bringing higher prices for local products.

Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods and products. Although little evidence is yet visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to \$1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	\$0.04-0.07
	Fanega	5.00-7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00-27.00
Beans	Liter	.15-.26
Squash	Each	.25-.50
Cabbage	do	.03-.08
Pears	Per 100	2.00-3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25-2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raiz de Paja	Kilo	2.25-2.50
	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00-75.00
Sheep	do	2.50-5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02-.03
Punks	Dozen	6.00-7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 cuartas long)	Bundle (100)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wood cloth	Yard	1.00

¹ In Zamora or tierra caliente.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

The major wealth of Cherán is forest and agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

In terms of individual wealth, the basic Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

²⁶ It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

property may be made up. Even silver is less safe, for someone may find the buried hoard and steal it. In addition, it is not productive. He who harvests from 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is wealthy; while the man who harvests from 8 to 15 *cargas* may regard himself as a typical Cherán citizen.

them, houses are essentially portable property like furniture, tools, or cattle.

Little exists in the way of incorporeal property in Cherán. Perhaps the most important instances are the possession of knowledge of dances or of the texts for the dialogue in such performances as the *pastorela*. Theoretically

TABLE 9.—Prices in Cherán stores in winter of 1940

Commodity	Amount spent or quantity usually purchased	Unit upon which price is based	Price of commodity in store—			
			A	B	C	D
Salt	1¢; kilo	Kilo	\$0.15	\$0.14	\$0.14	\$0.1
Maize	1-10 liters	Liter	.06	.06	.05½	.06
Beans	¼-1 liter	do	.18-.26	.23	.23	.23
Sugar	1¢; kilo	¼ kilo	.36	.36	.36	.36
Chocolate	Cake	Cake	.05			
Rice	5¢-8¢	Kilo	.36	.36	.32-.36	.38
Lard	2¢; ¼ kilo	do	1.60	1.60	1.65	1.65
Cookies	1¢-5¢			1.01-.05		
Cheese	1¢-4¢	Kilo	2.80			
Coffee (milled)	1¢-4¢	Ounce	.01			
Soap	Cake-5¢		.03-.20	.03-.20	.03-.15	
Brown sugar	1¢; ½ kilo	Kilo	.36	.35	.36	
Spaghetti	2¢-5¢	do	.60			
Cigarettes	Package	Package	.07-.12	.07-.10	.07-.14	
Lime	2½-4¢					
Candles	3¢-5¢	Each	.01-.15	.05-.10	.05-.10	
Paraffin lights	1		.09	.08	.08	
Chiles	53¢-5¢					
Canned chiles	41¢-5¢					
Vegetable oil	31¢-4¢					
Olive oil	51¢-2¢					
Creosote	31¢-5¢					
Wax matches	3¢; box	Box	.01-.05		.03-.05	
Small dried fish	52¢-5¢					
Soda pop		Bottle	.05	.05	.05	
Orange drink		do	.10	.10	.10	
"Spool" thread:						
White			.05	.05	.05	
Colored			.06			
Small fine, colored				.05		
Ball thread				5.01-.08	5.01-.08	
Cords (mecates)				.03-.08	.01-.10	
Rope		Kilo		.90		
Hats:						
Children's				.30	.35	
Men's				1.60	1.55	
Nails	3¢-5¢	Kilo	.70			
India ink		2 ounces	.05			
Aguardiente	Glass	Glass		18.00	18.00-20.00	.05-10
Ponchos				10	5.50	
Blue jeans						
Brooms						
Ribbon:						
1-inch		Piece			1.00	
2-inch		do			2.00	
Cloth (unbleached muslin):						
No. 40		Meter		.30	.25	
No. 50		do		.35	.30	
No. 60		do		.40	.35	
No. 70		do		.48	.40	
No. 80		do		.55	.45	
No. 90		do		.60	.50	
No. 100		do		.65	.60	
Indian Head				.30		
Borcado				.65		
Anzulas				70-90		
Ganital (for shirts)				.60		
Telas				.50		
Tonos (for shirts)				.35		
Flat silk				1.40		

¹ Depending on type and quantity.

² Price per weight not ascertained.

³ Quantity not ascertained.

⁴ Quantity not ascertained; probably 1 per centavo from opened can.

⁵ Depending on size.

Houses and buildings are also a form of wealth. The traditional type of house is owned apart from the land and is frequently bought and sold apart from the land. This is not true, of course, of stone or adobe buildings. Except for the somewhat greater difficulty of moving

anyone might pick up this knowledge, but there seems a tacit understanding that this should not be done without the permission of the owner. Such knowledge is valuable, as such persons are paid by the *mayordomos* to teach the performers.

Other types of incorporeal property possibly are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, midwives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

A unique type of property right is the ownership of certain images of saints and of *mayordomías*. Two cases were encountered. One is the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

the rich. Repeated efforts to pin him down resulted in the identification of not a single individual as a *rico* and the assertion that anyone who harvested 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is a rich man. As this means a cash income from this source of around \$300 to \$600 or \$700 a year, the standard is not high, although probably wheat, cattle, and other sources add to such income. It is worth observing that almost no storekeepers are classed as wealthy—they usually do not have much land.

The inheritance of property in Cherán is normally from parent to children. Should an individual die without formal disposition of his property, the municipal officials would endeavor (subject to whatever influences might be brought to bear on them) to divide the property equally among children without regard to sex. Normally, however, the heirs would make the division, and it would merely be submitted to the *municipio* for approval. In this way inequalities often creep in through domination of one heir by another and the desire to avoid a fight.

It is quite common in Cherán for the property to be disposed of by the owner before death by making a will or, more commonly, by making a statement of intention to a reliable and trusted friend before witnesses. Such decisions will be respected and enforced by the *municipio*.

Property owned by women will ordinarily go to their children. However, should a couple be childless, the spouse does not inherit. There are numerous cases in Cherán of well-to-do couples where the bulk of the property is owned by the wife. Although the husband uses and administers the property, he has no rights in it unless it is formally made over to him by his wife during her life time. Similarly, a widow does not inherit except in special cases. This, again, involves a will or making over of the property during the life of the owner. Usually such an act is taken by a man only when his sons are rebellious and unfilial.

There are frequent cases where men do not leave property equally to all children or where they leave it to some other relative. In rare cases, there may have been some assignment of property to children before death. Then the child, usually the youngest, who has cared for the parent in old age, receives all the remaining

property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

Various adjustments are made to meet special situations. Often an expert in property values is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

Conflicts also arise from transactions entered into by the owner before death without informing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

The grandfather died while the Rangels were living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

Other instances illustrate and bear out the assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

Even in those few cases in Cherán in which sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

All inheritances are supposed to be registered at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

Even though many details of the economic system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

with the larger national economy. Some of the deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage. Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on non-productive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an administrative unit, smaller than the usual county in the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordinate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherías or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small ranchería. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

The general situation of the *municipio* has already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boundaries, although there are usually disputes with neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000. Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished. A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

A larger subdivision than the block is furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúcutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúcutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keiku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Parícutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

The *barrios* show very few differences. Parícutin is less populated, has larger lots, and is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest, the dogs of Parícutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.²⁷

²⁷ On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

THE POPULATION

The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in barrio—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18-30 (17-30 for barrio III)	29	16	62	86	193
31-40	24	13	85	35	157
41-50	17	15	62	62	146
51-60	15	10	27	18	70
61-70	7	12	26	15	60
71-80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
Laborer	6	5	119	133	265
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker		2		1	3
Mason	1		3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2			3
Musician	1	1	2		4
Maestro	1				1
Shoemaker		1	6	1	8
Tilemaker			1		1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

Additional incomplete but interesting data on the population are provided by the study of

evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

the municipal records, which probably are relatively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

TABLE 11.—Births in Cherán, 1936-39¹

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
<i>1936</i>					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
March	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
April	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
May	11	3	8	1.9	2.3
June	26	11	15	3.2	4.4
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.5
August	21	12	9	3.5	2.6
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	0.6	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.5
December	6	1	5	0.3	1.5
<i>1937</i>					
January	3	2	1	0.6	0.3
February					
March	15	5	10	1.4	2.9
April	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	19	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	21	9	12	2.6	3.5
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
October	12	7	6	1.7	1.7
November	13	7	6	2.0	1.7
December	22	9	13	2.6	3.8
<i>1938</i>					
January	13	8	5	2.3	1.5
February	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
March	6	3	3	0.9	0.9
April	24	14	10	4.0	2.9
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	5	3	2	0.9	0.6
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	22	10	12	2.9	3.5
September	10	7	3	2.0	0.9
October	12	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	10	3	7	0.9	2.0
December	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
<i>1939</i>					
January	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
February	13	5	8	1.4	2.3
March	20	9	11	2.6	3.2
April	23	13	10	3.7	2.9
May	24	13	11	3.7	3.2
June	18	16	2	4.6	0.6
July	22	13	9	3.7	2.6
August	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
September	15	4	11	1.2	3.2
October	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	690	347	343	100.0	100.0

¹ Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Birth records are probably correct for all live births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

For the years 1936-39, inclusive, there were 690 registered births in Cherán. The sex ratio was very nearly 1:1, with 347 male births and 343 female births. The distribution is shown in table 11. It is of interest that great excess of female births occurred in 1936, reaching a peak in June of that year, while a considerable excess of male births occurred in 1939, also reaching a peak in June.

TABLE 12.—*Marriages in Cherán, 1937-39¹*

Age of married person	Married men		Married women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
13			3	2.0
14	1	0.7	23	15.4
15	2	1.3	49	32.9
16	12	8.1	26	17.4
17	8	5.4	9	6.0
18	32	21.5	6	4.0
19	12	8.1	2	1.3
20	15	10.1	3	2.0
21	5	3.4		
22	10	6.7		
23	5	3.4	2	1.3
24			2	1.3
25	9	6.0	5	3.4
26	5	3.4	1	.7
27	1	.7		
28	5	3.4	3	2.0
29	3	2.0	2	1.3
30	1	.7		
31	2	1.3		
32	4	2.7	2	1.3
33	2	1.3	1	.7
34	1	.7		
35	4	2.7	2	1.3
36	2	1.3		
37	1	.7		
38			1	.7
39			2	1.3
40	4	2.7	3	2.0
41	3	2.0		
42	1	.7		
43			1	.7
44	1	.7		
45	2	1.3	2	1.3
46	1	.7		
47	1	.7		
48			1	.7
49	1	.7		
50	2	1.3		
51	1	.7		
52	1	.7		
Total	149	100.0	149	100.0

¹ Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Data on the 149 marriages for 1937, 1938, and 1939 are shown in table 12. The age data are subject to the same probable inaccuracy in age estimates as is the case with the data on adult men. However, inasmuch as many Cherán residents are today sensitive about the early age of marriages and it is known that the ages given for young persons about to be married are often exaggerated, the data underscore the early age of marriage. In round numbers, 2 percent of girls married were only 13, 15 percent were 14, 32 percent were 15, 17 percent were 16, and 6 percent were 17. Only 2 percent of girls married were aged 20. It is significant that no marriages were recorded for girls aged 21 or 22. In all probability all, or nearly all, marriages recorded after this age were remarriages.

The earliest age recorded for married males is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

Data on family composition and fertility were obtained by interviews with 53 families where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

Possibly (although not necessarily) of more significance is the summary in table 17. This summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bilis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bilis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bilis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

Knowledge of emigration is necessary to understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present

war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

Class or caste stratification is almost unknown in Cherán. There still remains much of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informant put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

The most influential group at present in Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

and speak better." As a matter of fact, the leader of this group is relatively poor.

The informant who was most class-conscious admitted in casual conversation that the divisions existing in the town were essentially the result of individual likes and dislikes and personal ambitions. In this unguarded conversation, he admitted that class and ideological differences were of very little importance.

To the outside observer, however, the situation is not so simple. Even though class distinctions are of little significance, nevertheless persons with little or no land who work as laborers or sharecroppers receive much less respect in conversation. It must be admitted, however, that so far as our information and observations went, they are never disparaged to their face. In addition, there are two men who seem to be pariahs to whom no one pays attention. They work as professional water carriers and porters for the most part and seem very poverty-stricken, sometimes begging at

houses for food. Little could be learned about them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

The nearest approach to class groupings is that persons seem to associate mostly with individuals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

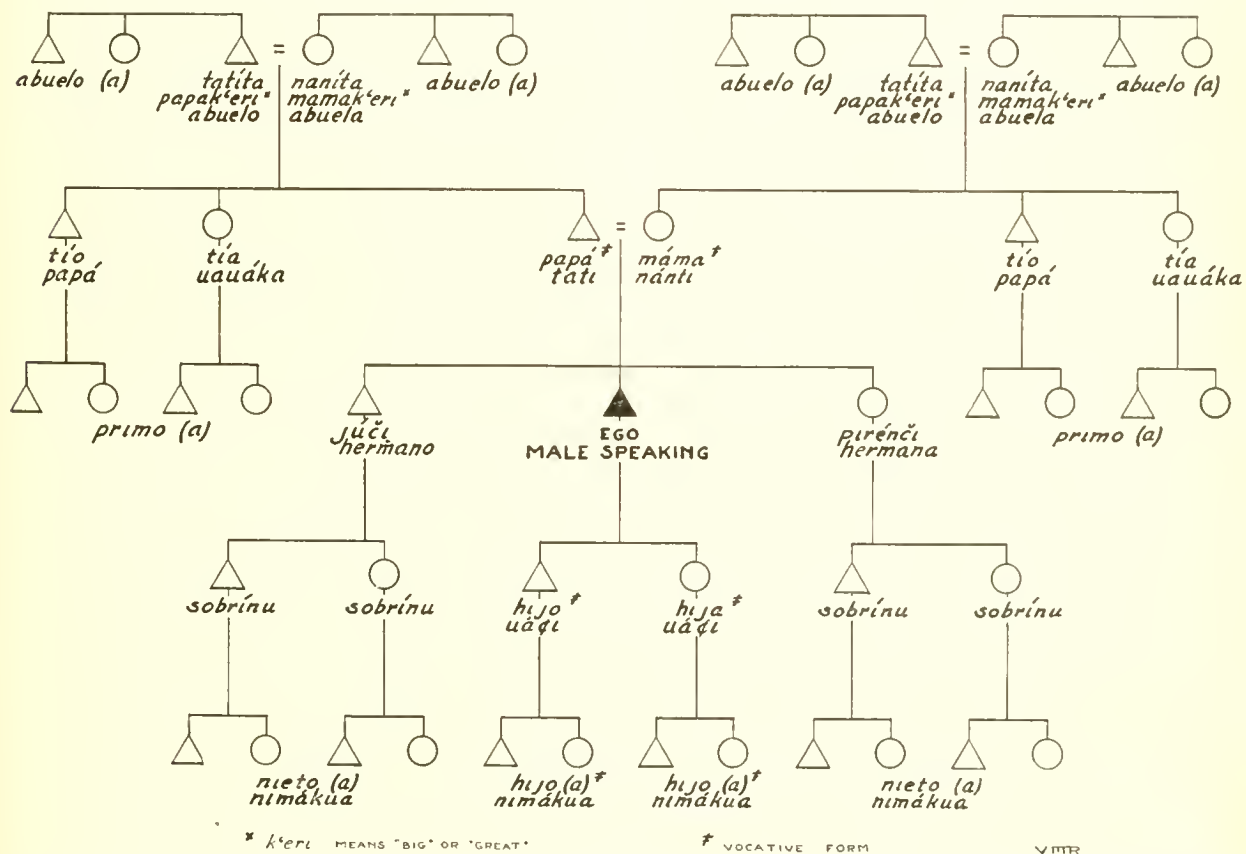


FIGURE 12.—Cherán kinship, male speaking. In general, the first form given is that most frequently used except where the form is vocative.

once he understood the words, in classifying the people he knew in these categories. The second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or *açes* in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

Spanish kinship terms are in common use in Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (†). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).



FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionally called *papá*; this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)²⁹ is extended to the brothers and

sisters of grandparents, but the other grandparent terms appear to be confined to the actual grandparents. Of some interest in the descending generation is the fact that ego's own grandchildren are called by the same terms as ego's children in Spanish discourse, while the children of nephews and nieces are called by the Spanish grandchild terms. In Tarascan discourse, however, ego's grandchildren and the grandchildren of ego's brothers and sisters are all called by the same term regardless of sex.

In the affinal terms, survival of a Tarascan term for sister-in-law (woman speaking) may be noted. Puzzling (and possibly incorrect) is the reappearance of the term for brother (man speaking) in the term for daughter-in-law. The parents of a child's spouse are referred to as *compadre* and *comadre*; in this connection it should be observed that they actually become *compadres* and *comadres* as a part of the wedding ceremony, along with most of the other close relatives of the spouse. The terms *páli* and *máli* applied to brothers and sisters of a child's spouse are simply terms of respect or appreciation which may be applied to one's own children or to a completely unrelated person.

Two terms not appearing in the charts should be mentioned. Tarámbar refers to the daughter-in-law of a third person, that is, of neither the person speaking nor the person addressed. Similarly tarámpiri refers to father-in-law of a third person. In Spanish discourse, first cousins (children of parents' brothers and sisters) are sometimes referred to as primo(a) hermano(a).

In addressing or speaking of any person beyond the range of the charts, usually the terms tio(a) and primo(a) would be used, depending upon age. All persons with whom kinship obligations are recognized would be so called, even though neither person could remember the degree of relationship or trace the connection. In general, an individual regards the cousins of his uncles and aunts as pretty remote relatives, although he will call them tio(a) and their children primo(a) and usually will be able to trace the relationship. It would be unlikely for the children of such distantly related cousins to maintain the kinship address, even though of the same family name. How-

²⁹ The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

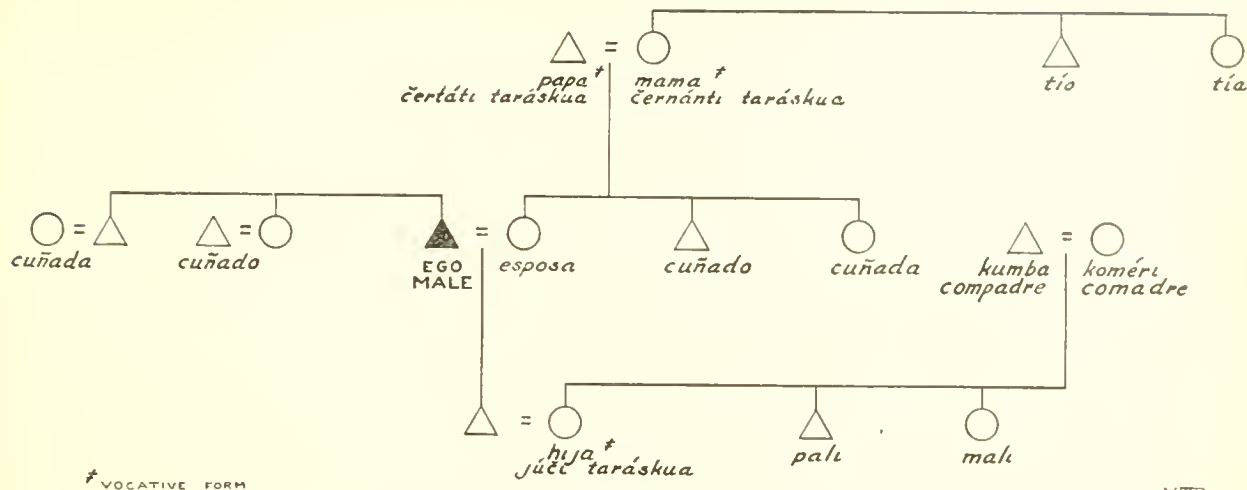


FIGURE 14.—Affinal relatives, male speaking.

ever, should the parents happen to have been close friends, they might continue to call each other primo(a) and continue to observe the appropriate behavior.

The major kinship obligation is to attend at certain functions and to assist with labor under certain circumstances. All close relatives must be greeted by relationship terms when encountered on the street or in the house, but this greeting may not be given to persons who still have reciprocal obligations such as distant cousins.

Parent-child behavior.—Parents are expected to look after the material needs of children, provide the necessary education, seek the proper godparents for them, and aid them to have a proper wedding. Children are expected to be respectful and to aid parents in their old age. If they do not conform to expectations, they may be disinherited.

Behavior of siblings.—The ideal pattern of Cherán evidently expects siblings to be close friends and to help one another. To a certain degree this behavior exists. Only for brother or sister would a man give monetary aid or give free labor at any other time than a house moving. Nevertheless, numerous cases were

encountered of bitter quarrels between siblings, usually over inherited property or property transactions. In some cases this extended to refusal to assist in traditional ways in which the aid even of remote relatives is expected.

Avuncular-nepotic relationships.—Data on behaviors in this category are inadequately documented. Evidently boys often have close relationships with their uncles. This relationship is evidenced most clearly in the fact that a boy often tells an uncle when he has “stolen” a girl and may take his fiancé to live in his uncle’s house, while the uncle first breaks the news to the boy’s father. In general, boys seem to turn to their uncles in crisis rather than to their fathers. There likewise seem close relations between girls and their aunts and uncles. Cases are known where a niece rather than a child has cared for old people (and in some cases inherited the property). Comfortably situated families with few children may care for a niece from a poor family with many children, feeding the child well and often buying new clothing. In return, the child will help, running errands and doing housework. In at least one case, the niece really took the initiative. Invited to spend the day,

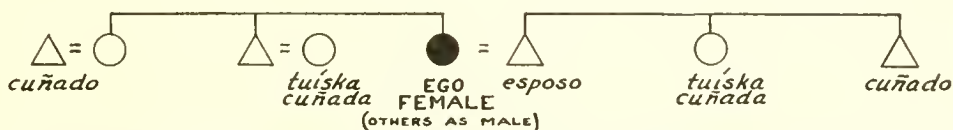


FIGURE 15.—Affinal relatives, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all affinal relatives not shown, the female uses the male terms.

she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant relatives are expected to take part in any "labor." This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obligations are apparent is when a family returns to the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

may be entered into in some cases without children being involved. In many parts of Mexico, both Indian and Mestizo, the *compadrazgo* is an extremely important aspect of social relationships and it has taken on many special localized forms. As yet, the only adequate study of the institution is that made by Spicer for the Arizona Yaqui.³⁰

The following account of the *compadrazgo* was written by one of the Tarascan assistants, Pedro Chávez. Additions to the original Chávez manuscript are in parentheses.

The *compadrazgo* is very common among the Tarascans and is highly respected. All *compadres* and *comadres*, when they meet on the street, must salute each other with the phrase "*Buenos días compadre*" (good-day) or "*Buenos días comadre*," or its equivalent in Tarascan "nájeranku kumbáo (or koméri)." This obligation is especially strong between *comadres* or *compadres de pila*, as are called the *compadres* of baptism of a child. In this case it is obligatory to shake hands in sign of a certain mutual respect the two maintain. (These obligations endure for life, even though the child may have died long since.)

Classes of *compadres*: Among the *compadres* exist the following classes:

1. *Compadres* of baptism.
2. *Compadres* of confirmation.
3. *Compadres* of the crown (*corona*) or circumcision.
4. *Compadres* of marriage.

The degree of mutual respect and appreciation between *compadres* is approximately in the order in which they are given. (It should be noted that there are really two classes of *compadres* of marriage. There are the godparents of the bride and groom, usually a married couple, and the relatives of the bride and groom who become *compadres* as described below.)

Duties: The main duties are those of *compadres* of baptism. Immediately after the act of baptism (in which the infant is carried to church and the small fee paid by the godparents), they say to each other "*comadre*" or "*compadre*" or "*koméri*" and "*kumbá*," which are the same as the Spanish. This is the first duty and the first occasion it is said. From this arises the duty to care for the godchild, for example, to treat it as nearly like a son as one's resources permit. The godparents have the duty of giving the godchild some kind of clothing, such as a hat, shirt, or trousers, whenever they can afford to do so. This can be done as often as the godfather wishes. The father of the boy or girl has the duty of educating the child, telling him that he has the obligation to speak to the godparents with the words "*pagrínitu*" or "*magrínitu*." (If the godchild dies before the age of 10, the godfather must provide the burial clothing.)

³⁰ Spicer, 1940, p. 91 ff.

The *compadres* both have the duty of visiting one another when one of them is sick or has encountered some difficulty and, if it is possible, help him in some form. When one of the *compadres* has a duty (that is, a wedding, funeral, *mayordomía*, house roofing, house moving, or fiesta duty), it is the duty of the other to accompany him as many days as may be necessary. (The same mutual obligation exists between godparents and godchildren.)

When a godson kidnaps a girl with intention of marrying her, it is the duty of the father of the youth, before all else, to go to the house of the godfather of the youth, that is his (the father's) *compadre* and give him the news so that they may present themselves together in the house of the bride. This is a duty of the godfather. This duty (the father) has toward the three godfathers, of baptism, confirmation, and crown.

The duties of the marriage *compadres* are limited solely to accompanying each other when one has some obligation (such as wedding, *mayordomía*, etc.), the moving or termination of a house, and the duty of saluting each other with the name of "*compadre*."

Method of selecting *compadres*. In selecting the *compadres* some of the following characteristics are taken into consideration:

1. When a family wishes to have *compadres*, in general if it is rich it endeavors to find *compadres* in the same category.

2. If the family is poor, it tries to have a *compadre* in its same category, as it has been seen that sometimes when a poor person seeks a rich man as *compadre*, the latter accepts but afterwards he is ashamed to say "*compadre*" to the other who is somewhat poor. For this reason the latter (rich *compadres*) are not common.

3. Many times they (the parents) try to find a *compadre* who knows how to read. They say this is with the object that the infant will also be intelligent and know how to read. This is a belief among many, but it is not universal.

4. On other occasions efforts are made to find a *compadre* who is distinguished as a valiant person, in the sense of having bravery or, better, to be bold to fight when occasion offers—this, in general, indicates what among us is meant when a person is called "valiant"—with the object that the child will grow up and may be equally valiant as his godfather.

5. There are also cases in which a godfather is selected because he has done a favor on some past occasion or because of hope to receive some favor in the future. In general, this is the method of selecting a godfather. All usually try to find their *compadre* in an equal (social) category with these exceptions already noted.

The marriage *compadres*: In order to recognize one another as *compadres* of marriage, it is necessary to perform a certain act or ceremony in the moments when the last act of the marriage is about to terminate. This act takes place in the house or the kitchen (usually the latter) of the bridegroom. Present are the *t'arepiti diosv uandari* (marriage manager), the parents

of the bride and groom together with all their brothers, sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre*." One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaru anápueskari ka uéke díosa éskaksa no méni ambé ar-ijperoka. Na éuskuskiá kumba." Meantime the *t'arepiti* is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished, she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.³¹

In some parts of Mexico—for example, among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

³¹ In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

parents and *compadres* are taken seriously in Cherán, it is obvious from the description given above that the *compadrazgo* obligations are nearly as important as those of kinship, if not more so. Scarcely a person in Cherán does not have at least 10 or 15 *compadres*. Most people have 20 or 25 or more. Don Luís Velasquez, the oldest of the marriage arrangers, who also says prayers at funerals, stated that he had more than 100 *compadres* of baptism alone. When it is considered that usually one acquires most of his *compadres* through weddings, the total number possessed by Don Luís must be enormous. He declined even to make a guess at the number of *compadres* he had of all classes. The obligations of *compadres* of baptism are as great or greater than those of relatives, with the exception of the immediate family (parent-child and possibly sibling obligations), while those of other classes are at least equal to those of cousins.

Some use of the *compadrazgo* is made by the church on special occasions. When a new image is blessed in church, for example, people are invited to become godparents of the image. They kneel behind the image when the priest blesses it. For this they are expected to pay from 1 to 5 pesos. In such cases the participants do not call each other *compadres*, nor do they have any relationship with the owner of the image in case it is a household saint.

GOVERNMENT

The governmental system of Cherán on the surface and in its organization is not obviously different from that of any other Michoacán *municipio*. In its functioning, however, it possesses many unconventional features. Even elections, ostentatiously conducted according to legal forms, may actually be conducted very differently beneath the surface.

The major governmental agency is the *ayuntamiento* of five persons and five alternates or *suplentes*. These serve a term of 2 years and are alternated in office, two being elected one year and three the next. Elections are made by *barrio*. Formerly Cheranástico elected one of the five; since this *tenencia* has become associated with Paracho, I could not discover what device was used to elect the fifth member. Whether the situation is still not resolved or whether there was a purposeful vagueness about

procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento*; a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento*; an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

Certain other duties are performed by *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, authorized by the State military authorities, and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *propietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio*; what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *propietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

barrio III. Cheranástico, when classed as *barrio* V, apparently never filled either office. Similarly, if the even-numbered *barrios* elect, the *māyor* will be from *barrio* II, the *síndico* from *barrio* IV. The following 2-year period the situation will be reversed. Although the mayor is elected for 2 years to the *ayuntamiento*, he serves only 1 year as mayor. The second year he is merely an ordinary *municipe* or *regidor*, that is, an ordinary member of the *ayuntamiento*.

The mayor has the most important duties in the government, for upon his ability and initiative depends most of the success of an administration. It is he who initiates most activities, the *síndico* who carries them out. Not only does the mayor preside at town meetings or *juntas* and meetings of the *ayuntamiento*, but he settles minor disputes and levies fines of less than 1 peso, orders temporary imprisonment, supervises and orders most municipal expenditures, appoints most of the *comisionados*, and sees that public works are initiated. The mayor alone of all the officials must be present daily in the *municipio*. If not present, he must have his *suplente* present. (In 1940, the mayor rarely was in the *municipio*, leaving administration to the *suplente*. If anything of crucial importance arose, however, the mayor would be called in.)

As a minor judicial official, the mayor settles many small cases involving thefts, drunkenness, minor assault, rape, debt, or fraud. In some cases, brief jail sentences are imposed; in others, fines are assessed, all fines below a peso going into the pocket of the mayor as his only salary. The mayor also gives orders about minor improvements, such as cleaning the plaza or painting the benches. In case expenditures are involved, he may advance money out of his pocket for supplies or labor, later getting a receipt which he presents to the treasurer for payment.

Síndico.—The *síndico* supervises most public works and may initiate minor work. He is in charge of streets and the repair or reconstruction of bridges, and sees that many undertakings ordered by the mayor are carried out. With the help of a *veedor*, he oversees community affairs, such as the adequacy of the water supply and clandestine illegal activities.

He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid \$1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

Veedor.—The *veedor* is named by the *síndico* with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the town funds from various sources, including fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are usually elected every 2 years but if the office is satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

before the judge. In such cases he may discover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10 percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid \$1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

Police.—Two (later three) men were employed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most important are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief. The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

Comisionados may also be named if funds are to be raised for some special municipal purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

represented in the fiesta. Each major traditional occupation is required to hire a band, and the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

One final type of *comisionado* should be mentioned, the men named to do communal labor. Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

Reserva.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men armed by the Government (State or Federal?) with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

district commander to arrest all strangers and send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The representative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

The collection of funds for use of the forest lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without securing a permit from the forestry service. (As indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is reasonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter.

Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *teneneia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

The major duty performed by the *barrio* is the maintenance of the water system. Each *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but the system of hollowed logs which conducts water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for certain other public works. For example, *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore point, evidently. The original pipe line was installed by the State or Federal Government. Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

estimated that the project of merely replacing the wooden aqueduct would cost between \$2,500 and \$3,000, and efforts were being made to get the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

This attitude was somewhat reinforced by the action of the Federal Government in extending a power line to the town and supplying it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

A number of road repair jobs are undertaken from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

officials could have had no basis for selection. Actually, the *suptente* in *barrio* II was one of the reactionary members of the community, leader of the *açes*. He was chosen solely to stop his constant criticism of the administration.

The election was held on December 1, 1940. In theory, the first Sunday of December is the usual day. A commission, named by the mayor 15 days before, conducted the elections. Two ballot boxes were placed at opposite ends of the *corredor* in front of the *municipio*, one for each *barrio*. Only 45 votes were cast in *barrio* II and only 25 in *barrio* IV. The result of the election was to select the official PRM ticket in *barrio* II and the "opposition" ticket in *barrio* IV.

The procedure resulted in the mayor for the succeeding year, the successful candidate for *barrio* II, being elected by the majority of the 45 votes cast in that *barrio*. The mayor-elect promptly got very drunk and paraded from saloon to saloon for 2 or 3 days, shouting, "*Yo y Avila Camacho—I and Avila Camacho.*" (Camacho was about to be installed as President of the Republic.) Murmurs of protest about the new mayor began to be heard on every side, becoming louder and louder. By the end of the month rumors of violence at the installation of the new *ayuntamiento* on January 1 were heard on every side. Loudest to complain were those who had attended neither the nominating *junta* nor the elections.

On January 1 very few people attended the installation of the new officers. The new officials went at the head, the new mayor in the middle, on his right the new *síndico*, and on his left the judge. The mayor carried a *bandera*, a round disk with the national colors in three vertical stripes, while his two companions carried ribbons hanging down from the *bandera*. Behind the new officials came the *reserva*, then a relatively small group of males. At the rear came the band. The procession made a circuit about the plaza and streets of the central part of town. *Cohetes* were fired off as the procession started and at each corner where it changed direction.

On the return to the *municipio*, the new mayor made a speech, received with a scattering of handclaps. The *jefe político*, Moisés Valencia, made another speech, urging cooperation

with the new officials and the betterment of the town. He stressed especially fixing up the plaza and planting trees. His remarks drew more handclaps than did those of the mayor. This concluded a remarkably tame and peaceful affair.

On the surface, all the rumors had come to nothing and an uninformed visitor might have thought the talk had been nothing else. But the mayor who was inducted at this ceremony was not the elected mayor. In fact, he had not even been a candidate. The same was true of the *suptente* for the *síndico*. Obviously, explanation is called for.

Actually, the matter was simple. The talk and complaints had resulted in action. Apparently no one, on sober thought, wanted the elected mayor. So the *ayuntamiento* picked out someone they thought would be satisfactory and installed him as mayor. The choice seemed actually an excellent one. The new mayor was one of the best-educated men in town, a sober, honest, and conscientious man, fairly prosperous but not rich. None of the investigators found any objection or any tendency to question the action. According to the retiring mayor, one man, an *Almazanista* (that is, a follower of Almazán, the defeated presidential candidate) with little following had raised some objections. But the retiring mayor pointed out that the objector had never bothered to come to the nominating *junta* or to vote, although the mayor had personally invited him to do so and had asked him to make a house-to-house visit to all his followers, urging their attendance. Legality was to be maintained, however, and the State authorities received proper election returns certifying the election of the men installed.

Did this represent corruption and the breakdown of democratic methods as would be the interpretation of legalistic minds deeply steeped in the proprieties of parliamentary procedure? None of the staff of the investigation in Cherán felt it was. The persons finally inducted into office were capable men. They seemed highly acceptable to the bulk of the population, whereas the duly elected candidates were not. Rather, it seems that a truly democratic result had been obtained for a people who are unfamiliar with and distrustful of parliamentary procedures.

Persons who are shocked at the procedures at Cherán should seriously contemplate the difficulties in carrying out a formal election with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

That unconventionalities are frequent in elections is further illustrated by the presidential elections earlier in the same year. Many months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable, and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

Two things of interest emerge from this account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

In relation to external politics, most Cherán inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, "*Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aquí siempre estamos en la riata—* Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

Some interest is also awakened by the discovery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

Just as the economy of Cherán in general is partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of \$1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. Income from this source averages \$5 or \$6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed \$300 a month. At other times it may be as low as \$125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about \$1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher, but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

Expenditures against income are as follows:

	<i>Per month</i>
Two policemen at \$0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	\$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated \$150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	\$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20 pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The functioning of government in Cherán is often affected by unofficial organizations and informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

The development of this informal organization grew out of another and earlier organization that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940-41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

confidential talks, and even then it is doubtful whether all the details were abstracted from unwilling witnesses. The story as learned does not seem to call for all the secrecy involved, and this gives weight to the suspicion that the truth of the underlying factors was not secured and that these factors are more operative today than anyone would admit.

At the height of the agrarian movement in Michoacán, the control of the *municipio* was secured by a group of some 30 men calling themselves "agrarians (*agraristas*)." Everyone seemed agreed that there was no genuine agrarian problem in Cherán and that the members of the group had no desire for land but only for power. Perpetuating themselves in office, members of this group at first were tolerated but gradually became more and more overbearing in their attitude. When people finally began to show signs of discontent, the "agrarians" asked the State authorities for aid on the grounds that the people were rebellious. As a result, a detachment of soldiers was stationed in Cherán under the command of a lieutenant to enforce order and the authority of the municipal officials. The young lieutenant apparently soon saw that his troops were perpetuating an illegal and unpopular group in power and tried to get his superiors to make a real investigation, but with no success. The tyranny of the ruling group now became unbearable.

The climax came when a drunken member of the group began firing his revolver on the main streets and threatening people. One of the soldiers endeavored to arrest the man and was shot and killed. The lieutenant now succeeded in having the situation thoroughly investigated, and as a result the detachment of soldiers was withdrawn. The following day occurred the *zafarrancho*. Some 10 to 12 of the "agrarians" were killed and the rest fled the town. In 1940, they were still living in exile in nearby towns.

For a time following this, Cherán was governed by a *presidente militar*, an appointed army officer. Technically, this was true in 1940, but the commander rarely even visited the town and all troops had been removed some time before. The present "progressive" government has effectively been in power since the affair. This is also the group which has

organized the local branch of the CTM, no doubt a factor in securing the withdrawal of the always unpopular military garrison.

The leader of the progressive group is a man who has not held any official office in the town, Moisés Valenzuela, commander of the *reserva*. An orphan as a child, Valenzuela was aided by a woman he calls his aunt. According to Valenzuela's own story, he left Cherán at 16 and tried to go to the United States. Refused admission for some reason, he fell into bad company and became involved in smuggling liquor across the border during prohibition. Eventually the activities of the group extended to narcotics, Valenzuela was caught and held about 18 months in a Texas jail, after which he was deported. He then entered an army school, learned to read and write and received some further education, eventually becoming some sort of officer. Returning to Cherán during the time of the agrarians, he organized and led the resistance to them, and quite informally arrived in the position of being, as one informant put it, "head man" of Cherán. Locally he is regarded as an influential person over an area extending as far as the State capital, Morelia.

So far as evidence could be found, Valenzuela is an honest man, well-liked in the town. He talked several times of the necessity of going away and earning some money. According to his story, he did not mind giving most of his time for the town, but the time had come when he should look after his wife and children better than he was able to do in Cherán. Certainly he did not live in a pretentious house, and his customary clothing was overalls. His dress, of course, could be assumed for political reasons, but when he made trips to Morelia or Uruapan on community or private business, he certainly dressed little better. It is, of course, quite possible that persons with a different view of Valenzuela were afraid to talk freely. He himself deprecated his position and seemed somewhat amused that the townspeople accorded him as much respect as they did. His own story of his arrest and jail sentence in the United States was told with a somewhat rueful and artless good humor. On the many occasions he was seen with others, he always seemed ready to listen to other points of view and to advance his own without any attempt at domina-

tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him as the leader of a bloody riot.

As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

An entirely different type of organization is the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velásquez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

The organization of the cooperative would give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

the bulk marketing and better bargaining power of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later. Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis, and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

sciously fostered by some elements in the Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.³² Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

³² Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting mayor ordered that she be locked up, and, despite voluble protests against injustice, the woman was conveyed forcibly to the jail. The whole procedure seemed very high-handed, but when the woman was out of earshot, the acting mayor turned to me mildly and remarked that he would not have acted that way on the man's word alone but there had been two witnesses and there was no doubt of the woman's guilt. He was trying to frighten the woman into a confession and restitution of the blanket, with which he would be content to dismiss the case.

Several drunks on the morning of October 3 created a commotion. Two got into a fight and were locked up. The rest were not molested.

On another day, two women were noticed in the jail. One said the other had thrown a gourd at her head. The second accused the first of stealing something from her lot. They were both thrown in jail to cool off.

A little girl was "horsing around"—to use the phrase of Augustín Rangel—near one of the street-corner vendors. The woman told her to go away, but the girl's mother did not interfere. In the mother's absence the girl broke some pottery. The two women began to quarrel and finally went to the mayor's office. After discussion, the woman with the pottery was advised to be more careful of her goods when there were children around.

Three men walked down the street, in various stages of drunkenness. Two began to quarrel and the drunkest of the three picked up a rock and threatened one of the men. The third man interposed himself, talked soothingly, eventually got the rock away from the drunken man, and they continued their walk.

One drunken man kept saying to another "You are rich and can do everything you want and I have nothing." The second man ignored this. After a while the first man said, "I don't care if you are rich, you ———," and then began commenting on the man's mother. The second man said, "Take back what you said about my mother." The first man said, "Never." Then they began to fight. Nothing was done about this.

The cases given above represent conflicts which resulted in no official punishment. Con-

flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 12. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail (no term indicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

November 3. A man raped a young woman, his second offense. He was placed in jail until the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad reputation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Paricutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl. One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatisfactory treatment of conflict situations and law. Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism, confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the *añes*.

Forming a mixture of church and community ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the *açes*. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The *açes* are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the *açes*. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the *açes* have any real control.

THE CHURCH

The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is revered to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

Maintenance of the structures still used by the church organization and the priest depends upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the *kéji*, an official of the *cabildo* or *açes*, as a residence.

The church building has obviously undergone a number of major alterations in its history. Originally the church did not front on the

plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the priest who left Chérán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

accumulated a substantial contribution without feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

This procedure would have amounted to little more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A regular part of the pottery stocks brought to Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.³³

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The priest, of course, is appointed by the Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

branches, and large numbers came to visit him. Despite these efforts, a new priest arrived some 2 weeks after the departure of the old priest.

The household and assistants of the priest vary somewhat. The mother of the old priest served as his housekeeper, and there were several servants. The old priest relied primarily on the *cabildo* or *añes* for his aides in church. The new priest brought a household whose exact composition I did not learn. In addition, he brought a sacristan and one or two other assistants, who took over several of the functions of the *cabildo*. In general, the new priest adopted a much more aggressive attitude. Not only did he immediately get into a bitter quarrel with the *cabildo* (to be described later), but he interfered with customs on every hand, wore his priestly dress in public and permitted people to kneel in public and kiss his hand, and mixed in political matters. Considerable numbers of Cherán residents resented his attitude bitterly, including many of the devout members of the community.

The support of the priest is based on voluntary contributions, but in Cherán the priest is aggressive. Formerly, the *cabildo* kept the priest informed as to the amounts of harvest, and the priest, often personally, at other times through one of his assistants, directly asked for "alms." The amount suggested is the traditional tenth; in some cases people give him this amount, but many give less. The payments are mostly in kind, usually wheat or corn, which is brought to the priest's residence and placed by him in a storehouse in charge of the *kéñi*. It was reported that the priest normally sells corn and wheat to needy local residents at about 1 peso a bushel below the market price. The facts in the case at the time of inquiry were somewhat obscured by the quarrel with the *cabildo*.

The functions of the priest in Cherán are numerous. Not only does he say the obligatory Masses, but he also celebrates special Masses in connection with every fiesta and *mayordomía*. All weddings are also celebrated with special Masses. He also arranges for such special events as visits of the Bishop for confirmation.

The Bishop paid one visit to Cherán during the time of the study. The priest appointed four *comisionados* in each *barrio* to gather con-

³³ The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, is in connection with the various societies. As indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups: undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a strongly Catholic community. During the height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,³⁴ Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town who were opposed to Church domination in political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

these men illustrates the situation clearly, particularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended, he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

Some of the minority faction in the town who are inclined to be anticlerical are undoubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very outspoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

³⁴It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

the town. Continuing his remarks, the former mayor also said that the priests seem not to want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargucros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luis in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses. Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the *moros* or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Flor-entín Rafaél, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about \$125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from \$0.50 to \$1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost \$150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged \$1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of \$270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

pay the musicians, these might be employed to help pay for the meals. Usually the commissioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

One commissioner for the moros is named from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinarily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

The four commissioners for the bull ring are all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

assembled, the young men have to rebuild the bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or providing his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*. Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not, it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo, provides a *chirimía* band each year (the *chirimía* is an oboelike wind instrument). In 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

during September. Each *barrio* piled its logs somewhere in the *barrio* as they were accumulated and took them to the bull ring only when the number was complete.³⁵

On September 27 lengthy discussions took place concerning the erection of a grandstand for spectators. This is usually done, but there appear to be no set arrangements. In the discussion, it developed that one year the seats had collapsed because the posts were not well set and no cross bracing was employed. One person was hurt; the only reason more were not hurt was that the entire stand went over as a unit instead of one end collapsing. It was agreed that cross bracing should be used (but it was not).

It was finally decided to persuade individuals to take responsibility for putting up the seats. There was some difficulty about this, as the persons approached were suspicious that they would be taxed so heavily that any profits from admission charges would be wiped out. When told that the *municipio* would not tax the concession, the builders at first refused to believe it and kept asking to be told in advance what the tax would be. Moisés Valencia, the town "boss," finally had to persuade them. Intense activity now started on the part of the builder (one man finally undertook the task of erecting all the stands) and his assistants, collecting materials and hauling them to the bull ring behind the church. Boards were borrowed from some dealers in town for making the actual seats, but logs had to be cut and hauled for the framework.

On September 28 carpenters began erecting the first stand or booth on the plaza. Several wooden booths were erected in the following days, mostly for selling soft drinks or ice cream.

On October 1 the transportable parts of the *castillo* or fireworks were brought in two lots. Rockets were fired off upon their arrival. The fireworks maker and an assistant set up shop in part of the old chapel used by the tilemakers. Later, when the pole for the big *castillo* or set piece was brought in, part of the operations

³⁵ About 3 weeks before the fiesta a great deal of activity began in painting, plastering, and refurbishing up houses, especially those on the plaza and on nearby streets. This went on right up to the time of the fiesta. The mayor took some part in suggesting improvements, but most of the householders made them on their own initiative.

was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day before, including three women with "a little religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

Some street cleaning began on this day. Trash was burned in the streets and the streets were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day. Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass. These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A gambling game was set up. The booths for the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the commissioners and their assistants went to the calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided, the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the streets, in some cases making extensive purchases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing. About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing. Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks set was to be burned. Not until after dark

were attempts made to raise the structure, various volunteers working under the direction of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by any means. The fireworks maker is always held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The first band appeared and began to play about 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner. About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

town and were waiting both for the proper time and for the last finishing touches to be put on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The *moros* followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the *moros* departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

The bull riding at Cherán is carefully supervised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

The procedures described above were repeated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

While the market continued to some extent throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

While all the occupations in the town are represented in the fiesta, only the more important ones take official part. These are the *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey gatherers take the two images of their patron saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, *katárakua*, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V. Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

east side of town. At the top of a smooth, well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, handkerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on Saturday, but the main events take place on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occasion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Arijeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

“Šéjeta (look at it)” and “Piájeta (buy it).” Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Often a group of young men will ask permission of the municipal authorities to collect the “*pisos de plaza*,” that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the “bandits,” *los asaltadores*. Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the “tax,” it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, “shooting” at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo*, nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

The Octava occurs a week after Easter Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo*, dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios*. No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

The major feature of the fiesta is cock fighting. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

organized fights or any considerable amount of betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with aniline dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

There is much competition between the *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

of *catucho* (a word I have not identified) and are carrying spears.

On Friday, the three times that Christ falls with the cross are represented with a cross and the image of Jesus of Nazareth. The cross is very large, but it is made of light materials, so it weighs little. The figure carrying the cross is put on a table, and it is manipulated from beneath the table to make it fall slowly and rise again. While the figure falls, the Jews pretend to beat it and mistreat it.

The Crucifixion is represented at a *velorio*. Three crosses, one bearing a crucified Christ, are placed upright in a corner of the church. The Jews pretend to beat the figure and injure it with their lances. Later in the same service the figure is lowered from the cross and placed in a special box. This represents the Holy Sepulcher and is guarded by the Jews.

On Saturday morning, 12 boys are placed in a corner near the altar. One of these washes the feet of the others. This act (obviously out of place in the chronology of events) is the only representation of the Twelve Apostles.

Some 20 years ago a somewhat more elaborate representation was given which included the portrayal of the garden of Gethsemane. Persons representing Pilate, Herod, and the Jews went about the plaza asking for Jesus. One, representing Judas, went up to a Christ image surrounded by branches and kissed the image. Jesus now answered, and the whole group fell down. Then they tore down the branches and took the image prisoner. Judas went around showing people the money he had received. On two occasions in the past the apocryphal incident of Veronica was also represented in connection with the three falls of Christ. After one of the falls, a girl pretended to wipe the face of the image with her handkerchief.

The activities in connection with Easter week are carried on by the persons attached to the church and the various societies. Nurukáta, laurel, is brought from the mountains in large quantities and is used to decorate the church during the week. After it has been "sanctified" it is taken home and kept in the houses. It may later be used for medicinal purposes. A special food for Easter week is

tamales of black corn mixed with layers of boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

Although most private fiestas are described elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

always assisted by various relatives, who also put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of *zurípo*, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta observed, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

and are served. While all this is going on, a few women start dancing.

Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuclgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuclgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuclgas*. Single *cuclgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

The host, on the occasion observed, drank very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colechas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichataro. The San Juan fiesta is the occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursula, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The principal item in the market is pottery, and it is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

pottery and the goods on sale are made at the same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assumption of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *carguceros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo* is more common in Cherán. The elaborateness and expense of the ceremonies vary considerably. Some are virtually community functions or minor fiestas but held at the expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others have very little expense attached to them. In many cases dance groups are associated with the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the *cabildo*. Four others are associated with particular professions (this is also true of some of the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed" by principals (*principales*). Another is managed by a group of principals but is not associated with a profession, while the final saint identified is owned by a private family. The saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro (of the farmers), San José (of the forest workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers), Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child Christ. Saints belonging to professions are San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers), San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo (of the honey gatherers, with two separate images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of the musicians). Independent of any profession is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no *mayordomía* properly speaking and is usually spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

The *cabildo* is also known as the "aées," meaning principal persons or things. In Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *principales*. The group consists of men who have occupied the offices of *colector* and *prioste* associated with the church. In the past the *cabildo* looked after many things connected with the church, including the collection and care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared for the saints in the church and the ornaments and decorations of the church, and brought the priests to Cherán during the period when religious functions were prohibited. Members also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned above, and considered the saints their property.

They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.

The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about \$250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the *kéji* and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *prioste* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the *kéji*.

The *kéji* is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the *kéji* with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the *kéji* is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a *kéji*. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of *kéji*, *prioste*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of *kéji*.

At one time the *kéji* began in the month of November to visit the *cargucros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *cargucros* served *posole*. By December 8, the *kéji* had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the *kéji* and remained until the ceremonies of changing the *kéji* were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old *kéji* and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

These are the speakers for the two *kéji*. Each *kéji* (in conjunction with the new and retiring *prioste*) has a band of music. Both the old and the new *prioste* invite friends and relatives to their houses for a meal. The *cabildo* goes to both places.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon both parties go to the house occupied by the *kéji* in the church grounds, still sometimes called the hospital despite the assertion of many that the *kéji* never lived in the hospital. The new *kéji* brings with him all the things he needs to set up housekeeping: new brooms, dishes, a *carga* of maize, the head of a beef, ax, metate, mats and clothes, all carried on burros. Arriving at the house, he finds all in disorder. The house is full of trash, the fireplace has been taken down, and everything has been left in the worst condition possible. The old *kéji* carries away everything he has used. Even old brooms and broken pots are saved through the year to be carried away at this time.

The two *viejos* or old men now begin to argue. The *viejo* representing the incoming *kéji* makes a long speech, criticising the administration of the outgoing *kéji*. The other *viejo* then responds, defending the outgoing *kéji* and explaining all the good things he has done. The two argue for some time. The music then plays a tune. First one and then the other dances; they endeavor to outdo one another, both in their ridiculous manner of dancing and in making jokes. Each is accompanied by a woman dressed as an old woman in a very much embroidered blouse and wearing a hat. Then the new officials inspect all the patio of the hospital; the new *kéji* enters the kitchen and takes possession. The old *kéji* goes out through the *zaguán* or gate with his belongings. The old *kéji* goes to the house of the old *prioste* with his friends and they drink until night. The new *kéji* and his *prioste* do the same in the hospital after the celebration of Mass.

Sometime during these events the *cabildo* elects the new *colector*. This official takes office on the 1st of January when he goes to church to celebrate the Circumcision. The new *colector* and his wife receive the benediction at the Mass. The wife of the *colector* carries with her an outfit of clothing for the Christ Child. After Mass the two go to the house of the new

kéji, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.³⁶

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the *šuránda* and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

other group, although he was one of the few active supporters of Almazán in the previous presidential election. In the opinion of the best informants there had existed no movement against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook his campaign, although obviously the roots of the charges and bad feeling were already present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *car-gucros*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between \$100 and \$200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

³⁶ It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

With regard to the charge of drunkenness, the *prioste* asserted that this had been true "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or *képi*, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

that never before had the church been closed when the priest left town.

In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

formerly given them all to the priest. In recent years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

tion of reopening the investigation and stated that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánçes* did not perform the *pastorcla* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánçes* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

MAYORDOMÍAS

Mayordomías are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are undertaken to secure some future good or to give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto*."

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje*." Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assistants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

mented that the *carguero* did not seem to wish to give even cigarettes. To which Pedro Chávez, our progressive and anti-Church assistant, replied sagely that this was because the *cabildo* had been abolished.

On the evening of December 24, candles are burned at night before the image in the house of the *carguero*, and he, his family and relatives, and the dancers and their relatives sit up with the image but do not participate in other activities of the *mayordomo*. The *uanánches* are also present. All are given food by the *mayordomo* in the late afternoon before dark. About midnight the image is taken to visit the image of the Child Christ in church and a Mass is held at the expense of the *carguero*, who also provides special candles for the occasion. The image in the church is put in a reclining position in a crib where it remains until January 1.

After the Mass, which does not end until nearly morning, the men go home, but return at an early hour to the house of the *carguero* for breakfast. The women remain in the *carguero's* house, assisting in preparing the meals for the dancers. After breakfast the men either return home or accompany the *carguero* as he cares for the dancers who now go out to dance in various houses. The dancers perform the days of the 25th, 26th, and 27th. During this time food is provided for them and many people assist in the food preparations. The dancers provide their own costumes for this affair, but the music, a band of wind instruments, is hired by the *carguero*. At the houses where the dancers perform they are given gifts of fruits and things that children would like (because it is a fiesta of the Child Christ).

In addition to the *negrito* and *pastorela* dances connected with the December 25 events, three other groups of dancers sometimes appear, the *melebris*. Neither they nor the *pastorela* are connected with the *mayordomía*. They are discussed in connection with the dances.

The expenses of this *mayordomía* are between \$500 and \$700. Music is hired for a week (for part of the practice as well as for the dancing), an expense of about \$200. One or two beeves usually are killed and about three fattened pigs. As much as 15 *fanegas* of maize may be consumed. Quantities of bread are also purchased, and *charanda* forms a considerable

item of expense also. A midnight Mass and candles are paid for, as well as the dance instructor. Special foods are also prepared at this time, for example, *mole de pepita de calabaza molida*, mole of ground squash seeds, a very rich food prepared only on this occasion (see recipes, p. 53).

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA NIEVES

Santa Nieves, or the Virgin de las Nieves (Virgin of the Snows), was evidently once the Virgin associated with the hospital. The *carguero* in 1940, as was the case with the *carguero* of the Child Christ, had taken the post "for pleasure."

The *carguero* receives the saint August 5. He takes it to his home and places it in a specially prepared place. On the day of the saint, August 5, he is supposed to arrange a dance, the *caballita uaráriča*, dance of the little horses, and to provide a band. This was not done in 1940 because of the quarrel over the *cabildo*. The dancers perform on this one day only, visiting the houses of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass in church to which he takes the image of the saint. The image is left in church for the new *carguero*.

MAYORDOMÍA OF GUADALUPE

The *mayordomía* of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12 is also a fiesta of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* gives food to his relatives in his house and they help him to decorate the church. The image of the Virgin is taken to church for the Mass and is left there for the new *carguero*. A long Mass is held. In 1940 there were three priests and the cost was \$60. Eighteen large candles were provided, each with bows of red, green, and white made out of tin (because of a shortage, four candles had paper ornaments). The candles are carried to church in procession by the helpers (relatives) of the *carguero*. Behind is carried the Virgin's image, followed by the *carguero* and his wife. A dance is supposed to be held, but it was omitted in 1940.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ISIDRO

The *mayordomía* of San Isidro is also connected with the *cabildo*. The date of the *mayordomía* is May 15. Information of this *mayordomía* was obtained from the *carguero's*

wife, who was very suspicious and possibly ignorant. Consequently it is not wholly satisfactory.

The saint is the patron of those who cultivate the ground with oxen, but there is no evidence that only cultivators assume this *mayordomía*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass and probably for candles. Usually the relatives of the *carguero* and his wife are invited to eat at the house, but this is not obligatory and may be omitted if the *carguero* cannot afford it (the *carguero* in 1940 was obviously very poor). If the relatives are invited, the wife's female relatives aid in preparing the food. The saint's image is taken to church before the Mass and remains in church until the fiesta of Corpus, when it is removed by the new *carguero*. The *carguero* in 1940 had taken the saint because of a vow, but the wife said she did not know what the vow was.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN JOSÉ

San José is a patron of the shake makers and the plank makers. The *carguero* is usually of one of these occupations. He begins his service on the saint's day, March 19. At the fiesta of Corpus he takes the image to church and pays for candles. He also provides meals for the commissioners and musicians of the woodworkers at the fiesta (for the entire fiesta according to one informant, but this contradicts other information given in connection with the Corpus fiesta). In the following year on March 19 the *carguero* pays for a Mass, candles, and *cohetes*, taking the saint's image to the church where it is left for the new *carguero*. On the 19th, if the *carguero* wishes, he may invite his relatives to the house for food and have music, but this is not obligatory.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA INÉZ

Santa Inéz, also a saint of the *cabildo*, is regarded as one of the virgins. She is patron of cattle and pigs. Formerly there were cows belonging to this saint, but they were lost. About 15 years ago a cow was presented to the saint. Now she possesses two cows, two bulls, and two young steers. The *carguero* looks after these animals. He may use the milk from the cows, but he is not supposed to sell any of the cattle.

The saint's image in this case was kept with special elegance in a large case with glass on the front and sides. Inside the box were small images of a cow, a steer, and a pig on the left side. The box stood on a table decorated with paper flowers and supporting an incense burner, a basket of copal gum, and a candle. The table in turn rested on a mat on the floor. The wall behind the box was decorated with colored papers and chains and paper cut-outs.

The new *carguero* receives the image of the saint on April 21. On Corpus the image is taken to church (and probably candles are burned). At the end of the year, on the following April 21, the relatives of the *carguero* visit him. He has musicians and food for them. The saint's image is taken to church for a Mass paid for by the *carguero* (probably with candles). Some *cargueros*, when they receive the image, give it a new outfit of clothing. The image is large and one of the best-dressed in Cherán. The dress is white with a blue cape. A gilt crown is on the head and a necklace of the red glass beads prized by Tarascan women is about the neck. The altar is decorated with many flowers and aromatic herbs.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN RAFAEL

The *mayordomía* of San Rafael is not connected with the *cabildo*. The saint is patron of the merchants, and apparently the *mayordomía* is administered by a principal or principals selected by the merchants. The principals decide who shall receive the *mayordomía* and pay an occasional visit to the *carguero's* house to see that all is kept in proper order. This seems to be the regular arrangement for all the independent saints connected with *mayordomías*, although specific information is lacking for some of them.

As patron of the merchants, the image of San Rafael carries a fish under the left arm and in his right hand bears a staff (actually a shepherd's crook). About his neck is a necklace of sea shells. In front of the altar are hung other sea shells and miniature fire fans, clay fruits, etc. The house and altar are well decorated with paper flowers and colored papers. Before the altar are candles and an incense burner. The merchants visit the

saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero*; Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.³⁷

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

³⁷ Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 18 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

his house. On Corpus he carries the image to church and spends money for candles. If he wishes he may have a fiesta with music and food at his house, but this is not obligatory.

A few notes on the history of San Antonio, obtained from one of the principals, are of interest. The original image was burned at the time the town was destroyed during the revolution. For a number of years the *mayordomía* was in abeyance. About a dozen years before the study, a young man in the house, a traveler, expressed an interest in having the saint. The principal borrowed a saint from somewhere, and they kept it in the house. The muleteers talked a good deal about the matter, but did nothing. Finally the principal placed an order for a new image. A principal of the old image of the saint, which had been destroyed, assisted, as he knew about such things, and solicited alms from the muleteers. In about 2 years they got the new image of the saint and then informed the priest. He came to the house to see it and commended them. Then he said they should seek godfathers for the image and have it blessed. This was done, and thus the *mayordomía* was revived. The old principal, the informant, and one other who had recently died had been the principals ever since. Persons wishing the *mayordomía* had to ask them for it. If more than one person asked, they were given it in order.

Although San Antonio is the patron of the muleteers, they do not visit the image before going on journeys. Persons not muleteers may also receive this *mayordomía*. In fact, the principal who served as informant is a mason who interested himself in the saint because of the youth living in his house (possibly his son, although he carefully avoided any suggestion of relationship).

Some persons not muleteers also make vows to the saint. The same informant cited the case of a man named Antonio who made a vow to take the *mayordomía* when there was an epidemic killing many pigs in Cherán. None of Don Antonio's pigs died. He sought the *mayordomía* and received it. Ever since, he fattens and kills a pig every year, sells the lard, and buys something for the saint with the proceeds.

THE MAYORDOMÍAS OF SAN ANSELMO

There are two *mayordomías* of San Anselmo, each with its saint's image. Both belong to the honey gatherers, the *panaleros*, and there is a certain amount of cooperation between the two *cargucros*. For example, they share the cost of the Mass on the saint's day. One of the *mayordomías* is always in *barrio* III or IV, the upper *barrios*, while the second is always in the lower *barrios*, that is, I and II. It is said that only honey gatherers can receive the *mayordomías*. Although honey gatherers apparently are not numerous, there are a good many men who occasionally follow the occupation. As it is highly dangerous, the aid of the saint is felt important and there usually are numerous persons willing to accept the *mayordomía*, especially as it is not a very expensive one.

The new *cargucro* receives the saint at the church 8 days after the fiesta of Corpus. The new *cargucro* presents the saint with a hat, blanket, palm fiber raincoat, and other miniature items. As the saint's image is small, everything connected with it is small. On April 22 the two *cargucros* jointly pay for a Mass, but it is said not to be such an important Mass as for other saints. The Mass follows that of Santa Inéz on April 21; it is said that as the *mayordomías* of this saint follow after Santa Inez, one should not spend as much as is spent for Santa Inéz. San Anselmo is more humble. The giving of a fiesta in the house on the saint's day is optional with the *cargucro*.

Eight days before Corpus both images of the saint are taken to the mountains when the honey gatherers go out to seek honeycombs for the fiesta. The two images are taken to different places, and the men from the different *barrios* accompany the associated saint's image. The *cargucro* supplies large quantities of *charanda* on this occasion. The men get drunk and dance every afternoon to guitar music. On Tuesday of Corpus the images are taken to church and left there until taken by the new *cargucros*.

The choice of the new *cargucros* is made by the priest from lists provided by the principals. According to the *cargucro* for the two lower *barrios* in 1940, four principals named by the

honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *cargucro* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought because the boy was not growing normally.

On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *cargucro* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *cargucro* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year.

It is obvious that the *cargucro* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

The expenses of the *cargucro* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows:

Musicians	\$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate)	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate)	60.00
22 fanegas of maize at 3.75 to 4.00	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers	10.00

3 liters milk daily	}	15.00
25 tablets chocolate daily		
3 or 4 centavos of bread each daily		
Three breakfasts for musicians		
2 kilos of sugar		.70
3 bottles alcohol (estimate)		3.00
Coffee for musicians (estimate)		1.00
Total		\$266.70

Ordinarily the new *carguero* seeks the *mayordomía* from the principals. The *carguero* in 1940 had some doubts as to what would be done because of the insistence of their priest that *mayordomías* should in future be asked of him. On the other hand, the principals had no doubt that the *mayordomía* was their special property.

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings was definitely a new departure in Cherán. The dance group apparently had performed for many years.

According to the three principals, whom by good luck it was possible to interview together, until a few years ago only a group of dancers performed on the Day of Kings. The dancers were not organized but each year a group of volunteer performers got together informally. There were images of the Three Kings in church, but none were taken to private houses. One time the three principals were talking about the dance when "God sent them the idea" of creating a *mayordomía*. From some 15 or 18 others they collected some money. The principals, however, put in a good deal more than the others. Then they started with the three small images which one of them had in his house, in the meantime ordering the new images. One of the principals received the *mayordomía* first. The *carguero* in 1940 was the third and those for the following 2 years had already been appointed.

With regard to the position of the priest, the principals remarked that the saints belonged to them and neither the *cabildo* nor the priest nor anyone else had anything to say about the images. However, the priest, according to the principals, accepted this situation, for he had no cause to be angry with them.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA CECILIA

Very few data were collected concerning this *mayordomía* which was not discovered until

shortly before the close of the study. (It is quite probable that two or three *mayordomías* exist in Cherán which were not discovered at all; no one in the town appears to know all of them.) Santa Cecilia is patroness of the musicians, and the *carguero* is always a musician. In 1940 no one wished to "take the saint," so the image remained in the same house, a nephew of the former *carguero* who lived in the house taking the responsibility. The musicians all gather at the house of the *carguero* and play all day. (This is how the *mayordomía* was discovered; however, no outsiders were invited in, despite the most obvious hints.)

THE MIRACULOUS HOLY CHILD

This saint, El Milagroso Santo Niño, is not properly to be included among the *mayordomías*, as it is the property of a single family and does not circulate among other households. According to the story told by the owners, the saint was found by the man of the family some 18 years before, while he was cutting wheat below the town. Tiring, he sat down, and while picking idly at the dirt with his sickle he uncovered the image. He had the image fixed up (at present it looks entirely like the other saint's images with respect to the technique and painting). With the aid of others, a chapel was then built for the saint in the yard of the house. When the image was found it was only about 30 cm. high. It is claimed that it has grown steadily until it is now between 70 and 80 cm.

The saint first became known as a miraculous saint when a man from the ranchos (a group of small Mestizo settlements on the boundaries of Cherán in the mountains) cut his foot while alone in the woods. As he was bleeding to death, he recalled the saint, of which he had heard, and vowed to take it to his rancho accompanied by dancers. The bleeding stopped and he recovered.

Keeping his vow, the Mestizo brought dancers to Cherán and took the saint to the rancho. There other miracles occurred. For example, a child who could not walk and who was dumb had the crown of the saint put on him; he now walks and talks very well.

As a result of these experiences, the people

from the ranchos came every year with dancers. They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Material collected from other towns suggests that other types of *mayordomía* organization exist. In Angáhuán, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuán, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde*, *regidor*, *kámbiti*, *petájpe* and *biskál*, *mayores*, *kié̃ji*, *anyítakua*.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo*, who are known as *tarénpenya*. These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente*. The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the "*cabildo*" (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

The duties of the *kámbiti* are to pay the expenses of the Holy Week festivities and to decorate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called *uirimutakua*, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as *čarápes* to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as *caekaki jağirati*. All these ceremonies are regulated by the *kámbiti*.

The *petájpe* gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them "*esquite*," of the type known as *kanita takunji*. At this time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the *petájpe* provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of *biskál*. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of *petájpe* and *biskál* are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor*, one must give a fiesta to the patron saint and appear as a moro dancer. The moros dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or *kámbiti* or *petájpe* hold a fiesta.

The *kié̃ji* has similar duties to the *ké̃ji* of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

has under his orders the *anyitakuas* or "*semaneros*."

The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yuríšo*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorcla* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorclas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Organization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the *moros* are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the *moros*, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (*Moors*) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the *moro* part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choreographic description (and being unable to witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, *turí'a*, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners, who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the *koroníče*.

Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

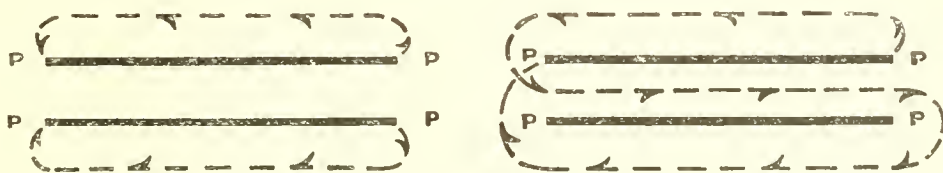


FIGURE 16.—Figures executed in the *negrito* dance. *P* indicates *pastores*.

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

Mask (rent)	\$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
	<hr/>
Total	\$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and back while the two recite their part of the *relato*.

The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by the *carguero*. The best-known specialist is Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the *viejos*, *Europeos* or *Españoles*, as he prefers to call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941. He had been teaching the dances for 28 years (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but he liked none of them. (But several people said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos*, which have been the same for 20 years and which they felt were not very good anyway.) Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is especially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are

superior to any he has seen in other towns. The only time he admits having seen a better dance than that of Cherán was once when Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have a better dress than those of Cherán, but they are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field, believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior performance. It is, he says, merely a lot of children dressed up prettily but knowing neither their lines nor their dance. The *negrito*, on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato*, all divided into acts, and the performers are old enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his stock in trade. While he was cooperative and willing to permit them to be copied, he would do so only at a price commensurate with their value to him. This price seemed more than they would be worth as documents, particularly

as it is evident that they contain much literary echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived from literary sources. As considerable portions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín Rangel, assistant on the project, who participated in both dances in 1940-41, it was felt the expense of securing the complete *relatos* was not warranted.

The following is the *relato* of Agustín Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given, but punctuation added) :

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren. Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustín's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y así los campos de verdor revístas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aquí este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou caustest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make
offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English) :

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in
Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to
witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

The main part of the *relato* is recited by a person known as *el letra* and another called *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

two files, except for the little girls at that end of the lines. When the recitation begins, *el letra* steps forward alone and recites his part, returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a.m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a.m. Mass. [Note: There were several hundred persons in the procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Parieutin (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

A number of dance groups often appear at or before Christmas. Collectively they are known as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the *čúrikua anápu turíča* or *sakíč*, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the *t'auč aríriča*, the dancing old men. The word "ai" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the *apáčiča* or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the *negrito* masks but wear no masks. Rooster

feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leaping about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

The various groups (and more than one group may appear for each dance) go about to various houses where there are unmarried girls or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

THE PASTORELA

The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is also performed at Christmas time. The dance is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to other accounts) who have taken incense and flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the *fiesta* of *pajáču* (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows (spelling as given):

A que noche tan cremoza
 Ensillad mi buen caballo
 Que en Belen nos cobinda de Salvador
 Muy lejos tieras bengo
 Agosar de una pasienda
 Con gusta y contento
 A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
 Saddle my good horse,
 For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
 To very distant lands I will arrive.
 I will enjoy a journey,
 With pleasure and content
 To bring together my cattle.

Usually the *pastorela* is given the night of December 24 and for 2 or 3 days afterward. The dancers perform first between the church and the municipal building. Then they visit the houses of the members of the *cabildo* and the various *cargueros*. At the houses they are usually given some fruit.

In 1940 considerable feeling was engendered by the collapse of the *pastorela*, which many believed to be the pleasantest of the various dances, the more moralistic because no one drank in connection with it. Don Inocencio, the father of the first *uanánče*, the *šunánda* or *pári*, wished to give the *pastorela* so that he could comply with the promise he had made when his daughter was sickly as a small child. He was somewhat incensed because the *prioste* had spoken to the other families first and told them they should not give the dance. When Don Inocencio visited the other parents he found them unwilling to go ahead and disgusted with the whole situation. Most extreme was Tomás Hernandez, who said he would not comply with the obligation, even though it should mean losing the 10 pesos he had advanced on behalf of the group to bring the band from Tanaco. Or, he added, he might be willing to bring the band, but he wouldn't give the dance; instead, he would give a big *paránda* or drinking party for the benefit of themselves and not for the town.

Don Inocencio expressed great distress at this attitude. He already had fattened two pigs and expressed himself frequently as willing to go ahead with the *pastorela* if others would help. He appealed to the staff of the investigation to speak to the mayor, asking him to compel the other families to comply with their obligation; or, failing that, for permission to take up a voluntary collection. Clearly, Don Inocencio felt that the families of the other *uanánčes* were taking advantage of the dismissal of the *cabildo* to avoid their just obligations.

This suspicion of Don Inocencio's was quite correct in some cases. One of the other family heads stated that the dismissal of the *cabildo* canceled the obligation. Although his daughter had become a *uanánče* in compliance with a vow, her father announced he would not help to give the *pastorela* even though others volun-

tarily contributed to the expenses. One of the more cynical assistants in the investigation pointed out that the attitude was quite understandable, as the man owed a debt of \$160 to a woman in the town, who was trying to force him to pay at least half of it.

The father of another of the *uanánčes* stated that with the dismissal of the *prioste* the custom of the *pastorela* had ended and that it was unnecessary to continue. Evidently he did not care for the custom and remarked, "To me it seems best that they dismissed the *prioste*."

Another case is of some interest. Although the girl was not a *uanánče*, her parents had made a vow that she should appear in the *pastorela*. The parents made an arrangement for her to participate in the *pastorela* of Cheranástico. The Cheranástico *pastorela* evidently is somewhat different from that of Cherán. The girl would wear a red dress, a silk handkerchief covering the lower part of her face, a man's hat, and shoes and would be known as a *rancherita*. She would dance opposite a small boy partner called a *ranchero* (rancher). The *pastorela* of Cheranástico is performed January 1.

DANCE OF THE *VIEJOS* OR *EUROPEOS*

The dance of the *viejos* or *Europeos* (old men or Europeans) appears in connection with the Three Kings, January 6. Previous to 1940 the dance had been given by a volunteer group. In the afternoons, as men lounged about the streets and talked after work, people would begin to mention that the time for the dance was approaching. Eventually a group would decide that they should organize the dance. They would collect money among themselves and others and hire musicians and a teacher. In 1940, however, the *carguero* of the Three Kings, announced that giving the dance was properly part of the *mayordomía* and undertook to organize the dancers, pay the teacher and musicians, and provide food for the dancers.

The group in 1940 consisted of 30 *viejos* (but not all of them appeared all the time), three kings, and five *pastorcitas* or shepherdesses. (There should have been only four shepherdesses; we were unable to learn the reason for the extra one. Possibly someone asked to participate after the four were chosen or there

were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be politic to ask five different families.) The *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

Mask (\$1.50 to 2.50, rent; \$5, purchase)	\$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
<i>Incarche</i> (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	\$6.00-\$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, \$25-\$29)	\$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

The local masks are expensive and are regarded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1910), with the three kings facing the files at

one end. First spoke a *letra* (in 1940 Agustín Rangel, assistant in the study), who gave an introduction (see below), walking up and down between the files and describing the events of the birth of Christ and the Three Kings. Then all made a circuit (fig. 17). After this, everyone (except the Three Kings but including the shepherdesses) stepped between the lines in

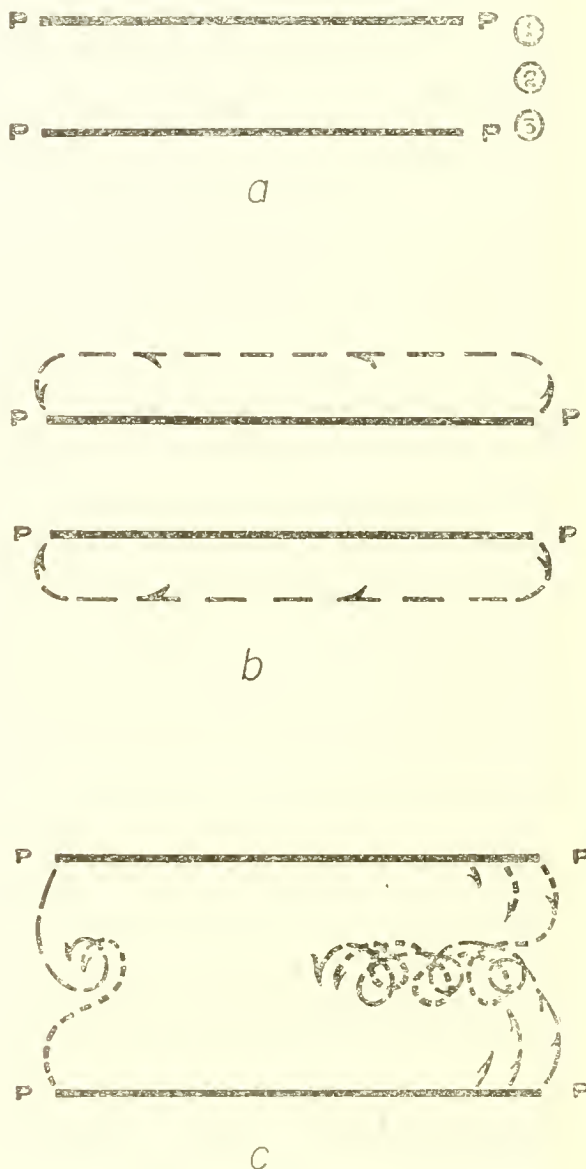


FIGURE 17.—Dance of the *Europcos*, showing various dance figures. *a*, Basic position at start of dance and in which all figures end. *b*, Circling movement. *c*, Movements of paired dancers, executed by each pair in turn, reversing the figure to return to their original position. *P* indicates the *pastores*; the numerals indicate the Three Kings.

pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
 Mis respetables ancianos;
 El 25 del mes,
 De Diciembre en la locacion:
 Bajo hay del alto cielo,
 Han acer en esta suela
 Nuestro Dios de predencia.
 Al instante los pastores,
 Sabidos del gran portento;
 Salen preste en el momento,
 A visitar el Señor.
 Dejando el campo y ganado
 Asi como sus cabañas;
 Ven por bosques y montanas,
 Y con erecido contento,
 van a ver el nacimiento
 Del Niño Jesus amado.
 Cuando contaba ocho dias
 De nacido el Niño Amado
 Fue tambien cir convencido
 El verdadero mezas.
 Compañeros Veteranos,
 Recordar el 6 de enero
 Fiesta de la epiphania,
 Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

Del bellissimo lucero,
 Fue la manifestacion,
 Del Niño Dios y Señor;
 Por eso con todo amor,
 Vamos a su adoracion.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
 Las glorias cantandos;
 Al Nino en sal sando
 Cantos de amor.

1º Relato

Tambien Los Reyes de Oriente,
 Manchan en este momento;
 De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
 A ver a mi portente.
 Luz de vina los va guindo
 Y van a la adoracion,
 En tan feliz ocasion,
 La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
 Con gusto y amor,
 Ofrecer al Niño,
 Amor y consuelo.
 Ofrece
 Te veo en humildes pajitas,
 Y me postre en el instante,
 Yo te adoro Nino Amante,
 Y te ofreseco estas conchitas.
 (Pide el baile al terminar los
 ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
 Yavimos tu Nacimiento
 Y Todos con gusto estamos
 Porque felices seremos;—
 Niño Dios, bello portento,
 En grupo todos nos vamos;
 Al terminar la Vecita;
 Mas en nuestros corazones;
 Todos Fidos te llevarnos;
 Jamas, jamas nos olvides,
 Hoy te dicen toditos,
 Hasta el año Venidero
 Mas todos con Alegria
 Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
 !Oh! Ninito Salvador,
 Permitanos gran Señor,
 Que con gusta te bailemos
 Unos alegres cuadrillas;
 En tan felices momentos
 Adios digo companeros,
 Toquen ya los instrumentos
 Y los sones abajem—

Despues del Canto

Musica

Ya nos retiremos,
Del lugar Sagrado;
Llovando nos vamos,
!Oh! Jesus amado.

TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

The Offering

I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
I adore Thee, loving Child,
And I offer Thee these little shells.
(The dance is asked for when the
offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning
not clear—possibly *abajeros* is meant,
not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the
low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

The style of delivery of these *relatos* was highly declamatory and monotonous. The words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

Child. The performer with the latter lines was the only one who managed to make the crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p. m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a. m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a. m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a. m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breakfast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

where we danced and were given oranges. We then went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Antonio, where we danced and were not given anything. From there we went to the store of Victoriano Turja where we danced and were given 1 liter of *aguardiente*. Then we left for the meat market of one of the *cargueros* of the Holy Kings [he means one of the principals], Don Ygnaeio Duran, where we danced and recited the *relato*, the whole works, and were given oranges. From there we left for the house of [the *carguero* of] Santa Nieves, where we danced and were given money, 1 centavo apiece. From there we went to the house [of the *carguero* of] Our Lady of Guadalupe where we danced and were given limes. From there we came dancing what they call a *carnival* through the streets to the store of Don Hilario (Xhembe) where we were given sugarcane. Then we left for the *carguero's* house to eat supper. We were told to be early at his house the next morning.

January 8. The next morning we started to dance about 9 a. m. from the *carguero's* house. We went to the house of Rosalio [*representante* or representative of the town], where we danced and were given oranges. From there we went to the house of Creseencio Hernandez where they gave us a 50-centavo piece because she said [the mistress of the house] that they had not expected us to come and dance at the house. Then we went to a house on Galeana and Allende where we danced and where we were not given anything because he [the house owner] said he wasn't expecting us. Then we danced to one of the *carguero's* of the Holy Kings [meaning principal again] where we were given oranges. From there we went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Isidro where we danced and were given oranges. Then we went to [the *barrio* of] Parícutin to the place of the Virgin Inéz; there we danced and were given oranges. Then from there we went to the house of the *carguero* of some saint near the barranca of Parícutin where we danced and were not given anything. Then we went to the house on the corner of Rayon and Comercio streets where we danced and were given oranges. Then we headed for the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner, we then went to the house of the Miraculous Holy Christ where we danced and were not given anything because we started to grab the oranges from the basket and the woman got sore and didn't give us anything. Then we left for the house of Don Jesús Velasquez (the main marriage manager), where we danced and were given oranges. He had invited us to go over to his house and dance. From there we went to Ricardo Queriapa where the saint of San Anselmo is. There we danced and were given oranges. But this time some of the *viejos* had separated and some of them had gone to the plaza. After we finished dancing at that lady's house we then danced at the store of Alberto Muñoz where we were not given anything. Then the Doctor invited us over to dance in front of his office. After we got through, the Doctor flipped a peso to see who would get it. One of the *viejos* got it and got drunk

with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *vicjos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p. m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (ocote) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called *taré sapiraticá*, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the *kéji* and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánčes* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

known as the *caballita uanáriča* dance of the little horses. The figures of horses are made of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the *uáris*. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorcla* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the *kéji* at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *crèche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

The dancers consist of between 35 and 40 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europcos* were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

"demons" were dressed in black, wearing a crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

The performance begins with a long *relato* by the devils in which they talk about a journey they are going to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

At primarily Mestizo San Juan Parangaricutiro on January 7 a dance of *Europeos* was observed. The two main dancers were a man and woman in burlesque of *catrin-ranchero* costumes (the "woman" was a man dressed in women's clothes). The woman wore a straw hat with artificial flowers, a well-made white wooden mask of a European woman's face, a cloth enveloping all of the head not covered by the mask, a yellow waist, and a black *ranchera's* skirt with a beautifully embroidered yellow silk apron, gloves, and a handbag. In her hands she carried a narrow woman's sash. The man wore a white wig with ribbons, white mask with black beard and attractive features, a sweater, a moro dancer's cape (but worn a little lower than the moro dancer does, so the mirror was over the man's buttocks), and several women's aprons of silk or rayon hung from about his neck. About his legs from the knees down were wrapped numerous women's belts and about his ankles were copper bells. Over one shoulder he carried a stick with one end carved into a burro's head, adorned with ribbons and with a bell hung from the neck of the burro.

The other dancers were dressed somewhat like the male leader, except the cape was black with an opening like that of a scrape although worn as a cape. The lining of the cape was in brilliant colors of silk or rayon. Ornamentation of the cape was done with colored sequins. Otherwise the costume was the same, but no stick was carried.

The dance music varied according to various aspects of the dance, changes being indicated by the male leader ringing his bell. The dancers formed in two files, with the male leader at the head of one file, the woman leader at the head of the other. When the music began, the dancers leaped in the air several times and shouted in a high voice. Then the files performed several circuits; the one headed by the male making its circuit first, followed by the other. Following the circuits the dancers performed a sort of *jarabe*, but remained in one place. From time to time they leaped high in the air (individually), shouting in a falsetto voice. As they came down they spread their capes wide and, with hair and aprons flying in

all directions, they resembled some impossible bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jerabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either *sondado uaran* or *turiçauarani*. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrín* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojонера and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

also play for some civic events, such as the installation of new officers, for which they receive no pay.

In addition to the organized bands, there are smaller and less well organized groups of musicians, mainly performers on stringed instruments such as violin, violincello, bass fiddle, and guitar, although a clarinetist may be included. Such groups meet and play together at one another's houses for their own pleasure. At times, however, they may be hired for *mayordomías* or household fiestas, especially if the sponsor cannot afford a full band. Such groups may also be asked to play at some public function. In 1940 one such group was asked by the mayor to play in the school in connection with the final oral examinations and closing exercises.

WITCHCRAFT

For many miles around, Cherán has the reputation of being the outstanding center for witchcraft among the Tarascans. As is often the case, however, it was extremely difficult to secure any information about witchcraft in the town. Enough was secured, however, and enough significant evasions encountered, to make it likely that the reputation is deserved. Even by the informants and assistants on the study, concealment was practiced, and at the very end of the study some data were obtained virtually by accident from Agustín, our United States born helper, which he obviously told with great reluctance.

Witches, *sakuájpiri*, are believed always to be women. In general, the name of witch is applied to all "women of the street," that is, women who live without men. Generally, these are either aged women without relatives or women, usually widows, who are believed to be prostitutes. No one would dare do anything against such women. Although these women may live in any part of the town, there is evidence that they are believed to live more in *barrio* I on the slopes of Santiákujákua, the hill on the northwest corner of the town. This hill is said to be full of witches and to be a very dangerous spot to go to at night. Passing along one of the uppermost streets on the hill one day, we were asked for a coin by an old woman. Agustín R. refused to let me give a coin and

hurried us away, obviously much shaken by the experience and firmly convinced the woman was a witch.

Despite the fact that several persons stated all witches are women, a story was collected that witchcraft was started in Cherán by a man who found a book. Most power, though, is said to be obtained by a witch who goes alone to the summit of Kukundikáta, a volcanic cone a mile or two southeast of town and about a thousand feet in height. Here the witch calls the devil, "Sir devil, I ask a favor." A strong wind is felt or the sound of a strong wind is heard and the devil appears before the petitioner. The would-be witch then makes a contract for 20 years, at the end of which time he loses his life. In the meantime the witch may teach others, however, who do not have a contract unless the witch makes a subsidiary agreement with them. In any case they are not as powerful as the witch who secures power directly from the devil. (Note again in this account the implication that the witches are male.)

Witches operate in several ways. The most common is to secure some very personal object, a comb, piece of hair, piece of clothing, or even sweat from a coin (which is why Agustín refused to let me give a coin, as mentioned above). A doll of wax or clay is made to resemble the person and dressed in similar clothes. The article obtained is used in making or clothing the doll. If hair of the victim has been obtained, for example, it is placed on the head of the doll. Pins are then stuck in the joints and, if it is desired to kill the victim, in each temple. The doll is then taken to one of several places, things are recited in Tarascan, candles are burned, and each time the pins are pushed in a little farther.

The places visited are a spot in the *barranca* separating Parícutin from the other *barrios* or two caves on the slope of Kukundikáta. It was undesirable to attempt to locate the spot in the *barranca*, but the two caves were visited. Neither showed signs of much use. In one candles had evidently been burned. The second had been visited fairly recently. Far in the back of the cave a small trench crossed the steeply sloping floor and the rocks about it had been well swept. In a corner were twigs from

an oak tree and at one side two crossed branches of oak. A cigarette butt and some fragments of pitch pine, apparently dropped casually, were the only other evidence of use.

It was reported that a good deal of witchcraft had been stamped out and that the municipal government, acting on orders from Morelia, had posted two armed guards at night in the *barranca* and one on Kukundikáta with orders to shoot to kill anyone they found practicing witchcraft. It is necessary to kill the witch, because if the witch escapes the magic will turn against the person interfering. Any attempt at verification of this report from the municipal officials met with such skillful evasive action that there may be a modicum of truth in it.

Another way of bewitching is to carry objects at night to the house of the victim. Bones of dead persons were mentioned as one of the objects. Pedro Chávez had also seen a candle with many holes in it and cut in many places which was hidden close to the house of an intended victim. Candles are used because they are associated with the dead. Earth from the floor of the jail is also very useful in such matters, and certain flowers may also be deposited.

One of the ways of leaving things or of obtaining a personal object is for the witch to change into some animal. Witches may change into cats, owls, dogs, roosters, or burros. In this guise they may hide something by the house of the victim or may steal some personal object. If a strange cat, or even a neighbor's cat which has never come around before, should come into the kitchen and play and try to snatch personal things it is probably a witch in disguise. If such a cat is caught by the tail and held in the smoke of an oak fire it will soon talk and answer any question asked, such as the name of the witch, the person sending the witch, and so on. A friend of Agustín R. caught a witch cat in this way. He threatened to kill it if he saw it again. When he released the animal, it simply vanished.

The animals may also talk softly to the victim at night. A woman heard a voice outside saying, "Sleep, *Doña* ———, sleep." She went to a good witch and after a period of treatment was not bothered again. Owls will get in trees

outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

Little is known about curing techniques. In the account secured, the good witch goes into an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

In all probability an important reason for the departure of the Rangel family from Cherán for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

Data are too scanty to form any reliable hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

WITCHCRAFT IN CAPACUARO

As is often the case, more specific details of witchcraft were secured in Capacuaro, which has no reputation for witchcraft, than in Cherán. In the course of a brief stay in Capacuaro, Rendón and Carrasco made the acquaintance of a delightful couple who openly admitted to being witches. The remaining members of the staff subsequently became fairly well acquainted with the couple. Their witchcraft seemed, on the whole, a relatively harmless and unmalicious variety, which may account for their willingness to admit to the practice. Perhaps the most entertaining incident was when the wife told Rendón under promise of secrecy that she had secured her husband through witchcraft and had been able to keep him only through the same means. The husband told Carrasco the same story about his wife!

The following are details, mostly collected by Rendón:

1. Method of winning the love of someone; of making a wife return to her husband; or of making a husband return to his wife; or causing someone who is impassioned without hope to obtain what he desires:

Secure five candles costing 5 centavos, three of paraffin and two of tallow. The practitioner must shut himself in a room without anyone seeing him, but if he has asked a witch to do the ceremony for him, he must be present. The candles are arranged in the following form:

*	tallow candle
* * *	paraffin candles
*	tallow candle

The paraffin candle in the center is known as the "Candle of the Heart." The candles must be in the center of the room and oriented to the cardinal directions.

Placing of the candles begins with the lower tallow candle. First the candle is turned between the fingers in a certain way, saying "so and so, come, come, come, come, come . . ." many times. Upon saying this the necessary number of times depends much of the success of the ceremony, but there are no rules; the witch simply feels when it has been enough. The candle is then lighted and put in position. The same is done with the other candles, but the order could not be given unless the investigator had hired the ceremony performed with serious purpose.

The center candle, the "Candle of the heart," is previously softened by exposure to the sunlight. Two fingers are then measured on the candle from the base

"for your guardian angel, two fingers for the Holy Spirit, and one finger for your name." At the point reached by the five fingers measurement, the candle is opened and a flower called the "flower of thought" is placed inside, and the wax is replaced carefully as though the candle had not been opened.

The center candle is now lighted at the butt end and placed in position upside down. Great care must be exercised, however, not to permit the candle to burn past the point where the flower is located. If it did, the bewitched person would die and the person performing the incantation would go to the inferno and suffer throughout eternity.

This ceremony may be performed in any position of the moon and by either day or night. Nevertheless, Wednesday is the best day, and night is the best time. The indispensable prerequisite is that no one see the ceremony except the person on whose behalf it is performed. Any other person, even though equally interested in the success of the procedure, would interfere with the result, while a hostile person who knew, could intercept the "labor" and even do injury to the witch.

Despite this prohibition in ordinary cases, there are some circumstances in which several witches or women "initiated in remedies," even though they did not know how to officiate, might perform this ceremony together. The informant, however, refused to tell how the ceremony was performed in this case or the object of the ceremony.

After the ceremony has been performed, the subject is observed for several days or a week. If no improvement in attitude is noticeable, the bewitchment continues in the following form:

Candles are burned again as described above. In addition, the witch procures a meter of black belting material, a small stamp of Saint Judas, a bit of red paper, "flowers of thought," dahlias or other red flowers, and a collection of as many kinds of flowers as can be found. The Saint Judas is wrapped carefully and thoroughly in the black belt. The bundle is then wrapped in the red paper and laid on a cross made of the miscellaneous flowers at the "head" of the candles with the saint's face down. On the bundle is placed the red flower and the "flowers of thought." Then the witch says, "Saint Judas, bring me so and so, for I have you there prisoner and if you do not hurry I will burn you." A "prayer" is then said in Tarascan which the informant refused to divulge. The witch remains in a kneeling position and recites seven credos until the "Candle of the Heart" reaches the point past which it must not burn. (In order to have the candles burn an equal amount, it is necessary to put out the others when they reach the same level.)

2. To make someone hate another person; to make a husband leave his wife or a wife leave her husband; to make children desert their parents or parents abandon their children; to make a person feel repulsion for others:

The witch or the person who wishes to accomplish the result secures excrement of the person who is to be hated. The excrement is dried in the sun from 12 until 3, being careful not to expose it at other hours. When dry, the excrement is ground to a powder. Each day at sundown a little of the powder is burned and clothing of the person who is to hate the other is passed through the smoke. Thus a witch who wished another woman's husband secured some of the woman's excrement and passed a pair of trousers and shirt of the man through the smoke. The very next day the man left his wife and came to live with the witch (and is now her husband). The deserted wife immediately went with another man and her first husband "danced with pleasure."

3. To make mischief so that something goes badly with a person—so that his animals will die, so his harvest will fail, so he will fall in jail, so he and all his family will weaken and catch diseases:

Take about a quarter-liter bottle of alcohol. Mix this with earth taken from a spot where there was a quarrel to the death, or where someone had an accident and died, or where there is a burial of a person who did not die in Christian fashion, or from the illegal grave of some recently born child whose parents did not notify the authorities and buried it surreptitiously. If no serious injury is to be caused it will be sufficient to take earth where there has been a quarrel and bloodshed, even though there was no death. This earth, after mixing with alcohol, is allowed to dry thoroughly and is kept in a bottle until it is needed. When the opportunity offers, a little of the earth is sprinkled on the back of the person it is desired to injure, at the same time saying in one's mind the kind of injury one wishes will occur.

4. To cause suppurating sores on the genitals of a person one hates:

Buy oil for lamps and let it burn several days before a holy image. Take what is left and mix it with a bit of earth recently stepped on by the person it is desired to injure, or put in the oil something of the victim, such as hair, fingernails, or some piece of used clothing, and burn the oil, saying "So and so, you must have sores on such and such a part of the body." In addition, if the person is a man, he must be given a glass of *aguardiente* in which an herb from the hot country has infused a number of days; and if the person is a woman, a *gorda* made from maize dough or nixtamal in which the same herb is mixed. (The informant refused to name the herb, claiming she identified it only by sight when the herb sellers came around.)

5. So that a man or woman will "become tame" and do what one wishes, including making a husband permit his wife sexual relations with another man or a wife permit her husband

sexual relations with another woman, and, in addition, aiding the adulterers to meet:

Buy a new small pottery vessel (*ollita*); it is best to buy it direct from the kiln to make sure it has not been used for anything else. Fill the vessel with holy water, first fastening a new 20 centavo piece to the bottom, inside, with campeche wax. Into the water put a large paraffin candle which has been cut into many small pieces. Each piece represents part of the strength (*fuera*) of the individual while the holy water signifies that the strength is broken. In order that the results will be "good," put in a piece of cane from the mountains known as *otate del leon* and a very resinous splinter of pitch pine. Then cover the top of the vessel with a thick cap of campeche wax so that no air may enter. The vessel is then buried beneath the spot where the person to be bewitched sleeps, if this person is a spouse. If not, the vessel is buried in the patio of the house of the person.

6. To make a man lose his sexual vigor so that he will recover it only with the woman who has had the magic done:

The witch must first seek a small grass known as *pito de toro* and place it in *aguardiente* to infuse. The man should drink a little of this *aguardiente* every day for 8 days. If he is not a drinking man, then it must be given in coffee or atole or in some other manner so that he will not be aware that he is being given something. After 8 days the woman spies on the man until he goes to urinate, when she must recover a bit of the moist earth or, if he has not urinated on the earth, place earth in the receptacle. The urine-moistened earth is placed inside a *chile ancho* of the largest size it is possible to secure. The *chile* is then sewed up with needle and thread so none of the earth can escape and placed below the spot where the man sleeps with someone, or, if he is unmarried, it is buried in his patio as close as possible to the place where he sleeps. With this, the man remains incapacitated from having sexual relations with any woman except the one who has performed the rite.

7. To make a person suffer so that he will be sad and feel sick, although it will be imagination and not in reality; so that he will feel he is going to die; so that everything is revolting; and so that he will be unable to find tranquillity at any moment because it will seem something is about to happen:

Make a small doll resembling the human figure out of campeche wax and clothing used by the person. It is important that the clothing used should not have been washed, but be soiled from wearing. When the doll is made, stick pins in it all along the part of the spinal column, one in the crown of the head, two in the temples, two in the throat on each side, two in the nape of the neck, two in the umbilicus, and seven on the

breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

In addition to the above methods of bewitchment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

Methods of prevention and cure against witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft. Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects of Christianity and witchcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the *miríngua*, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the *miríngua*. The most common place about town for the *miríngua* to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

without his being able to see who it was. Then he became frightened and ran toward his house (as he thought), but instead he ran faster and faster in the opposite direction. Eventually he became terrorized and ran, falling and bumping into things, for it was getting increasingly darker, until he arrived at a place he did not recognize. He ran through many nettles which struck him like pack straps, drawing blood all over his body. Finally he found a cave and took refuge in it, where he struggled all night with something that tried to strangle him. He was found in the morning by a search party which had been hunting him all night. He was 17 when this occurred.

On another occasion a woman was found dead in a sand cave without any tracks except her own footprints. She showed all the signs of strangulation. Before her death this woman had told her relatives and friends that frequently she would think she was on her way home and would find herself in the *barranca*. She would sit down awhile and make the sign of the cross and pray. With this, things would become clear to her and she could retrace her road.

A youth returning from his field to his house, felt something pull him strongly toward the *barranca* as he crossed the bridge. He resisted, and then it seemed to him he was going toward home when suddenly he lost his footing and began to fall in space. As he fell he had the impression he was entering his house. He was found next day in the *barranca*, half dead, and was unable to speak for 8 days. He stammers still as the result of his fright.

Another story tells of a man who had attended a wedding in Parícutin. After the wedding the group went through the streets with the music, dancing and drinking. As they crossed the bridge to Parícutin the man said something was pulling at him. He began to gesticulate as if he was fighting something, but his friends, having drunk a great deal, paid no attention. He began to run but fell from the bridge. His body was found down the *barranca* (as the water evidently was high) after considerable search.

This spirit is known at Capacuaro as mirinyin, mirinchin, or miringin. The spirit appears

sometimes as a *bullo* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the *miriηgua* appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the *miriηgua*." The *miriηgua* is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

When the rains are late in coming in May, the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.

The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

back where it enters, but no further beliefs could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or *ećekurita*. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

The crosses put on top of houses are to protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond northeast of town, they will sink after swimming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

no remedies are taken for barrenness. Others reported that women speak to the professional midwives, who give them herbal remedies, anoint the abdomen with mountain lion grease, or give stew made of mountain lion meat. However, none of the midwives reported any such practices.

Despite these attitudes, belief exists that pregnancy can be prevented or abortion caused. It is believed by some that only families of poor economic standing who already have two to four children attempt to use these methods. Others suggest absence of love in the home as a reason; some women carrying on illicit affairs are believed to practice abortion. A good many people seem to know of the existence of abortion and to have knowledge of the herbs used. Consequently attempted abortion probably is more frequent than people wish to admit. The ideal of Cherán is the large family; people prefer not to talk about those who do not share the ideal and some refuse to talk about it. It is also said that the municipal officials are vigilant in punishing such cases, but as the penalty is said to be a fine of \$1.00 or \$1.50 or a night in jail after recovery, this probably would not be a great deterrent even if the danger of detection were great.

Four plants are named as being taken to cause abortion. One, *artamisa*, taken with plenty of salt, was mentioned by one of the midwives. Another admitted to using iris root for this purpose, although generally the midwives claim to be opposed to abortion. The two plants most used, however, are *ruda* and *gobnadorcillo*, KUASA. It is possible that these are the same plants; at least descriptions of their use appear to be the same. If they are effective (and local medical men are sharply contradictory in their opinions), many unintentional abortions are probably caused, for *ruda* is a regular remedy for stomach pains. It is not taken, except intentionally, when pregnancy has occurred, as the herb is widely known as producing abortion. The herb is also believed to be helpful to women who have been unable to have children.

Much the same accounts were given of *gobnadorcillo*. To have children, the herb is cooked with a tablet of chocolate and taken just before the menstrual period is expected.

To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobnadorcillo* is also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

One midwife purges barren women with the bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

Some people believe that the first child takes 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

An eclipse during pregnancy may cause something bad to happen to the child. To prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

Witches may interfere with pregnancy and make the child arrive dead. The preventive remedy is to cook tomato peeling and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware together and drink the liquid.

Fathers are also under some restrictions during the period of pregnancy. Whenever a load of wood is brought to the house it must be untied immediately or the child may be strangled by the umbilical cord. Also, the father must not kill lizards or snakes during the pregnancy, or touch resin or turpentine, or they will enter into the child. Some say the father should not kill any kind of an animal, from a snail to an ox. If he does so, the animal will enter into the child through the mouth or nose and the child will be born dead. One midwife thought the father should not have relations with his wife after the third or fourth month of pregnancy for reasons of cleanliness, but some say difficult birth or wrong positions may result from continued intercourse. The father should not work on the day of birth.

No distinction is made between first and subsequent births. Midwives varied in their ideas as to the frequency of births. Some believed that women had children from 1 to 1½ years apart, others said from 8 months to 3 years. One midwife explained that the number of children and the frequency of births were determined by something resembling links in the uterus. These could be counted by the midwife, who could tell how many children the woman would have and, by the spacing, what the interval between births would be. Some women might be capable of as many as 25 pregnancies.

All births are attended by midwives, who form a professional group, although without

organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the subject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

her; "but God gave me the power to know medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from \$1.50 to \$2.50. One midwife charges \$2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being \$1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the \$1.50, according to the midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

According to some midwives, if there is time, the midwife goes to church before the delivery, saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a prayer to her just before the delivery. Midwives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed, a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

Sometimes, when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for 15 or 20 minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, "I am coming," to hurry the child.

Most midwives specify certain materials which should be provided by the family in advance. These things include scissors, cooking oil, lard, cotton, and silk thread. Parents provide clothing for the child; the midwife does not specify anything for the infant.

Some midwives, when the birth pains begin, give the mother *gobernadorcillo* or possibly other plants to accelerate the birth. In any case it is asserted that the same herbs believed to cause abortion are administered at this time, usually with sugar or brown sugar. One herb (unidentified) is called *zihuapaxtle*, a Nahuatl name. There is no use of wheat rust, however. When the crown of the head of the child is visible, the midwife tries to hurry through the rest of the birth so that there will be less danger of the child being born dead.

It is said that many normal births take only about 15 minutes. This can hardly be counted from the time the first labor pains are felt but is possibly from the time the labor becomes intense. Many mothers in Cherán, however, seem to have fairly difficult births. Cases of labor lasting as much as 6 or 7 hours are reported.

In case the labor is difficult and prolonged, remedies of various sorts are used. The helpers apply pressure to the abdomen. One midwife boils a bezoar, the calcareous secretion from the intestines of some ruminant, brought from the hot country, and has the patient drink the water. Another gives the mother hot chocolate made with water and sugar, and massages the abdomen. Another covers the patient with a blanket and has her breathe the fumes from sugar or some sweet thing burned in a brazier. One midwife stated that when the patient is very "dry," that is, there is no discharge of blood and no breaking of the amniotic membrane, a bit of *nopal* (prickly pear) leaf is roasted in

the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases of the moon determines the length of labor. Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhoea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost certainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were born dead. The phenomena were attributed to an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

After the birth of the child the mother stays in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife may still massage her with unguents, either coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

One case of what was probably a postparturient infection was recorded. The midwife

bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*. The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

Husband and wife do not resume sexual relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

Shortly after the delivery the mother is given her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rafino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as *kágwash kamáta* for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

According to Rendón, women in Mestizo Chilchota observe no special diet before delivery. Births are attended by midwives, who charge \$2. A mixture of egg and flower is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen to lessen labor pains if these are severe. Massage and irrigations with water and soap are used to accelerate birth. After delivery the diet is based on chocolate and atole. After a few days, chicken broth and chicken are added but beef and beans are not eaten for 72 days. The atole is called *púckua* and is made of maize cooked without lime, ground on the metate, and cooked in water without sugar. If there are hemorrhages the patient is given rubbed (shredded?) parsley in water. The mother stays in bed for a week. On the eighth day she bathes.

Rendón reports a mild *couvade* in La Cañada pueblos. The mother does not eat salt after the birth, eats atole of the same type as at Chilchota, and cooked greens. The fathers stay in the house several days without working.

INFANCY

When the birth is in kneeling position, as is most common, a mat and clean cloth are placed on the floor to receive the child. The cord is not cut until the afterbirth is delivered. If this is slow, the mother's knees are massaged. The cord is then tied with thread and cut with scissors (a knife may not be used). According to some the cord is cut about a span length from the umbilicus (thumb to forefinger with both extended). Others say this is the length for girls and that the length for boys is a *cuarto* (this cannot mean a quarter as most are agreed that the length for a boy is greater than for a girl). Some families ask that the cord be cut longer "so the child will relax easily." Cotton is applied, sometimes preceded by anointment with oil, and a band fastened about the abdomen. Some say if this is not done the boys would not have strength and the girls would be "goers," *andulantes*, that is, they would probably have affairs with men. Some wipe out the child's eyes with cotton, and others drop a little lemon juice in the eyes. Some oppose this and do nothing unless a gummy secretion appears, when the eyes are treated with flowers of Castile and San Juan.

The child is then wiped off with a clean cloth and oiled but not bathed. Clothing prepared in advance is put on the child. It is said that the midwife tells parents in advance whether to prepare clothing for a boy or a girl and that they seldom make a mistake. But as no difference could be found in the clothing and, indeed, the child is usually wrapped just in some clean rags, the statement has little significance. Sometimes the child is given tea of Castile roses or a bit of edible oil, but most midwives thought nothing should be given the first day.

The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

The afterbirth is buried, sometimes beside the fireplace, sometimes under it. If this is not done, it is believed the mother would become "cold," but one midwife stated the cord is preserved and used for remedies. The cord of Agustín Rangel's father was taken to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac and left.

Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 or 3 days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

The child is normally bathed by the midwife on the third, sixth, and ninth days (according to one midwife, immediately after birth also "if that is the custom of the house"). Warm water is used for the bath.

Some idea that children resemble parents seems to be prevalent and to be attributed to hereditary mechanisms (although in this informants may have been sophisticated). An instance cited was that of a man with a very

linear body build which was repeated in the children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

Occasional examples occur of children apparently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeble-mindedness.

Few special attentions to infants are recorded. There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever they desire the breast. Although some evidence of shyness was evident, for example, some mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

Infants are ordinarily carried by their mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *rebozo*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *rebozo* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *rebozo* on the mother's back. One end of the *rebozo* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

crossing on the chest and being either tied or tucked under the opposite arms. When a little older the child kneels on the top of the *rollo* or thick pleats at the top of the skirt or sits on the *rollo* with legs on either side of the mother's waist. In either case the child is held in place by the *rebozo*. Men often carry infants in their arms, while small girls frequently carry their younger brothers and sisters in the same way as their mothers. The infants seem to interfere with the older child's activities very little.

Occasionally a boy will be seen carrying an infant in a *rebozo*. While this is not common, the boys seemed entirely unself-conscious and were not teased at all. Almost never is an infant put down until it is able to walk. As indicated above, it sleeps with the mother and is permitted to nurse at any time, often sleeping at the breast.

Children are not weaned until 18 to 24 months; rare cases are reported of children nursing to the age of 3 or 4. Weaning is aided by anointing the nipple with some bitter or piquant material, for example, chile. Weaning is done because of belief the child needs to have better nourishment, not because of boredom or feeling that the mother may suffer from prolonged nursing. Solid food is given the infant as early as 3 or 4 months, when a little fruit may be offered, such as banana. Tortillas are not given until 8 months. Milk, soup, and mild foods are first given the child. Cooked vegetables are fed at about 3 or 4 years. Chile is not fed children until they are well-grown, or adult, according to one informant.

Although children are rarely put down, after they are several months old they may occasionally be placed on the ground and permitted to crawl for brief periods. Occasionally children walk on all fours rather than on their knees. They are not permitted to try to walk, even though they wish to, until they are judged old enough to do so without causing curvature of the legs.

When children are permitted to attempt walking, a wooden bar is hung from two ropes, which in turn fasten to a single rope suspended from a tree or beam. The child is stood up and persuaded to hold the bar, which moves and forces the child to walk. Some children walk

as early as 8 months, but most later, and some not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be *papá*, *mamá*, *ueksínga* ("I want"), and *auáka* ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

Toilet training is not rigorous and little is done until the child is able to walk. Up to this time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments. In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn. Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little girls are pierced by their mothers, using a needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

regarded as necessary for any other reason, nor are there any beliefs about the operation.

The infant is ordinarily baptized between 10 days and 2 months after birth. The tendency in recent years is for the period to lengthen. Selecting godparents is important, for the care of the child in the event of death of the parents may devolve on the godparents, and intimate relations will exist in any event. For this reason people will often refuse to accept the responsibility or do so only after repeated invitations. Normally a married couple are sought to act as godparents but sometimes an unmarried man serves as godfather. In this case, when he marries, his wife will automatically become godmother. More rarely an unmarried man and unmarried woman are asked to serve as godparents. Agustín R. acted as godparent one time and had never met the woman who served as godmother.

Most commonly the godfather takes the child to church for baptism unaccompanied by the godmother, but sometimes the godmother goes along and carries the child. The godfather pays the priest the fee for baptism, \$2.50. In the case of Agustín R., mentioned above, he was accompanied by his mother who supplied the information the priest needed to enter the baptism in the parochial register.

When the godfather returns the child to its parents, the godmother goes to the house of the parents for food. She takes with her 2 to 5 cakes of chocolate, 2 bars of soap to wash the child, and 3 to 5 pieces of bread worth 10 centavos each. If the godfather is unmarried, he gives money to some woman to buy these things and take them to the child's parents.

The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (*čurípo*), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

The godfather is supposed to supervise the growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

The name is usually selected by the parents. There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

Infants are subject to a number of diseases, but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently, that is, the person with power to cause the evil eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be chosen at a council of the adult relatives who pick a name from among the deceased relatives, never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, *čurípo*, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

the child of the latter being known as Pablo Juan or Luisa Juan, etc.

CHILDHOOD

Small children are usually clothed today. Occasionally a small boy is seen wearing nothing but a shirt, but this is uncommon, while girls able to walk always have a blouse and a skirt. In early childhood there is a good deal of affection between parents and children. Adults of both sexes play with the children and carry them about a great deal. Small children are kissed by both parents. Fear of strangers is absent. While opportunities for observation were limited, on several occasions when I had opportunity to be with children while talking with parents, they responded immediately to any caress on my part, often promptly climbing into my lap, or seizing hold of my clothing if I were standing. At this age there is evidently little correction. Some children cry and whimper a good deal and are reprovved for it or told to hush, but nothing is done if the child continues.

As the child grows a little older, it evidently goes through a somewhat trying period of readjustment. This probably coincides with the coming of another child and also with the increasing care of the child by older brothers and sisters. At this period some rough treatment is given by the parents. Several times children were seen to stumble and fall on the street. When the child began to cry, the father either smacked it on the rump or kicked it along, gently it is true.

A boy about 4 was observed in a temper tantrum on the Cherán plaza. The tantrum began when the mother took a large piece of sugarcane held by the child, broke it, prepared the smaller piece, and gave it to the child. The child began to scream and weep, demanding the larger piece back. The mother laughed good-naturedly and told him to come along. He refused, and finally the mother gave the boy a gentle tap on the rump with her piece of sugarcane. The child screamed and beat at the mother with his cane. She continued to laugh, made some comments to others passing by and gradually got the child moved along, but he continued screaming as long as he was within earshot. In this case the mother showed more

forebearance than seems likely to be usual. Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress. Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave misfortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

About 25 percent of the boys go to school at ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

10 they may guide the plow and do other field work, for short times. By as early an age as 15, boys may be working for wages. When a boy begins to accompany his father and to aid in his work, he no longer plays with girls. There seems no rule about this, but about this time, when a boy is not working, he goes into the streets and plays with other boys of his own age, while the girl no longer plays outside but always stays near her mother unless sent on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is disobedient, he may be struck once or twice with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or punishment at this time and the relations between father and son and mother and daughter are close and affectionate once the child begins active participation in the adult activities. The period of conflict, then, seems a rather limited one, between the time when a child is no longer carried about and the time when it begins to participate in the adult life. These remarks again are based on very inadequate data and observation.

Some time between the ages of 6 and 10, usually toward the upper limits of the age period, the child is usually confirmed. There is very little ceremony involved, but when a visit from the Bishop is expected there will be a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

Boys and girls play together a good deal until aged 8 or 10. Varieties of tag games are common. Boys also play among themselves frequently. For small boys at present, small home-made wagons with four wheels, usually with no method of steering, are one of the more popular playthings. Older males in the household make the wagons. Balls made of rags are also used. They are thrown and, at times, are used with a hockeylike game in which the ball is hit with curved wooden sticks. The street is used as a field and the object is to hit the ball past opponents (Beals and Carrasco, 1944). January is a favorite time for this game. Small boys amuse themselves by roping pigs, and about the time of the fiesta of the patron saint they may attempt to ride the pigs.

The most popular boys' game probably is marbles. The common marble game is "follow the leader." It is sometimes played for centavos. The rainy season is the most popular time, because the rain lays the dust and provides clean, hard surfaces. Quite popular is top spinning, which is most played in June and July. Top fighting is a common form. The first player throws his top at a ring. If he misses, his opponent attempts to hit the top with his own. He may split the first top, for the points are sharpened, or win it.

Stilts are made, especially in October and November. They are small, peeled pine trees with one of the branches left projecting near the bottom. This is almost exclusively a boy's amusement, but one girl was seen walking on stilts. Hunting birds with sling shots (mostly of the rubber-band type) is most common in May and June. A ring and pin game, made of wood in Paracho, is played by all ages.

A favorite sport from March through May is kite flying. Kites of small boys are about 7 by 9 inches; those of larger boys are about 2 by 3 feet. They are six-stick kites made with sticks all the same length and requiring a tail. They are commonly in bright colors. Big boys tie razor blades on the tails of their kites and fight each other. They try to maneuver their kites into the top position where they can be dropped and cut the strings of the other kites. There is a slight element of danger in this; one boy got his cheek laid open in 1940.

Small girls and sometimes small boys play with swings in the house yards. These are merely larger versions of the swings used to teach infants to walk. Girls also play running games in the streets with small boys and play "keep away" and other games with rag balls. Girls are shy and always stopped playing when they were observed.

In general, girls ape adult activities much more than do boys. Girls pretend to mill maize, using a board for a metate, a rock for the mano, and mud for the maize dough. They play at being street vendors, using flower petals for merchandise. Sometimes they have dolls made of rags, but not very often. More common is it for several girls to get some boards or branches and make a house in which they will play at housekeeping with their fireplaces, grinding stones, dishes, etc. After several weddings had been held in close succession, a group of girls were observed playing at having a wedding. Flowers were put in the hair of the "godmothers" and leaves of maize were tied in the hair to represent the ribbons used in real weddings.

Education for life in Cherán is completely on an informal and unconscious level. Children learn first by imitating and then by doing while assisting their parents. The social and religious structure they learn little by little through observation first of parents', and later of relatives', reactions to various individuals and situations and by listening to conversations. Only to a very small extent do children learn by being told. Again, observations are too few to generalize extensively, but apparently children are counseled and advised only when they begin to be old enough to undertake adult responsibilities. When they mention that they may do a certain act, the parents may discuss the advisability with them. In small matters of etiquette, parents may prompt children of any age. Formal training, though, seems to play little part in education for life as it is lived in Cherán.

Formal education for about 25 percent of the boys is received in school. Those who continue throughout the available course receive four years of school education. They learn to read and write and do a little simple arithmetic. They learn very little history or geography.

They learn something of natural history, such as major classifications of things in the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms.

A few ambitious families send one or more of their children to high school in Morelia or to an agricultural school. Some are sent to the boarding school at Paracho, where they receive some education in a trade and in farming. A few also may go to Mexico City, and a case or two were discovered of children studying law or medicine. However, it is doubtful whether 2 dozen families in Cherán have sent their children on to advanced school training.

With all due acknowledgement of the effort and sincerity involved in the school system, the Cherán schools do not train children in any real sense for life in Cherán. The average Cherán resident completing the school training has little advantage over his unschooled fellows in following the farming routines of the community. If he can read and write he perhaps has some less chance of being swindled in business transactions and more opportunity of rising to some municipal office. If his education is effective, however, and is put to use, it is by moving out of the basic pattern of Cherán. Such a person may become a storekeeper or a mill operator, where his education will be of some slight service to him. The major advantage of school training is to better equip some individuals to cope with the Mestizo world which impinges on Cherán to some extent. Even so, the school child acquires little knowledge of rights and responsibilities in a larger world. Insofar as the education is effective and is utilized—and this is even more markedly true of those going on for more advanced education—the effect is to move the individual out of the culture of Cherán. If he stays in Cherán he tends to become an exploiter rather than a producer, or to occupy a position where he furnishes some liason between the rest of the population and the Mestizo world. Or, more commonly, he moves out of the Cherán culture completely, residing in some other part of Mexico. Only to a very small extent and in a very limited number of cases does an individual become a better producer, that is, a better farmer; or practice a trade learned through schools; or become a force and example guiding the community to better housing, reformed

diets, better health practices, or higher standards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

The period of youth is very short in Cherán for most persons and there is no clearly defined lower limit to it. Boys seem to be regarded as youths when they are able to do a man's work or to be self-supporting but have not yet married. Marriage puts a termination to the period, although the young married man may still be under the tutelage of his parents. Still, after marriage a boy will be consulted in all family affairs; before marriage he normally will not be consulted unless he is much older than the age at which most Cherán youths are married. By 15 practically every Cherán youth is either earning his own living in part by working for wages or is working regularly on the family estate, taking a full man's share of the labors. In individual cases this may be true of youths as young as 12. Unmarried youths of 16 to 18 do not spend much of their free time at home; indeed, they may not even eat at home regularly. They tend to hang around the streets in gangs in their spare time. They spend a good deal of time in one of the two billiard parlors which modern civilization has brought to Cherán, where they may gamble on billiards at 50 centavos a game, or may be drawn into card games, or may begin drinking. However, few of the youngsters go around the saloons very much, nor are many of them prone to drink excessively. In such groups will be concerted many of the "stealings" which are the preliminaries to marriage. At this period boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

from their parents. In an overheard conversation, two young men commented at length on how fast people got old at their ages, while people over 30 did not seem to age at all.

The transition for girls is even less clearly defined than that for boys. As girls are sometimes married even before their first menstruation, this physiological transition hardly seems to mark a status change. From the age of 6 or 8, girls essentially perform adult labors in assisting their mothers. Youth is essentially a transition to adulthood and marriage. As a general thing, girls are married soon after the first menstruation.

Informants were agreed that most girls experience the first menses at about 14 years of age; whether this is the ideal age or the actual age could not be determined. No cases of failure to menstruate were known. Menstrual disorders apparently do occur sometimes and the aid of midwives is sought in such cases, but no details could be secured. Men, at least, believe that girls are generally ignorant of the menstrual period until they experience the first occurrence, and this belief coincides with a few statements by women. Some girls are said to be a little depressed or frightened, but the experience is not severe. Mothers explain to their daughters that the phenomenon is perfectly natural, and girls never become ill.

The mother always informs her husband when the first menstruation occurs. At this time the father increases his admonitions to his wife to watch over the girl. Careful mothers from now on do not let the girls go alone for water or to church or walk about the streets. Care is taken that girls do not see "bad" things. Well-brought-up girls, in fact, are hardly allowed out of the house until they are married, but if this ideal were really lived up to, it is difficult to see how either marriages could be arranged or "stealing" occur. Cherán, though, feels its standards are much above those of other towns and people mention some of La Cañada towns, especially Tacura, as being very bad. The latter town is said even to have many cases of sexual relations between father and daughter, which is said never to happen in Cherán.

Most women early become regular in their menstrual periods. No devices for keeping

track of the periods are used but some account is kept of the phase of the moon and an approximate idea formed. The normal menstruation is regarded as lasting 3 or 4 days. Slight or excessive flows during the period are believed to be bad. No special garments are worn, but the ordinary underwear is carefully washed after the flow ends.

Women should not have relations with men during the menstrual period, and most women do not resume relations with their husbands until they have bathed, although some do so as soon as menstruation ends. Violation of this rule is believed to be bad for the men and to cause them to contract a disease with ulcers. Women may prepare food for themselves and others, but they must not eat certain foods. These include "cold" things, such as avocados or prickly pears. Beans, if eaten, must be consumed with quantities of onions. Rice, pork, and preserved chiles (because the liquid is very "cool") are also believed to be bad. Dried chiles may be eaten. *Aguardiente* is also avoided, although a little in coffee or orange-leaf tea is believed to be helpful. The majority, if possible, drink chocolate in the mornings even though they may not normally do so or may even dislike it. In connection with the concept of "coldness" it should be noted that this refers to the supposed effects on the person, not to the quality of the thing itself. Cold water, for example, may be consumed freely. Aside from sexual restrictions, men have no special rules to observe when their wives menstruate.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIPS

Marriage is the normal state of the Cherán adult and unmarried persons are relatively rare, except among the aged. Although sexual inverts were reported, in every case they had married. One woman is known to be an invert and is called *toro-vaca*. As a girl she attempted to seduce other girls, and a woman told Rendón that in her childhood the individual in question once tried to drag her into a vacant lot, stopping her mouth with a *rebozo*, but she tore loose and screamed and was rescued by her father. Various charges were also made against the woman in court, but nothing was ever done.

The individual in question was also said once to have lived with another woman who did the work in the household while the former acted like a man. It is also believed that she is a "man" during one month and a "woman" the next, the change being regulated by changes in the moon. During the month she is a "man" she is said to go through the streets at night, trying to entice girls to her house, or else she stands at the door of her house and offers presents to girls who will come in. At one time the woman married and had two children but later was widowed. That the individual is emotionally unstable is indicated by her claim to have once "died" and come to life again, after which she brought many people messages from their dead relatives whom she had encountered in the other world.

No cases of men dressing as women or men who had homosexual relations were encountered, but there evidently are occasional instances. The only specific reports encountered were of subadolescent boys who showed a preference for doing women's work. One example cited was of a boy who washed dishes, swept, made tortillas, and did other housework. His voice was high-pitched and he refused to fight. Later, however, the boy's voice changed and he married.

Some prostitution exists in Cherán. There are several houses of assignation operated by elderly women who know the accessible women. Men go to these houses and the old woman then takes a message to some girl or woman. The younger women are often the daughters of older women who have taken this way of life, but sometimes the girls from other families will visit such houses clandestinely. Such girls become known among the unmarried men and usually have difficulty in marrying. Often they attempt to force boys to marry them by claiming to have been "stolen" by a boy and lodging complaints with the mayor, often abetted by their parents. If the girl's reputation is bad, the boy may be put in jail as a discouragement to boys who might be tempted to steal a girl without marrying her, but the boy will not be forced to marry.

The patrons of such houses are usually bachelors and older unmarried youths. Some whose wives are pregnant also visit such houses

occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cheraún. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

The customary preliminary to marriage is for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarasean towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

Opportunities for courting and for making arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *mclebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

The standards for choice of spouse by a boy are several. A boy wants an attractive-looking girl who is fairly tall and of medium build and who also is industrious and of good family. This means her family is not completely poverty-stricken, her father not a drunkard, and her mother not "perverse" (apparently meaning "immoral"). Also, the girl should be either the same age or a year or two younger than the boy. In a few instances the girl is a year or two older. No cases were reported of widows marrying younger men, but sometimes a widower marries a younger woman. One case cited is a man of over 65 who has a wife

aged 20. The instance is regarded as exceptional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy discusses his choice with his parents or with one of his uncles. Although no specific data could be secured on the subject, from the facts that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authorities should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authorities are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p. m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

girl that afternoon after the Rosario. The corner of Morelos and Galeana was where the boy and girl had the place arranged for the stealing. When we knew that the Rosario was just about to be finished, we came down the highway to the plaza where we sat down at the municipal offices. Then the people began to come out from the Rosario and were called back by the priest to move the rocks in back of the priest's house. The girl's father called us to help move the rocks but instead we moved over to the corner of Morelos and Ocampo where we sat and waited until they finished.

After a little the girl came by and she looked at us. As she turned the corner up Morelos, she got ahead of her folks about 10 feet and just stood there. Then she turned back and looked at us to see if we were going to do anything. She was with five women. Knowing that we were not going to do anything, she evened up with the rest of her folks. Then we followed her; we went straight and she turned the corner of Morelos and Galeana. Then we ran so that we could beat her to the corner of Hidalgo and Arista and we stood there until she came.

When she came, the groom stood in the middle of the street and two of us stood on each side of the street and the other stood a little ways from the corner. When the girl passed us, the groom grabbed her by the arm and I took the other arm on the other side. The mother just said, "Maria Purisima, where do you take my daughter? Why do you take her and who are you?" We just ran to beat everything. When we were crossing the bridge (to Parícutin), one of the kids hollered, "Hurry up, because the father is just in back of you."

When I turned to look back the girl's father was just about half a block behind us. Then we separated at the street junction across the bridge. The boy and girl took the upper road and we went on the lower road. We just walked a little ways to where it was dark and changed blankets. Then we walked back as if we were innocent bystanders. We saw the girl's father after the boy and girl. We just made out we didn't know anything and said, "I wonder who was the kid who took the girl." Then we said, "Let's follow them," and we did. When we reached the corner of Madero and Salazar the girl's father was madder than a wet hen. He was saying, "If I ever catch the guys who did it, I will kill them," swearing to beat anything. Then he left and we followed him up Salazar and past the calvary to his house.

His wife was waiting for him in the doorway. His wife then said, "Didn't you catch the boys who stole my daughter?" He answered, "No, I didn't catch them. How do you expect me to catch them when I didn't know who they were?" They argued for a while in the doorway and then went inside. We came back to the saloon and when we got back they were already drunk (the groom and another helper). Then we went home. We were just afraid that if the father knew who we were he might call us in at the mayor's office and get us put in jail overnight.

The boy and girl had agreed to go out together since the last time they talked together. The father was chasing us because he was trying to get the girl before she had reached the boy's house. The girl was not taken to the house of the boy when we stole her but to the house of one of his relatives. If the father caught up with us, we would have to take what was coming to us and not fight back. Some boys tried to make a blockade on the road when the father was chasing. He had three friends with him and so he got by.

The following day Agustín's fears were realized; he was summoned to the mayor's office and shut up in jail from about 5 until 8 o'clock. Then, since it was a first offense, he was let out (although he had helped steal a number of other girls) with the warning that next time it would be a couple of days. The mayor also scolded the boys severely, pointing out that several people had been killed stealing girls; in fact, the implication was that he had put them in jail for their own protection, not because there was anything wrong with stealing the girl. As during the winter scarcely a Sunday passes without a girl being stolen in the plaza, the mayor's shock could not have been great.

Another less typical case involved a girl who had three suitors. The three suitors agreed to steal her and make her choose between them. If she refused to choose, then one of them, José H——, was to take her. The aid of three other youths was enlisted to guard all the approaches to the plaza in case the girl tried to flee. The plan fell through, because the girl did not come to church as she had promised.

The following week José made signals to a girl in Parícutin that he wanted to talk with her. She was with two other girls, carrying water. She stood and talked for a while and José then started home. After a block or two he discovered the girl following him. He made a circuit beside the *barranca*, but she still followed. He waited for her and asked where she was going. She replied, "I am going with you." On this, José ran down into the *barranca*, followed it down to the plain, and after a very long circuit, returned home. He had scarcely arrived when the police summoned him to the mayor's office. There was the father of the girl, accusing José of stealing his daughter. José denied the accusation and explained, but he had no witnesses and the girl insisted. The mayor ordered José to marry the girl; he

refused, as he was interested in the girl he had hoped to steal the previous Sunday and the present girl he knew visited one of the houses of assignation. José was then put in jail, but when his mother stood responsible for him he was let out in a couple of days. The girl's mother went around town talking about the wrong that had been done, while José went around town telling everyone bad things about the girl. Eventually José had to run away and no one knew where he had gone.

Normally, sexual relations are begun between the bride and groom soon after she is stolen. Permission of the girl's baptismal godfather (and perhaps the godfather of confirmation) should be sought and is usually given; to refuse might cause hard feeling. Cases were cited where the godfather and the boy's parents became very angry with each other over a refusal. On the other hand, evidently the boy is stimulated to accumulate the property necessary to hold the wedding if sex relations are not permitted.

The stealing of a girl sets in motion a complex series of events constituting perhaps the most complicated aspect of Cherán culture.

The following account of marriage is one written by Pedro Chávez. Parts in brackets represent additional comments made by Sr. Chávez on other occasions or data gathered from other sources. All the features of the wedding were verified by observation and utilization of other sources of information.

A TARASCAN WEDDING

Marriage among the Tarascans of the town of Cherán embraces many points of great importance. In the first place, it is now a custom that the groom, when he desires to enter into marriage, steals the girl. This theft consists of catching her and carrying her off forcibly or, sometimes, willingly without force. But in either case, as much in the first instance as in the second, the bride goes in accordance with an agreement made in advance and the action is merely feigned by the two.

When the theft of the bride is completed [by taking the girl to the house of an uncle or other relative or, more rarely, to the house of the groom], the parents of the groom proceed to the house of the bride and appear before her parents. This act is called the *puátperankua* or "the pardon." It should be taken into account that in order to present themselves before the parents of the bride, the parents of the groom must take a person called *t'aepiti diösa uandári* [who is a professional

marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call *nákatamali*. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

weeks or even months. In at least one case the religious marriage took place before the civil marriage, although on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the *t'irénkua* or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called *Aríperata*, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter actually dresses the groom. The groom is called *tembuča* and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called *tembučas*. Similarly, the bride is called *tembunga* and her siblings and cousins are called *tembungas*. The female *tembučas* give the female *tembungas* narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the *Aríperata*. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three *rebozos*, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one *rebozo* from each godfather, these being the blue *rebozos* of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white *rebozo* [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color *rebozos* from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

articles. When the bride is dressed [she wears all three of the new rebozos], the parents of the couple and the principal godparents and relatives, together with the musicians brought by the parents of the groom, accompany the couple to the church to effectuate the marriage before the priest. [During the Mass a ring is placed on a finger of the bride. The groom can bring his own ring, but if he has not done so, a ring lent by the priest is used. The priest also puts silver money in the hands of the groom who in turn places it in the hands of the bride. If the groom has not brought money, the priest lends it to him. However, it is believed that the groom should bring the money and that the more he brings the greater the benediction for their life and the more fortunate the couple will be. There is said to be no use of the collar, chain, or ribbon used in some churches in Oaxaca.]

After the wedding, all leave the Mass and go to the house of the bride's parents, where she and all her relatives are left, the rest of the party going to the house of the groom's parents. Later, in about an hour, all return to the house of the bride's father [first calling for the bride's godparents to invite them] to escort the bride and all her relatives to breakfast [at the house of the groom's father] which consists only of a piece of bread and small cup of chocolate. On arriving at the house of the groom's father, the [male] guests seat themselves in a place previously prepared. The preparation consists of placing some logs of wood for seats [in two rows with others sometimes arranged as a table between the rows at a somewhat higher level] and at one of the ends they place the image of some saint of the Catholic religion [most commonly a picture of the saint] before which is a lighted candle and flowers [and sometimes an incense burner with copal incense]. Before the guests are served, it is the duty of the marriage manager to say a prayer in thanks. It should be noted that the first places [before the altar] are reserved for the marriage manager and the godfathers of both bride and groom and that only the men sit on these seats, the women being seated apart. The godmothers also sit apart [usually on mats in the center of the courtyard], the godmother of the groom being distinguished by ribbons tied in her hair. These ribbons are given and tied on the hair by the godmother's *comadres*, granddaughters and sisters-in-law. [Ribbons are tied in the hair of all the godmothers of the groom, and of the godmother of the wedding.]

Upon completing the breakfast, all the relatives of the bride return to her house, taking the bride with them again and not being accompanied by the relatives of the groom. In the meantime the musicians play in the house of the groom. This is usually between 10 and 11 of the morning. [Meantime many guests may drop in and will be fed, being seated in a different place from the relatives. Everyone is welcome because the more who attend, the more prestige attaches to the wedding. As outsiders, the members of the staff were usually especially welcome, as apparently we gave special *celat* to the function.] Meantime all the sib-

lings and cousins and grandparents of the groom together have hired another band and at this time they separate themselves from the rest of the groom's relatives. [They go through the streets with the musicians, ultimately going to the house of one of the groom's uncles where they eat dinner. The remainder of the groom's relatives and the guests eat at the house of the groom. Tortillas, *kurúndas* (tamales), and *curípo* (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and chunks of beef) are served.]

After the dinner is served, the party is prepared to go for the bride. This is called the *pípejperakua*. The party consists of the parents of the groom and their brothers and all the friends of the parents. [Actually not all go; those who are invited to go on the party are given iris leaves which they carry with them. Staff members at weddings were frequently given invitations to accompany the party in this same form.] The same relatives of the bride are all assembled at her house, ready, as are the friends of the parents. [The party of the groom's relatives is accompanied by musicians. The party goes first to the house of the godparents of the bride. They serenade the house outside and then the closer relatives enter the house. They form a circle before the godfather and the godmother of the bride. The marriage manager makes a long but informal speech, asking permission to take the bride. The godfather replies, giving his permission. All present then shake hands with the godfather and godmother, making a movement simulating kissing the hand. The group leaves the house, accompanied by the godparents.] Arriving at the house of the bride's parents, the groom's relatives immediately ask for the bride. [Actually, only the closer relatives again go inside, accompanied by the musicians. The marriage manager again asks for the bride.] When consent is granted, they start for the groom's house, carrying with them the clothing they have ready. [For a big wedding a procession of a hundred or more people may have formed by the time the group returns to the groom's house.] In the meantime the other relatives of the boy [the siblings, cousins, and grandparents] arrive with their musicians and do the same [that is, they take off the siblings, cousins, and grandparents of the bride] who carry quantities of clothing. This consists of shirts for men and women, trousers for men, jackets for men and women, sashes for women, and bags, and tortilla cloths, the latter two objects to be given the groom at the time all the others are changing clothing and bread. In the house of the groom's father the guests are all seated as before. [The godmothers are again seated on mats in the center and the bride sits for a time beside the godmother of baptism. Guests continue to arrive and additional ribbons are tied in the hair of the godmothers and long and elaborate paper ornaments fastened to sticks are placed in the hair. All the relatives of the groom give cigarettes to the groom's father when they arrive in the courtyard for the first time and also give cigarettes to the godfathers

of the groom. To the mother and the godmothers of the groom are given 5 or 10 centavos each. The form of presentation is always the same; the money is placed in a china plate covered with a cloth. The recipient tips the plate so the money slides into her hand without the amount being visible to anyone else. The recipient shakes the hand of the donor and in the case of the mother, who is standing, curtsies. Sometimes money is given to the males in lieu of cigarettes. If the family is large, the godmothers and the mother may receive from 8 to 15 pesos. Shortly after the arrival of the bride's party, the parents and uncles of the bride and groom, and sometimes other relatives, all enter the kitchen. There the marriage manager performs a ceremony (described on p. 103) by which all become *compadres*.]

The father of the groom now orders the distribution to all the relatives of the bride [and in observed weddings, to everyone present] of one piece of bread each. The bread was prepared in advance and is an obligation of the father. This is called the *εαράκι τ'ιρένεκua*. Ordinarily these pieces are in the form of a crown which we call *kanákua*. [The *compadres* or brothers of the groom's father help him with the distribution, handing him a piece of bread which the father himself usually hands to each guest on a lacquered tray (pl. 7, upper right). The order of events in the account here does not coincide with any wedding witnessed. The distribution of bread usually came after the exchange of clothing and bread described below. Only if there were to be little or no clothing exchange or dancing would the distribution of bread be this early in the proceedings. The time of distribution is regarded as indicating the probable length of the wedding; the later it is distributed, the longer the wedding will last. In the case of the latest distribution observed, the wedding lasted 3 days. Similarly, the beginning of the drinking usually did not take place until the clothing and bread exchange was well under way.]

When this act [the distribution of the bread] was finished, they begin to bring out the bottles of *charanda* and all begin to drink until they are quite drunk. It should be noted that only the relatives of the groom have the right to buy and carry liquor, the relatives of the bride drinking what is offered them [which is abundant. The person who produces a bottle drinks from it first.] While they are drinking, at the same time they are making the exchange of the clothing and bread in the following form.

All of the women relatives of the bride such as the maternal and paternal aunts give clothing to the uncles and aunts and other relatives (of the groom) as well as the parents, who are those who receive the best clothing. These in their turn in recompense return bread in a quantity not more than \$1.50 and not less than \$1.00, while the musicians are playing regional tunes and *jarabes* and others are dancing. [For a somewhat different sequence of events with some additional details, see the account of the Sánchez wedding below.] In a word, there is a very great movement.

[Each person giving a garment presents it to a relative of the groom who had given bread to the person at the ceremony 8 days after the pardon.] In another locality the same acts are being performed by the others who have a separate group of musicians. These are the brothers and grandparents of the bride and groom. Comes a moment when the groom is taken by the arms and they hang about his neck bags and tortilla cloths (*servilletas*). The groom is made to dance to two tunes. With this he leaves [the brothers, cousins and grandparents] and the remainder continue drinking and dancing until it is late and time to leave, only the bride remaining in the house of the groom, with which ends the events of the day of the wedding.

The following day is another small fiesta called the *kauijaneekua*. On this day it is an obligation of the parents of the groom to go to give thanks to the godparents of baptism and of the marriage in their houses, accompanied by their closer relatives, making their thanks concrete by all getting drunk in the house of these godparents. On the other hand the brothers, sisters, cousins of both sexes, and grandparents of the bride hire musicians and go to the house of the groom to wash all the pots used the previous day, which is an obligation of the bride, although actually it does not result this way as they arrange to drink *charanda* and very few pots are washed. When they are all good and drunk again, celebrating this drunkenness among the cousins, brothers, and grandparents of the bride and groom, the marriage events end. As a regular thing there has been an expenditure of between 200 and 300 pesos for all the parts of the marriage ceremony, which must be paid by the father of the groom. [Written by P. Chávez, Cherán, Michoacán, October 10, 1940.]

The foregoing account represents the thoughtful view of a Cherán wedding as seen by an intelligent and well-informed native resident of the town. As is to be expected, certain aspects of the celebration are overlooked. Some of these have been inserted in brackets in the account given above; others will be added below. The Chávez account also presents a slightly different order from that observed at several weddings. In all probability the Chávez account is in part somewhat inaccurate in its order; very likely it also represents an expression of one of several possible arrangements. Some weddings are much more elaborate than the generalized description, while others are much simpler.

The most elaborate wedding during the time of the study was that of Samuel Sánchez, son of Antonio Sánchez, a well-to-do farmer with a large number of relatives (pl. 6, left, center). The most significant points are discussed below. Samuel stole his bride about the middle of July,

and the wedding occurred on August 17. On August 16 the women of the household, aided by relatives, soaked and washed between 5 and 6 *fanegas* of maize for tamales and tortillas. Also, a beef was killed, cut up, and placed in the storage loft. The evening of the same day new clothing was taken to the groom by the bride's relatives, and he was dressed, everything but his pants being changed in the patio. The

groom's house, where breakfast was served. The godmother of baptism and the godmother of the wedding were seated on mats in the patio with the bride at the right hand of the godmother of baptism (pl. 7, right, center; fig. 18). Both received gifts of ribbons and coins, but only the godmother of the wedding had the paper ornaments on sticks placed in her hair (pl. 7, lower right). When breakfast was

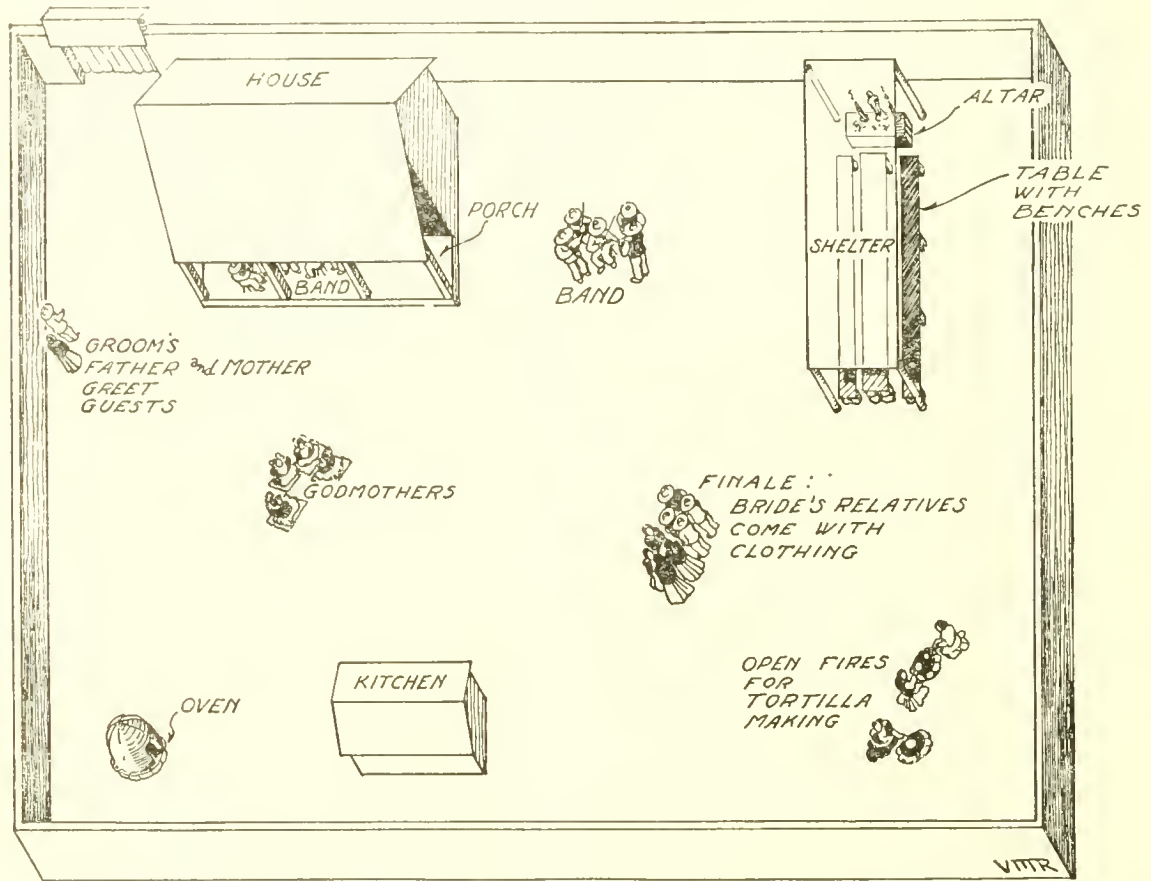


FIGURE 18.—Arrangement of the principal actors in a Tarascan wedding.

dressing should be done by a male first cousin of the bride. (Agustín, for example, dressed the groom when the daughter of his mother's sister was married.)

The wedding in church took place at about 4 a. m. So early a wedding is unusual, partly because it costs more, but the Sánchez family obviously planned to make the most of the wedding. The bride was dressed in new clothing before the wedding. After the wedding the bride and her party went to her parents' house. Between 10 and 11 o'clock they returned to the

finished, the bride and her relatives returned to her house.

A group went out with the musicians and brought back a large quantity of bread. On such trips with the musicians a direct route is never followed, particularly on the return, but a circuitous route is taken to display the bread and the crowd to as many as possible. As soon as the bride's relatives had left, dinner began to be served to the relatives of the groom, the men eating under the shed separately from the women. The bread was put on a table deco-

rated with ferns. The serving of food to the men was done by brothers-in-law of the groom's father. Cigarettes were passed around by one of the groom's uncles.

About 12:45 p. m. a second band arrived. While the mother was not occupied she sat on a mat in front of the house where she received coins from guests. The father received cigarettes, which were placed beside the altar under the shed until needed, when they were passed about to the guests. After eating, many went to the house of one of the other relatives of the groom where they ate again. The bride's relatives were given dinner at her home by her parents.

Iris leaves were distributed to the men selected to go for the bride, and they left with the band hired by the groom's father. The godmothers moved under the house porch where they sat on mats. A procession of women came in bearing lacquered trays on their heads filled with fruit and bottles of soda pop. These women were female relatives of the groom who had not helped in the kitchen work. The soda pop was given to the men who had been assisting, while the fruit was given to the women assistants. Some of the men fastened quantities of breads and cookies to strings suspended from the roof of the shed where the bride's male relatives would sit again on their return.

A number of women bearing cornstalks and flowers (cannas, dahlias, and calla lilies) left with the second band and some of the men, including the groom's father. They were going to get bread.

In the meantime the bride and her relatives arrived. The bride's male relatives went to the shed where they all grabbed at the breads and cookies, each trying to get the most. The female relatives sat in a group in another place (see fig. 18) with the clothing before them arranged to make the greatest possible display. The bride sat beside the godmothers. She was barefoot and accompanied by a small girl.

The first lot of bread was brought in. The godmothers with the first band, which had returned with the bride, went out into the street to meet the bread. About 15 minutes after this the bride went into the house where she stayed the remainder of the ceremony, accompanied by a number of younger girls.

The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and four or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the dancing. No one was supposed to dance until the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

was a widower but still young. The girl lived with an aunt, for her mother had become a woman of loose morals after having an affair with a worker on the highway and at the moment was in jail in Uruapan for disorderly conduct. The bride's father was dead. Another aunt refused to attend the wedding because she did not approve of the girl's marrying a widower.

In this instance the groom had not stolen the girl but had asked for her, taking bread to the house of the aunt, accompanied by musicians. Agustín, with other relatives of the girl, took her to church for the civil wedding, where she was delivered to the groom's father. She was not returned to her own home and there was no breakfast. As the groom's father was poor, there was no celebration in his house, but at noon the girl's aunt did the best she could to rectify the matter by serving a dinner in her house.

At another simple wedding attended, the general forms were gone through in truncated fashion. The dinner was over before 12 o'clock, and immediately following it the groom's father distributed the special breads in the form of crowns. This early distribution indicated that there would be no exchange of clothing on a large scale (although there was a little) and no drinking. There were no music and no dancing, and the affair was over by about 2 p. m.

Another of the weddings observed in some detail presents a number of interesting features. This was the wedding of Samuel Santa Clara, son of the widow, Doña Feliciana, principal informant regarding herbs.

Again, as the families knew each other well and it was certain that the girl's mother, also a widow, would consent, the girl was not stolen. Indeed, Doña Feliciana and her "brothers" went to the girl's house on a Thursday evening and asked for her. There were no music and no marriage manager on this occasion. The following Monday, September 9, Doña Feliciana and all the groom's relatives ate at her house and then went to the bride's house, starting about 2:30 p. m. This hour is early and was arranged for my special benefit so I would be sure to see everything. Unfortunately, I had not been advised of the plan and was not in Cherán that day, but Agustín, who as usual

turned out to be a relative, was a member of the party.

Because of the early hour, the marriage manager had not arrived. The party all waited outside until the manager was found and came. The manager prayed, and then the men were given tamales to eat. The women then began exchanging bread and tamales at about 5:30. Later they drank all night and sat around and talked. They would have danced, but Doña Feliciana had provided no music.

On November 9 the groom was learning the prayers and it was intended to hold the wedding soon, but it was postponed until January because the priest said that no one could marry until after Christmas *por los velados*. As Doña Feliciana remarked, "No one knows what these are. This priest is very capricious. We have had various priests here, but never one like this."

During the interval of waiting, Doña Feliciana made it plain that, as she was a widow, she had no intention of holding a large wedding. The mother of the bride, however, was affronted and sent word that with all the Santa Claras in the town it was a shame they would not do anything. She also announced that although she also was a widow, she intended to pay for a band herself. When word of this got around, the Santa Claras became ashamed and bestirred themselves to see what could be done. Soon Agustín's father was remarking that the Santa Claras had gotten the better of the Rangéls, and perhaps they should do something. When the wedding finally was held by the Santa Claras it turned out to be, if anything, more elaborate than that given by Antonio Sánchez, described above.

The distribution of expenses, as it finally turned out, was approximately as follows:

Breakfast for the women—Erino Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

Breakfast for the men—provided by a cousin, a Santa Clara.

Dinner and bread—Emilio Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

One band—Doña Feliciana, the cousins, and uncles (Agustín paid a contribution for this).

Second band—brothers, sisters, and cousins of the groom, "grandfathers" of both bride and groom. (Agustín's father paid a contribution for this.)

Civil wedding—Domingo Hernández, a "grandfather."

Church wedding—Doña Feliciana.

According to report, Doña Feliciana provided only a new *rebozo* for the bride in the way of clothing, but this was not verified. No data were secured on who paid for the liquor.

The church wedding took place about 7 a. m. on January 9, this being the cheaper hour. The bride was returned to her home, then brought with her relatives to the groom's mother's house for breakfast. After breakfast, the party went to the municipal offices for the civil registry. This order was quite incorrect, as customarily the civil registry should precede the religious ceremony, usually by about a week. After this, matters proceeded as usual with the dinner. The older brother of the groom functioned as the male head of the household. Had the groom had no older brother, Doña Feliciana would have had to discharge the functions of the male head; none of her brothers or those of her deceased husband would have taken this position.

Late in the afternoon a number of poles were brought into the courtyard. Stuck in holes in these poles were many small sticks to which were attached small flaglike ornaments of paper of many colors which were divided among the women and children with a great deal of shouting and disorder (pl. 7, lower left). These banners are not produced at any other time than the period preceding Carnival.

The crownlike breads were not produced until quite late, about 4:30 p. m., and were not distributed until some time later (pl. 7, upper right). In turn, the dancing was late in starting in the groom's house, although it began some time earlier in the house of the grandfather entertaining that group.

Just before dusk the priest arrived and scolded the party for getting drunk. One of the men who took this to heart started home; he was shot and killed while crossing the bridge to Parícutin by an unknown enemy, but none of these events stopped the wedding, which turned into one of the most prolonged large-scale drinking bouts occurring during the time of the study. Atole was served at midnight, while between 4 and 6 a. m. and again at 8 a. m. *posole* was served. The atole was provided by

Antonio Sánchez (whose son's wedding is the first described) and his brother. The *posole* was provided by the cousins of the groom.

At 10 o'clock the following morning, water for dish washing was carried through the streets accompanied by a band. At 11:30 additional maize was taken to the mill, again accompanied by a band. On both occasions numerous people were dancing with the procession. Several other processions occurred during this and the following day when the wedding finally terminated.

Doña Feliciana estimated the expenses for the wedding to be about \$100 for food and bread, paid for by the relatives. Doña Feliciana supplied 9 *fanegas* of maize, worth \$36, and paid \$25 to one of the bands, and she still owed \$20. She also killed a cow with an estimated value of \$60. The second band, which did not stay the entire time, was paid \$20 by the relatives. This makes a total expense of \$261, not counting the fees for the civil registry and the priest. Neither does it include the very considerable quantities of liquor consumed. Doña Feliciana collected \$21 in gifts given by her female relatives.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez mentioned above cost his father \$150. In addition, Don Antonio's brothers spent at least \$50. Don Antonio also killed a beef, and 7½ *fanegas* of maize was consumed. The civil registry cost \$6 and the Mass \$13, a total expenditure of approximately \$309 exclusive of the liquor.

Alfredo Romero, pointing out that even poor families had to make every effort to give a proper wedding so the parents of the girl would be satisfied, reported that his wedding cost \$135, 5½ *fanegas* of maize, and some beans, "and it did not last more than 3 days" (but his group of relatives is smaller and there were fewer guests than at some of the other weddings). He had to buy a beef "which hardly lasted" and there was expense for musicians, bread, lard, salt, onions "and who knows what else." Romero was forced to sell a lot in Parícutin and two small pieces of land, despite aid given him by his relatives.

In general, the attitude of disapproval voiced in the previous paragraph is not shared in Cherán. Although accounts of expense were given with a good deal of headshaking, obviously

the majority of persons were rather proud of the amount they had spent. Unquestionably, a wedding is the most extensive and ostentatious display of wealth and social position that exists in Cherán. Attempts in the past by outsiders to suppress the *costumbres* are almost always taken as attempts to suppress the weddings first of all and are met by sullen and dogged resistance. The reaction of Emilio Rojas, godfather of the bride in the Samuel Santa Clara wedding, is fairly typical:

The custom here is pleasant, except people get very drunk. Well, not everyone, but some. It is good to take something, but not to the point of drunkenness. It is good to dance and be gay. Besides, I like weddings because I always sell something in the way of clothing. [Don Emilio is a storekeeper.]

The social prestige factors involved in weddings revolve about several aspects of the ceremonies. One is the sheer factor of display already mentioned. Whenever any group of people goes through the streets in connection with the wedding, it is accompanied by a band. Furthermore, a direct route is rarely followed. Often a circuitous route two or three times as long as the direct route is used.

Another aspect is the display and exchange of clothing and bread. Every effort is made to show the amount of bread being brought and the quantity of clothing to be exchanged. The clothing is carried on trays, usually lacquered, or in baskets either in the arms or on the head. The majority of the participants bearing clothing come in a single large procession which always makes a special effort to traverse as much of the town as is possible without making the ostentation too evident. The women bearing clothing all sit together for a time after arriving at the groom's house and spread out their clothing to make it look as impressive as possible.

The clothing exchange also has an economic aspect, for the investment involved is very considerable. To some extent, though, the gifts are formalized. Clothing for wedding gifts is usually not as well made as regular clothing. Furthermore, a large part of it is kept for exchange in future weddings. Only if a family does not expect to have any relatives marry for some time to come will it actually use the clothing, unless it is very poor and in need of the

garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalío Sánchez, representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not sufficiently emphasized in the preceding accounts is important: the new marriage means that the two families, in the most extended sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion for celebration, the release of tensions through drinking, the provision of diversion with the dancing, and the general stimulus through extensive social interaction is very considerable. For the participants, weddings probably rank as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the weddings is the much greater participation of the older women. Young women with children usually do not take a very active part in the kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the exchange of clothing. The old women, on the other hand, are in the forefront of all activities. Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in many respects. Old women are the most active in the kitchen. They are the first to start drinking, although they rarely drink to the excess common among the men, and they are the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the playing of dance music has an almost compulsive effect. Time and again, when dance music is being played, even though it is not time for dancing, some of the old women will be seen quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

Although the ceremonies of marriage are most elaborate in the case of first marriages, often marriages of widows or widowers are

almost as complex, particularly if it is the first marriage of one of the parties. A widow or widower is not expected to marry for 6 months after the death of his or her spouse, but marriage usually occurs soon after that time. Marriage is regarded as the normal state for an adult, and one who does not marry is thought to be queer. "Here they believe that a man without a woman or a woman without a man cannot be either man or woman and they are not respected." Moreover, life is very difficult for the widow or widower. The woman has difficulty getting her fields properly cultivated, even though she may own sufficient property. A man, unless he has relatives who will take him in, also has great difficulty in getting food, for no man knows how to cook. Women do not wish to take a widower as a boarder, fearing either that he will make some attempt on their virtue or that their reputation will suffer. Husbands are also much opposed to such an arrangement, so the widower must marry, if he is to eat decently.

In Mestizo Chilchota, Rendón found many similarities with the Cherán wedding customs. The bride is sometimes stolen, sometimes not. If stolen and then not married, the girl finds marriage difficult, and mothers will not let their daughters talk to such a girl. Chilchota residents assert that in the Tarascan villages of La Cañada this is not the case, but such evidence from Mestizos is notoriously unreliable.

Generally the bride is stolen. In Chilchota, Rendón definitely secured the impression that this custom is older than asking for the bride. The bride is taken to the house of a friend or to the godparent of baptism of the bride. According to some women marrying in this way, the marriage was not consummated until after the wedding ceremonies; others said they had relations with their husbands the day they were stolen. If the girl is asked for, rather than stolen, the relatives of the groom take mescal and cigarettes when they visit the bride's parents. They are accompanied by an old man skilled in such matters.

The wedding takes place traditionally in the house of the groom, but among the "snobs" it takes place in the house of the bride. Guests take a kilo of salt, a kilo of chiles (preferably dry chiles which are more expensive), several

kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricultural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called *timbiriche*.

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as *čurípo* (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), *kurúndas* (yellow tamales), *chayote*, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of

both the bride and groom organize a group to carry the atole. A large *olla* is filled with atole. The *olla* is decorated with green branches, flowers, and paper streamers. A carrying basket full of bread and bottles of *aguardiente* is also carried. The atole can be of whatever type is usual at the season of the year, while the bread must be of the type known as *pan grueso*, "thick bread." Various members of the group take turns carrying the bread and atole. At each corner the person carrying the bread or atole dances, while his companions circle about him.

A group of relatives by marriage of the groom known as the "cats" now attempt to take away the *olla* of atole. They carry bundles of nettles and similar plants and strike the bearers of the atole until they succeed in getting it away. They carry it to a store and "sell" it for *aguardiente* or cigarettes.

Another group, known as the sisters, *hermanas*, composed of consanguineal relatives of the groom, attempt to defend the *olla* of atole. When it is finally stolen, they must "buy" it back from the storekeeper for the value of the goods given to the "cats." This is repeated several times before the atole is finally brought to the house of the godparents about sundown.

The godparents of the wedding meantime have strung a rope across the street and receive the group with the atole with lighted splinters of pitch pine to symbolize their late arrival. For a time the party with the atole are not allowed to pass the rope, but eventually they climb over or under it and get into the house.

The godparents of baptism now give the godparents of the marriage *charape*, mescal, and cigarettes. In return they receive presents of clothing and mescal. In the Tarascan villages of La Cañada it is said the exchange of clothing is much more extensive. A supper is served of tamales, *bunuelos* (a sort of fried bread dough dipped in sugar), and *charape*, and there is more dancing. Later the bride is carried to the house of the parents or relatives of the groom. The relatives of the bride are present. Female relatives of the bride toast chiles on a *comal*, and the groom has to enter the smoke to prove that he is a man. The bride is now given to the groom.

The following day there is a ritual meal in the house of the bride to which come the bride's relatives and many friends. The women of Chilchota often dress in traditional Tarascan costume for this meal, wearing the *rollo* or pleated skirt. They also wear straw hats much decorated with flowers and paper streamers. Men dress in *ealzons* or trousers of Indian style. If they have money, a band is hired and the group dances at every corner. The meal served consists of boiled cabbage (without meat or meat broth) and beef tripe cooked with herbs and chile.

Soon after the wedding, the groom takes the bride's parents one or two large baskets of bread, chocolate, sugar, and from \$10 to \$100 (depending on his economic status) to show his thanks. There is some sort of ceremony in the house of the bride's parents.

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, also primarily a Mestizo town, the male and female relatives of the bride dance in the streets on the day of the wedding. The group has a band and dances at each street intersection in the town, the men in one file, and the women in another. The men make a circuit of the women's file and return to their places. The women do the same and then the group moves to another corner. The persons in the files are arranged according to their stature. A sister of the bride accompanies the group, and represents her. The night after the wedding the relatives of the groom do the same, lighting their way with pitch pine torches.

A dozen or more families in Cherán live in "free union," that is, a couple lives together without marriage. In most cases one or both parties to the arrangement have been married previously and divorced according to Cherán standards but not according to law. The majority of such free unions are said to result in successful households, and children of such unions suffer no stigma. Children of free unions inherit from their parents in the same fashion as children of legal or church marriages. This type of union is said to be fairly recent, and at first persons living in this fashion were not permitted by the priest to hold any church office or to act as godparents. Children of free unions were also refused baptism. In

recent years it is said that these restrictions have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in marriages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

ADULT LIFE

Entry into adult status is closely associated with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

ally by the time of marriage, individuals of both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means complete independence for either sex. The couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat difficult time. She is definitely under the thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

they have lived thus far. In the few cases where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

More commonly a joint family will not be established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

Much the same situation will obtain regarding farm lands. A father may give his son some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

In addition to acquiring a house and lands, the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

Objects found in a house or "troje":

- Sleeping mats
- Small table
- Chairs, either low chairs, regular size chairs, or stools, one for each man in the household and usually two or three for guests.
- Scrape*, worn by the man during the day and serving as a blanket for man and wife at night. A second *scrape* will often be found if there are children.
- Chest, box, or trunk for extra clothes
- Saint's picture
- Candle and candle holder
- Flower holder
- Ladder for getting to loft
- Gun (sometimes)
- Cross beam suspended from the ceiling on which are hung clothing, blankets, etc.

Objects found in the kitchen:

- Wooden hooks for hanging up "anything"
- Stump and flat stone for burning pitch pine for light
- Corn husk mats for holding up pots(at least three)
- Large comal
- 3 "frying pans" of Patamban pottery for cooking meat
- 1 "frying pan" of Patamban pottery for cooking eggs
- Several round and oblong wooden bowls
- Grass-root pot brush
- Atole strainer
- 4 cane splint baskets of various sizes
- 2 pottery jars
- Broom for sweeping yard (of brush)
- Broom for sweeping house (of broom straw)
- Paring knife
- Bowls of Quiroga ware or Guanajuato ware for serving broth and meat on special occasions
- Charcoal-burning flat iron
- Gourd canteens for use at harvest time or in woods
- ½ dozen china plates
- ½ dozen china cups
- Tea pot
- China bowls
- ½ dozen wooden spoons of various sizes
- Tin can for dipper to fill water jars
- Chocolate beater
- Tortilla baskets
- 2 water ollas
- 1 small pitcher
- 5 large 2-handled pots
- 8 smaller 1-handled pots
- Clay fireplace
- Firefan
- Small metate for chiles
- Large metate for maize

Table

3 chairs (usually small low style)

Machete

½ dozen spoons

2 table forks (rare)

1 table knife (rare)

1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)

Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs

Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes

Wooden pitchfork

Wooden hook

Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)

Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

Clothing must also be secured. The man will own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important. Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cultures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

Within the household certain routines and habits are common. Labor is rather strictly divided along sexual lines also. For example, the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

The general weekly routine of the family of a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for stealing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

unmarried men may not come home until 9 or 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they feed themselves with cold food left for them.

On Monday the men and young men go to the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9 o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always includes tortillas and chile and likely includes remnants of the previous day's meal such as *sopa de tortilla*. If the men are going out all day and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill and carry whatever water is needed during the morning. They may also buy some vegetables at the market, although most will have done this at the Saturday market. They may shop for meat and other needed items at the store. The main housework will be sweeping and putting the sleeping mats in the "troje." Then the woman will start work on the midday meal for herself and children (earlier if she is to take dinner to the fields, which she will do if her husband is working within an hour's walk). This meal is apt to be quite simple if the husband is not home. Some women make tortillas before dinner and again before supper. Others will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After dinner, following about an hour's rest, these women will make up a supply of tortillas sufficient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may be set at this work. In any case, probably 2 hours will be put in making tortillas and preparing supper. Men who went for firewood will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock, others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed for other reasons may come in after dark. The men of the family will eat together; the women and children usually eat together but after the men. Before he eats, a man may have to water and feed his animals, unless there is a small boy who can do it.

After supper a man will often go out on the street for about an hour to loaf and talk to friends. Young men will go out and stay longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

Some families vary the schedule given above. In a fair number of cases the men of the family rise before the women and go to the fields without breakfast. The woman in this case

usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

In some ways the activities of men are less varied and complex than those of the women. A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor, broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

Agustín arrived in Cherán from the United States on January 25, 1940. For 17 days he did not eat at home. There were no fiestas but he was "taken around." He was brought chocolate and bread before he got up. February 5 there was a wedding, which he attended for a while in the evening and part of the next day. February 6 was Carnival and he went on horseback to Nahuatzen, where he followed the music about for a time. In March, during Holy Week, he went to church Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He spent some time watching the *Judíos* chase small boys with their spears. The boys blew whistles to annoy them. Between Carnival and Holy Week there were several weddings, but he did not attend any of them for more than an hour or two. At the fiesta of the Octava following Holy Week he spent 4 days going about with the musicians. He spent 3 days at a fiesta in Nahuatzen, coming home each night. At Corpus he spent 4 days, following the music and visiting various parties. He spent 1 day at the *carguero's* house on the day of San José, April 10. After Corpus he spent a whole day at one wedding and an hour or two at another. On San Juan's day, June 24, he spent the whole day watching the horse racing and other activities. On the day of San Pedro in June he ate *posole* at various houses and walked around all day. In August he spent 2 more days at another fiesta in Nahuatzen and spent an evening and a day in connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves. He also attended three weddings, spending an entire day at each. In September he visited the Ahuiran fiesta for 1 day. In October he spent 4 days at the fiesta of the patron saint in Cherán. A half day was spent at the Huansito fiesta in La Cañada. The Day of the Dead was almost all spent at the graveyard and at people's homes. In December he danced with the *negrito* dancers for 4 days and in January danced with the *viejos* or *Europeos* for 4 days (he did not count any of the practice time which was in the evenings). In January he spent 1 day at a wedding.

Another informant, between 40 and 50 years of age, spent the following time in fiestas:

Carnival, 2-3 hours
 Wedding, 1 day
 Holy Week, 3 days at church

Octava, 4 days
 Corpus, 4 days
 Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
 San Juan, 1 day
 San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
 Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
 San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
 Wedding, 1 day
 Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
 Wedding, 1 day
 Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions. While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo*, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

The best picture of women's activities may be presented by giving a number of actual

cases. Women's work varies greatly with the size of the family and the age of the children. Most women had no clear idea of the time spent, and the following figures are guesses given under some pressure.

CASE 1

(3 adults in family.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Going to mill	½
Carrying water (3 ollas in morning, 2 in afternoon)	1 or 2
Making tortillas	1 or 2
Other food preparation	2 or 3
Washing clothes and taking bath on Wednesdays	5
Sweeping (not every day)	½ to 1
Marketing	½
Shelling corn:	
Green	¼
Dry	½
Visiting neighbors	Variable
Resting	Variable
Minimum daily schedule	6
Total waking hours	13

CASE 2

(Family of 8; two girls, one about 8, one about 13. Woman helps in store owned by family in spare time but both girls help, take maize to the mill, etc. Following is estimate of the day preceding the interview.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Going to mill	¼
Shelling corn	2
Making tortillas	2
Carrying water (met friends)	2
Washing clothes (Friday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	¼
Marketing (longer if she meets friends)	½
Food preparation	3
Care of children	No idea
Visiting friends—does not go out, friends visit her in store	None
Estimated total on ordinary days (not including work in store and caring for children)	10

CASE 3

(Family of 6; 4 children, all big enough to care for themselves; woman also helps in store.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Mill	½ to 1
Making tortillas	4
Carrying water (3 or 4 ollas)	1
Ironing (Friday or Saturday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	½
Marketing	½
Food preparation	3

Daily minimum, about 10

In addition to above, washes 1 day a week, 7 hours. Also goes occasionally to Paricutin for an hour to interview a debtor.

Waking hours, about 15

CASE 4

(A widow. Several adults in family; woman assisted by daughter-in-law.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Making tortillas	½
Carrying water (10 ollas with assistance of daughter-in-law)	½
Cooking	1½
Sweeping (twice a week)	¼
Marketing (average)	½
Shelling corn	½
Daily minimum	4 to 5

In addition, washing and bathing on Wednesday consume 6 to 7 hours. On Thursdays the informant goes to the Paraje to gather herbs, about a 2-hour trip each way. From Saturday to Monday the informant is in Uruapan selling the herbs.

CASE 5

(3 adults in family.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Water carrying, 5 to 7 ollas morning and afternoon (estimate)	1
Tortillas, morning and afternoon (total)	2
Shelling corn—buys it shelled	2
Going to mill	¾ to 1
Marketing	½
Food preparation	½ to 1
Sweeping (once a week)	½
Washing and bathing every Thursday, about	5
Daily minimum, about	5

Despite the few hours appearing in the statement, the informant said she had little time to rest.

CASE 6

(3 people in family.)

	<i>Hours</i>
3 ollas of water, morning and afternoon	½ to 1
Tortillas	1
Going to mill	½ to 1
Shelling corn	½
Sweeping	¼
Food preparation	1
Marketing	½ to 1
Resting	1 to 2

Daily minimum (exclusive of rest period) about 5¼

Visits neighbors a little.

Clothes washing 8 a. m. to 1 p. m., Tuesdays.

CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Tortillas (½ hour morning and afternoon)	1
Going to mill	½
Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day	¾
Preparing food	¾
Marketing	½
Sweeping	¼
Shelling corn	½
Visiting mother daily	1
Care of child	2 to 3
Resting	½

Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about 5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

	<i>Hours</i>
Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total	1½
Going to mill	¼ to ¾
Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily)	¾
Preparing food	¾
Sweeping (twice a week)	½
Marketing	½
Shelling corn	¾
Resting	½ to 1
Visiting, not every day	1

Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting) 5½

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

If you hear a piece of land is for sale and do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

At meals the oldest man present is served first, unless there is a male guest present. Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher, it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

over the part of the rim the lips have touched, before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly. Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of likes and dislikes, some of which have been developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they are all bought by adults who hang them up in the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk outside the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatio*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums. Gambling devices at fiestas are always well patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5 men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

Tastes are fixed even in some matters of dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in Cherán is simply talking. Both men and women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

The transition from adult to old age is not a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

fatigable dancer at fiestas. By any standard this man is old, but he certainly shows no sign of senescence, although it is unlikely he is still sexually potent. Similarly, women obviously far past child-bearing age are often the most active workers at fiestas and the most eager dancers, in contrast to the often lackadaisical attitudes of young mothers who dance not at all.

For women the menopause comes between 40 and 50. Information from women on sexual subjects is difficult to secure even by women, and the scanty information is quite unsatisfactory.³⁵

Some women appear to be more or less spiritless and sad after the menopause, while others seem to be quite gay. In some cases this difference may have psychological basis or may reflect the presence or absence of physiological difficulties. Indifference of husbands, the sexual potency of husbands, and the continuance of sexual relations may also have some bearing on individual cases. At least one woman expressed herself as pleased to have passed the menopause because "now she was free" and was not dependent upon men. Further study of the problem is needed but would require considerable time and tact on the part of women investigators.

In general, whether old age is depressing and unhappy or not seems to depend upon the continuance of a successful marital relationship and the possession of adequate economic resources. The only really unhappy old people seem to be elderly women without children or husbands who eke out a miserable existence in ways that could not be discovered. They dwell in hovels and lean-tos of brush and boards, carry their own wood, and to some extent live on charity. Those with reasonable health and either dutiful children or enough property to insure care on the part of the children seem to lead a fairly satisfactory life. Often nephews and nieces also help care for old people; again, possession of property probably aids in securing

³⁵ Early in the study Mrs. Ruth W. Beebe, of New York, aided by the nurse from the boarding school at Paracho and by a Mestizo girl from Paracho, tried to fill out comprehensive questionnaires on sexual subjects, directed primarily toward gaining insight into the psychological problems related to the menopause. She was able to secure only three reasonably complete schedules and even these probably contain evasions and some unanswered questions. I am indebted to Mrs. Beebe for copies of the schedules and have drawn upon them slightly for these remarks.

proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

All the curers (*curanderas*—*šurijki*; in other towns *činájpiri*) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments are treated at home; the curer is merely a person of greater knowledge who is called in when home remedies fail or the case is obviously beyond the knowledge of the household. Similarly, the doctor at Parácho is called only when the curer fails or the case is believed beyond the curer's powers. Obviously, this situation has not greatly enhanced the reputation of the doctor, for most of his patients are nearly moribund some hours before he can reach them.

Curers usually make a diagnosis first. No information on methods could be secured. It appears that a visual inspection and questioning of the patients are parts of the diagnosis, and possibly the only diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is made, the curer decides what steps to take to cure the patient. Often herbs kept on hand can be used; others, however, must be specially sought because they must be collected either fresh or at certain hours of the day.

In general, sickness by some is related to the strength of the blood which resides below the nape of the neck. This is also the location of the individual's life. Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the "seat of life," the person dies. There are also vague concepts of sickness being caused by "heat" or "cold," (sophisticated Agustín attributed a cold to drinking water while sweating) "airs" (which may also be either hot or cold), fright (*espanto*), and, much more specific, evil eye.

Broken bones are treated by specialists, who may also be curers of diseases or, in one case at least, midwives. The bones are manipulated into place and bound to splints without other treatment.

Dislocations are massaged repeatedly with olive oil until the bones are back in place. They

are then covered with belladonna leaves. Bruises are sometimes cured by splitting a lizard and applying it to the injured place.

Hernia is recognized as being from natural causes through lifting heavy weights. One curer treats the ailments with massage with oils. The patient also takes medicine made by collecting all the kinds of alcoholic drinks the curer can find, such as *charanda*, sherry, etc., and mixing them together. The patient takes a third to a half cup of the mixture every morning before breakfast.

Headache, *ép'ameráni*, is extremely common and is ordinarily treated with home remedies. A patch of some herb (or of adhesive plaster or court plaster bought in the stores) is applied to each temple. Some people wear these patches almost constantly, especially some women.

Bilis, bile, is one of the commonest diseases, especially among children; it also is one of the most difficult to define. Often the vaguest of symptoms are attributed to *bilis*. Lassitude, especially in young persons, often is diagnosed as *bilis*. According to one curer, however, the patient turns yellow, seems tired, and develops sores similar to those of smallpox. Three causes are given for *bilis*, air in the stomach from waiting too long for a meal, not getting enough to eat and so getting air in the stomach, and getting air in the stomach from any other cause. Children are sometimes born with *bilis* and are thought to become infected in the womb. Treatments of *bilis* are vague. *Flor de pila* well cooked with cinnamon, and given by the teaspoon as a tonic, and an infusion of *simonillo* are two remedies. *Amargo* (see below) is another remedy.

Stomach pains are also regarded as being caused by air, either hot or cold. *Basa*, a pain on either side, is also caused by air, or by drinking too much water. *Espinocilla*, a red-flowered plant, is good for both these afflictions. Nopal leaves are put on the soles of the feet for too much heat in the stomach. (See below for account of a cure of one of the members of the staff.)

Itch or mange, *sarna*, *súta*, is treated with unguents purchased in the drug store, *polvo Juan* and mercuric ointment.

Heart trouble, *latido de corazón*, is recognized from pains in the heart and by palpita-

tions. There is a high fever, a cough, and sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers, bought in the drug store, and given an infusion of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree, prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red maize leaves. The infusion is taken several times a day in place of water. The disease may be caused if the person arrives somewhere very agitated and drinks cold water or something cold, *fresea*. One informant thought eating lice was good for heart trouble.

Piles, *almorranas*, are cured with a remedy made with copper sulfate and lard washed with vinegar, unguent of serato, and drying salve (*pomada secante*). One of the assistants was told confidentially, and as a thing not to be passed on, that cauterization with a hot iron was also employed.

Erysipelas, *čarápiti*, appears with a high fever, which increases. There is angry red swelling and much pain. The cause given is allowing the clothing to dry on the body if one becomes soaked; the disease is also an accompaniment of wounds. The patient is given a cooked infusion of *yerba de cancer* and asked to eat only milk, sago, and orange-leaf tea.

Salmoneda is a disease of small children; they fall down in fits. The cause is fright, *espanto*, and the disease is cured by burning copal and having the child inhale the smoke.

Smallpox, *kuarósikua*, occurs every March. There are 3 days of fever, 3 days of cough and fever accompanied by breaking out of the pustules, 3 days of feeding to regain strength. After the sixth day the pustules begin to dry up. Possibility of contagion from using the same cup, spoon, etc., is recognized. The stage accompanied by the cough is treated with burro's milk (application not clear) and a common herb occurring on the streets, *čákua perénš*. The latter is boiled and drunk instead of water.

Sarampión, measles, usually occurs in March also and is regarded as much more dangerous than smallpox (although this may be true, it seems more likely that the identification of diseases is faulty). The patients get a red rash, fever, and colds. An infusion of grapefruit (?) is used to bring out the rash; if the rash does not come out the patient may not

recover. Some curers wash their hands in alcohol when treating *sarampión* to prevent catching the infection.

Whooping cough, *perénsjuk* (*tosferina*), is a very common disease, with a high mortality rate among children. Burro's milk, turpentine, copal, and *yerba buena* are used in treatment.

Syphilis, gonorrhoea, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are either unknown or their existence in Cherán is denied. Most of the previously described diseases are recognized as infections by some curers; other diseases are not so considered.

Toothache seems always to be treated by patent medicines bought in drug stores at Uruapan or Purépero. One man said he had heard that letting of blood from the gums was done in the past, but the practice has been abandoned.

Goiter, *kuçékua*, is fairly common in Cherán, especially among females. It is regarded as a disease. Patients are bathed up to the knees with hot water to make the "heat" come down. Alcohol is then applied to the bottoms of the feet to make the "heat" stay down.

An extremely common disease, especially for children in the dry season, is dysentery, *posición*, usually accompanied by high fever. Lard is washed with clean water. When the water is evaporated, a half centavo of sodium bicarbonate is mixed with the lard and the stomach is rubbed with the mixture.

Fevers are said to be very common, but there are few standard treatments. A well-known herb, *romero*, is much used. A blue-flowered plant called *sadadrón* is also employed. Pneumonia and rheumatism are recognized, but, again, there are no standard treatments. Typhus in mild form has occurred in epidemics, but no treatment could be learned.

Pains are regarded as a class of illness. When children have pains, *dolores*, the mother anoints the seat of the pain with saliva mixed with ashes. The water in which maize has been cooked, *nejallote*, is also given in small quantities. This water is also used as a remedy whenever anything "fresh" (*fresco*) is needed. Women after birth are especially subject to pains of the breast, *k'uaningiota*. The pains may be in the breast, about the stomach region, or anywhere about the ribs. Sometimes

swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back. A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

There are a number of treatments of illness which are quite generalized, that is, they may be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. *Nurite*, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero*, *quién sabe*, and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

Of considerable interest is a class of diseases and ailments which seem to be of supernatural causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are *č'érpiri* or *jándaku íri* ("fright," *espanto*), *tariáta pákata* ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and *éskukata* (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

Some informants believed that "fright" was something attacking only drunkards and persons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter because it attacks mainly small children who are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

In order to cure infants of the evil eye, mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

what is involved, they accede without asking questions. They take one of the garments they have on, such as the end of a *rebozo* or a blanket, and pass it over the infant's body, pretending to rub the child, although actually they often do not touch it. According to Rendón's information, as they "clean" the child each person says "číta ká'ka" (meaning not learned), repeating the phrase three or more times. The person cleaning the child then raises its shirt and either spits on the child over the heart, or pretends to do so. All persons, regardless of age, are asked to "clean" the child, for the evil eye may be caused by a child as well as an adult. This statement would seem to imply that the performance is conducted with the hope that the person causing the attack will be one of those to "clean" the victim; this is borne out by other information that if the person causing the evil eye is known, anyone can effect a cure by "cleaning" the victim with a piece of worn, soiled clothing lent by the causer.

Another method of curing the evil eye is to "clean" the patient with certain grasses or animals. The animals used are pigeons, black cats, and dogs. The entire body of the patient is rubbed with the animal, which is then released. By using only the pigeon or both the cat and dog, a child may be cured, but adults require rubbing with all three. If the evil eye is very strong, the pigeons may die, but the other two animals apparently are uninjured.

In order to prevent the evil eye, "deer eyes" are tied to the wrist or about the neck, or a little sack filled with salt, lime, and black chile is hung about the neck. Adults wear a scapular with a stamp of some saint inside as a preventive.

McCorkle made several efforts to be "cured" in order to secure additional data, but in only one instance was he taken seriously. Even this case is open to suspicion that the curer decided there was a possible gold mine in the situation and tried to exploit it to the limit. The curer in this instance also has the reputation of being a witch and able to turn herself into an owl at night. She refused to talk until her husband arrived, and he actually did most of the talking. They were very suspicious, asking if there were not doctors in Uruapan or

in California. This was the usual reaction of other curers who, although less suspicious and more good-natured, simply refused to go further, advising McCorkle to go to a Mexican doctor.

When McCorkle insisted doctors had done him no good and that he had a persistent pain in the stomach, the curer suggested it was indigestion and would go away, asking Agustín privately if McCorkle was not making fun of them. Agustín replied that the curer knew how to tell fortunes so why did she not discover for herself whether McCorkle was sincere. The customary fee of 25 centavos was now offered and the curer and her husband at this point evidently decided that McCorkle could be exploited.

The symptoms recounted to the curer were a sudden pain in the stomach, sometimes after meals, sometimes before breakfast or at other odd times, and poor sleep. The curer asked how long the patient had been in Mexico and where he had slept the first night in Mexico. The curer now unwrapped a deck of cards from a dirty cloth. She shuffled the cards, picked out one, and declared the disease was *maloficina*, an affliction not reported by any other source. Someone had given the patient something to drink so he would have a stomach ache all the time.

The remedy suggested was to take a purge to be bought at the drug store. When asked to recommend a purge, the curer and her husband decided they could capitalize on the situation and said they could get a very superior purge at an old drug store in Purépero for \$5.00. When this price was demurred at, the curer finally decided that if the patient was not difficult to purge, \$2.50 would secure enough of the purge. The first day after taking the purge, the patient was to stay in bed, as he would sweat; the second day he could get out of bed but should not do heavy work and should eat only toasted white bread and milk. The third day the patient should stay home and on the fourth day come back to the curer and be massaged. During this time the patient could smoke but not drink liquor. A case was cited of a man who violated this prohibition and died shortly afterward.

On McCorkle's return to get the purge, an effort was made to raise the price. When this had been successfully countered, McCorkle asked if the curer could find out who caused the pains. This was said to be difficult because McCorkle had stopped in a hotel instead of with friends on his first night in Mexico. Finally, after consultation of the cards, it was stated that a tall woman with blue eyes had caused the illness "just for fun." This was a person whom McCorkle had "liked very much" in the hotel. At this point they asked Agustín in an aside if McCorkle was "church married" to his wife.

The purge proved to be a packet of herbs and a bottle of oil. New directions were now given for the treatment. Half the tea was to be boiled, sugar added, and the mixture allowed to become lukewarm. The oil, about an ounce and a half, was all to be taken, then the tea. The patient would purge about five times. He should not eat meat, chile, or beans, but could eat cheese, milk, and toasted white bread. The medicine should be taken in the morning and the patient should stay in bed 3 days and not drink water. The patient should not bathe for 6 days. The instructions were somewhat confused because the curer and her husband sometimes simultaneously produced variant instructions, for example, one stating that the patient should return in 4 days, while the other said 6.

A few notes were secured by Rendón in other towns. In San Juan Parangaricutiro the fat of animals mixed with ground river crawfish is rubbed on the body to cause a sweat in cases of pneumonia. Headaches are treated with "patches" covered with melted copal, *kurikçunda*, placed on the temples.

In nearby Parícutin the leaves of the *floripondio* (*Datura* sp.?) are placed on the body to cure pains.

In Capacuaro attacks of "air" may be either hot or cold. If cold, the urine of the patient is mixed with *aguardiente* and rubbed on the joints. When the "air" is hot, the joints are rubbed with ashes. Pains are cured by rubbing the joints with edible oil. Another treatment used in a variety of illnesses is to "take out," *sacudir*. The patient's arms are placed behind his neck and two persons pull on them "until the veins thunder." This is done when the person feels pain over the entire body. The

zorilla (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

The majority of Capacuaro residents have goiter. This is said often to result from drinking from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

The power of the evil eye belongs only to certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

The following remedies are reported by Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.

2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.

3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).

4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the patient immediately a drink made by boiling *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

washed. If the deceased is a girl, the dress is a long gown of white with a sort of long cape of blue. The corpse of a boy is dressed in the same way except the inner garment is yellow and the cape is green. In both cases a crown of cardboard, covered with silver paper and decorated with paper flowers, is placed on the head.

The body is placed on a table. Arches of flexible wood, wrapped in paper and decorated with paper flowers, are placed over the body.

A bunch of flowers with a candle in the middle is placed in the hands of the corpse. Preparation of the flowers is done by girls related to the deceased. The body is watched during the night and candles are burned. A "prayer," uandátsikuritíč (*rezador*), is asked to come and pray. He is paid from \$0.75 to \$1.50 for his service.

In the morning all the relatives assemble and are fed. The food is provided by the parents, but the relatives of the mother aid in its preparation. Opinion is divided regarding aid given the parents. Some say that persons attending the death watch during the night bring *aguardiente* and that all those visiting the house make a present of a few centavos to aid in the expenses. Others denied this custom and claimed the parents must stand all the expense even though they have to sell some property. However, everyone who visits the house brings a candle, which is burned for the deceased.

The body is usually taken to the graveyard sometime during the afternoon. Formerly the body of a child was often accompanied by musicians, but this practice seems to have entirely disappeared, or nearly so. Each family has a plot or section in the graveyard and three or four male relatives prepare the grave in advance of the burial. Four girls, who are relatives of the deceased, carry the body to the graveyard on the table on which it has rested. Often only a few of the closer relatives will go to the graveyard, but the godparents are always present.

At the graveyard the body is removed from the table and placed in a wooden box or coffin. This is lowered into the grave without ceremony by relatives who also fill the grave with earth. Sometimes some of the women will sprinkle a

handful of earth on the coffin in the form of the cross before the grave is filled. The arches decorating the table are placed over the grave. There are no prayers or other ceremonies and the party leaves immediately after the grave is filled.

The body of an adult is watched through the night with candles; this night watch is attended by many more people than in the case of an infant and *atole* made of rice and brown sugar is served at midnight. The corpse is dressed in black clothing of the type worn in life. Nothing is placed on the head. A candle is placed in the hand of the corpse but no flowers. The clothing is prepared by the nearest relatives, the godparents taking no part in the funeral of a person over about 14 years of age.

In the morning the visitors and mourners are served beans and tortillas. At noon it is obligatory to serve broth, *čuripo*, and white tamales, *kurúndas* (although these are regarded as injurious to the digestion). The food is all prepared by relatives of the wife. The body is taken to the graveyard in a wooden coffin and is carried by four male relatives. A few people take the body first to the church, but generally it is taken directly to the graveyard. In any case, there are never any prayers at the graveyard. As in the case of a child, all the prayers are in the house, usually with the aid of a professional "prayer" or *rezador*. The priest is never asked to officiate, although he may have been summoned while the person was dying. The body is buried in the family plot (but a woman is buried in the plot of her husband's family). In the case of both adults and children a small stoppered *olla* of water is placed at the head of the corpse but outside the coffin. There are no flowers, but each mourner carries a candle.

One evident contradiction between theory and practice was observed. Numerous informants insisted that there was never any music for funerals of adults at any time. In actual fact, several funerals were observed in which music played in the house almost the entire day of the funeral.

In some cases, the interment ends all mourning. In others, the family hires a *rezador* to come to the house every afternoon for 9 days to pray. The members of the family join in

these prayers, but it is not necessary for other relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

After the funeral, the parents or the surviving spouse may remain very sad. If it appears they may be made ill of "sadness," the relatives visit the survivors frequently, talking to them of things which they think may alleviate their condition and giving consolation. If this does not improve matters, they seek a curer who gives medicines.

A very few families pay for Masses for the deceased. More commonly, members of the family of the deceased will visit the church from time to time and burn candles and pray for the dead.

A few additional observations may be of interest. It is said that formerly the bells were tolled 10 or 12 times in the morning and afternoon when someone had died. This is not done now. The graveyard is on the lower edge of town and is surrounded by an adobe wall. In some cases the graves are paved with cobblestones or more elaborate masonry pavements. On rare occasions a tomb or head stone is erected, but in the majority of cases only a wooden cross is put up. The age of the present graveyard is unknown; the oldest date found on a grave was 1883. There is no evidence of offerings (except in connection with the Day of the Dead), although the graveyard is apparently visited at night by some people to judge by the presence of numerous partially burned pitch pine splinters about the entrance. All informants denied knowledge of such visits, however.

The major mourning ceremony is the Day of the Dead, November 2. Several days before this date the graveyard is divided in four sections and the young men from each *barrio* are required by the municipal officials to clear the brush and weeds away from the entire cemetery. On November 1 everyone prepares quantities of *nakatamales*, a small tamale filled with beef in chile sauce and wrapped in husks rather than maize leaves. Fruit is also purchased and bread is made. A few make tamales for sale, but most people make their own.

The night of November 1, a Mass is celebrated in church. In 1941 the priest spoke to the people against taking candles or food to the graveyard, telling them instead to bring candles to the church. Another Mass is held the morning of the 2d, after which people go to the graveyard. There is no organized procession, nor does everyone arrive at the same time. In many cases only the women and children attend, although usually the men drop in for a short time and some stay for several hours. Indeed, the function is said to be a woman's affair and men may not carry candles or even take part if they have no women folk.

Generally, the first thing the visitors do is to more thoroughly clean the graves of their dead. Often the ground is dug up and the mounds are built up and shaped. The graves of the more recent dead (children, parents, and siblings) are then decorated with flowers and pine boughs. Often pine boughs are set up at each corner of a grave or group of graves. Each grave mound has flowers sprinkled over it, mostly yellow marigolds and purple orchids. In some cases part of the flowers are finely shredded and sprinkled over the grave and crosses are sometimes marked out in flowers. Pine needles are also sprinkled over some graves and sometimes baskets of food placed on the graves. Food is placed at the foot of the grave in all cases and candles are burned, despite the admonitions of the priest.

After the grave is decorated, the family sits around and chats. There are few evidences of sorrow; one or two people remark that the day is "very sad," but most people seem cheerful in a quiet way and there is even some subdued laughter. The *rezadores* or "prayers" go around from group to group and say lengthy prayers using a rosary. Everyone in the group kneels while the prayers are said. Fruit, bread, and tamales are given the *rezador* for his prayers.

In 1941 the priest came and said prayers. He charged a *real*, 12½ centavos for each prayer. His prayers were shorter than those of the *rezador* and he and those with him remained standing, but he sprinkled the grave with holy water. He also scolded people for having candles and food offerings, so most

people hid them when the priest approached, placing them out again when he moved on. The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of *nakatamales*, bread, and fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the

graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group as large as the Tarascans is the question whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a

significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a number of points of considerable interest. Perhaps the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

both in formal religion and in witchcraft, are certainly almost wholly European.

Despite the European origins of Tarascan culture, it obviously represents something different from the European-originated Mestizo culture. Neither is it a mere survival of sixteenth century conditions. If Vasco de Quiroga or any other sixteenth century European were to return to Cherán, he no doubt would find it as strange as any lay visitor from modern European culture. Nor would this strangeness be wholly or even primarily due to the infiltration of later European ideas.

The uniqueness of Cherán culture, whether viewed from the standpoint of the sixteenth century or from that of today, lies in the extensive reworking of its European materials. For example, the *cabildo* system seems almost certainly related to the organization of the hospitals introduced by Quiroga, yet the good Bishop might have to do considerable research to recognize the relationship. Such reworking may be due to the patterning influence of native ideas rather than to a spontaneous evolution of a purely European culture in the partial isolation of the late Colonial period. The character of such things as family life and attitudes and the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Cherán inhabitants may have been relatively unchanged, despite the modifications in material culture and social organization.

A subject meriting more thorough investigation in Cherán is the persistence of the mixed culture of Cherán. The fierce attachment to *costumbres* is part of the acceptance of a way of life by most members of the community, even the most progressive. This attachment persists despite the fact that Cherán culture not only changes visibly but that such change is accepted and even desired by a large part of the population. The limits of acceptable change, however, need further definition. The impression of the staff of the present study is that change is accepted rather readily in those things relating to material welfare and perhaps health. Cherán residents are not averse to changes leading to more money, food, medical service (if it does not cost too much), or elements increasing comfort, such as a larger and better distributed water supply. The introduction of industries giving employment at

better wages would meet no opposition. Probably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán culture is implied in the foregoing remarks. The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

Mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past. (Pátzcuaro has not been studied but apparently the social structure is fairly rigidly fixed in terms of the families whose signatures occur on last Colonial charter of the town with relatively little modification by present economic or occupational conditions.)

As indicated in the introduction, the study of Cherán thus far has been conducted in a single time dimension. Ultimately, considerable light can be shed on the present culture by relating it to its historical background. Tarascan culture seems not to have been static in pre-European times and to have changed greatly both during and after the Colonial period. Materials are probably sufficiently abundant to permit study of change in enough detail to give some knowledge of processes. Of particular interest would be a study of contemporary culture in the light of the utopian ideas of Quiroga, ideas that to a considerable degree seem to have been translated into a functioning system.

Many problems related to the individual in Cherán need further attention. The role of women in Cherán could not be adequately studied for reasons already explained; it would not be too much to say that the present study gives merely the masculine culture of Cherán. Such problems as the significance of witchcraft and its relation to personality structure and emigration should be fruitful. The pattern of growth and development and child rearing undoubtedly has bearing on this point. Similarly rewarding should be a deeper investigation of the curious contradiction between the normal concealment or denial of wealth and its ostentatious display in connection with the wedding ceremonies. The characteristics of Cherán culture and Cherán personalities which seem to make it possible for individuals to adapt readily to the outside world, spend years in the heart of industrialized civilization, yet be reabsorbed wholly into the local situation on their return should offer fruitful problems for investigation. Likewise the influence of the returning emigrant on present conditions in Cherán should be more thoroughly understood.

Most of the foregoing suggestions for study involve the role of the individual and the relationship between the individual and culture. To this field of investigation also are related

many of the practical administrative problems connected with Cherán. In the last analysis, the success of programs on behalf of the Indian undertaken by governmental agencies boils down to the problem of getting individuals to accept change.

In the field of practical administration, it should be evident that best results will be obtained if the area of culture recognized by Cherán residents as *los costumbres* is not disturbed. Officially expressed administrative aims lie primarily in the fields of economics, technology, education, and political life. Extensive modifications seem possible in these fields without tampering with the *costumbres*.

The most effective administrative measures, if it be conceded that the *costumbres* be not disturbed, seem to call for reducing the general objectives of governmental programs into specific objectives for the community of Cherán. Greater effectiveness seems likely to result if such objectives be very concrete, strictly limited initially, and held as consistently as possible. What is needed would appear to be a determination of what the desirable and practical objectives are in improving such things as farming techniques, introducing manufacturing techniques, and modifying housing. If the national objective of greater industrialization is to be realized, a clear corollary program should be developed to determine what types of industrial products Cherán residents are to be stimulated to desire. Mechanisms to protect the group initially from exploitation, both as buyers and sellers, might be desirable. In the educational field, decisions must be made and maintained over a reasonable time as to the purpose of Cherán education. Fundamentally, the problem is whether the people of Cherán are to be educated to live in Cherán or whether they are to be educated to leave Cherán. In the political field, it must be determined whether Cherán is to be self-governing and is to participate freely in a larger national democratic life. If the decision is affirmative, administrators must realize that the best school of democracy is practice in democracy and that the cure for errors is not less but more democracy.

Only when these and similar objectives are concretely framed and the necessary decisions

made can a practical program be formulated for Cherán. Anthropological studies by themselves offer no easy and golden pathway to the solution of Indian problems. The most thorough study of the Tarascans must be ineffective practically if the necessary administrative objectives are not clearly defined. The data of an anthropological study such as this can do no more than offer hints as to the "soft" spots of the culture, the areas in which change can most easily be introduced, as well as the *costumbres*, the points of resistance, such as ceremonies (not necessarily including religion), dress, dances, weddings, and death customs. The study can likewise indicate some of the major problems of Cherán, such as the under-productivity of the soil and agricultural technology, the inadequate mechanization, the probable existence of an overly large population to permit any marked rise in economic status, the need of creating new attitudes in spending (for Cherán could finance many public improvements itself), the inadequacy of the water supply, the lack of public health facilities, and the shortcomings of the educational system.

In relation to these problems, further studies are needed in which the anthropologist is aided by technicians in soil use, farming, forestry, and animal husbandry techniques. Scientific-

ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON FOOD PLANTS AND FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

The following data were collected by Silvia Rendón in the pueblos of La Cañada, the next valley to the north of Cherán. As the valley is at a lower elevation than is Cherán, some differences are noticeable in techniques and in plants grown. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from Chilchota; although far from complete, they are included here because they afford some interesting comparisons, the more so in that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.

Plants cultivated: All of the plants cultivated in Cherán as well as many others, are found in La Cañada. Black maize is grown in the fields, rather than in the house lots, but, as in Cherán, it is kept separate in storage and is used only for certain types of tamales and

atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one planting is in June and it is harvested in December; the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

A considerable number of fruits are cultivated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and

Manila varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as *juakinicuiles* (in Mexico City, *jinicuiles*) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The *tejocote* is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called *sopoma* grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as *jococoxtle*. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

Sunday. The places where meat is sold are called "*dcs pachos*" and are announced by hanging out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

Some fish are caught with nets in the river passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time. He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweetened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from a wild plant or weed which grows among the wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censured in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and "*cpazote*." The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*. The skin is removed from the tubers and the pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, *uarás* in Tarascan, is sold

extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the *čurípo* of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo*." It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as *jococoxtles*. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La

Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidified. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles, the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

The ceremonial organization is linked with division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal ceremonial offices and their relation to the *barrios* are as follows:

Office	Barrio
<i>Mayordomo</i> of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

Office	Barrio
<i>Mayordomo</i> of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
<i>Carguero</i> of San Roque or Karačakape	<i>Barrio</i> of San Juan
<i>Carguero</i> of San Nicolás	<i>Barrio</i> of San Pedro
Two <i>vaqueros</i>	One from each <i>barrio</i>
Four <i>roseras</i> ¹ or uánanéatis	Two from each <i>barrio</i>
Two <i>regidores</i>	One from each <i>barrio</i>

¹One of the *roseras* is called *pendompari*, and one *capitamor*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or *tarépit*. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's* *barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

important being that of the *čičiua*. A *fiscal* looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A *topil* (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or *petajpi* and the *katapi*. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," *uičariri*.

A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio*?), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor. The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the *mayordomo* places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugar-canes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in Tarascan, called *uandakua*, after which they begin to drink *čarape* and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat *čurípo* and *nákatamales*. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicolás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as *kanínšikuas*. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them *čapatás*. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the *kanínšikua* flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

At a period believed to be before 1900, actual bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

fighting (of which no further details were learned). Some women appeared every year. They wore dresses of red bayeta, a white kerchief on the head, and a felt hat. Two kerchiefs were crossed on the body (breast?) and another was used to tease the bull. A machete was carried on the shoulder.

On these occasions the image of the Virgin of the hospital was taken out and handfuls of tiny confections, of the size of silantro seeds, were scattered. The boys and girls broke many eggshells filled with confetti. The boys struck the girls with sugarcane when possible and the girls retaliated with *čapatas* wrapped in napkins.

On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* assembled in the houses of the *vaquero* and *karačakape*. Piles of oranges, limes, ashes, and earth were placed in the yards, and men and women fought. The oranges and limes were blackened with charcoal and thrown, as were ashes and earth. When the game became violent, a woman struck a shake with a stick and called "peace, peace." The game then stopped.

The passion of Christ was once represented. On Thursday of Holy Week, the imprisonment of Christ was represented, many youths dressing as Jews and soldiers. Friday the image was taken in procession, decorated with laurel, roses, bananas, *čapatas*, and flour tamales.

Normally processions were held three times a year, Holy Thursday, the Friday of Sorrows, and Corpus. The same images were used each time. The image of Jesus the Nazarene was dressed in dark tunic, a cord at the belt, and the stretcher decorated with field flowers. Boys carried the stretcher. Anyone wishing to participate dressed himself in a black tunic and bonnet and went out to gather flowers. The boys were called Judas. The images of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin were also taken in the procession. The image of the Virgin was in the special charge of the *roscras*, who dressed it and prepared the stretcher with flowers. The *pendompari* carried a standard (*pendon*), from which her name is derived, while the *capitamoro* carried a spray of flowers. Both went ahead of the Virgin. The *fiscal* carried an incense burner at the head of the procession. Twelve boys dressed in red tunics represented the Twelve Apostles.

On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided *čurípo* and *kurúndas*. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

On Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them *čurípo* and *kurúndas*.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called *pitakuri*.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with

ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called *kurindure*. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of *curípo* and *kurúndas*. The fiesta is called *tzindakua*.

On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

themselves, kissing the image, and wearing a crown for a few minutes. Alms are given and the boy and girl are then "*hermanos*." During the day girls put on the dress of the Tarascan girl, *uári*, and go about to the stores offering tamales for sale in the manner of the Indians. Boys sing *pastores* in private houses and are given *aguardiente*.

The day of Christmas Eve, the *pendompari* goes about with musicians singing *pastores* (pastorals) to the houses of the *cabildo*, where she makes presents of *buñuelos*. In return each gives the *pendompari* 50 centavos and charape. With the money the *pendompari* pays for the Mass said on Holy Thursday.

One month before Christmas Eve the *čičiua* prepares figures representing the birth of Christ in his house. These are taken to the image of the Holy Child. The day of Christmas Eve, people watch and burn candles before the image until 11 p. m. Quantities of *buñuelos* and *nákatamales* are made for the *cabildo*. At 11 o'clock, the image of the Holy Child (which apparently is in a private house) is taken to the church accompanied by a band. Powder is burned at the street corners. In the church the Infant is placed in a reclining position. Moss for preparing the bed is brought from Cerro Viejo by youths in the same fashion flowers are brought for Carnival.

In addition to these observances, fiestas called *niños gorderos* are celebrated in private houses. A scene representing the birth of Christ is prepared. The Infant is "raised" sometime before Candelaria, and the scene is removed on the 3d of February.

Pastorelas are also celebrated on Christmas Eve. The *roseras* pay the teacher to instruct the dancers, and provide them with *čurípo* and tamales. Each dancer provides his own costume. The group consists of 5 girl and 5 boy shepherds, 3 devils, 2 old men, 2 *negros*, 2 hermits, 1 male and 1 female rancher. They appear to conduct the image of the Holy Child to church, and they also appear on the two following nights.

On January 6 the new *čičiua* goes to church with music and "raises" the Holy Child. The priest takes up the image and gives it to the *čičiua* to dress. He kisses the image and gives it to others to kiss. Afterward all go through

the streets with the musicians to the house of the *čičiua*, who serves *nákatamales*, *buñuelos*, and *čápata*, the men and women of the *cabildo* eating first. During the night there is much dancing of *jarabes*, first women dancing with

women and later men dancing with women. The latter enter into contests with others. *Pastores* are also sung all night, verses taken from printed pamphlets from Mexico. This is continued every night until Candelaria.

APPENDIX 3

REPORT ON MAIZE FROM CHERÁN

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Fifty-five ears of maize were received from Dr. Ralph L. Beals, in lots numbered from 1 to 43, there being two ears each of most of the numbers above 30. The ears were photographed, grain samples were taken, and the ears returned to Dr. Beals. In the summer of 1942, 10 plants from each lot were grown at the Blandy Experimental Farm, of the University of Virginia,³⁹ Boyce, Va. Although the planting as a whole was badly infested with smut, at least one good tassel specimen was obtained from each lot and herbarium specimens were also made of leaves and seedlings. Notes on plant color, pubescence, etc., were taken in the field, and the internode pattern of one plant of each lot was recorded. Five plants from the entire lot were investigated in detail, cytologically, and the knob number and knob positions of their chromosomes were determined.

As a whole, the corn belongs to the race recently termed "Mexican Pyramidal" by Anderson and Cutler (1942). Many of the ears and the plants grown from them are indistinguishable (for all practical purposes) from collections made in the vicinity of Mexico City. However, there are certain average differences which seem to be significant, and a few of the numbers are unlike anything we have yet examined from Mexico, D. F. Plants are medium to tall, mostly with conspicuous sun red (occasionally purple) plant color. Tillers are few or absent. The leaves are broad but break easily in the wind, giving the collection a very bedraggled appearance, which is heightened by the susceptibility to smut. The tas-

sels are large and coarse but there are few tassel branches. The ears are short, though the husks are often very long. The ear branches vary greatly in length, the most extreme being 3 or 4 feet long, with numerous secondary ears. This is partly due to culture in a region of different day length (i. e., Virginia vs. Mexico). The ears are prevailingly broad at the base, tapering sharply and evenly. The kernels are mostly hard and flinty but are nearly all more or less dented. There is great variation in kernel size and shape, not only from plant to plant but also on each ear, since, owing to the position of the husks, the grains at the tip of the ear are under strong compression, whereas those at the base have plenty of room. It is not unusual to see an ear with the basal kernels deeply dented but with no perceptible denting in any of the kernels at the tip.

Two main types were well represented in the collections (table 18). There were the so-called "Black" maize from Cherán (Nos. 31-37) and from Nahuatzen (Nos. 38-43) and "Tulukénio" (Nos. 1-26), a mountain type grown only above 8,500 feet (pl. 8). A third type, "Trimásion," is grown on the plain below 8,500 feet. It is said to be later maturing, larger-eared, and larger-grained. This was apparently confirmed by our collections, but since there were only two numbers (29 and 30) no averages have been prepared.

The collections of Black maize stood out sharply both in the field and in the collection of ears. The latter were around 15 cm. in length, nearly all of them with dark (blue or purple) kernels which were deeply to lightly dented and were rounded (i. e., not pointed). Purple cob

³⁹ For laboratory space and many other courtesies, we are indebted to the Director, Dr. O. E. White.

TABLE 18.—*Characteristics of Charán maize*

Lot No. of maize	Race of maize	Locality	Plant color	Cob color	Silk color	Seed coat color (S = stained or streaked)	Aleurone	Tillers	Tassel branch	Row	Gluin length	Con- densed inter- nodes	Seeds per spikelets	Kernel	Knob
								Number	Number	Number	Mm	Percent	Percent		Number
1	Tulakémio	Charán	Sun red.	White	Red	Red S	White	0-3	3-6	14	11	0	20	Pointed, flinty	4
2	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0-1	4-11	14	12	20	90	Pointed, flinty, semident	do
3	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0-2	4	15	12	20	20	do	do
4	do	do	do	do	Pink	None	Yellow	0-1	12	16	11	50	90	Subpointed, flinty, semident	do
5	do	do	do	do	Green	S	do	0-4	3-6	11	12	20	100	do	do
6	do	do	do	do	Pale purple	do	do	1-12	1-10	14	15	20	40	Rounded, flinty	do
7	do	do	do	do	Pink	Pink S	do	0-2	7	12	18	0	80	Subpointed, flinty, semident	do
8	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0-2	6-13	12	12	20	100	Rounded, flinty	do
9	do	do	do	do	Pale purple	Red S	do	0	6	10	10	30	40	Subpointed, flinty, semident	do
10	do	do	do	do	do	None	do	0	6	10	11	40	20	Subpointed, flinty, semident	do
11	do	do	do	do	Green	Red S	do	1	3-5	12	12	0	100	Rounded, flinty, semident	do
12	do	do	do	do	do	S	do	0-2	5-11	12	11	40	100	Subpointed, flinty	do
13	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0	4-9	12	13	0	100	Pointed, flinty	do
14	do	do	do	do	Green	Red S	White	0	4-9	12	11	20	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	do
15	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0	16	6	10	40	100	do	do
16	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	6	10	40	100	do	do
17	do	do	do	Salmon	do	Mixed	Yellow	0-2	4-9	12	10	10	10	do	do
18	do	do	do	White	do	S	do	0	9	12	13	0	60	do	do
19	do	do	do	do	do	S	do	0	3-11	14	11	30	100	do	do
20	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	1-3	1-7	14	14	30	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	do
21	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	7	16	13	50	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	do
22	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	18	14	12	20	20	do	do
23	do	do	do	Purplish	do	do	Tan	0	5	14	12	0	50	Subpointed, semident	do
24	do	do	do	Salmon	do	do	Ivory	0-1	5	14	11	50	10	Rounded, rough, semident	do
25	do	do	do	White	do	do	Tan S	0-2	12	16	12	40	70	Rounded, semident	do
26	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0-2	6	6	12	10	80	Subpointed, semident	do
27	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	8	16	12	0	0	Rounded, dent	do
28	do	do	do	do	Green	do	do	0	5	14	16	10	0	do	do
29	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	3-5	16	17	0	80	Rounded, semident	do
30	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0	3-5	12	13	0	40	do	do
31a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	3-5	12	15	30	80	do	do
31b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	3-5	12	15	0	40	do	do
32	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	1-7	12	12	0	30	do	do
33	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	1-7	12	15	0	40	do	do
34	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	2-8	10	13	40	50	do	do
35a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0-1	1-9	14	11	0	0	do	do
35b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	11	12	11	0	50	Rounded, dent	do
36a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	2-3	14	12	0	0	do	do
36b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	2-3	14	11	0	0	do	do
37a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	12	12	40	80	do	do
37b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	12	12	40	80	do	do
38a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	16	14	10	90	do	do
38b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	14	12	0	20	do	do
39a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	12	10	0	100	Rounded, semident	do
39b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	12	13	0	0	Rounded, dent	do
40a	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0-1	8	15	13	0	0	Rounded, semident	do
40b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	12	12	0	30	Rounded, dent	do
41a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	12	12	10	80	Rounded, dent	do
41b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	12	12	10	80	do	do
42a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	13	14	11	20	40	do	do
42b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	14	11	40	40	do	do
43a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	5	14	11	40	40	do	do
43b	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	14	12	100	100	do	do

color was frequent, and many of the lighter cobs were flushed with purple or red. Many of the specimens belong to the color type called "cherry" by geneticists. In the field the purple plant color of a good many of the plants was conspicuous as well as the almost complete absence of tillers, which were frequent enough in the Tulukénio collections to produce a mass effect and make the field look thicker below row No. 30 than it was above that number. A summary of the records shows that on the average the plants of Black maize were taller, that their leaves were a little less pubescent, and that they averaged 5 instead of 7 tassel branches. The differences between Black maize from Cherán and from Nahuatzen were minor, the chief one being more color in the seed coat itself in addition to the prevailingly dark aleurone color. On the whole, the plants from Cherán were a little more variable and were about what might have been expected if varieties from Nahuatzen were grown in close proximity to other varieties from Cherán.

While the Black maize of Cherán and Nahuatzen is in general very similar to Mexican Pyramidal corn from around Mexico City, its broadish, rounded grains, its less condensed tassels, and its tendency to purple plant color are atypical for that region.

Much of the Tulukénio maize is quite like the corn from Mexico City. Nearly all the ears had more or less pointed kernels (characteristically with a dent behind the point) and those which did not have them produced plants with pointed kernels. While there was great variation, most of the varieties were small-grained (7 mm. wide or less). Unlike the Black varieties (whose endosperm was invariably white) about half had yellow endosperm. While the Tulukénio maize varied greatly in the color of the grains, it was prevailingly light and much of it had a rather streaky, irregularly developed pinkish purple in the seed coat. The colored portions were not sharply defined as in variegated maize, but gave rather the effect of a colorless ear which had been lightly brushed with some such dye as eosin. It is apparently due to allelomorphs of the 'P' series. While a few of the ears were straight-rowed, on the whole they were very irregular, at least on a portion of the cob.

Three of the Tulukénio collections (Nos. 1, 9, and 12, table 18) were of particular interest since they are unlike any corn from Mexico City which we have so far examined and since resemblances to them were apparent in several other collections (e. g. Nos. 16 and 17). They are small-cobbed, very flinty, with no trace of denting, and the cobs are cylindrical rather than tapering. That they are not merely poorly developed ears is proved by the fact that the plants grown from them were somewhat distinctive. They were short, one of them had more tillers than any other plant in the field, and their internode patterns revealed a strong tendency toward the Pima-Papago pattern rather than the Mexican Pyramidal pattern.

We do not yet have enough data about the kinds of maize to appraise the significance of these extreme variants of Tulukénio maize. It may be they are inferior types which have, through inbreeding, segregated out of better varieties. Since these mountain varieties are grown in isolated plots and since each family carefully preserves its own strain, this is quite likely. Even so, their morphology may be a significant throw-back to a type of corn once grown in this region, or in some region from which the Tarascan maize was derived. Since in most of their peculiarities they suggest Pima-Papago maize, which is known to be similar to the prehistoric Basket Maker maize (Anderson and Blanchard, 1942), it is possible that they are evidence of a primitive small-cobbed maize.

A cytological study was made of five different plants, by means of pachytene smears.

TABLE 19.—Summary showing knob of each chromosome for 5 collections of maize from Cherán

Chromosome No.	Knob number in collections of—					Average
	Tulukénio maize			Black maize		
	Be4.	Be11.	Be22.	Be34b.	Be43b.	
1.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.....	1	0	1	1	S	1
3.....	0	0	1	0	0	0
4.....	0	0	1	S	1+S	S
5.....	0	1	1	0	0	0
6.....	S	0	0	0	0	0
7.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
8.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
9.....	0	T	T	T	TS	T
10.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....	4	4	7	5	6	5
Supernumerary ('B' chromosomes).....	0	1	1	0	0	0

S = Small knob.
T = Terminal knob

Two of these plants had supernumerary or 'B' type chromosomes. The numbers and positions of the knobs on the 10 normal chromosomes are summarized in table 19. These facts will ultimately be significant when we have more data on knob numbers and positions from other types of maize (Mangelsdorf and Cameron, 1942). For the present we can say only that the knob numbers are intermediate between the high knob numbers of Western Mexico and the low numbers of the Mexico City-Toluca region.

The more significant measurements and observations made on the collection are summarized in table 18. Average values for the four most useful criteria of tassel morphology are shown graphically in figure 19, where they are compared with similar averages made on collections from pueblo-dwelling Indians in Arizona and New Mexico; from Pima, Papago,

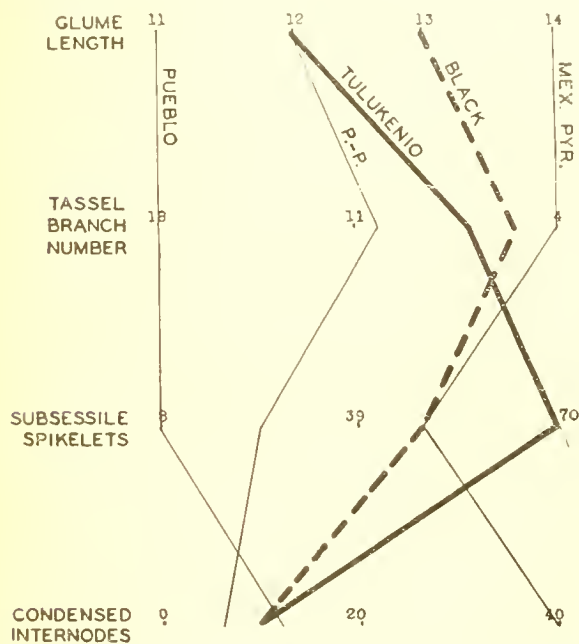


FIGURE 19.—Average values for four characters of the male inflorescence (the tassel) of Beals' collections of Tulukénio maize and Black maize. Narrow lines show averages of other collections for comparison: Mex. Pyr., Mexican Pyramidal from Mexico City; P.-P., Pima-Papago; Pueblo (Carter, Anderson, Cutler collections). The four scales used from top to bottom are glume length in millimeters, tassel branch number (values run from right to left for this scale), percentage of sessile upper spikelets on tassel branches and percentage of condensed internodes on tassel branches.

and allied tribes; and from Mexican Pyramidal varieties collected near Mexico City.

It will be seen that insofar as their tassels are concerned both the Tulukénio varieties and the Black maize varieties are intermediate between the Mexican Pyramidal and the Pima-Papago. On tassel morphology alone they are even closer to the latter than to the former. Since, so far as we can tell from the ears, Pima-Papago maize is very similar to that of the prehistoric Basket Makers (Anderson and Blanchard, 1942), this strengthens the suggestion made above that one element in the ancestry of this Tarascan maize may have been a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like that of the Basket Makers. A diagram based on ear and kernel morphology would also demonstrate that both of these Tarascan types are intermediate between Mexican Pyramidal and Pima-Papago, but it would not indicate as close a resemblance to the latter as is given by the tassel morphology alone.

SUMMARY

The maize varieties from two adjacent Tarascan villages are described and their characteristics are recorded in detail. While as a whole they are more or less similar to collections of Mexican Pyramidal maize from Mexico, D. F., they can be divided into at least three subraces. For two of these, the "Tulukénio" and the "Black" maize, there is enough material to define the central core of their variation. Black maize is grown in gardens below 8,500 feet. Characteristically it has large, dark, smoothly dented kernels on a tapering ear about 15 cm. long. While it has certain technical resemblances to Pima-Papago maize (low percentage of condensed internodes in tassel, length of glume, etc.,) it differs only slightly from Mexican Pyramidal. Tulukénio varieties are grown above 8,500 feet in small isolated plots in the mountains. They are even more like Pima-Papago; their tassels technically are closer to the latter than to Mexican Pyramidal. They vary greatly in color, size and shape, the largest ears being about the size of Black maize. The kernels tend to be small, more or less pointed, semidented; their seed coats lightly stained or streaked with red. The extreme variants of Tulukénio are small-cobbed,

nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdorf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

- Açes (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.
- Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *magucy*. In the United States, called the century plant.
- Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.
- Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugar-cane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.
- Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

- Arriero, a muleteer.
- Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.
- Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.
- Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.
- Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.
- Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.
- Barrio, a ward or division of a town.
- Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.
- Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.
- Cabildo, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the açes.
- Calzones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

- Cantina, a saloon.
- Čápata, a tamale made from amaranth.
- Čarales, a small dried fish.
- Carga, a somewhat indefinite measure, often a burro load.
- Carguero, a *mayordomo*, a person who has taken responsibility for a saint's image for a year.
- Castillo, a set piece of fireworks on a tall pole.
- Catrin, urban or citified, particularly applied to clothes.
- Centavo, a cent, or one-hundredth of a peso.
- Centimeter, one-hundredth of a meter.
- Charanda, a drink distilled from sugarcane.
- Charape, a ceremonial drink, usually made of *pulque*.
- Chayote, a lush-growing vine and the edible fruit it bears.
- Chilecayote, a type of squash.
- Cherimoya, the anona, a fruit.
- Cohete, an explosive rocket used in fiestas.
- Cohetero, fireworks maker.
- Comadre, the godmother of one's child.
- Comal, a lenticular dish used for baking tortillas.
- Comisionado, a person who has been commissioned by the authorities to perform some task in connection with municipal affairs or a fiesta. May also be named by the priest or by ceremonial organizations.
- Compadrazgo, the system of relationships set up through the godparent custom.
- Compadre, godfather of one's child.
- Copal, the gum of the long-needled tropical pine (*Pinus montezumae*).
- Corales, tubular red glass beads worn by every woman in native costume.
- Cuartel, a *barrio*, or division of a town.
- Cuelgas, ornaments hung from ropes, poles, or about the neck of participants in some ceremonies.
- Curato, the residence of the priest.
- Čuripo (T), a highly seasoned broth containing cabbage and chunks of boiled beef.
- Fanega, a Spanish dry measure which has various values in different parts of Mexico. In Cherán, the fanega appears to equal 90.8 dry quarts.
- Garabanzos, chickpeas.
- Gordos, flat thickish cakes fried in lard, usually of ground corn but sometimes of wheat flour.
- Guaraches, sandals.
- Guavas, a fruit.
- Habas, the broadbean.
- Hectarea, a land measure of 2.47 acres, or 10,000 square meters.
- Jefe de defensa, chief of the local militia.
- Junta, any meeting of a town or organized body.
- Kérji (T), an official connected with the *cabildo* and the church who does errands and looks after the church and church properties.
- Kurúnda (T), a tamale made of steamed *nixtamal* wrapped in maize leaves.
- Litro, a liter, a liquid measure.
- Maestro, a school teacher; a lay reader.
- Maguey, the *agave* plant.
- Malpais, an old lava flow.
- Mano, the smaller milling stone held in the hands.
- Manta, cheap unbleached muslin.
- Manzana, a block or square in a town.
- Mayordomía, the entire process of caring for a saint's image, arranging for the Mass and other ceremonies involved by tradition.
- Mayordomo, *carguero*; a person who is responsible for the care of a saint's image for a year.
- Metate, the lower or stationary milling stone.
- Meter, a measure of 39.37 inches.
- Mole, a common highly seasoned and complicated sauce used on meat; also a meat dish served in mole sauce.
- Moro, a type of dancer common in Michoacán.
- Municipe, a *regidor* or city councilman.
- Municipio, an administrative area somewhat like a county or parish.
- Negritos, dancers wearing black wooden masks who appear at Christmas.
- Nixtamal, dough made by grinding maize after it is soaked in lye.
- Nopal, the prickly pear cactus plant.
- Ožépos (T), a sweet tamale.
- Olla, water jar of pottery.
- Panalero, a person who collects wild honey.
- Pan dulce, wheat-flour bread with sweetening added.
- Papaya, a subtropical fruit.
- Peso, a Mexican silver coin.
- Pinole, flour made by grinding parched maize.
- Plan, plain; a large level cultivated area.
- Portales, covered sidewalks, the outer edge of the roof supported by pillars.
- Posole, maize soaked in lye and then cracked into small pieces.
- Pulque, fermented juice of the *agave*, or *maguey*. (See *Agave*.)
- Raiz de paja, a root which is dried and used to make scrubbing brushes.
- Ramada, a rectangular unwallled structure primarily for the purpose of affording shade.
- Rebozo, a shawl worn by women.
- Regidor, a member of the city council.
- Relato, the text which is recited at a dance.
- Representante del pueblo, an official who looks after community property in lands and forests.
- Reserva, an authorized armed militia.
- Rezador, a person who recites prayers for a small fee.
- Riata, a long rope used in handling horses and cattle.
- Rollo, the native skirt with the thick band of pleats across the back.
- Ronda, the night watch, or volunteer police.
- Secretario, the town clerk or secretary.
- Serape, a blanket, usually ornamented, and with an opening so that it may be worn over the head as a poncho.
- Solar, a town lot.
- Suplente, the alternate for an office in the government.
- Tabla, a plank.

Tamale, a food made of maize, often mixed with other ingredients, wrapped in maize leaves or maize husks, and steamed.

Tejamanil, wooden shakes.

Tejocote, a tree bearing a sloelike fruit much like a crab apple; the fruit of such a tree.

Tenencia, a settlement of some size which is administered by a representative of the *municipio*.

Tortillas, thin flat cakes of maize dough baked on an ungreased griddle, or *comal*.

Troje, the Tarascan storehouse, the largest structure in a Tarascan house group, as a rule.

Tuna, the fruit of the *nopal* cactus, or prickly pear.

Velorio, a religious celebration at which candles are burned.

Viajero, a traveling merchant.

Zapote, a tropical fruit resembling a plum.



CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left). The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right):* Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the *rebozo* is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left):* The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right):* Carrying bowls of masa (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's skirt has the thick pleat or *rollo*.



WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING

Upper (left) Woman bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of sackcloth which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rolo is clearly visible. The man in the short poncho is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right)*: Woman using *rebozo* in carrying a child. Musicians in background. *Lower (left)*: Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with rayon apron and light *rebozo* for a fiesta. *Lower (right)*: Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or lemon juice (in bowl) to give it a sheen.



CHERÁN AQUEDUCTS, BOARD SAWING, SHAKE SPLITTING, AND WHEAT WINNOWING.

Upper (left): The Cherán aqueducts, east of town. *Upper (right):* Sawing planks with sawpit. Often, the timber is raised on a pole framework instead of being placed over a pit. *Lower (left):* Splitting off a shake with a rajador. *Lower (right):* Starting to split a shake with a machete struck with a wooden mallet. *Center:* Cherán man winnowing wheat.



PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERAN PLAZA DURING FIESTA

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Azaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.



MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

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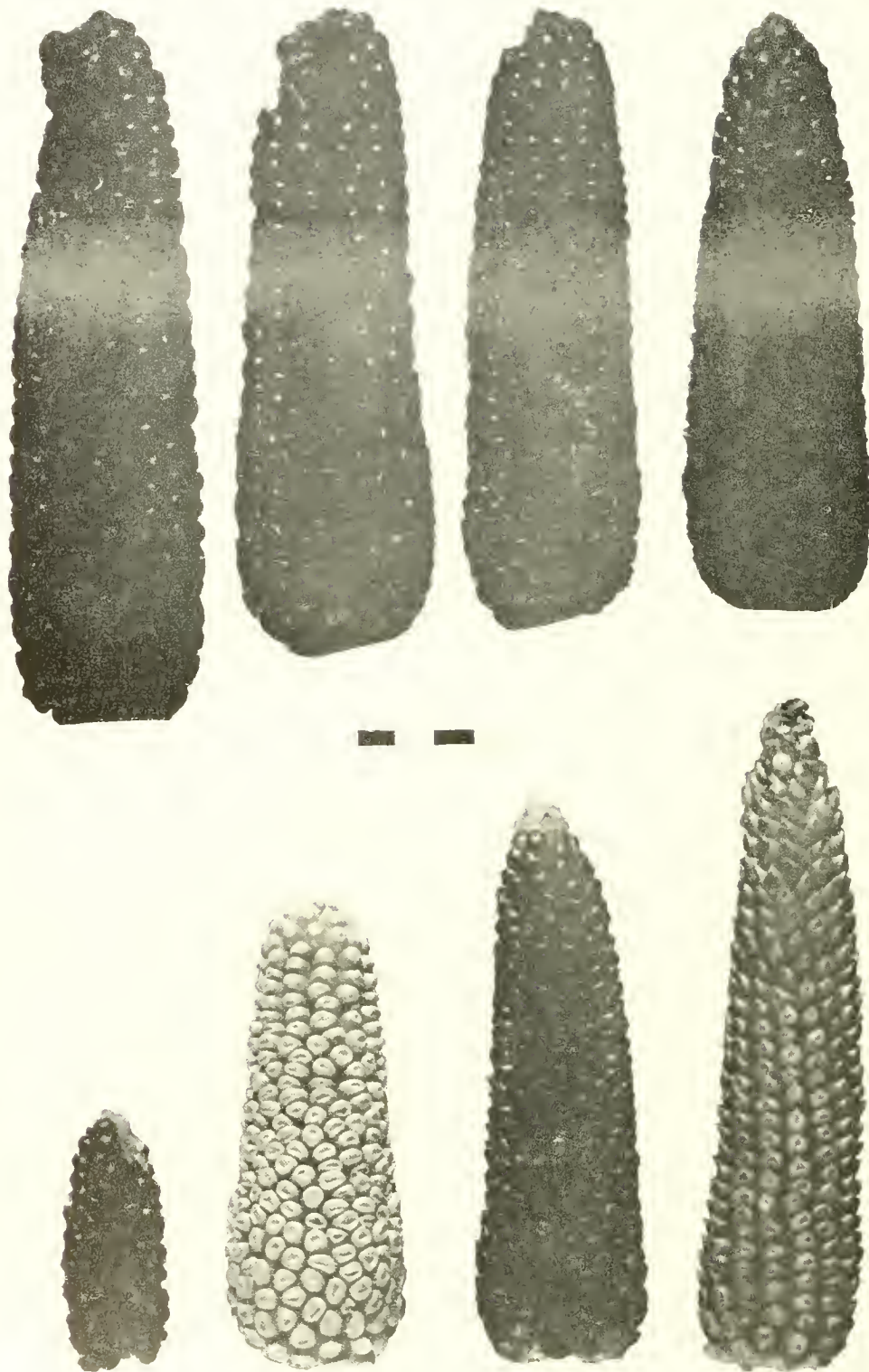
CASTILLO, PASTORELA, NEGRITO DANCERS, AND WEDDING

Upper (left): Portion of the fireworks set (*castillo*) nearly completed. The fireworks maker is on the right. *Upper (right):* *Pastorela* at Capacuaro; at left is one of the "hermits." *Left (middle):* Large wedding in the patio in front of the house. The kitchen is at left, the temporary cooking shed in the center. The woman at left bears a cloth-covered dish with an offering for one of the god-mothers. *Lower (left):* *Negrito* dancers performing at private house. The ribbons hang down to their heels. The "pin cushions" (foreground) are the dancers' head decorations. *Lower (right):* *Pastorela* at Capacuaro, with "European" in foreground.



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SPECIMENS OF MAIZE EARS.

Four specimens of Black maize (*above*) and Tlukémo (*below*), representing extremes of size, two from the well known village of Nahuatzen; all the Tlukémo ears are from Cherán. Two of the Black ears are from Cherán. Scale in center is approximately 4 cm. long.



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 3

MOCHE
A PERUVIAN COASTAL COMMUNITY

by

JOHN GILLIN

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



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 15, 1945.

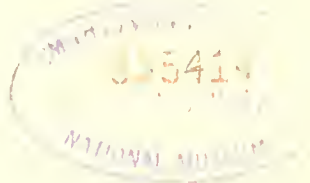
SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Moche: A Peruvian Coastal Community," by John Gillin, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 3 of the Institute of Social Anthropology, which has been established by the Smithsonian Institution as an autonomous unit of the Bureau of American Ethnology to carry out cooperative work in social anthropology with the American Republics as part of the program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.

Very respectfully yours,

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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FOREWORD

BY JULIAN H. STEWARD

The purpose of the publications of the Institute of Social Anthropology is to further an understanding of the basic cultures of America through making generally available the results of cooperative studies. These studies at present are more concerned with the basic rural populations that are partly Indian and partly European than with the varied manifestations of western civilization. They are essentially acculturational, the various communities selected for investigations ranging in degree of assimilation from self-sufficient and self-contained preliterate Indian groups to strongly mestizoized, literate, Spanish-speaking villages, which are more or less integrated into national life.

The preceding monograph, "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, Publication No. 2 of the Institute of Social Anthropology, describes a community which is increasingly feeling the impact of European civilization but is still thought of as "Indian." The present study of Moche, a coast village of northern Peru, reveals a community that is in the last stages of losing its identity as an Indian group and of being absorbed into Peruvian national life. Insofar as these communities are atypical of their nations, however, both are probably more 16th-century Spain than native Indian.

Surrounded by large, modernized haciendas, Moche is "Indian" only in that its population is largely Indian in a racial sense, that it has retained much of its own lands, that it exists in a certain social isolation from surrounding peoples, retaining a community life organized on a modified kinship basis, mainly of Spanish derivation, and that it preserves a considerable belief in witchcraft and a scat-

tering of minor aboriginal culture elements. Its lands, however, are now owned individually, and they are being alienated through sale and litigation. It is on a cash rather than subsistence basis economically, and, though much of its produce is for home consumption, it relies increasingly on purchase of goods with money earned by sale of agricultural and dairy products. Many Mochoeros even work outside the community for wages, and some are in professions. Moche clothing, household goods, utensils, implements, domesticated animals, many crops, art, music, and formal religion are all of Peruvian national types. The community is Spanish-speaking and another generation will find it largely literate. Formal aspects of native social organization have disappeared, and contacts with the outside world are increasing. Politically, Moche is completely under national and provincial administration.

Dr. Gillin's present excellent analysis of Moche is the first of a series of studies projected for Peru. It will help set in perspective the cultures and culture changes among the highland Quechua Indian communities, which the Institute of Social Anthropology, in cooperation with Peruvian authorities, is now studying. The field work at Moche, however, was done at a time when the plan for cooperation between these institutions had not yet been consummated, and, although Dr. Gillin had the greatest possible assistance and all courtesies from Peruvians, both officially and privately, it was not yet possible to arrange their participation in the work. Thanks to Dr. Gillin's part in developing the program, truly cooperative field work is now in progress.

Moche: A Peruvian Coastal Community

BY JOHN GILLIN

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is an attempt to increase mutual understanding in the Americas by portraying in some detail the patterns of life of a Peruvian coastal community that I studied with ethnological methods during a period of service in Peru as representative of the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution.

Moche is a community of "little men" or "common people" in terms of their individual economic, social, and political influence in the country as a whole, and in that respect it is, of course, typical of the overwhelming majority of rural communities of Peru. The mode of life in Moche has many features in common with other coastal communities, but it is unusual in some respects, especially in the fact that the bulk of its land area is still in the hands of peasant owners.

It seems to me that some of the past difficulties encountered by foreign nations in dealing with the United States have been based on ignorance of the "common people" of our country. Our so-called former "isolationism" and "distrust of foreign intrigues," for example, cannot really be understood by anyone who does not have acquaintance with some of the thousands of small towns and rural neighborhoods scattered throughout our country. We should be well advised not to make the same mistake in our relations with other nations. Although a little less than half of our own population live in small towns and rural neighborhoods, a very large majority of Peruvians are members of rural communities of one type or another. Moche is not, of course, typical of all of them. A good many more reports on Peruvian communities would be necessary to complete the picture, and it is hoped that they will be forthcoming.

I undertook the collection of the data herein presented during the first year of the Institute of Social Anthropology's activities in Peru. I spent a total of some 22 months in Peru in 1943-44, although during the first year of this period I was attached to the Embassy in a nonethnological capacity. On a previous mission in 1934-35, I had spent about 5 months in the Peruvian-Ecuadorean Montaña. The period of field work in Moche totaled nearly 6 months in 1944.

In June of 1944, I accepted an invitation from the University of Trujillo to establish a course and deliver a series of lectures on cultural anthropology at that institution. While engaged in these activities, I initiated the study of the community of Moche, some 7 km. from the city of Trujillo. I rented a house in the town of Moche for interviewing and here spent some nights, but for want of furniture and kitchen equipment for the Moche house, I made my home and general headquarters in the Hotel Trujillo in Trujillo.

Because of the pressure of other commitments and the exigencies of the publishing schedule, the entire monograph in its present form was written and the illustrations were prepared for publication between December 15, 1944, and February 1, 1945, with the result that a certain amount of material gathered in the field has had to be held out for later publication because of sheer lack of time to prepare it.

An attempt has been made in the present work to present Moche culture as it exists at the present time, and for this reason those who may have been acquainted with Moche some years ago are asked to remember that the processes of cultural change have apparently been operating at a fairly rapid and steady pace. Some of my friends in Trujillo, for

example, were certain that the Mocheras still practiced weaving as a generalized activity, and for a time I was disturbed by the fact that I could find no looms or women devoted to this activity. It turned out that as late as 15 years ago not a few women were still operating their hand looms, but that by 1944 they had all (with one possible exception) discarded them. Moche as a composite culture and as a changing culture is the emphasis of the present account.

From the technical point of view of an ethnologist trying to do his work, Moche is not an easy problem. One has to contend with a tendency to polite withdrawal which characterizes the Mocheros' dealings with strangers and foreigners and which is to a considerable extent based upon their fear of inroads upon their land holdings. On the other hand, although in my experience I have never encountered a group whose confidence was so difficult to obtain, I have never met people who, once their confidence was gained, were so hospitable. The Mocheros like to spend a good part of their not inconsiderable leisure sitting about drinking, eating, and talking. Once the ethnologist is admitted to such sessions, he becomes privy to a great deal of gossip and general comment and is able to conduct a large number of "indirect interviews." On the other hand, this very pattern of relaxation makes it difficult to arrange long, serious, confidential interview sessions. The typical Mochero does not like to sit down for hours at a time and concentrate with an ethnologist who painstakingly goes over apparently minor points time after time and writes the answers down in a notebook. I was fortunate, however, in securing the services, partly voluntary and partly paid, of a group of informants representing both the Mocheros and *forasteros* (outside settlers in Moche) who were willing to do this very thing as well as to write out reports of their own on topics which were of interest in the study. Since only a part of a year was spent in the culture, a good many features of the yearly round described herein, especially those concerned with agriculture and fiestas which were not observed personally, had to be obtained from informants alone and are unsupported by personal observation or participation. Any apparently significant differences between informants have been indicated in the text. In the field, notes were typed off onto 4- by 6-inch sheets of paper, usually each night if possible, and filed according to the 55 principal categories of the Yale "Outline of Cultural Materials" (Murdock et

al., 1938) plus a few other categories of particular interest to the present investigation.

A certain amount of material on Moche personalities and on the "typical" life cycle will, it is hoped, be published at a later date.

Finally, two aspects of method should be mentioned which, because of the circumstances, could not be fully carried out in the present case, but which, it is believed, should be considered in future investigations of this sort. In the realization of both, the full collaboration of official government agencies of the country concerned would be invaluable. They are as follows:

1. Practically all Latin American rural communities of actual or potential and cumulative significance in present and future national and world affairs, are cultural composites, or mixtures, and their cultural systems are all in a condition of flux and change.¹ This means that both the cultural patterns and the behavior may show a considerable amount of variation and inconsistency. The only way to describe the variability with a completely satisfying degree of scientific accuracy is on a basis of systematic collection of quantitative material that is susceptible of at least simple statistical treatment. This does not mean discarding the technique of indirect interview and other time-tested ethnological techniques in favor of the exclusive use of questionnaires and similar procedures, but it does mean applying techniques to all the population or to large and controlled samples and tabulating certain information obtained thereby that has statistical or numerical significance. For example, I am convinced by agreement among all of my informants that quarreling over land is common among the Mocheros, but I am unable to say with accuracy how common it is, i. e., what percentage of the adult Mocheros have been engaged in such feuds, what percentage of the feuds involve members of the same family, etc. It would be a great help if the whole of the cultural variations in behavior (amenable to such treatment) could be reduced to percentages or other simple constants representing the distribution of the various alternatives, because such treatment would not only permit a more accurate description of the position of the various cultural alternatives in the existing system, but would also provide a more precise basis for measuring

¹ Isolated "primitive" cultures in Latin America are, of course, important from the viewpoints of historical and general ethnology, but by the time they have become significant to an understanding of national or international developments, they have invariably become "acculturated."

changes in the culture in subsequent re-studies of the situation. The actual scientific techniques involved in such quantitative studies are relatively simple and easy to apply, provided rapport with the group has been established, but they require the services of a staff with some training if they are to be effectively applied to the whole range of the culture in a reasonable period of time. In the present case I have attempted to provide some statistical measures, especially with respect to diet and certain aspects of kinship and relationship between the sexes, but I could wish for more.

2. In studies of Latin American communities it is extremely desirable to have full field collaboration between Latin American and North American workers, i. e., trained investigators from both countries should work together in the field on the same investigation. One of the objectives of the program of the Institute of Social Anthropology is to assist in the development of a trained body of Latin American cultural anthropologists. In most cases the North American working in Latin America enjoys the advantage of technical training, wide experience, and a certain objectivity, but he suffers from a lack of native knowledge of Spanish, even though his workaday conversation and writing of the language be fluent, and he does not have the background of Latin American culture which is "second nature" with his Latin American colleague. The latter has a much more profound acquaintanceship with the language and culture of his country, but for that very reason is inclined to overlook and to take for granted features in which an outsider sees significance.

It should be understood that the present tense as used in the following description and analysis refers to conditions as of 1944.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The program of the Institute of Social Anthropology, under the able direction of Dr. Julian H. Steward, has already claimed the respect of both Latin American and North American social scientists, and it will, I am sure, serve as an inspiration for a new period of scientific collaboration between the Americas. I am happy to have had the opportunity to participate in this program, even for a relatively short period of active work and during its formative stages.

In connection with the present study, I wish to

acknowledge my gratitude to the following Peruvian scientists and men of affairs: Dr. Luis Valcárcel, Director of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología; Señor Rafael Larco Herrera, Vice President of the Republic of Peru; Señor Rafael Larco Hoyle, Director of the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" of Chiclín; Señor Jorje Muelle, Chief of the Technical Section of the National Museum of Archeology and Professor of Anthropology in the University of Cuzco; Señor José Angel Miñano, formerly of the University of Trujillo; Dr. Hans Horkheimer, of the University of Trujillo; Dr. Alberto Arca Parro, Chief of the Dirección Nacional de Estadística; Señor Coronel Juan Dongo M., Prefect of the Department of La Libertad; and many other Peruvian friends and acquaintances who were interested in my work in Moche and who endeavored to make the sojourn of my family and myself in Trujillo and in Peru agreeable. Among my friends in the American Embassy in Lima, I am grateful to the following for special assistance in various matters concerned with my official duties during or before the period of this investigation: Jefferson Patterson, Counselor of Embassy; Dr. George C. Vaillant, formerly Cultural Attaché; Dr. Albert Giesecke, who performed the duties of Civil Attaché. Dr. Vaillant left Peru before the beginning of this study, but his earlier counsel was invaluable.

The list of my acquaintances in Moche is so long as to render practically impossible its publication here. A few names are mentioned in the text, but the rest shall remain anonymous. Even the initials used in the text to identify certain individuals and "cases" are not the true initials of the individuals involved, but refer to key letters in my notes. Nothing said in this report can properly be used to foment strife or trouble for any individual in Moche. But I should like the people of Moche to know that I enjoyed their hospitality, appreciated their help to me in my efforts to understand the local mode of life, and carry with me a persistent fondness for their corner of Peru and the people who inhabit it.

In connection with preparation of the material for publication, I should like to mention Miss Doris Chestnut who has worked with unusual persistence and intelligence on the typing of the manuscript. Miss Christina Changaris did the line drawings which appear herein. All photographs were taken by me.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge gratefully the constant helpfulness and courtesy of the Government of

the Republic of Peru as manifested through its various officers with whom I came in contact, and I hope that the present report, whatever defects it

may possess, will prove to be of some value to the Peruvian Nation, which occupies so prominent a position in hemispheric and global affairs.

BACKGROUND OF MOCHE

THE SETTING

Traveling over the asphalted Pan-American Highway from Trujillo to Lima, your car passes through the outskirts of the village of Moche, about 7 km. after leaving Trujillo, just before the highway enters the desert and starts up the long grade leading over the divide toward Virú, the next coastal valley south-eastward. To the ordinary traveler, passing by it in this way, Moche offers nothing distinctive or particularly interesting. The adobe and white-plastered houses stand flush with the cobblestone and dirt streets, which are laid out in a rectangular grid, as in so many other Peruvian coastal villages. The *campiña*, or irrigated countryside, is scarcely noticeable from the road, since travelers are usually straining their eyes to see the imposing ruined pyramid of the Huaca del Sol standing in the background at the far edge of the area of green fields and willow tops. Your car gathers speed for the long rise ahead, the green fields end sharply at the edge of a desert of drifted sand and bare rocks, and Moche is left to its own devices.

This, in fact, has been Moche's fate and fortune since the Spanish Conquest over 400 years ago—to be left in large measure to its own devices. Yet the ruins of the Huaca del Sol, probably the largest single adobe structure in the world, and the nearby Huaca de la Luna testify that this region in times past was a center of human activity and organized effort on a large scale. It was here that the ancient culture, now known as Mochica, was first clearly differentiated from other antique remains by Max Uhle.² This archeological culture is known even to laymen by reason of the mold-made ceramics which, with unusual vivacity, realism, and freedom from artificial artistic conventions, convey perhaps a clearer idea of persons, physical type, and the material aspects of a bygone age than the pottery of any other ancient people of the Western Hemisphere. In Peru, it is customary to think of the present-day inhabitants

of Moche as descendants or survivors of the people who created this coastal civilization. Although the Mocheros themselves do not seem to recognize such a connection, this belief is strengthened by the fact that the Mocheros of today are "different" from the ordinary run of folks living along the coast.³ They are more "Indian" in physical type⁴ than is the usual cholo, they are somewhat conservative in their customs, preserving certain modes of life of a former day, and they tend to keep to themselves rather than allow themselves to become absorbed in the general Peruvian population. The Mocheros have preserved a large measure of individual ownership of the small farms of their *campiña* in their own hands, and the district thus constitutes an enclave, as it were, in a region now mainly occupied by a highly mixed cholo population and largely owned by a few giant haciendas.

Thus, aside from the natural attractions of its setting and of its people, Moche offers interest in at least two senses of a more general nature. It may be regarded, on the one hand, as a remnant or survivor of a basic ancient population and culture of the north Peruvian coast. On the other hand, we may see in Moche a modern example of rural life in this region as it is and as it was before many of the coastal villages were absorbed into the enormous sugar, rice, and cotton haciendas which at present dominate the Pacific valleys and which have radically reorganized the manner of living and the habits of work of the rural citizen.

The entire coast of Peru, south of Tumbes, is one of the driest deserts in the world, with an average annual precipitation of 0.5 cm. (Romero, 1944, p. 20) which in normal years is provided exclusively

³ For example, "Diccionario de 'La Crónica,'" (1918, pp. 300-301) states: "The characteristic trait of the Moche district is the tendency of the inhabitants not to make a common life with the whites, for which reason they still retain many of their customs anterior to colonial times."

⁴ It should be noted, however, that even during Mochica times, the population was not uniformly "Indian" in the sense of being invariably mongoloid in physical type. Although the mongoloid physical type seems to be numerically the most numerous in the portrait vases, faces are also portrayed which possess marked "white" features (e. g., high-bridged noses, beards and moustaches of "white" race type, external epicanthic folds, etc.) as well as others showing presumable negroid characteristics (Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, vol. 2, ch. 3).

² It will be recalled that Uhle called the "Proto-Chimu." Although he published some of his material as early as 1900 in an article in the Trujillo newspaper "La Industria," his first comprehensive account of the excavations at the Moche ruins themselves was published in 1913 (Uhle, 1913; Kroeber, 1939, 1950).

by the "garúa" mist of the winter season. Human life and economic activity are therefore, in the main, confined to a limited number⁵ of irrigated river valleys whose waters have been used to create oases of sharply restricted extension. These conditions have obtained since prehistoric times, and there is good reason to believe that under the Inca domination actually more coastal land was under irrigation than at present. Nevertheless, in modern times, with the introduction of capitalistic economic organization and expensive "scientific" methods of farming export crops, these peculiar conditions of the Peruvian coastal valleys have easily lent themselves to a tendency toward monopolization of the land and to centralized organization of the working population. It is natural that the large haciendas should grow larger, that they should absorb towns no longer conveniently located from the point of view of production of the cash crop, that they should concentrate the working population in their own housing units at chosen points, and that they should dominate, however paternalistically, the life of the common people. Especially in the production of sugar on a large and profitable scale, the natural tendency is toward the establishment of "factories in the fields." There is one hacienda in the Valley of Chicama that now stretches from the Pacific coast to the jungles of the Marañón River and its domain is said to give livelihood to 50,000 persons, including workers and their families. It is still increasing.

For better or worse, the Moche community is different and in many respects still preserves the advantages and disadvantages of free peasant life. The Mocheros are outstanding exponents of rugged individualism, and there is little or nothing "socialistic" about life in Moche.

At first glance, then, the Moche District seems to present several contradictions. Although it lies about halfway between the city of Trujillo and the ocean port of Salaverry, it is neither urban nor industrialized. The town is served by excellent asphalted highways and railroads, but the "tone" of life is that of comparative cultural isolation. More than 100 families of outsiders live in the community, but they have not as yet made over the culture in their own patterns, nor are they socially accepted in the community as a whole. Some of the most

imposing of the ancient Mochica ruins stand in the Mocha countryside, but the modern Mocheros recognize no ancestral link to the people who built them.

GENERAL COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

Among the inhabitants, there is a distinction made between Mocheros and "*forasteros*" (strangers). Although there are no official figures on the latter, a count made by myself indicates that there are 111 *forastero* families living in the community, of which 16 live in the *campiña* and 95 in town. If one estimates the total *forastero* population at about 500, it would represent about 13 percent of the total population of the District of Moche, which was 3,773, according to the 1940 census. There has been an attempt on the part of Trujillanos to make a sort of residential suburb of Moche, because houses are cheaper there and the climate is reputed to be healthier. The Mocheros have resented and resisted this tendency, and there are only 4 or 5 *forastero* men who have succeeded in establishing intimate social relations with the Mocheros in general. Only 15 of the *forastero* households belong to foreigners while the remaining 96 are Peruvian. Even so, they are "outsiders."

There is also a territorial subdivision of the population. Although the pueblo has no *barrios* (wards or similar subdivisions), Mocheros as a whole are classified as being from the pueblo, from the *playa* (seashore), or from the *campiña*, depending on where they have their principal or only dwellings. The *playa* group at present consists of only about 30 poor fishing families, although it was formerly said to be larger. None of the *playeros*, properly speaking, maintains an establishment in the other subdivisions. However, some persons who are identified as being "from the *campiña*" also maintain houses in the pueblo, and vice versa. As will be seen later, the *campiña* falls into three sections—north, south, and west.

In describing Moche, we shall deal mainly with the Mocheros, or "*Mocheros nctos*" (real Mocheros), since, on the whole, *forasteros* "only live there."

ENVIRONMENT

The District of Moche lies within the last bend of the Río Moche before it debouches into the Pacific. The District is bounded on the north and northwest by the river, as shown on plate 2. To the east the irrigated land ends abruptly in a sandy desert

⁵ Romero lists 50 rivers, of which 27 are of the first class with water all the year around, 14 are second class usually with water throughout the year, and 9 are third class with only seasonal flows in normal years. The Moche River is of the first class (Romero, 1944, pp. 20-21).

from which abruptly rises a small barren mountain range, the two most prominent features of which are the Cerro Blanco and the Cerro Comunero. The river makes a bend around the northern point of the Cerro Blanco, and here stands the great ruined pyramid platform of the Huaca del Sol, which dominates all views of the *campiña*. To the south and southeast, the rich level land of the District gives way to low sand dunes a kilometer or so from the sea and finally meets the broad beach of the Pacific, which during the winter months (from June to December) is almost constantly pounded by a heavy surf.

Moche is geographically in the Tropics. The District of Moche lies between the parallels 8°8" and 8°12" south latitude and 79°00" and 79°03" west longitude (pl. 1). But the Peruvian coast is not "the Tropics" as North Americans are accustomed to think of them. The most outstanding feature of the climate is that "it never rains," except at very long intervals. The last rain in Moche occurred in 1925 and was, naturally, a major disaster that destroyed numerous houses and considerable property, for the houses here are not built for rain. A roof, for example, normally is expected to fulfill only the functions of providing shade and privacy. Moche occupies an oasis, dependent upon irrigation, and all water comes either from the river or from underground seepage. This fact has decided consequences in such matters as personal hygiene and household cleanliness. The water supply occupies men's thoughts continuously. Land without water is worthless, regardless of the amount of work one may expend upon it.

In the summer (December to June) it is hot in Moche, with a dry desert heat, mitigated, however, by the sea breeze; but during the remainder of the year the temperature is moderate, with a tendency toward chilly nights and mornings. During part of the winter season (July to October, inclusive) the sky is overcast practically every morning until noon or after, and frequently the low-hanging clouds precipitate a thin, cold drizzle, the *garúa*. The nearest official weather station is at the Hacienda Casa Grande in the Valley of Chicama, about 60 km. north of Moche and some 25 km. farther inland. In 1942 this station registered a total precipitation of 7.5 mm. per square meter and an average atmospheric pressure of 1,010.8 milibars. The highest absolute temperature during the year was 30.9° C. and the lowest 10.0° C. The highest mean temperature per 24

hours was 24.2° C. and the lowest 16.6° C. Mean temperatures during warm days might average slightly lower in Moche, owing to proximity to the sea. Although it never actually freezes in Moche, cold nights, called "*heladas*" (freezers), occasionally occur during the winter, which are said to damage the alfalfa crops.

With the exception of the Moche District, most of the arable lands of the Río Moche drainage have been preempted by haciendas, and since Moche lies at the lower end of the valley, there is constant preoccupation and not a few accusations that water users higher up are robbing Moche of its needed moisture. The Río Moche rises in the Cordilleras Blanca and Negro and has a basin of about 800 sq. km. The river meter at Menocucho, 30 km. from the mouth and 200 m. above sea level, indicates that the flow varies from 170,000 cu. m. per second to 100 cu. m. per second, with an average annual discharge over 4 years of 268,187,500 cu. m. (Romero, 1944, pp. 26-27). By the time the river reaches Moche, this flow has been reduced by irrigation tapping to a mere trickle, especially in the dry season. (See pl. 3.)

THE "MOCHICA VILLAGES"

Moche is generally regarded as one of a number of "Mochica villages" scattered along the coast from the Valley of the Río Chao to and including the drainage of the Río de la Leche. According to my experience, the inhabitants of the Moche villages themselves do not dwell upon the possibility that they may be united by a common inheritance of ancient culture, nor, in fact, are the majority of individuals aware that this may be the case. However, a rather vague bond of likeness and kinship is recognized. True members of any one of these villages know that they have closer social ties with members of the other Mochica villages than with people in general, that it has been traditional for one marrying outside his own village to prefer persons from other Mochica communities, and that the customary movement back and forth to fiestas, and similar social intercourse, has tended to flow between the Mochica villages rather than in other channels. This may be a survival of the confederating influence of the Chimu "empire" rather than Mochica ethnocentrism, and at all events at present is an informal thing, not based on a conscious or apparent organization.

At the present time the following villages are re-

garded as forming parts of the "Mochica group": Moche, Eten (between Chiclayo and the sea), Monsefú (between Eten and Chiclayo), San José (fishing village on the coast north of Pimentel), Santa Rosa (fishing town on the coast southeast of Puerto Eten), Reque (inland from Eten), Morrupe, Motupe, Jayanca, Salas (all in the drainage of the Río de la Leche), Magdalena de Cao (near the coast a short distance north of the mouth of the Río Chicama), Santiago de Cao (near the coast, just southeast of the mouth of the Río Chicama), Huamán (a small *caserío* about 5 km. northwest of Moche on the other side of the Río Moche), Simbal (inland from Trujillo), Guañape (a small fishing village and port near the mouth of the Río Virú), Chao (at the mouth of the river of the same name), and Huanchaco (a fishing village some 17 km. north-east from the Moche *playa* along the coast).

In 1644, according to Fernando de la Carrera, priest of San Martín de Reque, the Mochica or "Yunga" language was spoken in the following places by a total of some 40,000 persons: Santiago, Magdalena de Cao, Chocope, Valle de Chicama, Paiján (in the Corregimiento de Trujillo), San Pedro de Lloc, Chépén, Jequetepeque, Guadalupe, Pueblo Nuevo, Eten, Chiclaiep, San Miguel, Santa Lucía de Moche, Parroquia de Saña, Lambayeque Reque, Omensefec, Firruñap, Túcume, Illimo, Pacora, Morrope, Jayanca (in the Corregimiento de Saña), Motupe, Salas (in the Corregimiento de Piura), Santa Cruz, San Miguel de Sierra, Ñopos, San Pablo, la doctrina de las Balsas del Maraón, una parcialidad de Cajamarca, Cachén, Gamboa, various other parts of the Sierra around Cajamarca, such as the Valley of Condebamba (in the Corregimiento de Cajamarca). The presence of Mochica speakers in the Sierra region of Cajamarca in 1644 is explained as due to previous deportation of the natives from the coast by the Inca conquerors.⁶

LANGUAGE

At the present time no one in Moche knows anything of the ancient language, and only Spanish is spoken. In fact, the only one of the Mochica villages where survivals of the language have been found in recent times seems to be Eten, where Larco Hoyle

(1938-39, vol. 2, pp. 77-82) and his agents collected 174 words during the 1930's.⁷

RECENT LITERARY MENTION OF MOCHE

Although there is an abundant literature on the ancient Mochica culture in general, as well as scientific reports of archeological excavations on the Moche ruins themselves, literary treatment of the living population of the District, during either colonial or modern times, is scarce and confined in the main to passing references or impressionistic accounts. Perhaps the two most ambitious modern treatments are those of Jimenez Borja (1937, pp. unnumbered) and Larco Hoyle (1938-39, vol. 2, pp. 28-38). Jimenez Borja's "Moche" is an impressionistic attempt to connect the ancient archeological culture with the present day in Moche and Huanchaco, and endeavors to suggest such a cultural continuity by a search for parallels between the decorative motifs of ancient Mochica art and present-day features of the natural environment, rather than by a close analysis of the customs and organization of modern Mocheros. From the ethnological point of view, the chapter entitled "La Campiña" is doubtless the best. Larco Hoyle is much more precise in the few pages that he gives to modern Moche ethnology; his collecting of material was, however, incidental to his main work as a means of enlivening and enlightening his very valuable archeological contributions. A few other writers have described the Moche *campiña* in terms of "local color" or have alluded to the alleged joys of drinking *chicha* in the shadow of the Huaca del Sol. Among these writers we may mention Alayza Paz Soldán⁸ and Miro Quesada.⁹

DETAILED DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

According to the National Census of 1940, the total population of the District, amounted to 3,773, of which 1,857 were males and 1,916 were females. The population was classified by the census from

⁷ Prof. Hans Horkheimer, of the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, has compiled a definitive as yet unpublished vocabulary from all the published sources. With duplications ruled out, this amounts to a total of about 1,200 words. Sources are Bastian, 1878; Brüning, 1922; Calancha, 1638; Juan and Ulloa, 1751; Middendorf, 1892; Ore, 1607; Carrera, 1644; Villareal, 1921; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39; Zevallos Quiñones, 1941; Romero, 1909.

⁸ 1939, pp. 359-361, a short popular account of Moche archeology and present scene in the manner of a newspaper feature article; 1940, pp. 403-405, an impressionistic account of a visit to the Huacas.

⁹ 1938, pp. 27-30; impressionistic reference to an afternoon spent visiting the ruins and drinking *chicha* in the *campiña*.

⁶ Carrera, 1644 (I have seen only the corrected and amplified version of Villareal, 1921). According to Camino Calderon (1942, p. 41) remnants of the Mochica deported to the Sierra by the Inca still exist in Santa Cruz, San Miguel, and Niepos (Napos).

the racial point of view as follows: White and Mestizo, 1,892 (914 males, 978 females); undeclared, 18 (10 males, 8 females); Indians, 1,849 (921 males, 928 females); Yellow, 14 (12 males, 2 females); Negro, none.¹⁰ The racial classification as between Whites, Mestizos, and Indians, must be taken with reserve, as the census itself declares. Two things are worth remarking, however. First, there are no Negroes in Moche, a condition which contrasts strongly with most coastal communities. Second, 1,849 persons, or nearly half, apparently consider themselves pure Indians and do not hesitate to declare themselves as such. Of the "yellow race" there are 7 Chinese men in the town, 2 with Chinese wives, and 5 Japanese men.

The census counted families, as well as individuals. Although at the date of this writing these figures have not yet been published, they have been kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Alberto Arca Parró, Director of the Census and of the National Bureau of Statistics (a dependency of the Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio). Table 1 shows the number of families and the number of individuals in the various local subdivisions of the District in 1940.

TABLE 1.—Families and individuals of Moche by census subdivision, 1940

Locality	Families	Individuals
Pueblo of Moche	442	2,148
Sun	61	356
Chococ	54	333
Huaca del Sol	62	437
Chorobal	16	67
Delicias, Las (the <i>playa</i>)	37	205
La Barranca	16	92
La Haciendita	23	95
Hacienda Moche	12	40
Total	723	3,773

As mentioned below, there are 111 *forastero* families in the community, 95 of them in the pueblo. The "Hacienda Moche" of the census is an error, being actually a part of the *campiña* near the pueblo, mostly worked by the Escuela de Agricultura. The 23 families, involving 95 persons belonging to the Haciendita, can also be eliminated from consideration in the pure Moche group, since they are practically all cholo workers from other parts. The average family, or household, in Moche consists of 4.8 persons. We therefore assign an arbitrary number of 500 to the *forasteros* in the District in addition to those on the hacienda property. If these groups are subtracted from the total 1940 population of the District, there are 589 true Mochero

families and 3,178 persons. It should be noted, however, that the *forasteros* living in the community participate to some extent, even as outsiders, and have some influence, even though indirect, on Moche life, while this is not true of the hacienda dwellers.

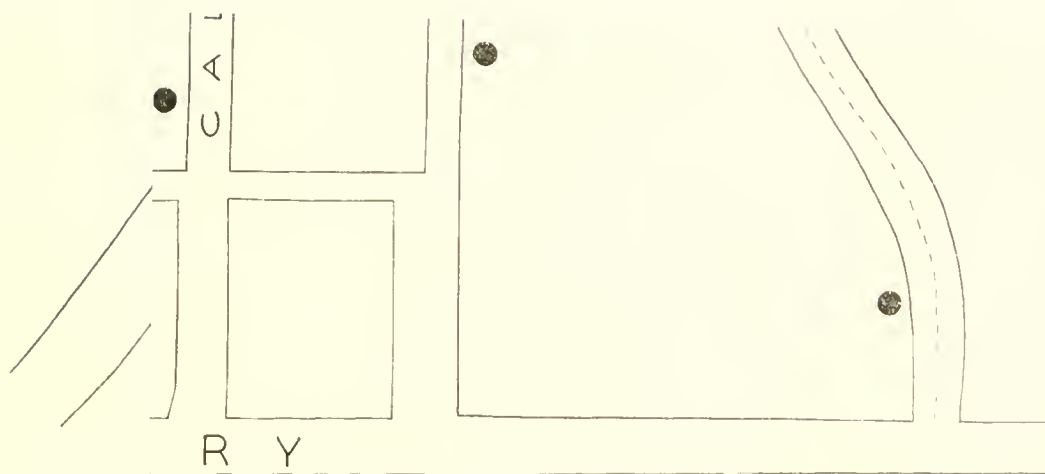
I made a census of the *forasteros*, and the location of their houses is shown on map 1 in order to show the pattern of their residential relationships within the Moche community. Since I have more confidence in my count of *forastero* households than in my count of the absolute number of persons belonging to them (owing to obscurities regarding illegitimate children, former wives or companions, etc.), only the distribution of households is listed in table 2.

TABLE 2.—*Forastero* households in the Moche community

Locality of origin	Residence in Moche		Total
	Pueblo	Campiña	
Peruvian:			
Trujillo	38	4	42
Sierra of Dept. Libertad	15	8	23
San Pedro de Lloc	7	0	7
Pailján	1	2	3
Ascope	3	0	3
Piura	3	0	3
Chiclayo	1	1	2
Pacasmayo	2	0	2
Lima	2	0	2
Chocope	2	0	2
Magdalena de Cao	1	0	1
Chicama	1	0	1
Virú	0	1	1
Salaverry	2	0	2
Cajamarca	1	0	1
Total	79	16	95
Foreign:			
Chinese	7	0	7
Japanese	5	0	5
Spanish	1	0	1
Italian	1	0	1
Russian	1	0	1
German	1	0	1
Total	16	0	16
Grand total	95	16	111

The identification of *forastero* households was made with the consensus of opinion among my true Mochero informants and indicates again the feeling of vague solidarity among the "Mochica villages." Although several individuals and households in Moche have migrated here from other Mochica villages, they are not considered outsiders by the Mocheros, with the exception of one definitely cholo family which came from Magdalena de Cao. Except in this one instance, the Mochica villages are not included in table 2. It will be noticed that the great majority of *forasteros* live in the pueblo and do not engage in agriculture, which is the basis of Moche life. The majority of *forasteros* who are settled in the *campiña* are Indian agriculturists from the

¹⁰ Extracto Estadístico, 1942, p. 21.



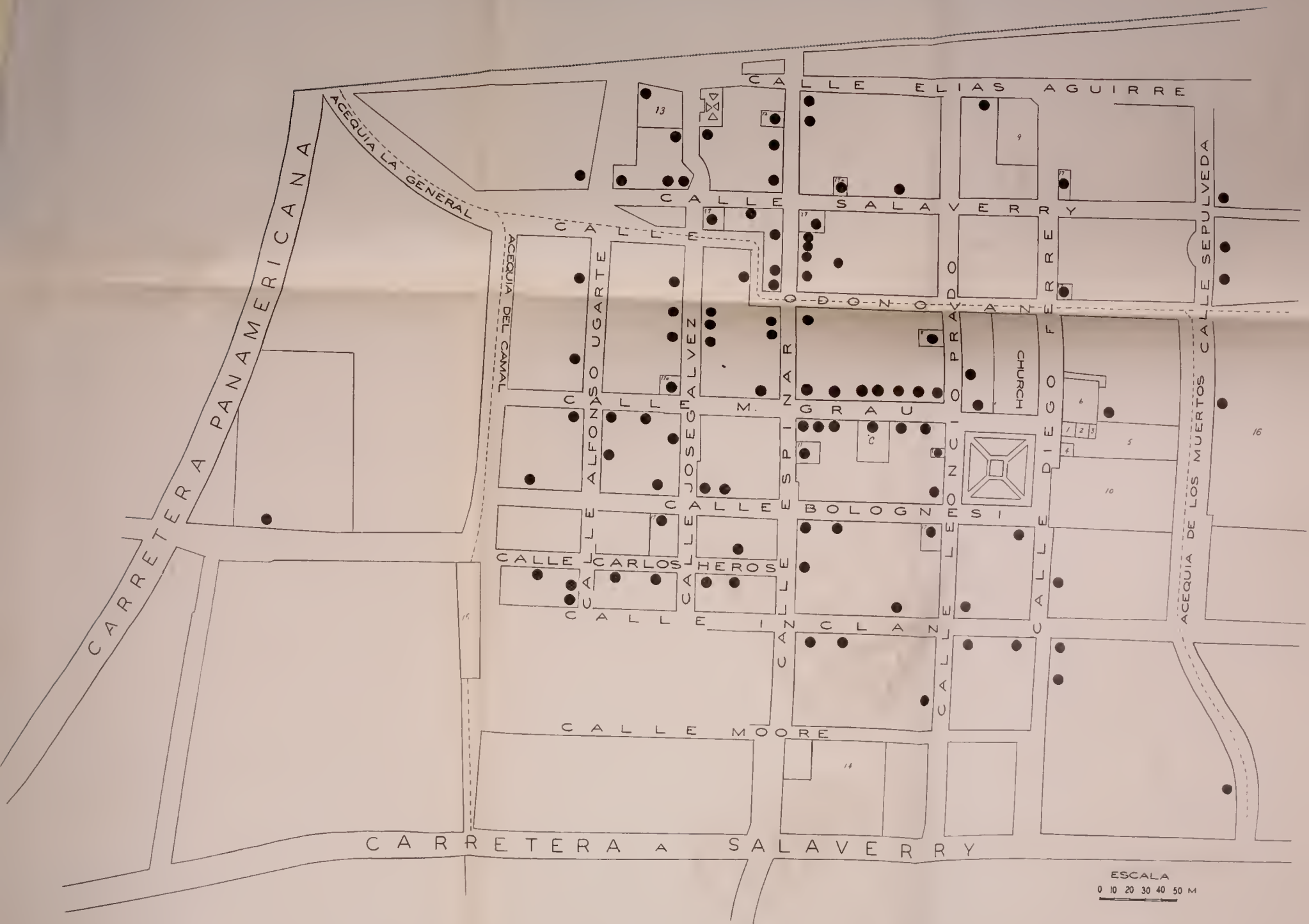
ESCALA

0 10 20 30 40 50 M



public interest, as
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ishment; belongs

(see p. 8)



MAP 1.—Plan of the town of Moche. Black dots represent dwellings occupied by *forasteros*. The numbered rectangles locate buildings or institutions of public interest, as follows: 1, Municipalidad; 2-3, municipal storhouse; 4, Gobernación; 5, girls' school (*centro escolar*); 6, public market (*mercado*); 7, justice of the peace (*juizado de paz*); 8, police station (*puesto de guardia civil*); 9, boys' school; 10, priest's dwelling (*parroquia*); 11, telephone office; 12, post office; 13, School of Agriculture; 14, residence used for summer season by *Las Madres de Santa Rosa*, in Trujillo; 15, slaughterhouse; 16, leading commercial poultry- and swine-raising establishment; belongs to a *forastero*; 17, shops belonging to Chinese; 17a, shop belonging to a Peruvian; C, moving picture theater.

Sierra who originally came to the coast to work as peons on the haciendas and later settled in Moche through friendship or marriage.

VITAL STATISTICS

Crude vital statistics for 5 years, as compiled officially by the Municipalidad, are set forth in table 3.¹¹

TABLE 3.—*Births, deaths, and marriages in Moche District, 1939-1944*

Year	Births	Deaths	Marriages
1939	160	80	42
1940	184	62	64
1941	147	60	60
1942	162	116	47
1943	175	60	59
1944 ¹	82	21	39

¹ First 6 months.

From these figures may be calculated yearly averages for the years 1939-43, inclusive, of 165.6 births, 75.6 deaths, and 54.4 marriages. This gives an average annual excess of births over deaths of 90, or a ratio of births to deaths of 2.19 over a 5-year period. No attempt has been made to test the accuracy of these figures by means of independent recordings,¹² which would clearly have been an impossibility for me. I believe, however, that the figures are reasonably accurate, because the District is small and relations are largely those of an in-group in which everyone's business is generally known, so that there is little opportunity for evading the legal requirements for the registration of births and deaths, even were there a desire to do so. During the 5 years under review, no stillbirths were recorded, which may be an indication of the general healthfulness of the population.

As will appear later, the registered figures on "marriages" have relatively little significance, since it is not customary in Moche to consider an official marriage a necessary preliminary for the establishment of a communal life or household by a man and a woman.

PHYSICAL TYPES AND CONSTITUTIONS

Since I was unable to secure a set of anthropometric instruments, either in Peru or in the United States, during the period of the investigation, I am

unable to give precise data concerning the physical type and must be content with impressionistic remarks, based upon some observation of Indian populations and upon a fair intimacy with the various physical groups of Peru. The so-called cholos of the northern Peruvian coast appear to be a mixture of brunette Spanish, Indian, Asiatic (usually Chinese), and Negro. The mixture is probably not genetically stabilized, because it shows considerable variability, and my impression is that it does not breed true, except within broad limits. Generally speaking from an observational point of view, however, cholo men usually show more beard and body hair than do pure Indians, while both sexes generally exhibit wavy or curly hair. In contrast, the "true Mocheros" are more "Indian" in physical appearance, as plates 4 and 5 indicate. However, I do not believe that the true Mocheros are a pure Indian group, genetically considered. Phenotypically, they often show traits of mixture with a brunette white strain. Also, despite the Moche tradition of not breeding with outsiders, genealogical material indicates that it has occurred in the last few generations, and probably sporadically for centuries. The result of these assumed factors is a wide variability in physical type at present.

In general one may describe the true Mochero type as follows: Short to medium-short stature; copper-colored skin; nose bridge of medium height; nasal index probably medium; head brachy to mesocephalic; black straight hair; fatty deposits about eyes, which, however, are seldom oblique; membranous lips medium; integumental lips, thick; chin prominence, small; beard and body hair, sparse to medium; brownish rather than blackish hair, streaked with gray in aged persons. Even slight baldness is rare in "true Mocheros." Body build tends toward the "lateral" type.

I have no conclusive data on the physical constitution and longevity of the Mocheros, but personally know and have had social relations with 16 individuals who claim they are more than 80 years of age. Five of these claim to be more than 90 years old, and 3 between 99 and 101 years old. It is impossible to prove their ages, however, owing to the fact that the Libros de Bautismo of the local church were destroyed in the flood of 1925, and one can never be sure in talking with the old people that the historical events they claim to have witnessed are not the result of later information. Only one of these individuals is what might be called bedridden. This is an old woman,

¹¹ From the official books of the Municipalidad, copied off by the Secretario, Segundo Celestino, on the official letterhead, stamped with the official rubber stamp, and presented to me on June 30, 1944.

¹² The published figures for 1940 in *Extracto Estadístico* (1942, p. 78) show slight variations from those for the same year provided by the Municipalidad. The published table lists 182 births and 63 deaths for 1940.

supposedly 88 years of age, who, suffering from paralysis or weakness of the legs, spends most of her time on a mat on the floor of her house, but gets about by crawling on all fours. Eleven of these old people are women and 5 are men. With the exception noted, all are vigorous enough to take care of their houses, go about normal business (other than heavy field work), and drink heavily in company with younger friends and relatives.

Conclusive data are also lacking with respect to fertility. Perhaps the best available is obtained from the genealogical material, which shows an average of 6.73 children for each woman over 50 years of age. However, since in the case of several women whom I knew better than the average I discovered that it was not unusual for them to suppress or forget an illegitimate or deceased child or two when giving the genealogy, the average may well be higher. The most fecund woman is aged 48, a Mochera, and the mother of 21 children, including 2 pairs of twins. The mother of 1 of my informants, a *forastera*, had 18 children by single births and died at the age of 72.

LAND HOLDINGS

According to the records of the Administration of Irrigation in Trujillo, the irrigated land of the District of Moche amounts to 1,203,9569 hectares (2,974,98885 acres or 4.63 sq. miles), of which the *Haciendita*, an old Spanish land grant which obtrudes into the *campiña*, comprises 113,1380 hectares. This leaves approximately 976 hectares as lands of 803 small proprietors, who pay water rents. This gives an average holding of 1.3580 hectares. The smallest holding is 880 sq. m. and the largest 21,8781 hectares. The smallest and largest lots happen to be the sole landed property of their respective owners, but it is probable that the average holding per individual owner would be larger than that shown above, inasmuch as several men appear on the lists as holders of two or more lots. At the moment of this writing a new *catastro*, based for the first time on accurate surveys and examination of titles, is in the process of composition, and until this is complete the above figures and estimates must suffice. My own guess is that there are slightly over 700 farmers in the Moche District, and that the average amount of land managed by one man is about 1.6 hectares (3.9536 acres).

Whatever the exact figures may prove to be, it is clear that Moche is a community of small landholders and land workers.

HISTORICAL DATA

Historical data concerning Moche itself are very scarce, at least in the experience of the present writer. It is hoped that the present account of modern life in Moche may arouse sufficient interest on the part of Peruvian historians so that they will do the necessary research and make available an adequate historical account of this community, if such is possible. The records of the local church were either destroyed or removed to parts unknown in the flood of 1925. At least, neither the local priest, nor the Archbishop, nor the librarian of the Archdiocese of Trujillo was able to provide me with information concerning them, and no authority consulted has been able to give historical proof of the precise date of the founding of Moche during historical times. From all this ignorance seems to emerge, at least, the fact that Moche has been considered of little importance since the time of the Conquest; however, it would be interesting to have some picture of the condition of the people in the period of the first Spanish settlement.

If one accepts 1535 as the date of the founding of Trujillo,¹³ it would be difficult to believe that Spanish control was not established in Moche almost immediately if a community of Indians in fact existed there at that time.

The earliest reference to Moche which it has been my fortune to encounter is that which figures in the list of *parroquias* visited in 1593 by Santo Toribio (Archbishop Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo): "Moche, que servía el P. Fray Alonzo Diaz de las Mercedes."¹⁴ In 1613, in the *Auto* establishing the new diocese of Trujillo, "Mochi" figures as 1 of 22 *curas* of the "Corregimiento de Chiclaio"; one friar of the Order de la Merced is assigned to this church (Monografía de la Diócesis, 1930-31, vol. 1, p. 148). The church of Moche is mentioned specifically as having suffered serious damage in the earthquake of September 2, 1759, although nothing is said in the official church history regarding the fate of the parishioners in this disaster (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 144).

The most extensive account of Moche published during colonial times seems to be that of Feijóo, which is herewith translated and quoted in full:

¹³ See the wordy and sometimes acrimonious debate on the exact date as published in *Apuntes y estudios históricos sobre la fecha de la Fundación de la ciudad de Trujillo* (1935).

¹⁴ Monografía de la Diócesis, 1930-31, vol. 1, p. 119. The original seems to be "Libro de Visitas de Santo Toribio," in the Archivo Capitular de Lima. During my hurried visit to this source, the librarian was unable to find this document or any others pertaining to Moche.

The pueblo of Santa Lucía de Moche, near the sea and separated from the city [of Trujillo] by two leagues to the southeast on the Royal Road to Lima, is composed of 118 male Indians and 157 female Indians; with their 125 small sons and 75 daughters they are dedicated to agricultural work [*labranza*] and generally to being fishermen. The church was damaged in the earthquake [of September 2, 1759] but is now being repaired by reason of the pious diligence of the Indians, stimulated by their priest. The Indians of the pueblos mentioned [Moche and Santiago de Guamanga] pay in royal tribute six pesos and four reales per year. [Moche] does not have its own cacique; and the collection of the royal tribute is entrusted to a collector named by the royal officials of this city [Trujillo] to whom belongs this incumbency. According to the book of distribution, the said Indians of the two pueblos [this includes Santiago de Guamanga] enjoy 206 fanegas of land, being a very small assignment for their subsistence and welfare. The priest of both pueblos is a religious of the royal and military order of Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes. The allowance for missionary activity [*sínodo*] is 154 pesos annually, and with obventions and other rights amounts to 2,000 pesos. [Feijóo, 1763 (reprint, undated, p. 36).]

Feijóo also published two maps,¹⁵ "Descripción del Valle del Chimú planisférica de la ciudad de Trujillo del Perú" and "Carta topográfica de la provincia de Trujillo del Perú," both of which show the pueblo of Moche as of 1760, in approximately its present location.

One colonial reference that has come to my notice is perhaps of small importance; it is found in Medina and refers to the year 1650:

The thirtieth of January, 1650 (? *en 30 días del mes de enero de 1650 años*), Lorenzo Huamán, aged Indian of the "aillo" of Amey, accused [*delató*] Francisca Beatriz, aged Indian woman of the "aillo" of "Mocha", affirming under oath that she is malicious, a witch, and practitioner of the indigenous rites (*ritos gentilicios*). [Medina, 1650 (edition, 1920, p. 98).]

This is the only indication I have that Moche was ever an ayllu, and I believe the word is used in a general sense by a reporter accustomed to think of all Indian villages in this terminology. This reference also provides proof, if any were needed, that *brujería* (witchcraft) was practiced as far back as 1650.

In 1818, the diocesan history provides another reference to Moche (*Monografía de la Diócesis*, 1930-31, vol. 3, pp. 256-258). The third volume of this compilation, "El Cabildo Eclesiástico a través de tres siglos," reveals that for nearly 200 years, since 1631¹⁶ to be exact, this body had been periodically exercised

over the problem of securing a new clock and bell for the towers of the cathedral. By September 4, 1818, a clock had been secured, and the following year the bell was obtained (*ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 256-257). This is the only reference to Moche in the diocesan history.

Although in 1818-19 Moche enjoyed the services of a priest, the church historians have not published any information concerning the people under his care. Perhaps he made no reports; if he did, it is to be hoped that the church may publish them.

Juan and Ulloa (1751, p. 368) mention Moche in 1751 as being located at 8°24'59" south latitude and consisting of 50 "baraque" houses with 70 families, composed of Spanish, Indians, and Mestizos.

Squier (1877, ch. 8) published an amusing account of his visit to Moche, in which he described certain drinking customs of the people there that do not sound so very different from present usages. He also provides us with the first serious measurements and descriptions of the ruins.

A short summary of the ancient cultural sequence in this area is given, relying mainly upon Kroeber's 1944 publication, the latest printed statement (Kroeber, 1944, pp. 42-80, especially pp. 78-80; also table on p. 112. See also Bennett, 1937, 1939; Kroeber, 1925, 1926; Squier, 1877; Uhle, 1913; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, 1941; also Horkheimer, 1944, p. 11). According to this scheme, which aims to represent present knowledge, the succession of cultures in the north coast area may be arranged in the following column, with the oldest at the bottom:

Chimu, Inca period.
 Chimu, pre-Inca.
 Tiahuanacoid, later.
 Tiahuanacoid, Earlier, Cajamarca associated.
 Negative or Gallinazo.
 Mochica.
 Salinar.
 Cupisnique.
 Archaic (?) no remnants found in Moche area.

To date, no geological or other direct evidence for absolute dating has come to light, with the result that the chronology is based upon stratigraphy, typology, and the judgment of the investigators. Kroeber is inclined to estimate the beginning of Cupisnique period (Libertad equivalent of Tello's Chavin of the Coast) at about A. D. 500, the beginning of the Mochica period at about A. D. 700, the beginning of the Tiahuanaco period at about A. D. 1000 (Kroeber, 1944, pp. 114-115). This would give the true Mochica culture a period of about 300 years, beginning about 1,250 years ago. Others are inclined to

¹⁵ I have seen only the reproductions published in *Apuntes y estudios* . . . 1935; the maps face pp. 80 and 88, respectively.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 51-52, *resumen* of the Cabildo for the year 1631. Repeated references to this problem occur hereafter.

see the beginning of the Mochica period some 400 to 500 years earlier.¹⁷ All archeologists, however, are agreed that the Mochica culture was followed and modified in prehistoric times by so-called Tiahuanacoid cultures from the Sierra out of which overlay and mixture developed the Chimu culture of the north coast area, which in turn was modified by mixture and overlay of Inca cultural influences, as a result of the Inca conquest of the Chimu, probably in the 15th century A. D.

Thus one cannot expect the Mocheros of today, even if regarded as lineal descendants of the Mochicas of antiquity, to exhibit Mochica culture in its pure form. The aboriginal cultural base in Moche is composed of elements of Mochica, Tiahuanaco, Chimu, and Inca cultures. And the aboriginal base itself has been mixed and modified by four centuries of contact with European cultural influences.

Our knowledge of Mochica culture is derived in the main from the realistic pottery, mentioned previously, of which the world's largest and best studied collection exists in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera," in the Hacienda Chiclin, some 56 km. from the village of Moche. This collection has been acquired and studied by Rafael Larco Hoyle, the well-known Peruvian archeologist, and it will be necessary to rely largely upon his findings in order to identify the still existing Mochica elements in Moche. The later prehistoric cultures of the region are known from archeology and also from accounts of Spanish chroniclers in the epoch of the Conquest. The most detailed description of the Chimu culture existing at the time of the Conquest is that of Calancha (1638). Rather than attempt to set forth a trait list of the several prehistoric cultures, so far as they are known, at the present point, a discussion of the prehistoric survivals will be postponed until a later section (p. 154 ff.).

As for the meaning of the word "Moche," opinions differ. According to Paz Soldán (1877, p. 590) "mocha" is a corruption of "mochi," Quechua for "to rinse the mouth" or "to chew corn to make *chicha*." This, in view of the modern habits of the Mocheros, would be a very appropriate definition. On the other

hand, in Villagomes (1919, p. 210, footnote) is found the verb "mochar" defined as "to cut or lop off" and also as "to kiss or render religious homage." This source does not tell whether the word is Quechua or Mochica. My friend, Señor Manuel Briceño, who maintains a residence in Moche and who has enjoyed a long period of collaboration with Señor Rafael Larco Hoyle in the study of the ancient and modern Mochica culture and language, claims that the word is Mochica, meaning "to worship or adore religiously." I have been unable to locate the word in any published vocabulary of the Mochica language. My friend, Dr. J. M. B. Farfán, the well-known Quechua scholar, is inclined to derive the word from the Quechua word "*muchi*," meaning "pimple" or "acne."¹⁸

Finally, before leaving this review of the scanty historical material, it will be recalled that, according to Uhle's excavations, the town during Mochica times was located on the plain, or *llano*, lying between the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna (Uhle, 1913, fig. 1 and p. 98), a site covered by the remains of small house mounds with numerous burials nearby. From the pottery, Uhle concluded that the site had been occupied by the Chimu and Inca following the Mochica period. At the present time this site lies in the extreme northern corner of the area which we are studying. There is no archeological evidence that an ancient Mochica town occupied the present site of the pueblo of Moche. Although at present this is mere speculation, I would not be surprised that the appropriate church and colonial documents, if and when they eventually come to light, would show that the present pueblo was established shortly after the Conquest following an early subdivision of other lands among the Spaniards. The lands and Indians northwest of the river and upstream from the Huacas were probably granted in *encomiendas*, leaving a group of Indians confined to the area corresponding to the present District of Moche, scattered about a small land grant, now known as the Haciendaita.

A later section (p. 154) deals with possible survivals of earlier cultures in the present cultures of Moche.

SUSTENANCE AND BASIC ECONOMY

One of the distinctions enjoyed by Moche is that it is still a community of independent farmers, whereas most of the other Peruvian coastal communities

have been absorbed into large haciendas. The basic economic activity at the present day is small-scale, irrigated farming, supplemented by a diminishing amount of fishing, and there is good reason to believe

¹⁷ E. g., Horkheimer, 1944, p. 10: "in the second or third century A. D."

¹⁸ Farfán, personal communication.

that this has been true since Mochica times. However, at present, various accretions ("acculturations") have appeared in farming techniques, and, with the gradual increase in population, an increasingly larger proportion of the younger generation go out of the community to seek work as laborers on the roads, on haciendas, and in factories in Lima, with a few even entering the learned professions.

The farming and fishing of Moche are carried on both for subsistence and in order to produce income, either through money exchanges or barter. In fact, one of the changes of recent years has been an increasing emphasis upon cash "crops," such as alfalfa and milk, which are sold in Trujillo, while the fishing industry, although at present small, sells practically all of its production, other than that consumed by the fishing families themselves, to the Trujillo market, where the remaining Mocheros must go to purchase it. Although the Mocheros, or, more properly, their women, are actively engaged in trade in the sense of disposing of their production commercially, nevertheless trading, as an occupation in itself, seems to hold little interest for the people. All retail establishments in Moche pueblo itself are in the hands either of *forasteros* or of *extanjeros*, and I am not aware that any Mochero has left the community to set up or take part in a strictly trading or commercial enterprise elsewhere.

In this section no attempt is made to give a thoroughgoing description of agriculture in Moche from the point of view of an agronomist or other type of agricultural specialist. This is a task requiring the collaboration of a competent authority in this field. Our main interest in this report is to consider the place of agriculture and other economic activities in the cultural life of the community, with particular attention to the trends of cultural change. The orientation is cultural or ethnological rather than economic or agricultural in the full academic implications of those words. Certain omissions may occur, since I was working with the community only about 6 months and therefore was unable to observe the full yearly cycle.

SKETCH OF MOCHE AGRICULTURE OF THE CAMPIÑA

The most charming part of the Moche District is the *campiña*, or rural farming area, which surrounds the town on all sides, as can be seen from the aerial photographs (pls. 1 and 2). This is a region of sandy lanes shaded by willow trees overhanging the *acequia* (irrigation) ditches alongside, of small fields,

quaint houses with cool outdoor arbors, and a quiet peasant country life somehow out of the world. In the *campiña* the quaintest and most primitive aspects of the culture are best developed, and sophistication lies low. A single lane (pl. 18, *upper (left)*) is sufficiently passable to permit automobiles to drive through a part of the *campiña*, although in an exceedingly bone-shaking and axle-breaking manner. It branches off from the Pan-American Highway to the right about 800 m. from the pueblo, proceeds through the holdings of the Hacienda, passes through the small rural center of Sun, and on northward to the base of the Huaca del Sol. Leaving the Huaca, it fords the river and leaves the Moche District, proceeding northwestward through the Hacienda de Santa Rosa, to enter the city of Trujillo via the *barrio* of Chicago. This sole means of modern intrusion into the isolation of the *campiña* is traversed by only a very occasional automobile carrying intrepid tourists or visiting archeologists bent upon seeing the ruins, and, to date, has had no practical effect upon the quiet life of the Moche countryside, most of which is accessible only afoot or by donkey or horseback, traversing the willow-shaded sandy lanes.

On one or both sides of the lanes are irrigation ditches, tapped at frequent intervals by branches leading into the various land holdings. During the dry season the water is turned into any given ditch only once every 9 days, but the major ditches, when they contain water, are veritable small rivers or creeks, practically always shaded by overhanging trees. The fields, usually green at all times of the year, are bordered, as a rule, by solid-looking fences or walls of *tapia* (mold-laid mud; see p. 38), frequently partially hidden by bushes and small trees growing in the field borders against the inside surfaces. A *tapia* wall or fence is practically invariably found on the side of a holding which borders a lane. The houses are located at frequent intervals and are usually well shaded by large shade and fruit trees in their *huertas* (surrounding garden orchards). As a rule they are situated in the corners of the land holdings, sometimes so well surrounded by vegetation as to be almost invisible from the lane.

As one passes along, one sees quiet groups of cattle tethered by neck ropes or horn ropes, grazing in small alfalfa pastures inside the *tapia* walls, and often guarded by small boys and girls. In the mornings, if it is not planting or harvesting season, men working with shovels either singly or in pairs are seen in the cultivations, and from about 10 a. m. onward through-

out the day, one will be frequently passed by Moche women returning from the Trujillo market atop small gray donkeys. The load of one of these beasts generally includes a woman, a child in arms, and various empty milk cans, baskets of food, and other materials acquired in the city. During the planting or harvesting seasons one will see groups of men working in the fields together, attended by a coterie of women in the shady field corner preparing and purveying food and drink.

This peaceful landscape, which is sunlit practically every afternoon of the year and all day long from November until July, is dominated by the great pyramidal Huaca del Sol standing at the northernmost extremity. The *campiña* itself is flat, without hills or undulations, so that from one end to the other, one has only to look to the north to see the famous ruin, frequently framed in the branches of trees. The Moche Mountains, of which the Cerro Blanco is outstanding, dominate the northeastern border of the *campiña*. They are utterly devoid of visible vegetation and are of a basic gray-white color, which, however, changes hue with the varying angles and brilliancies of the sunlight. To the east, the *campiña* ends abruptly at the limit of irrigation. In many places this border with the desert is a startlingly precise line, and one can stand with one foot on a green, cultivated patch of ground and the other foot in the sandy dust of the desert. Along this border the trees are fewer and scrubbier than in the better watered parts of the area. The remains of old irrigation ditches in the desert to the east indicate that the present irrigated area is less extensive than in ancient times.

Strange as it may seem in an area so small in North American eyes, the farming area of Moche is divided into three sections—northern, southern, and western.

The foregoing description is characteristic of the *campiña* in general, but is found best developed in the section north of town. This seems to be the best-watered area, is most intensively cultivated, possesses the most desirable soil, and has the best-made houses. It also lies nearest the ruins, so that there may be historical as well as geographical reasons for its apparently richer cultural development.

The southern section of the *campiña* is drier than those portions north and west of the town. As the land approaches the sea, the soil becomes sandier, and the landscape to the south is dominated by a series of dunes 20 to 35 feet high, partially covered by scrubby grass. Thus the *campiña* is definitely separated from

the *playa*. In this part of the farming area one can hear the roar of the surf mingled with a faint but constant singing of the sea wind through the scrub grass, but in the fields one does not see the sea itself because of the dunes.

The third section of the *campiña* lies across the road to the west. It is often called Barranca, although this properly refers only to the northern part. Barranca is actually the name of a large irrigation ditch. This western section is dominated by the river. Here the brush and trees are wilder and more abundant. Along the left bank of the river itself is an area almost entirely given over to wild brush growth, whose owners derive an income from the sale of wooden building beams, firewood, and *caña brava* (cane) harvested in this miniature jungle. In this section there is also considerably more natural pasture than in other portions of the *campiña*. Although in the dry season the visible water of the river is reduced to the trickle of a medium-sized brook, nevertheless the subterranean seepage water seems to be considerable.

Thus it is that the *campiña* is like a small country in itself, the three regions—north, south, and west—each having somewhat different conditions and landscape. Although visiting takes place back and forth, there is a tendency, owing to factors of transportation, toward ethnocentrism in each of these areas. The normal communication lines run from each area to the town or from each area to the city of Trujillo, rather than from area to area. Therefore, contacts between the three sections are most regularly renewed on feast days in the pueblo. It is not uncommon to hear two men from different sections of the *campiña* inquiring at a fiesta about events and personages of each other's neighborhood as if they actually lived in different parts of Peru. However, this tendency toward separatism or regionalism has not reached a stage where it is the basis for formal differentiation in the social or political organization. The three sections of the *campiña* do not even have names that are in common use by the whole Moche community. In Moche, one does not say that he lives in "the northern section." He says that he lives "*por la Huaca*" (toward the Huaca), "*por este lado de Sun*" (this side of Sun), or near some other landmark or person known to be in the northern section. If one lives in the southern section, one is identified as being "*por la playa*" (toward the beach), or "*cerca de Chorobal*" (the water wells), etc. In the western section, one may be "*del otro lado de la carretera*" (from the other side of the highway), "*de Barranca*" or "*de la*

boca del río" (from around the mouth of the river), etc.

Straddling the road and occupying central portions of both the northern and western sections are the lands of the *Haciendita*, apparent as comparatively large unsubdivided fields in the aerial photographs (pls. 1 and 2). This land, totaling about 113 hectares, is not a part of the Moche *campiña* in any sense other than the geographical. A few Mocheros work as peons on the *Haciendita*, but otherwise the crops, methods, organization, and personnel are outside the Moche picture. Another, smaller area of *forastero* intrusion is visible (pls. 1 and 2) as comparatively extensive, unbroken fields, about 30 acres in extent, off the northeast corner of the pueblo. Most of this is at present leased to the Government-supported agricultural school, which, as will be pointed out below, also plays no part in the agricultural configuration of the community.

CULTIVATED LANDS AND THEIR MANAGEMENT

Planting and care of domesticated plants occur in Moche in three types of locations: (1) Fields, (2) garden orchards (*huertas*), and (3) field borders.

Many a Moche "field" would perhaps appear to a North American farmer to be too small to be worth cultivating. The average land holding seems to be about 1.6 hectares, or 3.9 acres, with a wide range about the average. The individual field, however, would average much smaller. When the official *catastro* is completed we shall have, it is to be hoped, accurate figures on this matter, but it is doubtful that the average cultivated field or planted plot exceeds 1,000 sq. m. I know of several fields in cultivation which do not exceed 100 sq. m., and the largest single field of which I know is probably not over 4 hectares (40,000 sq. m.).¹⁹

Although land holdings are usually divided by *tapia* fences, this is not necessarily true of fields, and a single fenced piece of ground may contain two or more fields or cultivated plots, each given over to a different crop or to different plantings of the same crop.

Among the Mocheros a farm, or land holding, is

usually called a *chacra*;²⁰ a person also refers to "mis terrenos" (my lands) and "mi propiedad" (my property). The word *granja* is used in Moche to refer only to a poultry farm or a small stock farm raising swine. There are three commercial *granjas* in Moche, all operated by *forasteros* for the Trujillo market. "Fields," in the sense of individual cultivated plots, are usually called *campos* or *sembrados*; occasionally one uses the word *cosccha* (harvest or crop) when referring to a given plot, identifying the piece of land with the crop growing upon it. "Crop" is also known as "*siembra*." Mocheros use the word *fanegada* when speaking of land areas more often than the word *hectarea*; there seems to be general agreement that a *fanegada* is equal to about 3 *hectareas*, but informants are never precise or sure. The *fanegada* is a Spanish land measure introduced during colonial times, and it is apparent that most Mocheros still think in terms of it and have not yet become accustomed to translating *fanegadas* readily into *hectareas*.

There are no clearly defined planting times in Moche to which all farmers adhere. The general rule is that there be sufficient water to get the new crop started properly. Except alfalfa and yuca (sweet manioc), which are planted only once a year or less often, a farmer may expect to plant and harvest two crops per year of such crops as corn, lentils, beans, and sweetpotatoes. In most years and on most lands, December is regarded as the time for putting in the wet-season crop (*tiempo de abundancia*), which is harvested in May, and June is the time for putting in the dry-season crop (*tiempo de escasez*), with the harvest beginning in October. Individual conditions may vary somewhat. The fiesta of San Isidro in May serves as a sort of harvest festival for the first crop, and the October fiesta serves as the harbinger of the second harvest.

No fertilizer other than the droppings of livestock made directly on the fields is used in Moche farming. The constant planting of leguminous crops like alfalfa, beans, and lentils doubtless restores the nitrogen to the soil satisfactorily.

A nonrigid or informal crop rotation is practiced, of which the following example may give an idea. The field described was planted to corn and lentils in the first crop of 1938. During the second crop it stood idle, i.e., cattle were allowed to forage on the cornstalks. Corn and lentils were again put in for the first crop of 1939, and the second crop was beans. Early in 1940 it was planted to alfalfa and sorghum.

¹⁹ Compare the aerial photographs (pls. 1 and 2). It must be remembered that the *Haciendita*, comprising some 113 hectares, lies geographically within the *campiña*, but is not considered a part of it, either from the community or cultural point of view. The broad open fields visible in the center of the farming area to the north of the town belong to the *Haciendita*, whereas the small subdivisions seen covering most of the remainder of the area are the holdings of Mocheros.

²⁰ From the Quechua, according to De Arona (1938, p. 157)

Six crops of alfalfa were taken from it during the year. It was allowed to stand untouched for about 3 months after the last cutting, and was then turned into pasture. Cattle occupied the field during most of 1941 and up to June 1942, when the alfalfa began to thin out. It was plowed and a crop of corn and lentils put in, which did not do well because of lack of water. In January 1943, it was planted to yuca and corn. In 1944 it was once more in alfalfa.

IRRIGATION

The irrigation system is now under control of an official dependency of the Ministerio de Fomento, which maintains a subadministrator in Moche (under the immediate supervision of the Administración de Aguas del Río Moche, which has offices in Trujillo). This authority lays down the regulations concerning the time of water flow and the care of the ditches. The "*república*," or democratic organization of water users which is said formerly to have handled all matters of irrigation, has thus been superseded. Perhaps as a substitute the Government has permitted the organization of a group known as the Association of Irrigators of Moche (Asociación de Regantes de Moche) which is supposed to serve in an advisory capacity to the subadministrator and as a vehicle for making complaints to the higher authorities. The president of this group at present is the proprietor of the Hacienda, which is the largest single water user in the District. Although the Mocheros complain mightily that the Hacienda is favored over the smaller land holdings in the distribution of the water and also that the haciendas farther up the valley are obtaining more than their share of the river flow, nevertheless the natives have been unable to unite on a candidate of their own whereby they might obtain more effective control of the organization. An organization of younger progressive natives, called Moche en Marcha (Moche in Movement), is at present strenuously attempting to unite the Mocheros for this and other purposes involving the common welfare.

The irrigation administration is primarily concerned with the distribution of the water, which is most abundant in March and scarcest in October. During the dry season the river water is turned into each trunk ditch only once every 9 days. The principle of distribution of water to individual land holdings or fields is time. Each holding, or, more properly, each side ditch running into a holding is assigned so many minutes of water during the time that water is running in the main ditch. This time may

be changed in theory by appeal to the authorities, but as of any given moment is recorded in the official *catastro* (property list) and is one of the rights which go with the parcel of land if and when it changes hands. An annual tax is levied upon each parcel of land to support the irrigation service, and this is based upon the amount of water time assigned to the parcel, which in turn is theoretically based upon the area of the parcel of land and a consideration of its needs (e.g., land near the river with considerable underground seepage water is not considered to need so much irrigation per unit of area). It is because the areas of the land holdings were previously only imperfectly known that the Government undertook the precise survey in 1944 which should result in a new *catastro*, mentioned previously. The time limit on water applies, of course, during the season of scarce water; in the season of abundance each farmer has as much water as he desires. According to the 1944 *catastro*, the lowest annual water rent paid by a Mochero was 26 centavos, and the highest 16.42 soles. (One sole equaled approximately 15.3 cents and 1 centavo approximately 1/7 of a cent in terms of United States currency at the time the study was made.) The water rent goes toward the maintenance of the system of administration.

In order to operate this system the subadministrator depends upon the services of the farmers themselves, who are assigned to water watching according to a rotating list. The night duty is the most onerous and involves regulating the main gates at the proper intervals and patrolling the side-ditch outlets. Night duty rotates to most farmers about once every 2 or 2½ months and is called *mala noche* ("bad night," a term which also refers to any night spent without sleep, whatever the reason). It is, of course, the responsibility of the individual farmers to care for their private ditches. Irrigation ditches of all kinds are called *acequias*. It is said that rich or powerful water users are able to obtain more than their proper share by (1) bribing or otherwise influencing the subadministrator to increase their time on the list and (2) by influencing the watchers to allow certain ditches to run longer than the official time. I have no evidence that this is true.

The principal irrigation ditches are named. For example, there are the ditches named Sun—one of the main trunks which taps the river above the Huaca del Sol and probably dates from prehistoric times—Chocchoc, Güerequeque, Barranca, Esperanza, los Muertos, el Muelle, etc.

Although each landholder cleans and keeps in repair his own ditches, the upkeep of the main communal ditches of the system of distribution is done on a communal unpaid basis. Periodically the call goes out for the *destajos* (task work), and gangs of men assemble with spades. Each man is obliged to work a length of time proportional to his amount of irrigated land. Often he is merely assigned to certain proportional length of the communal ditch to clean. The work consists in digging out the vegetation, mud, stones, and other accumulations in the channel. Formerly, it is said that this task was performed in festive mood to the accompaniment of food and drink after the manner of a *minga* (reciprocal work parties), but at the present time one sees none of this. It is a job to be done, and that is all.

The principal heads of the main communal ditches are provided with cement sluices and steel gates, but water is diverted into small side ditches by earth dams bolstered by a couple of horizontal sticks or boards held in place with wooden stakes, as illustrated in plate 5, *lower (left)*. Men may water small house plots by ladling water out of the communal ditch with buckets. This is not considered stealing the water if it is done on a small scale.

The distribution of the water on the field itself follows several patterns, depending upon the crop and its stage of growth. Although I know of the following three types, there may be more. (1) A thin sheet of water is spread over the ground before plowing if it is very hard and dry; young plots of alfalfa and newly planted gardens are frequently given a similar treatment. Fields are divided into rectangular plots, *melgares*; the system is called *de pozas*. This is accomplished usually by simply opening the ditch in one or more places alongside the field and allowing the water to spread out over the ground. (2) In the second method a series of small parallel straight ditches (*regaderas* or *reventeros*) run off the feeder ditch (*regadero*) from one side of the field to the other. Corn and beans are usually irrigated this way, as well as yuca. (3) Winding irrigation channels (*de caracol*) are sometimes used to irrigate yuca; the channel runs down one side of the row, turns back to run down the other side of the row, and so on, irrigating the entire field from a single outlet of the feeder ditch.

IMPLEMENTS

Fields are prepared for planting by plowing. A yoke of oxen is used for traction, but the implement

itself is a single-handled one-way walking plow, all of iron, and manufactured in the United States. No wooden plows are to be found in the Moche countryside at present. The technique of handling the plow is, however, apparently much as it was when the Spanish wooden plow with iron point was used (pl. 6, *lower (left)*). This type of plow, although it has a curved moldboard of iron, cuts a furrow only about 4 inches deep and often less. The depth of the furrow depends upon the skill of the driver. The driver is accompanied by an assistant who breaks the clods, either with his feet or, more often, with a wooden stick or iron crowbar which he carries for the purpose. No harrow is used. The driver guides the oxen by voice and with a whip which has a wooden handle about 2 feet long and a leather thong 5 to 6 feet long. Oxen have individual names to which they respond and they also are taught to obey commands of a limited range. Oxen are usually castrated between the ages of 1 and 2 years. However, bulls are frequently used under the yoke. Both are called "*bueyes*." When a distinction is made, the gelded animal is simply called *un buey castrado*. A team of oxen is called a *yunta* (yoke). The actual yokes are made of wood obtained in the *campiña* and fastened to the horns with rawhide straps or thongs. Willow wood is said to be most commonly used, although oak (*roble*), if it can be obtained, is preferred. Almost any farmer can make a yoke himself, although certain ones are considered specialists and are employed to make yokes for others. The yoke is attached to the plow by an iron chain, not by a shaft.

Many farmers do not possess ox teams or plows and are required to hire their plowing done on a custom basis. In 1944 the standard rate was 8 soles per day for team, plow, driver, and his assistant. The hours are carefully watched, and work is supposed to continue without interruption from 8 to 11 a. m. and from 1 to 5 p. m. The acreage which can be plowed in a day depends upon a great many factors—driver, oxen, condition of the soil—but *yuntas* are usually hired by the day only. If the work is finished before the end of the day, no rebate is made. To be sure, as in all Moche deals, payment may be made in produce rather than in cash money, but there is little sharing of work which involves oxen. Even brothers enter plowing deals with each other which involve payment in terms of money.

The plow is used for preparing the ground, as just described. It is also used, after the ground has been plowed once, to produce furrows in which various

crops are planted. The plow produces a shallow furrow and also throws out a ridge of earth on one side. There seem to be three types of furrows: (1) The simple furrow with a ridge of earth alongside; (2) the double furrow, with ridge of earth on each side, produced by plowing a second furrow alongside the first one in the opposite direction, called *surco hembra* (female furrow); the central furrow usually serves as an irrigation channel; (3) the double furrow with a double ridge of earth in the center and furrows on each side of it, called *surco macho* (male furrow). In planting certain crops, such as sorghum, maize, and beans, it is said that the seeds are placed in the furrow, although actually they are placed in the base of the ridge of earth with the effect that the plants usually are seen growing out of a low ridge of earth rather than from the depression of the furrow. This method of planting must obviously be a comparatively recent innovation, since it seems to depend upon the presence of a plowshare and moldboard of modern type capable of producing a clear furrow and turning over a ridge of earth, features impossible with the old-fashioned wooden plow of colonial times.

Oxen are not used to pull wheeled vehicles of any kind. Neither are horses and donkeys used to pull wheeled vehicles in Moche, with the exception of a two-wheeled garbage cart drawn by a single horse and maintained by the Municipalidad. Otherwise, the only wheeled vehicles seen in the Moche District are automobiles and railroad vehicles. Neither of these types is owned by Mocheros, nor can they be considered a part of the material equipment of the community.

The plow is the only power implement used in Moche agriculture (ox power). The hand implements are as follows (pls. 5, *lower (right)*; 6, *center*): (1) The short-handled shovel or spade (*palana*); (2) the *machete*, a one-handed heavy knife of the type familiar under this name to North American readers, used for clearing brush and weeds and for splitting firewood; (3) the *calabozo*, a heavy "bush" knife with a hooklike projection at the end of the blade, fitted to a long wooden handle and used for clearing brush and weeds from the land; (4) the *barro*, a wooden clublike stick, used for breaking earth clods after plowing and for making holes for planting; (5) the iron or steel crowbar (*barro de hierro*), used for breaking clods and for other purposes, such as moving stones, logs, and other weights; (6) the pickax (*pico*), for breaking hard ground, especially in irrigation ditches; (7) the ax (*hacha*), a single-

bladed implement of European type, used for felling and splitting wood and for clearing brush from the land; (8) the *horca*, a tined fork, made from a single, branched tree limb; and (9) a modern, wooden-handled, iron rake or *rastra*, used by some men.

It is curious that the hoe is not present in modern Moche, but, on the other hand, there is no clear evidence that it was ever used in prehistoric times. The implements recovered from Mochica and Chimú cultures are of the spade type, i.e., the blade of the implement lies in the same axis as that of the handle. Present-day spades are of modern European or North American design (most are imported from these two sources, although lately at least two Peruvian concerns have begun manufacturing these implements), but are used for "hilling up" corn and other crops, for making holes for planting etc., and for cultivating around standing plants, as well as for cleaning irrigation ditches and for all tasks involving the movement of earth by hand. In many of these efforts it would seem that the hoe would be a more useful implement. Moreover, it is available in Trujillo hardware stores. Such is the power of tradition, or the resistance to acculturation. Plate 6, *upper (right)*, shows a man working with a spade.

The *calabozo* is likewise, apparently, a prehistoric implement. In the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" in Chiclín, blades of the same type as those in use at present occur in great numbers, but it is not clear whether they are of Mochica or Chimú provenience.

Likewise it is quite possible that the *barro*, the clod-breaking wooden bar, is prehistoric in origin. There is some reason to believe that the Mochicas and Chimús used a digging stick with which they punched holes in the earth for planting. The ancient idea behind this implement (symbolic pattern) seems to have disappeared in its original form in modern Moche, possibly owing to displacement by the plow in the planting complex, although the *barro* is used for poking seed holes in furrows prepared by the plow.

TECHNIQUES WITH FIELD CROPS

The actual planting of field crops is usually done on a shared work basis, in the pattern of a *minga*. The owner of the land invites certain friends or relatives to assist him with the planting. The women of his household provide food and *chicha*. It is also understood that today's host will lend his services to

his fellows during the following days. I have not had the opportunity to observe a large number of these work parties over a long period of time, but informants state that, contrary to expectations, they are not permanent or organized, i.e., members of the same groups do not exchange work with one another invariably year after year, with an organization of leadership, etc. However, there does seem to be a natural tendency toward a relative permanency among neighbors. Although relatives are frequently included in the planting parties, there seems to be no rule to this effect.

Techniques involved with a few of the more common field crops can be briefly described as follows.

Alfalfa, which occupies perhaps three-fifths of the cultivated land of Moche at present, is always planted in the same field with sorghum (*sorgo*),²¹ as illustrated (pl. 3, *upper* and *lower* (left)). Patches of alfalfa 2 to 3 m. wide²² alternate with rows of sorghum in parallel series across the field. Alfalfa seed is purchased in the *tiendas* in the pueblo, or threshed by the farmer himself. It is sown broadcast from a cloth bag.

The earth where the rows of sorghum are to be planted is usually heaped up by the plow in a ridge about 3 inches above the surface of the alfalfa bed before planting. The sorghum is then planted in shallow holes about 1 m. apart or less near the base of the ridge of earth. Six seeds are placed in each hole. Another method is to plant the sorghum in two parallel ridges made by plowing two furrows, side by side, one in each direction to produce a shallow irrigation channel between them—a "female furrow." The sorghum shoots up faster than the alfalfa and appears as a line of tufts of light green above the darker green of the surrounding young alfalfa. By this combination of the two plants, one is able to obtain forage for cattle within 10 to 14 days after planting, without waiting for the alfalfa to produce a crop. Many such fields are used simply as pasture, with the cattle being turned in as soon as the sorghum has reached a height of 9 inches or a foot. Some sorghum and alfalfa is cut with a sickle and carried to other

places on the farm as cattle feed, while a not inconsiderable quantity of both crops is carried on donkey-back to Trujillo for sale fresh, mostly to the army as feed for its horses. One of my friends reported that during one morning he counted 23 donkey loads pass the *chacra* where he was working, en route to Trujillo. Finally, a farmer may sell part of his crop to other farmers in temporary need of cattle feed. Sorghum and alfalfa are always cut and used fresh, if cut at all. No dried haystacks are to be found in the Moche area. In the pueblo there is a cement silo, erected some years ago by a progressive *forastero*, which apparently has been a failure. Sorghum and cornstalks put into it as ensilage are said to spoil and become useless as cattle feed. Whether this is due to climate or faulty technique, I do not know. Four to six crops of alfalfa per year are expected, if the crop is cut. For seed, alfalfa is cut ripe and piled up to dry. It is then either carried to the house or threshed in the field. At all events a mat (*petate*) is placed under the pile, which is then pounded with a heavy stick. (This is not hinged like the old-fashioned American flails.) This treatment is to *sacar la gavilla* (break up the stalks and bunches). Afterward the alfalfa is picked up in small bunches and these are whipped over a basket with a small stick or switch to knock off the seeds. Occasionally the highland method of threshing wheat is used. The alfalfa is spread out on a hard dirt floor with a heavy stake or post set up in the middle. A pair or more of horses are driven round and round the stake, and after this the residue is tossed into the air and winnowed in the wind.

Corn (maize) is planted in rows about 18 inches apart, hilled up with the spade or plow before planting into low ridges produced by plowing a furrow. Corn is frequently planted with lentils (*lentejas*) in the same hole. The holes are about 3 feet (1 pace) apart. The method is to place two kernels of corn and three seeds of lentil in the first hole, three kernels of corn and two seeds of lentil in the second hole, and so on successively. The planter is usually followed by another person who covers the hole and tamps it down with his feet. Lentils are often harvested before the corn has eared, but hard, dry lentils may also be harvested even after the corn has been husked. Lentils are harvested, as a rule, by pulling them up by the roots and carrying the whole plant to a convenient spot where the seeds are taken out of the pods or (in the case of green lentils) the pods are removed from the plant. Corn

²¹ A list of scientific names of certain plants with remarks concerning their origin, follows this section. This list is given only as an aid to the reader interested in the matter. The scientific names have been culled from the literature and the records of the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" in Chiclin.

²² I may be making too much of this, but informants repeatedly insisted that the alfalfa patches (*melgares*) were 5 to 6 m. wide, whereas on inspection I was unable to find one more than 3 m. wide. This tendency to exaggerate numerical values occurs fairly frequently. Whether it represents an incomplete association of the numerical symbol with its referent or a form of ego inflation through the telling of a good story, I am unable to say with certainty at present.

is harvested green to be eaten boiled on the cob (*chochlo*). It is also harvested ripe, about 6 months after planting. In both cases it is husked on the stalk in the field. For this purpose a bone or wooden pick, 5 to 6 inches long, perforated at the butt end and attached to the wrist by a thong passing through the perforation, is used as an aid in opening the husks. Rarer are picks made from iron spikes. As a general rule, the stalks are allowed to stand in the field after harvest and cattle are turned in to eat them and trample them down, after which they are burned. Harvesting may be done by individuals working alone, in pairs or small groups, and also in the *minga* arrangement. When planted in the same plot with yuca, the corn seeds are deposited in individual holes made with the spade.

Various types of beans are planted in rows or ridges as is corn, three seeds to a hole usually. Beans are harvested by pulling the whole plant up by the roots. They are threshed by hand as is alfalfa, by beating (although horses are never used, because they crush the seeds). Beans are not cut with a sickle. Sced beans are still stored by some people in a box full of sand, a procedure which seems to date from Mochica times. This keeps them dry and also is said to protect them from the attacks of insects that eat out the inside of the bean and destroy its germinating power. The more modern method, however, is to store the beans in stoppered bottles or in tin cans sealed with sticking plaster.

Yuca (also known in English as manioc and cassava) is planted from cuttings about 5 inches long taken from the stalks. The cutting must be in the state in which milky juice issues from the wound. The surface of the cutting is covered at intervals by buds, which on the growing stalk point upward. In Moche a bud is called "*nutz del palo*" (nut of the stick). In planting, the cuttings must be so laid that the buds point into the ridge of earth alongside the furrow. Cuttings are planted about a meter apart. Three methods of planting are in use. (1) In the *pisada* method, the cuttings are laid crosswise in a simple furrow, pointing toward the ridge of earth, and are tamped down with the feet. A small portion must protrude above the surface of the hill. (2) To *sembrar a estaca*, the cuttings are thrust into the moist soil of a hill ridge made by a "male furrow," leaving an inch or so to protrude. (3) In the *de acquia* method a "female furrow" is made first. Then the cuttings are laid crosswise, but so placed that the buds of alternate cuttings point in

opposite directions. Again it is necessary that a small portion of the cutting protrude through the hill. Then water is turned into the female furrow. Yuca is usually ready to harvest in 9 months and produces large bunches of heavy roots, often as large as a man's lower leg. Yuca is harvested simply by grasping the stalks above ground and pulling up the roots, which may be left in piles on the field for a few hours to dry.

Although alfalfa, sorghum, maize, lentils, beans, and yuca are the principal or largest field crops, many others included in the list below are also planted and grown in fields, as well as in garden orchards and field borders.

Weeding is done by hand, and with spade, machete, and *calabozo*.

Every house in the *campiña* is surrounded by a *huerta* and most houses in the pueblo have an attempt at one in the back yard. These are usually relatively small areas containing a great variety of fruit trees, bushes, and small plots of decorative flowers and kitchen vegetables. In the vegetable plots it is not unusual to see onions, cabbage, lettuce, azafrán, and radishes, for example, all growing in one plot, either in alternate rows or mixed up together more or less indiscriminately. Usually the small vegetable plots are surrounded by a fence of cane to keep out poultry and dogs. The fruit trees and bushes provide shade and protection from the wind as well as edible products.

The field borders are usually 3 to 6 feet wide, up next to the enclosing *tapia* fence of the property. Fruit trees, shade trees, and a variety of bushes and even planted products are to be found here.

The field crops mentioned above are seldom grown in any quantity in *huertas* and field borders, but practically all other types of domesticated or useful plants are to be found in both *huertas* and borders and often in fields themselves.

OTHER CROPS AND USEFUL PLANTS

Following are lists of domestic and useful plants one will find in the Moche *campiña*. The lists are not necessarily exhaustive.

First are listed the domesticated plants, planted in fields, gardens, or both:

- Aji** (chili peppers). Several varieties, large, small, green, yellow, and red; usually planted in *huerta*.
Alvaja de comida (albahaca? sweet basil). Plant grown in fenced enclosures in *huertas* and used for making soup and for flavoring other dishes.

Alverjas (vetches). Planted either in fields or gardens; plants look like those of common sweetpea; produces small, podded, pea-like fruit; several varieties.

Azafrán. Usually planted in field borders and garden orchards; produces a dark orange-red flower, which is dried and toasted over the fire, then rubbed to a powder between the hands. The powder is used to color foods, and is an essential ingredient of *sopa teóloga*.

Caigua of various varieties. A low, creeping plant producing a soft squashlike fruit, which is eaten as a vegetable and also stuffed with meat to make *albóndigas*. Usually planted in field borders near irrigation ditches.

Camotes (sweetpotatoes). Planted systematically in fields. Several varieties. The following types of *camotes* are grown: *sangriento* (bloody), *colorado* (red), *boca de chizco*, *espelina*, *pierna de la viuda* ("widow's leg," large, long, white, and big in diameter), *niño* ("child," but, curiously, also large and white), and *morado* (purple).

Capulí. Planted in fields and elsewhere; low plant; fruit looks like North American "groundcherry."

Carrizo. A stiff reed used for making baskets; sometimes planted in fields, it also grows in field borders and along-side irrigation ditches. Although this plant seems to have a tougher, harder surfaced stem than *caña brava*, I am not sure that botanically it is a distinct plant.

Cebolla (onion). Planted in gardens and fields; some raised for the market.

Culantro. Planted; used as food seasoning.

Garbanzo (chickpea). Planted, usually in field borders.

Lechuga (lettuce). Planted in gardens only.

Maní (peanuts). Planted in fields, but on a small scale by the Mocheros. One of the local landholding *forasteros* grows peanuts commercially.

Papas (white potatoes). Very rarely planted in Moche because they do not do well.

Plátano (banana). The following types are recognized: *Rabanete* (literally "radishlike"); *de la isla* (island banana), especially favored in fried form; *mansano* ("apple banana"), sweet and eaten raw; *naranja* ("orange"), orange colored and with a slightly tart taste; *de seda* ("silky"); *guinco* ("Guinea banana"), large yellow.

Rábano (radish). Planted in gardens only.

Repollo (cabbage). Planted in fields and gardens.

Sandía (watermelon). Several varieties planted, all striped.

Tomate. Garden tomatoes; there is also said to be a wild tomato which grows in the field borders, producing a small, tasty fruit. (I have not seen it.)

Tumbo. A climbing vine, producing an edible fruit about the size of a muskmelon; planted around houses as cover for outdoor arbors. It is said that each plant has a guardian serpent, which attacks strangers attempting to steal the fruit or harm the plant.

Zanahoria (carrot). Planted in gardens.

Sugarcane (*caña de azúcar*), which constitutes the principal field crop of the haciendas of the entire Trujillo region, including the Haciendita of the Moche District, is not grown by the Mocheros, except for an occasional plant. Its only use as a plant among the

Mocheros is to chew the stalk as a confection, sucking out the sweet juice.

Fruit trees and bushes planted either in *huertas* or in field borders include the following:

Algodón pardo (brown cotton). A few persons have planted bushes in their *huertas*, while other plants are to be found growing untended by roadsides (pl. 5, middle). The bushes assume a large, spreading form, as much as 9 feet high and 12 feet in diameter, and are not trimmed. They are rare in Moche, but the product is much prized for its use in certain types of curing.

Blanquillo. Bush with edible fruit.

Calabazo (gourd tree). There are apparently several varieties of these bushes; although the best-decorated gourd containers in use in Moche are obtained in trade (usually from the region of Chiclayo), gourds are grown in Moche for ordinary use. The product varies in size and shape from a wide, shallow, platelike container up to 15 inches in diameter, to small cups 3 inches in diameter, and long-necked *chucha* bottles with globular bodies. The branches of the producing bushes are supported by sticks and the fruits themselves are bound with bandages intended to control their shapes. The plants, which are all of an "over-sized" bush type, are usually planted and tended in *huertas*.

Cerezo (cherry).

Chirimoyo. Fruit tree in *huertas*.

Ciruella. Plum; planted both in *huertas* and field borders.

Higo (fig). Tree valued for the fruit and also for the large five-pointed leaves which are used to flavor the dish known as *sancochado*.

Limon ágrico (common lemon).

Limon real. Large, sweetish lemon; some are almost orange in color.

Limon sutil (lime).

Lúcumo. Fruits are picked, placed in the sun for a day or two, and wrapped in rags or straw to ripen.

Mamey. Fruit tree in *huertas*.

Mango. Fruit tree in *huertas*.

Membrillo. A woody bush bearing a small fruit.

Naranja ágrico. Bitter orange, usually green when "ripe." Sucked to relieve thirst, but mainly used in *seviches* and *escaviches*.

Narango dulce. Sweet orange.

Pacay (guava).

Palto (alligator pear). Usually found near the house.

Papayo (papaya). Has male and female forms. Male trees have yellow flowers, and their fruit, when it occurs, is small. Female trees have white flowers and smaller leaves. Mocheros believe that only a man can prune the female trees, and only a woman can prune the male trees. If this rule is not followed, fruit shrivels or does not appear.

Other plants encountered in the *campiña* are the following. Most are half-domesticated, as very little grows wild in an irrigated countryside without at least the tolerance of the human occupants. Some are planted more or less regularly, some not; but

none are systematically tended as are the domesticated "crops."

- Aleli.** Small, narrow-leaved tree; flowers are used for decoration and sold in the market.
- Algarroba.** Wood of the tree used for supports and beams in houses; sweetish, large beanlike fruit eaten or sucked.
- Cactus.** Various types are found rarely in the Moche countryside, and mostly near the borders of irrigation. Cultivation is intense enough to keep most of the plants rooted out of the farming area. The most useful is *penca* (name of the plant), which is a fleshy, low cactus, producing a fruit called *tuna*, which is gathered and eaten. Cactus plants are not regularly planted as fences or on top of *tapia* fences as in certain other Latin American countries, e. g., parts of Mexico.
- Caña brava** (cane) grows wild along the edge of certain irrigation ditches and also in large quantities near the river. Used in making house roofs and *quincha* walls, etc.
- Choloque.** Tree which has a fruit encased in a green-yellow shell; the shell, removed from the fruit produces "suds" when rubbed in water and is considered the best "soap" for washing woolen goods; inside the shell, which is soft and sticky, is the fruit, a hard, dark purple, practically round ball about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, which is used in the marbles games of small boys.
- Cinamon.** Tree used for wood in construction.
- Higarón.** A large tree, with large rubbery leaves; when twigs are broken, a white, milky, sticky sap oozes out, which is much prized for curing *quebradura* (umbilical hernia in children). The tree usually grows in *huertas*, although it is also found in field borders.
- Ingrio blanco** (also a variety called *colorado*) Plant looks somewhat like castor-bean; produces seeds covered with a burr, which contain oil; sometimes planted, but mainly regarded either as a weed or as decoration about the house.
- Norbo.** A climbing vine, somewhat like a morning-glory, which produces a daisylike flower; usually grows wild in field borders, sometimes planted as cover for outdoor arbors.
- Pajarito.** A small bush, producing a blue flower with a white center; usually wild, but sometimes transplanted to a *huerta* for decoration.
- Pegopego.** A weed, somewhat like a nettle, which grows along the sides of the irrigation ditches and in field borders. It is said that the wild doves (*palomas*) become entangled in it and are easily caught.
- Uña de gato** (literally cat's claws). Grows alongside of *tapias* and irrigation ditches and is frequently planted to serve as a fence and to keep livestock from wandering. It is covered with spines.
- Yerba luiza.** A grass, the leaf of which looks much like that of sorghum, but which, when rubbed, is aromatic. It is much used in an infusion to make a beverage, taken either hot or cold. When one speaks of "tea" (*té*) in Moche, the reference is practically always to this beverage of *yerba luiza*, rather than to India or China tea.
- Yuyu.** A low plant which looks something like ragweed; not usually planted, but leaves are cooked and eaten as greens.

A partial list of wild plants gathered for their medicinal properties follows, in order to give some idea of the knowledge of nature which a Mocho possesses. A man or woman walking through the countryside is frequently engaged in casually picking certain herbs as he goes along, to be taken back to the house for future use. A more complete list of medicinal plants will be found in the section dealing with medicine and curing. Certain families transplant some of these plants to their garden orchards in order to have them ready to hand in case of need.

- Altamis.** When one has bone ache, or cold bones (*huesos frios*), the leaves of this plant are heated and bound on to the leg or arm in order "to get rid of the cold" (*quitar el frío*).
- Brocamelia.** Flowers are made into an infusion as remedy for cough.
- Campana** (*floribundo*). A small tree with lilylike leaves; the flowers are rubbed together in the hands and used as a poultice to relieve inflammation.
- Chamico.** A weed, the dried leaves of which are smoked in cigarettes for the cure of asthma.
- Chilco macho.** A tree, the leaves of which are heated and bound as a poultice over a broken bone in order "to keep out the cold."
- Flor muerta.** A yellow flower; this is cooked into a paste and stuffed into an aching tooth.
- Malva real.** A roadside green plant (not to be confused with *malva de olor*); stems and leaves used for enemas.
- Rabo flaire.** A plant with an appearance like that of burdock; root is mashed up and used in an infusion with *chicoria*, *verbena*, etc., for enemas.
- San Juan.** A creeping vine with a yellow flower; the body of an *asustado* (literally, "frightened"; a type of illness prevalent in Moche) is rubbed with the whole plant.
- Sombrerita.** A lilylike, low, ground plant; an infusion like tea is made from the leaves to cure kidney trouble (*dolor de los riñones*); this infusion is usually made together with the leaves of *amor seco* and *grama dulce*.
- Tamarindo.** Tree, the fruit of which is used as a purgative.
- Verbena.** Root only is used in an infusion for the cure of malaria and other fevers.
- Yerba mora.** Small vine with long white flowers, used for enemas.
- Yerba santa.** Grows wild; leaves are boiled and bound onto boils as a poultice.

From the point of view of acculturation, it is worth noting that many cultivated plants in Moche bear names, now in common use among the natives, which are native neither to this region nor to Peru. As Herrera and others have pointed out,²³ the words *aji*, *caygua* (*caigua*), *guayaba*, *maíz*, *maní*, *papaya*, *tomate*, *tuna*, *yuca* are Haitian in origin; *camate* and

²³ Herrera, 1942; also Arona, 1938 (see various words in his dictionary); Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922, vol. 2, p. 57 and passim.

chirimoyo are Mexican (Aztec); and *palta* is said to be Ecuadorean (non-Quechuan) in origin.

According to Valdizán and Maldonado²⁴ the following plants now growing in Moche are foreign to Peru, but were introduced from other parts of the Western Hemisphere:

Capulí (*Prunus capuli*), probably from Mexico; there is no Quechua or Aymara word for it.

Chirimoyo (*Annona cherimola*), probably indigenous to Central America.

The same authors identify the following plants as native to Peru:

Maní, peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), cultivated prehistorically in the warm parts of Peru.

Carrizo (*Arundo donax*), probably native to Peru.

Algarrobo (*Prosopis limensis*; *P. juliflora*).

Molle (*Schinus molle*).

Mamey (*Mammea americana*).

Granadilla (*Passiflora ligularis*).

Tumbo (*Passiflora quadrangularis*).

Culantro (*Coriandrum sativum*).

Lúcumo (*Lucuma abovata*).

Ají (*Capsicum annum*; *C. frutescens*; *C. pubescens*).

Caigua (*Cyclanthera pedata* var. *edulis*).

Zapallo (*Cucurbita maxima*).

Poto, mate (*Lagenaria siceraria*).

They identify the following as having been introduced from Europe by Spaniards or other Europeans:

Garbanzo (*Cicer arietinum*).

Haba (*Vicia faba*).

Alverja, arveja (*Pisum sativum*).

Alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*). It is said that alfalfa seed was brought from Valencia at the beginning of the Conquest by a Portuguese, Cristóbal Gazo, and was first sown in Lima.

Caña de azúcar (*Saccharum officinarum*). Brought to America on the second voyage of Columbus. The first Peruvian plantings were made in 1570.

Ajo, garlic (*Allium sativum*).

Cebolla, onion (*Allium cepa*).

Rábano, radish (*Raphanus sativus*).

Melon (*Cucumis melo*).

The Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" in Chiclin has identified the following list of plants now growing in Moche as having been known to the Mochicas from the evidence of actual preserved finds or their portrayal in sculptured or painted vases.

Maize (*Zea mays*).

Chirimoyo (*Annona cherimola*). Both Herrera and Valdizán and Maldonado, cited above, regard this plant as of Central American origin. If this view is true and also if

it can be sustained that the *chirimoyo* was known on the Peruvian coast as early as Mochica times, we have an interesting evidence of prehistoric contact between this region and Central America. Zevallos Quiñones (1944) points out many supposed parallels in place names between the northern Peruvian coast and Central America. The legend of Naymlap, the allegedly Central American prehistoric conqueror of the Lambayeque region, is well known. (See Calancha, 1638.)

Guanábana (*Annona muricata*).

Palta (*Persea americana*).

Beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

Pallares, lima bean (*Phaseolus lunatus*).

Maní, peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*).

Pacay, guava (*Inga feuillei*).

Yuca, manioc (*Manihot utilisima*).

Algodón pardo (not specifically identified).

Papaya (*Carica papaya*).

Guayaba (*Psidium guayava*).

Camote, sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*).

Ají, pepper (*Capsicum*).

Tomate, small wild tomato (*Solanum lycopersicum*).

Potato (*Solanum tuberosum*).

Caigua (*Cyclanthera pedata*).

Pepino (*Solanum muricatum*).

Zapallo (*Cucurbita maxima*).

Several crops mentioned as formerly important in Moche are no longer cultivated to my knowledge. Stiglich says, "Since 1891 the prosperity of this valley, where only coca and fruit were cultivated, has begun . . . The coca is always carried to Trujillo by arrieros . . ." ²⁵ I have not obtained clear evidence from informants that coca was ever cultivated on a large scale in the present District of Moche, so am inclined to regard Stiglich's remarks as referring to the upper Moche valley. However, a number of informants claim that small-scale cultivation of coca plants in *huertas* for personal use was practiced until 30 to 40 years ago in the Moche community. At present, so far as I know, there is no growing coca plant in the District. Coca is used occasionally by Mocheros, mainly as a means of keeping awake during sessions of all-night work on the irrigation ditches or at certain ceremonies, but it is obtained in dried form from the local *tiendas*. The use of coca is not habitual among Mocheros at present.

Squier (1877) mentions that the nopal was formerly extensively cultivated in Moche, together with cochineal bugs, but that this industry had largely disappeared by the time of his visit in the 1870's. One informant, an old man claiming to be 99 years old, stated, without suggestion from me, that the growing of cochineal was common in his youth. All

²⁴ 1922, vol. 2, passim. The lists herewith given are not exhaustive. They contain only items identified by the source under the common names used in Moche.

²⁵ Stiglich (1922, p. 688).

of this has disappeared at the present time. Squier also mentions fields of cotton and rice in the Moche countryside, which are now entirely absent, not only from Moche, but also from the region of Trujillo.

A Government-supported agricultural school is established in the town (map 1, No. 13) and farms several tracts of land belonging to a *forastero* family north and east of town. The school normally has from 4 to 6 instructors or staff members and about 20 students. The latter are boys in their teens from various localities of the region, who are being trained to act as foremen and field bosses on the haciendas. The school at present has very little, if any, influence on agricultural methods in the Moche *campiña* itself. No demonstrations or "extension" programs are carried out for the benefit of the Mocheros.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND STOCK RAISING

An estimated three-fifths of the farming land of Moche is devoted to alfalfa, used to pasture and feed milk cows. The present emphasis on dairying seems to be a recent development of the past 10 years. Previous to this phase, Moche agriculture was devoted primarily to the raising of garden crops for the Trujillo market, and previous to the garden-crop phases there were probably other periods of emphasis, such as that centering about the production of cochineal. This is to be expected, since the marketing of Moche products is largely dependent upon the changing conditions of the Trujillo demand and supply situation. Garden crops for the Trujillo market are still produced in Moche on a small scale, but with the advent of Japanese truck gardeners about the city and the rise in the price of milk, there has been a shift in favor of dairy cattle.

The bulk of the milk is taken to Trujillo, either by the wives of the producers themselves or by certain women who act as commission saleswomen, known as *revendedoras*, who collect the milk from the producers in Moche at a discount price. Some of the Moche milk is sold in the port town of Salaverry. In 1944 the average price per liter obtained in Trujillo was about 30 centavos (a little over 4½ cents in United States money; a liter is slightly more than a United States quart). I have no thorough statistical data on milk production. One of the apparently more prosperous producers said that he obtains from his 10 cows about 130 l. per day for an average of between 5 and 6 months of the year; the other 6 months average only between 30 and 40 l. per day. During the season of heavy produc-

tion his income from milk is about 40 soles (\$6.12) per day. There may be 20 producers in the Moche community who do this well. Many, however, during my stay in the community were selling only 3 or 4 l. per day. The general practice seems to be to milk the cows only once a day, in the early morning, allowing the calves access to the cows during the day. The men milk the cows, which are usually kept tied in the fields during the night, very early in the morning, usually between 3 and 4 o'clock, so that the women may leave for Trujillo on the first bus at 5 a. m. Milking takes place in the field, an earthen pot being used, as a rule (some use metal buckets); a milking stool is rarely used.

Service of a good Holstein bull costs 75 soles, although service from nonblooded bulls may be had for as little as 20 soles. Some farmers maintain bulls, but the majority sell their bull calves for beef or geld them to use as oxen. I do not know the number of breeding bulls in the community. A yearling calf brings between 150 and 200 soles for beef, but a yearling heifer will bring 200 soles at the least.

Milk cows in Moche are not fed small grain, although they are occasionally given maize on the cob and sweetpotatoes. In addition to feeding on alfalfa, sorghum, and such wild grass as may be available in field borders, the cows are also allowed to forage in fields of standing cornstalks after the ears have been removed, as previously mentioned. In the mountains to the southeast there is temporary pasture some years during the month of August. This pasture is watered by the *garúa* (mist) and consists mainly of clover and *capulí*; cattle are driven to these areas for short periods if the springs and normally dry stream beds contain sufficient water for them to drink.

Milk is transported to Trujillo or Salaverry in metal cans with narrow-collared necks and tight-fitting lids; the cans are of various sizes, the standard being 10 l. Most of the milk is carried by women riding the bus, although not a few still go to Trujillo, carrying their milk cans on burros. A donkey with a pack saddle carries normally four 10-l. cans, two on each side. The buses have railed luggage space on the roofs where milk cans, baskets, jars, and other luggage are carried. The whole milk is sold and, so far as known, there is no systematic skimming in the Moche households, nor any regular industry of cheese or butter making.

Among the Mocheros (as distinguished from the

Haciendita and other *forastero* developments) it is not the general practice to provide sheds or stables for cattle. The animals are kept tethered by horn ropes or neck ropes to stakes set in the fields or pasture grounds and are driven out twice a day to the nearest running ditch for watering, when there is no water on the land. The stakes and the area of grazing of each animal are constantly moved with a view to prevent overgrazing of the pasture. Some owners permit their cattle to run loose, if the field is well closed by *tapia* fences, but even then children are frequently assigned to watch them. A few owners having houses in town maintain corrals for livestock in the back yard of the house, but this is not a general custom. Informants agree on a rough estimate of 3,000 cattle maintained by the Mocheros.

Milk is very little used by adult Mocheros, although in the food survey (pp. 54-60) it figures as a breakfast drink for about 35 percent of Mochero school children of both sexes. (In the breakfasts of *forastero* girls it appears 60 percent of the time, and of boys 64 percent.) The emphasis upon dairying, in other words, is primarily due to the fact that it is a cash-money product.

In addition to cattle, which, as we have seen, are of importance for milk, meat, and traction for plows, the other most important domestic animals in Moche are donkeys, or burros. These small and patient beasts are by all odds the principal means of transportation of cargo, and only recently have been relegated to second place by the development of bus transportation for the transport of persons to Trujillo and other outside centers. Riding saddles are not used on burros; the rider is cushioned by one or two gunny sacks thrown over the animal's rear quarters. Pack saddles are of the usual type. Loads are also frequently attached simply to a padding and girth combination. A few peculiar customs involving donkeys may, however, be mentioned. The word "burro" is used in personal insults and, therefore, is not permissible in polite conversation in Moche. The polite word for burro is *picajeno* or *picajenito*. Even this reference is usually accompanied by an apology. Thus one will say, "*Monté mi picajenito—perdón, compadre—hasta Trujillo.*" ("I rode my donkey—pardon, *compadre*—as far as Trujillo.") The sense of *picajeno* is "my other foot," or "substitute for feet." When speaking to the animal itself, the word "burro" or a derivative is used, as when a woman, belaboring her donkey, will scream, "*Ya, véte, pucs, burro.*" On the other hand, to call a

person a "burro" carries a heavier emotional charge than to call one a "donkey" among North Americans. A donkey is often ridden at the same time it is carrying a load in a pack saddle. The rider seats himself astride the rear quarters of the beast; women frequently curl the left leg up over the back, although sitting or kneeling fully astride is not considered immodest. The animal is usually mounted by hooking the great toe over the pack saddle strap which goes around the donkey's rump (this is the explanation given for the fact that many Mocheros of both sexes possess great toes widely divergent from the other toes and the main axis of the foot). The *alforja*, a double "saddle bag" (also used as a shoulder bag) is constantly present, thrown over the donkey's back. Donkeys, when not working, are kept in the fields, although there are several *arrieros* (professional donkey drivers) in the town, who maintain corrals and buy feed. Informants estimate that there are 900 to 1,000 donkeys.

Only a few of the wealthier Mocheros own horses. Most of these animals in the community belong to *forasteros*. They are ridden with saddles, with gunny sack cushions, and bareback. A few riding mules are kept in the community.

It is common for two persons to ride one burro when it is carrying no other load. The heavier of the two is mounted over the hind quarters of the animal. Wooden saddles, lightly covered with leather and many nails, are used for horseback riding, although horses are also ridden simply with pad and girth, or bareback. Except for the most calloused buttocks, a blanket must be thrown over the saddle as protection from the rough corners and nailheads. Donkeys are managed only with a halter and a single tie rope, and they are prodded along with a stick, which is periodically rammed into the hind quarters. Horses are handled with rawhide or woven-leather halters. Bits are very rarely used. The reins are attached to a muzzle consisting of a single strap or line of woven leather, which goes around the horse's nostrils and under its lower jaw. A hard pull compresses the horse's nostrils as well as lifts the head. Usually the traveling gait is a soft trot. The horses belong to the so-called Peruvian breed (not a pedigreed stock as yet), which is characterized by an unusually long pastern, making for an easy trot.

A donkey is worth from 30 soles up, a horse from 200 soles up, and a riding saddle from 200 soles up.

Practically every household, whether in town or in

the country, keeps poultry—chickens, ducks, and/or turkeys. Eggs are a common article of diet among the Mocheros, and poultry flesh also is consumed, although not so frequently. Both products are also sold. Poultry is frequently kept in small houses in the yard, made either of *tatora* matting (*esteras*) or of *caña brava*. Sometimes houses of the latter are built on small platforms 4 to 5 feet off the ground as a protection from weasels and dogs. The birds roost in these shelters at night, but usually have their laying nests either in corners of the human dwelling or about the *huerta*. Ordinary chickens are called "*jira chuzca rasa*." A mottled gray-and-white type is called *carioca chuzca*. Fighting cocks are not bred here as a general rule. There is no cock-fighting arena in the community and little interest is shown in the sport; except in the event of an occasionally arranged local affair, the followers of the sport must go to Trujillo to follow their interest.

Swine are kept by some Mocheros, although comparatively rarely. Most of the swine in the community are the property of *forasteros*. Sheep are also kept on a comparatively small scale mainly by those who own or have access to the natural pasture land near the river.

Dogs are the only other regularly kept domestic animals. These are numerous, and each household is guarded by two or three at least. They seem to be mongrels, with houndlike smooth-haired varieties in the majority, although large hairy brutes, derived from something like an English shepherd dog are not uncommon. Not a few households have "Chinese dogs" (*perros de los chinos*), a practically hairless breed of dog about the size of a terrier, with black skin, ratlike tail, and thin, spindly legs. Although the Mocheros stoutly maintain that only the Chinese eat these dogs, I am not above the suspicion that certain natives have consumed them. The larger dogs, aside from serving as noisy announcers of the approach of strangers, also aid in herding cattle when they are being driven along a road or lane.

Some households keep cats, but these animals are by no means as universal as dogs.

It is said that guinea pigs (*cuyes*) were formerly kept in Moche as house animals. So far as I could discover there are none now, and even curing *brujos*, who use the animals in divining, say that they are forced to obtain the guinea pigs from outside the community.

Goats, so far as could be determined, are raised even less frequently than sheep, and they also are

maintained on the natural grazing grounds near the river. Both of these animals are raised mainly for meat, rather than for wool or hair. Although kid, and to a lesser extent, mutton, is a favorite food of the Mocheros, the major part of the meat is bought in the Trujillo markets. The lack of emphasis upon sheep and goat raising is explained by the fact that pasture suitable for these animals is scarce and that maintaining them on the alfalfa pastures would be uneconomical.

HUNTING AND TRAPPING

Hunting has practically disappeared except as a sport. Occasional forays are made into the mountains, but very few Mocheros have guns, which have to be licensed by the police. Opossums, weasels, and rodents are trapped in box traps with figure-4 triggers of wood and a drop entrance door, a European or North American pattern. The only animals extensively trapped for food are, I believe, the small lizards (*cañanes*). These are hunted by small boys, who kill them on the run with sticks. It is also said that they are trapped according to the Mochica method. This consists of standing up a long roll of matting in the form of a fence across a field and with an inward curl of the matting at each end. The lizards are stopped by the barrier and are too stupid to go backward or around the curled ends to escape. The *cañan* lives near algarroba trees because he eats the seeds (*faiques*). The *cañanes* are not to be confused with other small lizards called *largartijas*.

During the moist winter season occasional expeditions are made to the nearby mountains to the east to gather large ground snails, which appear there at that season. They are steamed and eaten.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

A certain amount of superstition and religious beliefs is involved in agricultural and horticultural activities, of which the following are given:

It is believed that every *huerta* has a serpent guardian. This serpent is called a "culambra" (this word does not occur in Spanish dictionaries, including that of the Royal Academy). If a stranger enters the *huerta*, the culambra wraps itself around him until the master of the *huerta* arrives. When the master arrives, he must beat or otherwise punish the snake. If he does not do so, the snake will wrap itself around him also. These snakes are not poisonous, but are said to reach a length of a

meter or more and to be as big around as a boy's arm.

The belief has been previously mentioned that each *tumbo* vine also has a serpent guardian. I personally have never succeeded in seeing a snake of any kind in a *huerta* and therefore am unable to say from direct experience whether this belief is based on materialistic experience, or not.

Witchcraft (*brujería*) can be used to damage crops as it can be used to do harm to almost anything else. Certain individuals are believed to possess the power of casting blights upon crops. By way of illustration, the following two experiences are presented, recorded directly from informants and checked and approved by others:

M. R., an old woman, was known as a witch in the pueblo. But, although it is said that witches cannot enter the church without being struck dead, nevertheless, M. R. regularly attended church and spoke to all the people. This is regarded as proof of her extraordinary power. One day the old woman fell sick. Her son, with whom she lived in the pueblo, went out in the evening to visit friends, leaving the invalid in the house. Upon returning he found that his mother was gone. He and his family went out searching for her all over town. No one had seen her. After 2 days they received a report from a farmer living near the Huaquita, saying that the old woman had been seen near his *chacra*—in the form of a cow. How did he know it was she? Because he had hit the cow to force it out of a field, and it had yelled out in human words, "Don't hit me. I am M. R." Also, this farmer had noticed that several days previously his alfalfa crop had started to wither and go bad. He suddenly realized that it had been bewitched and that this apparition of the *bruja* in the form of a cow explained everything. The farmer and his sons beat the cow violently with sticks to drive it away, despite its human screams. Two days later the old woman appeared in the town at the house of her son. The story of the farmer about the cow was obviously true, because the old woman bore marks on her back showing that she had been beaten with a stick. A few days later she died, as must happen to all transfigured witches discovered in their disguise.

Everyone consulted obviously believes this story, even one of my principal informants, an enlightened "accepted *forastero*."

Another story has to do with old J. B. It is said that one day he came to the house of a neighbor, one of my informants. J. B. had a general reputation as a malevolent *brujo*, or witch, although he does no harm to persons, as a general rule. He asked the wife of my informant if she had any *chicha* (corn beer). The woman said, "No," rather brusquely. "All right," said J. B., and went away without further comment. It was not more than an hour after his departure before the *chicha* in the house turned to vinegar, and the next day a blight appeared upon the field crops. A week or so later J. B. again appeared at the house and asked

if there were *chicha*. The lady of the house had drawn her own conclusions and said "Yes, indeed," with alacrity, forcing J. B. to drink as much as he could hold. Then she brought up the matter of the blight which had fallen on the crops and the *chicha*, and asked J. B. tactfully if he could not do something about it. He replied hesitatingly that he would see. She gave him several bottles of *chicha* to take with him when he left. The next day the blights on *chicha* and field crops disappeared. This is only one of a number of similar incidents which are supposed, according to one of my informants, to prove that J. B. is a witch.

In summary, it is believed that witches may cast spells on crops and that they may be hired by rivals to do so. Likewise, the victim may seek out another *brujo* (witch) who may succeed in counteracting the spell, or, on the other hand, the victim may placate the witch and induce him to remove the spell.

San Isidro the Laborer,²⁶ whose feast day is May 15, is celebrated as the patron of agriculturists. The image of the saint is taken out of the church under the care of a group of devotees (*mayordomía*) to make a pilgrimage about the countryside, stopping in the houses of those who have raised altars in his honor. People say that the purpose of this journey is "*Pa que haga la bendición en las siembras*" ("In order that he bless the crops"). Formerly, it is said, special crops were planted in the plaza for San Isidro, but this custom went out of practice 40 years or more ago. My period of contact did not include the day of San Isidro, so the translation of the written description of one of my informants is quoted:

The 5th of May, the Saint goes forth from the parochial church en route to the *campiña* where he spends the night at various altars erected by individual families and where also religious ceremonies take place. These frequently turn into carousals (*se tornan en jaranas*) and gorgings (*comilonas*) where the *chicha*, the liquor of the Incas, flows from gourd to gourd (*de poto en poto*) and from mouth to mouth. Great quantities are consumed until the Saint arrives at an altar near the Huaca del Sol. From that point commences what is known as the "descent of the Saint" (*la bajada del Santo*) and exactly in the evening of the 14th the Patron of the Crops enters the pueblo accompanied by a great crowd which has dressed in its best clothes (*de gala*) for the occasion. A curious note in the celebration is the dance of the Devils (*Diablos*) who do not cease to dance from the moment of the Saint's entrance until the evening of the 16th, enlivened by drinks (*avivados por las copas*) and the joy of serving the Saint. A band of musicians welcomes the Saint upon his entrance into the pueblo and he leads the procession to his altar erected beside the church. Covered with flowers, the progress of the Saint is the center of attention for natives and strangers. Afterward come the vespers, which have two stages, one inside the church and the other outside. The fol-

²⁶ Not to be confused with St. Isidore of Seville, whose feast day is April 4 (Cabrol, 1934, pp. liv and 841).

lowing day the Mass is celebrated and afterward a procession through the pueblo. At 3 p. m. the distribution of fruits of the harvest takes place. An arch erected over the Saint and his scepter (*bastón*) are loaded with offerings for the Señor priest (*Sr. cura*), and the remaining offerings are distributed to the poor. The following day (the 16th of May), the will (*testimonio*) of San Isidro is read, which assigns tasks to those who have not fulfilled their obligations to the Saint.

FISHING

The third and, from the point of view of the number of inhabitants, smallest of the three major divisions of the Moche community is the *playa*, or beach. Physically the beach is squarely divided by a recently built summer resort called Las Delicias, given over during the hot season to the pleasure of Trujillo residents who can afford to own or rent cottages there. A number of shops, a cement-sidewalked plaza with electric lights, a seaside promenade, and a casino made of planks constitute this vacation settlement, in addition to some 30 cottages (pl. 8, *middle, left*). However, Las Delicias normally is inhabited only during the latter part of December and the months of January and February. It is an outside intrusion which plays no functional part in the community life of Moche, other than as a temporary source of sales and employment for a few Mocheros during the "season." During the remainder of the year it is totally deserted. The professional fishing families of Moche are distributed along the dunes overlooking the beach for about a half mile on each side of Las Delicias. There are seven houses to the northwest and seven to the southeast. Counting a few *chozas* about the mouth of the river to the northeast and a few more fisher families who maintain their dwellings back from the beach (*mas adentro*), the total fishing community consists of perhaps 30 families. It is said that this is considerably less than in former times, and that as recently as 10 years ago there were as many as 50 fishermen's houses on the beach.

When speaking of the fishing element in the community, I refer to those families whose principal activity is devoted to fishing, which is their main source of livelihood. Almost everyone in the Moche community goes to the beach occasionally to try his luck, and also fishes in the ditches and the river, but only the fishers (*pescadores*), properly speaking, try to make a living out of it.

Except for occasional short trips with the Huan-chaco fishermen, who sometimes visit these waters

during the summer season, the Moche fishermen use no water craft in their profession and all fishing is done either from the shore of the sea or in the river or the irrigation ditches. The following fishing apparatus is used: (1) The *cahuán*, a dip net for catching shrimp, crabs, etc. (pl. 8, *lower (right)*); (2) the *chinchorro* (pl. 8, *upper (right)*), a large two-man net of the general shape of a tennis net, but wider and longer, used for fishing off the beach by wading into the surf; (3) the *atarraya*, a casting net; (4) the *red*, a set net staked out at night; (5) the *naza*, a conical trap of cane set out in the river or irrigation ditch; and (6) the *espinel*, a set-line with hooks (fig. 1).

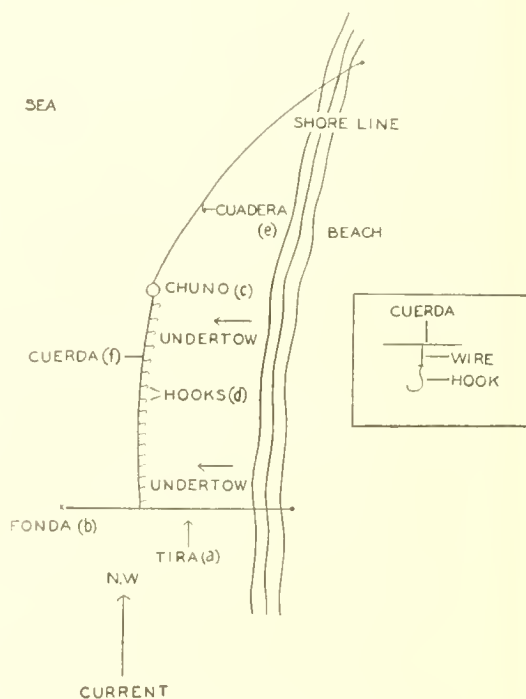


FIGURE 1.—Explanatory diagram of setline used for fishing (*espinel*). (For explanation, see p. 29.)

All of these appliances are made by the fishermen themselves. The *cahuán* is made of cotton thread. As can be seen from the photograph (pl. 8, *lower (right)*), the net is a purse-shaped affair supported on two sticks held in the hands. Across the front edge runs a thin rope to which are attached several small lead weights, totaling about one-half pound, which keeps this edge deep in the water when fishing for shrimp, crabs, and small fish. The mesh is fine, about one-quarter of an inch. The net is used both in the sea and in fresh water. Two kinds of shrimp are caught, *muy-muy* (sea shrimp), also called

camarones del mar, and *camarones del rio* (fresh-water shrimp). The *muy-muy* are about the size of half of an English walnut shell and do not have the long, meaty "tail" of the fresh water shrimp. The usual method of eating them is to take the whole animal in the mouth, audibly sucking out the meat inside the shell, and finally spitting the remains onto the floor.

The *chinchorro* varies in length, one being as long as 100 feet; 40 to 50 feet is the more usual length. The net is about 5 feet wide and the mesh is about an inch. The bottom edge is weighted with small lumps of lead and the top edge is supported by floats made of globular gourds (*chunos*). At each end the net is attached by small ropes to a wooden stick about 5 feet 4 inches long. One man grasps each stick and the team walks into the sea, dragging the net between them. Plate 8, *upper (right)*, shows one of these nets drying over a wooden framework on the beach; the small boy is holding one of the end sticks. Although there is no direct evidence that the ancient Mochicas used this type of net for fishing, a similar net was used by them for hunting on land.

The *atarraya* net is roughly circular in shape. A thin rope is threaded through the edge around the circumference and is weighted with small lumps of lead. A slit or opening leads from the circumference of the circle to the center and hand ropes or cords are attached to each side of this opening on the circumference. In use, the fisherman holds one of these in his mouth or in his hand, makes the rest of the net into a bundle, and flings it over the water so that it lands spread out on the surface and the weighted edges quickly sink to the bottom. With the hand ropes the net is drawn together and pulled to shore, with the fish imprisoned within.

The *red* (net) is usually a comparatively short, rectangular net somewhat like the *chinchorro* in shape but provided with larger meshes. It is staked out overnight in a stream, rarely in the sea. It is a gill net in which the fish are caught by poking their heads into the meshes.

The *nasa* is a conical basket trap made of *caña brava* or bamboo (Guayaquil cane). It may vary in measurements, but a useful size is about 5 feet long by 18 inches in diameter at the mouth, from which it tapers to a point at the rear end. The pattern seems to have first appeared in the Chimú culture. The trap is staked down in a small channel of the river or an irrigation ditch overnight, with the open mouth upward.

The *espinel* or setline is perhaps used more on the Moche *playa* than any of the other types of equipment. In the sketch in figure 1, *a-f*, the various parts of this apparatus are shown. The *tira* (*a*) is a light three-ply rope which runs out to the sea perpendicularly from the shore line to the *fondo* (*b*), an anchor of stone or old iron. The other end of the *tira* is fastened to the shore above high water mark. About 30 feet out from shore the *cuerda* (*f*), a cotton three-ply line, carrying the hooks, is attached. Hooks are attached to the *cuerda* about every 7 feet, and a good *espinel* will carry about 100 hooks. The hooks (*d*) are pointed but without barbs (this seems to be a Mochica survival) and are attached to the *cuerda*, as shown in the inset of the sketch, by wire 5 to 6 inches long. (This is the "best type" of *espinel*: some do not have wire attachments, and consequently lose many hooks.) The hooks vary in size according to the type of fish sought, but the most generally used size is about 3 inches long (about 4½ inches long, if straightened out). The hooks are baited with two *muy-muy* each. At the farther end of the *cuerda* is attached the gourd float or *chuno* (*c*) which in shape and method of binding also seems to be a Mochica survival. From the *chuno* a light rope, called the *cuadera* (*e*), continues onward some distance parallel to the shore line and is eventually carried ashore and fastened on the beach. Total length of *cuerda* and *cuadera* may reach 1,500 feet. The purpose of the *tira* and anchor is to hold the *cuerda* with its hooks out from the shore at a controlled distance and at a controlled depth. The prevailing current up the coast from the southeast keeps the *cuerda* with its hooks stretched out along the shore to the northwest, while the undertow from the surf tends to keep it offshore. The *chuno* float keeps the line from dragging on the bottom. The large types of fish are caught with this equipment—the bonito, bacalao, corvina, etc.

Two main types of instruments are used in making nets, needles (*aguja*s) and blocks (*melleros*). These are used in various sizes for the different types of nets. The needle is made of bamboo, and has a point and a cut-out tongue. I have not made a study of the knots used, but have been told that two types are current, *de chinchorro* and *de red*. Fishermen are usually at work on their nets, when not otherwise employed. It is said to require about 3 months of part-time work of this sort for one man to make a *chinchorro*, and the material which goes into it costs about 50 soles (\$7.65). The material in

a *caluán* costs about 8 soles, but a ready-made article sells for 20 soles. The *playa* dwellers obtain a certain income from making dip nets and casting nets, which they sell to Mocheros of the *campiña* for fishing in the river and in the irrigation ditches for shrimp and small fish about the size of sardines.

The fishermen rise between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning. The night's catch and that of the day before are placed in baskets and their women carry them by bus to the markets in Trujillo and Salaverry.

The fishing community is apart from the rest of Moche physically and to some extent socially. As a rule the people are poorer than the pueblo and *campiña* Mocheros and are looked down upon slightly. Also, they have a reputation of being very irritable and hard to get along with (*coléricos*). They do not seem to be united even among themselves and, in keeping with the general Moche pattern of individualism, are engaged in feuds and quarrels. Several families living side by side on the beach do not speak to one another, and refuse to visit one another's houses. The seven houses to the northwest of Las Delicias all belong to families named G., who are relatives. Five of the houses to the southeast are occupied by families of the name of S. The fishing occupation seems to be traditional and is passed on from father to son. Most of the fishing families have a *chacra* somewhere in the *campiña* and supplement their subsistence from it. In a number of cases, however, a single *chacra* has been inherited by the heads of a number of immediate families in common, a fact which seems to account for some of the quarreling.

Fishing has become a distinctly secondary activity in the economic life of Moche itself. In order to round out a picture of fishing along this immediate coast, some notes on the village of Huanchaco, where fishing is the primary activity of the community, are presented below.

NOTES ON THE FISHING VILLAGE OF HUANCHACO²⁵

Following the coast line about 17 km. northwest from Las Delicias (the resort settlement on the Moche *playa*) one comes to the fishing village of Huanchaco (pl. 1). By highway, passing through Trujillo, the distance is about 21 km. In the region of Huanchaco it is considered that it is a "Moche village," that it (together with Huamán and Moche) is one

²⁵ My friend Señor José Angel Miñano of Trujillo has allowed me to check his notes against my own, has discussed the material with me, and, on one occasion, accompanied me to Huanchaco and put me in touch with many persons I would not otherwise have known.

of the remnants of the prehistoric population, and that certain aspects of its modern life are "survivals" of ancient times. Since the natives of Huanchaco are on the whole dedicated to professional fishing, both deep-sea and inshore, a brief description of their methods and organization is of interest from a comparative point of view.

At present Huanchaco is a village of about 700 inhabitants situated in a shallow and arid indentation or bay of the coast. The beach slopes upward gently for a distance of about half a mile from the sea to the foot of an escarpment 150 to 300 feet above sea level which rises to the general level of the coastal plain stretching inland to the foothills of the Andes. A large church, rebuilt in modern times, sits on the lip of the escarpment and dominates all views of the town below, which is laid out back from the beach. During the early years of this century the town was developed into a port for the shipment of sugar and as a summer resort for residents of Trujillo. A railroad connected the port with the Hacienda Roma and also, according to my understanding, with Trujillo. The motivator of this development was the late Señor Victor Larco Herrera, the well-known Peruvian millionaire and philanthropist. He is still spoken of as the "*patrón*" of the pueblo. About 1925, however, Señor Larco disposed of his plantation holdings. The railroad tracks were removed and the summer visitors abandoned their villas in Huanchaco. The town was left once more to its native inhabitants and the summer villas stand now, mostly in a semiruin state, along the street nearest the seashore. Señor Larco's house on the beach has been turned into a Government-supported rest school for the underprivileged and tuberculous children.²⁸ A good pier with steel supports and wooden flooring, also owned and maintained by the Government, provides tie-up facilities for sailing boats and launches and is the central feature of the beach. The sea bottom close inshore is covered with cobblestones to which cling several varieties of seaweed and shellfish, which are gathered by the women of the community; back of the high water mark the shore is covered for the most part with smooth sand, over which *caballitos del mar* (small rafts made of *tolora*, a species of reed; see fig. 2; pls. 8, *lower (left)*, 9, *lower and middle (left)*) as well as wooden fishing boats of larger dimensions can be hauled without damage. The

²⁸ I wish to acknowledge the helpfulness and hospitality of Señor Daniel F. Ugarriza, Director of the Colonia Victor Larco Herrera in Huanchaco, who entertained me royally in the village.

wooden-hulled sailing boats used for deep-sea fishing are also made and repaired on crude scaffoldings erected on the beach.

The people of Huanchaco are Indians and *cholos*. Although one gains the impression that the proportion of white blood is slightly greater than in the population of Moche, the Huanchaqueros are on the whole definitely more Indian in physical features than the general population of Trujillo. However, consciousness of an ethnic bond uniting Moche and Huanchaco, if it ever existed, seems to have dimmed with the years in both communities. Family relationships uniting the two communities seem to be very few, or, at least, very poorly remembered. A few Mocheros have friends in Huanchaco, and the converse is also true, but the number of friendship bonds between Moche and Huanchaco at present seems to be less than those involving Moche and Paiján, Ascope, and other villages. Most of the Huanchaquero contacts with Mocheros are with the inhabitants of the Moche *playa*, because at certain times of the year the Huanchaco boats come down the coast and pick up Mochero fishermen for several days of joint activity. Following is a list of the principal family names in Huanchaco. These are all family names of "true Huanchaqueros," as distinguished from *forasteros*.

Aguilar	Huamanchumo
Aguirre	Leytón (from "Leighton"?)
Arroyo	Ordío
Asencio	Pimichumo
Azola	Sánchez
Beltrán	Segura
Berna	Ucañan
Carranza	Urcía
Chilmaza	Vanegas
Cumplida	Villacorta
Díaz	Villaneuva

It is to be noted that only two of these—Huamanchumo and Sánchez—are to be found in our list of Moche patronyms on page 103. Of the Huanchaco list, only the following appear to be possibly aboriginal: Chilmaza, Huamanchumo, Pimichumo, and Ucañan. It is doubtful that any of these four is Mochica or Chinu in derivation.

Inland, back of the church, are cultivated lands belonging to the community. But they have water only during the *tiempo de abundancia* (January–March) and, therefore, produce only one crop per year. These lands are rented to individuals by the *municipalidad* (local government), and most families have one of these plots on which they raise small

crops of maize, rice, beans, etc., for family use. However, these agricultural activities are insufficient to maintain the people and are distinctly secondary to fishing.

Four general methods of obtaining sea products are practiced by the Huanchaqueros: (1) Fishing from sailboats or motorboats of wood; (2) fishing from *caballitos del mar* (literally "little horses of the sea"); (3) gathering of shellfish and sea plants by wading; (4) fishing with hooks and lines from the shore.

FISHING FROM BOATS

The boats are made of planks, with wooden keel, ribs, and gunwales, in the European fashion. They have square sterns, are open (without decking except for a short weather cowling aft of the bow), and contain wooden crosswise benches. They are from 18 to 21 feet in over-all length, from 4½ to 5½ feet in beam at the gunwale, and draw about 4 feet of water when loaded. Each sailboat has a single mast stepped into the keel about one-third of the distance aft of the bow. The mast is steadied by four guyropes attached two to each gunwale, while a fifth guyrope runs from the masthead to the bow. The sails are triangular, but of the *latan* type. The longest side of the triangular sail is attached to a single boom, one end of which is attached to the bow of the boat, while the boom as a whole is suspended from the top of the mast by a pulley rope attached to the boom about one-fourth of the distance from its upper end, as illustrated in plate 8, *upper (left)*. It is possible to tack against the wind with this type of sail, but when the tack is changed the sail must be lowered and then raised again for best results.

These sailboats are made in Huanchaco and also in Salaverry. In 1944 there were two specialist boatwrights in Huanchaco. A boat costs between 5,000 and 6,000 soles (\$765 to \$918), and this price does not include the sail, fishing nets, and other equipment. Although this is a large investment according to local standards, a boat, if properly handled, will serve, with luck, for as long as 30 years. After building, the boat is launched by a *minga*, in which a group of 20 to 25 friends join to provide their strength in return for festive food and drink provided by the owner and his wife.

There are 20 sailboats in the Huanchaco fleet. In addition, there are 6 *lanchas* (motorboats), powered with Diesel engines (pl. 9, *lower (right)*).

The *lanchas* are decked fore and aft and have a

cockpit in the middle. None are being built along this coast at present owing to inability to obtain motors, but before World War II, it is said, a motorboat cost about 50 percent more than a sailboat. Its advantage lies, of course, in greater speed, independence of wind conditions, and ability to operate with smaller crew.

All boats of the Huanchaco fleet are painted yellow, to distinguish them from boats based on Salaverry (blue) and Puerto Chicama (white). Each boat has a name, often, though not invariably, painted on the stern. Following are some of the names. Sailboats: Santa Cecelia, San Gabriel, Intendente de la Torre, Huascar, Defensor Caluide, Santa Cruz, San José, San Lorenzo, San Andrés, San Francisco, Santa Fe, San Miguel, Miguel Grau, Compañero del Mar, Santa Lucía, Santa Barbara, San Antonio, and Jesús del Gran Poder. Motorboats: Nuestra Señora de Socorro, Santa Rita, Santa María, Santa Luiza, and Santa Isabel. Every boat carries a saint's image or picture, even those which do not bear saints' names, usually placed under the weather cowling at the bow. The saints involved serve as protectors of the boat, and when a boat carries a saint's name it also carries the saint's image and protection.

As a rule each boat has a single owner, although two of the motorboats are owned by a partnership of three men. The owner of the boat sometimes owns one or more nets, but not necessarily so. The proper crew for a sailboat is four men, one of whom is usually the owner of the boat. One of the men (not necessarily the boat owner) is the commander or *patrón*. He is an expert in managing the boat and the other three crew members take their orders from him. He has no other privileges except his power to give orders and to exact obedience. Failure of a crew member to obey the *patrón* results in his exclusion from the crew and inability to sail under this *patrón* in the future. Other *patrones* will also be chary of taking him into their crews. The individuals forming a crew are sometimes relatives, but just as often not. Election or recognition as a *patrón* is said to depend upon an innate ability or knack: frequently the *patrón* is the youngest man in the boat. Take the boat, *Santa Fe*, for example. Mercedes Arroyo is *patrón*; he is about 21 years old, and all the other members of the crew are older men. Pedro Pinichumo is owner, but when at sea, takes orders from Mercedes. The other members of the crew are Manuel Arroyo and Antonio Gordillo. Manuel is

the oldest of the crew and is uncle of Mercedes and Antonio. Pedro, the boat's owner, does not sail every day and when on the beach substitutes his son in the crew. *Santa Fe* operates four nets.

The division and counting of the catch also follow a peculiar system. Nets belong to individuals, not to boats (although the owner of a boat may also be the owner of one or more nets). There is no definite number of nets which a boat should operate, although 4 for each is regarded as a proper minimum while some boats carry as many as 20. The catch from each net is divided into two parts: one-half of the catch "belongs to the net" (i. e., the owner of the net), while the other half is divided share and share alike among the members of the crew *and the boat*. Thus, if there are four crew members, the second half of the catch is divided into five parts. The boat receives a share equal to that of one crew member. The *patrón*, or commander of the boat, receives the same share as the other crew members. As each net is drawn up, the fish from it are marked with a knife cut which identifies them as having come from that net. For example, a chip from the left side near the head marks the fish from one net, from the right side near the tail, another net, and so on. When the boat returns to shore, the fish are unloaded from the boat by stringing them through the gills onto large poles of "Guayaquil cane," about 2 inches in diameter and 8 to 9 feet long, which, with their loads, are carried between the shoulders of two men. On the beach the fish are first sorted into separate piles belonging to their respective nets. Each pile is then sorted into separate piles by species of fish (which approximates sorting by size). Division by halves then takes place with the "net's half" being set aside, and the crew's and boat's shares being placed in common piles (according to species or size). After all the net shares have been separated, the crew and boat shares are counted off into piles, beginning with the large fish and working into the smaller ones.

The whole fleet and the profession are organized informally. Felipe Carranza, the best *patrón*, is recognized as "chief pilot" of the fleet, and Lino Segura is called "chief of the port" and also *primer sargento de los pescadores* (first sergeant of the fishermen). These titles are recognized by the departmental government in some vague way, which is not entirely clear to me, but the real authority of the offices depends upon respect accorded to them by the other fishermen. Thus, all boats are bound by the opinion of the chief pilot regarding the

weather. If, in his judgment, a storm is brewing and he advises against sailing forth, no boats leave port. The chief of the port assigns anchorages and tie posts to the various craft and settles disputes, which, however, are said to be very rare. He also acts as a spokesman for the fishermen, who are not yet organized as an official "syndicate" (legal union or workers' group) under the provisions of the Peruvian labor laws.

Sails are made in Huanchaco and in Salaverry of regular sailcloth, which has been scarce during the war. Specialists do the best work, although a number of boat owners make their own sails. A good sail is said to cost about 200 soles (\$30.60) or more. Sail ropes must be of manila fiber.

On the other hand, everyone, even women, knows how to make nets. They are of the same general shape as a tennis net, although both longer and wider, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by about 100 feet long. About every 3 feet along the upper edge is fastened a slab of cork, so that an ordinary net has from 30 to 35 of these floats to support it in the water. Along the lower edge are affixed an equal number of lead weights. At each end of the upper edge is a lateral projection or extension called a *cabecera* (head) or an *oreja* (ear). To each of these ears is attached a *chuno*, a float made from a large spherical gourd about 12 to 15 inches in diameter held by a binding of light rope. One is larger than the other and serves as a marker buoy in case the net is detached from the boat. Also extending from each ear of the net is a hand rope, made of manila fiber, about one-half inch in diameter and varying in length from a few feet up to more than 100 feet. Although occasionally these nets are trawled between two boats, the usual pattern is to cast them out from a single boat, with both ends of the net secured to the boat by the hand ropes. Motion of the boat and the current carry the fish against the net. The interstices of the net are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches on a side. They are holding nets, which catch the fish behind the gills.

Nets are made from three-ply cotton twine purchased in the stores at a price now varying between 10 and 12 soles (\$1.53 to \$1.84) per pound. At this rate a net costs up to 150 soles (\$22.95) for materials alone. The fishermen complain loudly of being exploited by speculators. Nets are made in the same manner as at Moche, using the bare foot and toes to hold the line, and a netting needle of cane with cut-out and small tongue. Two types of knots are

used, *el derccho*, a slip knot, and *el cruzado*, a tight knot.

Ropes for nets are made of *cabo* fiber, which is made in factories and bought by the fisherman in stores, but which they themselves twine into ropes in Huanchaco. Net ropes are called *tayas*.

When a new net has been completed and before it is used for the first time, it is subjected to ceremonial treatment. The owner finds a *brujo curandero* (curing witch), who "cures" the net. Although I have not seen this treatment, it is said to involve filling the *chunos* with juice of herbs, pouring it out, and officially sealing them, together with sprinkling of the net itself with herbs and powders used in ordinary *brujería* (witchcraft). Also, each net before it is wetted (*antes de mojarla*) undergoes a *padrinazgo* ceremony. The owner chooses a *padrino* (godfather) and *madrina* (godmother) for the net. Their relationship to the owner is expressed as *compañeros de la red* (companions or partners of the net). They have only the obligation of arranging (and paying for) the *fiesta* on this occasion. The principal ceremonial activity of the *fiesta* consists of laying out the net in the form of a cross and sprinkling it with holy water.

Occasionally a net falls into a period in which it seems to be unable to catch anything. The owner will soon come to the conclusion that someone *ha hecho daño a la red* (has done harm to the net), in other words, some enemy has hired a *malero* (evil witch) to cast a spell upon it. In this case, the owner again seeks out a *brujo curandero* to "cure" the net once more.

The daily fishing cycle begins about noon, when, if the weather is favorable, the fleet leaves port for the high seas (pl. 8, *middle (right)*). Each boat is loaded by its crew with their personal belongings, the nets (which have now been dried, repaired, and folded into bundles on the beach), food, and ballast (gunny sacks full of sand, which may be dumped overboard as the catch loads down the boat). Oars may be used to move the boat out of the lee of the dock. Since there is always a heavy swell, at least, running in from the Pacific, the boats are tossed excitingly as they climb the swells and disappear into the troughs until they are well out at sea. The daily sailing of the fleet is a decidedly picturesque spectacle, with the women, children, and old men lining the dock and the beach and waving farewell to the sailors. Several men and boats are lost each year,

so that each sailing has an element of some uncertainty.

The boats stay at sea, often well out of sight of land, until dawn of the following morning. The crews carry food and *chicha* for the voyage and normally sleep several hours, in shifts, during the night. The night is spent in darkness, as a light in a boat attracts sharks and sea-lion which damage the nets. Time is kept by the stars. For example, according to Felipe Carranza, the *Lucero de la Mañana* appears in November at about 4 a. m.; *Las Cabrillas* (Pleiades) about 3 a. m.; and *El Arado* sets between 3 and 4 a. m., at about the same time that the *Cruz de Mayo* appears. When these astronomical signs show that the hour is between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning, the boats begin to return to port. Usually the boats are out about 16 to 20 miles and require between 2 and 3 hours to reach Huanchaco in the first gray dawn. Arrived at port, the boats tie up to the lee side of the dock and the fish are carried to the beach on poles as already described, or, in the case of large fish, one man may carry a fish in each hand by the gills. The women, children, and old men are waiting. After the catch has been properly divided, as described above, the women of those who have participated in the division proceed immediately to clean the fish on the beach, using the sea water in the process. Livers are collected by three men, who ship them to Lima, but the other viscera are usually thrown into the sea. Although this practice serves to attract some fish and crustaceans to the Huanchaco beach, larger numbers could probably be attracted by collecting the fish viscera and throwing them into the sea at a point of the coast a kilometer or so south-east of the town, since the prevailing current along the shore sets from the southeast.

In the division of the catch, a few odd-sized fish are usually given to one or the other of a half-dozen town indigents who gather at the beach for this purpose. They are four superannuated fishermen and two wives of fishermen lost at sea.

By 6 a. m. the women have usually completed their work and have packed their fish in baskets, ready to take to the market at Trujillo. They usually leave on the truck at 6 o'clock. Transportation is a sore spot with the Huanchaqueros at present, because of what they consider the high fares. Round-trip fare for a person is 1 sol (\$0.153); the charge for each basket of fish is 80 centavos; and for a single large fish, 20 centavos. Many of the women have no *plaza* (stall) in the Trujillo market and have to sell

their fish at a discount to other women (*revendedoras*) more fortunate. However, all commercial transactions involved in marketing the fish are in the hands of the women, just as marketing produce is women's prerogative in Moche.

The men, having cleaned up their boats, carry the nets ashore, using the same pole of Guayaquil cane between two men as was used in unloading the fish. The nets are laid out on the beach to dry. Then the men go to their houses for breakfast and an hour or two of sleep. Between 9 and 10 o'clock they again appear on the beach and set to work mending the nets. By about 11:30 a. m. the nets are mended and dried. They are then folded into neat bundles and, by the more careful owners, put into gunny sacks. Suspended on two-man poles they are carried aboard the boats about noon. By this time the women have returned from the market, and the daily cycle begins again.

Summer (December to June) is regarded as the best fishing season. During this period the fish run closer to the surface of the sea. In the winter when the fish are deep the nets are frequently submerged with anchors of rock. The winter season is bad off Huanchaco, and the boats usually fish off Guañape, Chao, and as far south as the mouth of the Rio Santa. However, in any season "*la buena pesca depende de la buena comedura*" (good fishing depends on good fish food). The *comedura* consists of schools of anchovy upon which the larger fish feed. Also, it is said, "*el bufeo trae la lisa y la lisa la larna, y la larna la cachema*," meaning that one type of fish is followed into a given fishing ground by a series of others in succession. "*La pescadilla anuncia la buena pesca*." (Small fish announce good fishing.)

Certain persons are "unlucky" fishermen, as is stated by the common saying, "*Fulano no puede tocar mi red porque tiene mala mano*." (So-and-so can't touch my net because he has a bad hand.) Another common saying is, "*La luna nueva siempre trae buen aire, alborota el pescado, y lo hace amainar*." (The new moon always brings good wind, wakes up the fish, and makes them tame.) "*Circulo del sol es mal augurio*." (A circle around the sun is a bad sign.) More faith is placed in the stars, however, than in the sun. For example, "*Rio Jordan claro, buena pesca*." (When the Milky Way is clear, there is good fishing.)

CABALLITOS DEL MAR

The use of the "little horses of the sea" is perhaps at once the most romantic and most "primitive"

aspect of Huanchaco fishing. These craft are made of a species of reed (*totora*) bound in bundles into the shape shown in figure 2 and plate 9, *upper (left)*, *lower (left)*, and *middle (left)*. In essence, the *cabillito* is a one-man raft with a pointed bow and a square stern, made of four tapering cylindrical bundles of reeds. The entire population, including children of 10 years and older, know how to make these craft, which are used by children for sport and by children and adults alike for line fishing and the catching of crabs. The *caballitos* vary from 9 feet 8 inches to 11 feet 4 inches in length (3 to 3.5 m.) and vary from 20 to 28 inches in width at the widest part. They are propelled by a paddle about 8 feet 1½ inches (2.5 m.) long and 3 to 4 inches wide. It is simply a flattened piece of split "Guayaquil cane," which is held by both hands in the middle and used as a double-ended paddle, but without having a special treatment at the ends in the form of paddle blades.

As shown in the sketch in figure 2, *a-e*, the typical

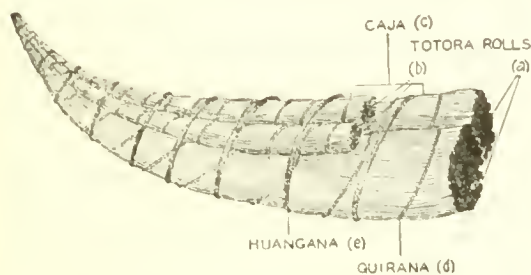


FIGURE 2.—Explanatory diagram of a *caballito del mar*, as used in Huanchaco.

caballito consists of the following parts: Four bundles (*bastones*) of *totora* reed, two of which (*a*) are large, basal bundles tied side by side to form the body of the raft, and two smaller and shorter bundles (*b*), tied side by side and on top of the (*a*) bundles. Some *caballitos* consist of only the two (*a*) basal bundles (as in pl. 9, *middle (left)*). The (*b*) bundles end 18 to 24 inches forward of the stern of the craft, leaving a small flat cockpit (*c*), known as the *caja* of the *caballito*, where the operator sits or kneels and where he carries his fishing gear. The forward end of the *caja* is protected slightly from the waves by the wall formed by the ends of the (*b*) rolls of *totora*. The binding of the individual rolls of *totora* is called *quirana* (*d*) and is a light rope or heavy cord made of *hilo de pavilo*, which is wound around the *totoras* of the roll in spiral fashion. The heavier binding which, in turn, encircles the

four rolls and holds the entire craft in shape is called the *huangana* (*e*) and is made of *cabo de manila*. The *totora* itself is obtained from Huanchaquita, a small settlement situated a few kilometers down the coast, near the ruins of Chan Chan. Two soles will buy enough for a large *caballito*. If in constant use, one of these craft either becomes waterlogged or starts to disintegrate after 12 to 14 days of use. They are always dragged out of the water and stood up on the beach on the stern end when not being used.

In operation, the fisherman sits or kneels in the *caja*. Some prefer to dangle their legs in the water on each side, as in riding horseback (hence the name of the craft, perhaps), although this is chilly in winter. Otherwise, the legs are doubled up under the operator, who is kneeling in the *caja*, or in other cases straddle the part of the craft forward of the *caja*. Occasionally *caballitos* venture out of sight of land, but usually are used for fishing within a mile or two of shore, beyond the zone of breakers and heavy swells. Considerable practice is required to prevent a *caballito* from turning over in the sea, but an experienced operator has no difficulty in crossing heavy swells and breaking waves of considerable height. A favorite sport of young boys is to "ride the waves" with the craft in to shore in the manner of surfboard riders. Whatever the manner of operation, even the most experienced operator must be prepared to have at least the lower part of his body thoroughly wet. So far as I know, adult women among the Huanchaco population never venture out in these craft.

Deep-sea boat fishermen resort to *caballito* fishing during periods when the fish at sea are not running well. The craft is used for three types of fishing: crabbing, line fishing, and net fishing. Every craft carries a net, called a *calcal*, which is a bag net about 2 feet deep with a purse-string mouth, which can be opened up for casting when fishing, and can be drawn shut when the net is used as a container for crabs and other booty. The interstices of these nets are about 1 inch on a side.

The crab trap or *saca* is shown in plate 8, *lower (left)*. As shown also in the sketch in figure 3, *a-g*, it consists of a square frame (*a*) of four pieces of cane (bamboo) tied together at the corners. Over these is stretched a net (*b*) which hangs down below the level of the frame to a depth of 6 to 8 inches in which the bait is tied in place. The four corners of the frame are weighted with cobblestones (*c*) tied in place for the purpose of carrying the apparatus

beneath the surface of the water. To each corner are attached four suspension cords (*d*) of equal length which are in turn united to a cable, called a *rabisa* (*e*). This is about 23 feet long (7.0 m.) and attached to it at intervals are small bundles on

are used in the homes, and also considerable quantities are taken to the Trujillo market for sale. Much of such seaweed as is consumed in Moche comes from Huanchaco.

SHORE FISHING

Shore fishing with hook and line follows the same methods as those employed on the Moche *playa*. Relatively little attention is paid to this activity in Huanchaco, which regards it as a Moche speciality. It is recognized in Huanchaco that the use of *caballitos* is unsatisfactory on the Moche beach by reason of the high surf there almost the year around. During the summer months, the Huanchaco boats frequently stop off the Moche beach to pick up the Moche fishermen and their nets (and their advice). During this time of year the fish are near the surface and run close inshore to the Moche *playa*. While this attention to the Mocheros is a form of courtesy, it is also mutually advantageous to both sides. The usual rules of division of the catch prevail on such occasions.

It is estimated that an ordinary fisherman, with one net, but without a boat, is able to make from 600 to 1,200 soles (\$91.80 to \$183.60) per year in cash money. Many remain in this condition, however, because they spend their funds on liquor and fiestas instead of putting it into boats and nets. Three men, at least, are said to have incomes of over 10,000 soles (\$1,530) per year.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

The patron saint of fishermen is San Pedro, whose feast day, June 29, is celebrated in the community. Ironically, at this season of the year there is relatively poor fishing. *La Virgen de Socorro* (The Virgin of Succor) is believed to take a special interest in Huanchaco and once every 5 years the image of the Virgin is brought on a pilgrimage from Trujillo, under the supervision of the *Hermanidad de Socorro*. Leaving Trujillo the 30th of November the pilgrimage makes the journey by easy stages, one of which is a 3-day stop at the chapel built for this purpose about midway along the road by Don Victor Larco Herrera, and arrives in Huanchaco the 24th of December to pass Christmas. The principal dances at this fiesta are those of the *Pastores* (shepherds) and of the *Negritos de Cañete* (Negroes of Cañete).

Huanchaco has its Cross cult, as has Moche. Some seven crosses are to be seen on various heights

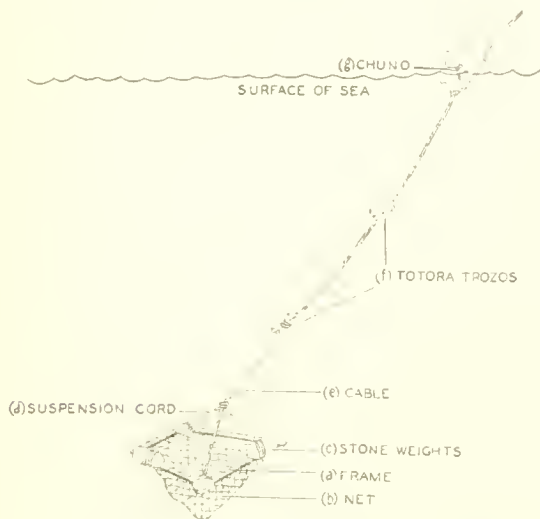


FIGURE 3. A crab trap, as used in Huanchaco.

trozos of *totora* (*f*) which serve to give the line a certain underwater buoyancy and thus prevent its fouling on rocks along the bottom. Near the upper end of the line is a *chuno* (gourd float) (*g*), somewhat smaller than those used on deep-sea nets. Finally, the upper end of the line is either held in the hand or attached to the *caballito*. The bait, consisting of entrails of the bonito and other large fish, or of cow liver, etc., is tied to the net. The crab locks his pincers on the bait, gets them tangled in the net, and is thus held fast until drawn to the surface.

Lines may have one or more hooks and are also provided with a lead sinker and a *chuno* float. They are not used with poles. In fishing with line from the *caballito*, one drops the line overboard in still water, or attaches the line to the craft and trawls.

COLLECTING

Women and children collect a variety of small clams, snails, shrimp, crawfish and crabs, as well as several varieties of seaweed from the cobblestone bottom off the beach during low tide. There are three types of seaweed of which I am aware: *yuyu*, *mococho*, and *cochayuyu* (Quechua, "water plant"?). There are three types of crabs: (1) *cangrejos* and (2) *biquín*, both of which are found in the sea, and (3) *carreteras*, soft-shelled crabs of the beach. They

back of town, each in charge of a *mayordomía* of four to six men, who have the obligation to take down their cross on the 3d of May, paint it, offer fruit and other products to it, and put it back up at the end of the month. In Huanchaco, in contrast to Moche, the crosses have no *padrinos*. The taking down and putting up, however, are occasions for a fiesta in charge of the members of the group.

The following two Huanchaco items are not found in Moche. When a child dies, the church bells toll *la scquidilla*, i. e., lightly and in rapid succession, which is said to sound like "*es angelito, es angelito*" (it's a little angel). When an adult dies

the *doble* is sounded as in Moche. The dead in Huanchaco are buried with all of their personal belongings, even old items—all clothing, ornaments, pocket pieces, and the like.

In summary, we may see in Huanchaco a specialized fishing community which possibly has developed from the same prehistoric cultural matrix as Moche. At all events, the orientation in Moche has developed toward agriculture; in Huanchaco, toward fishing. And in both communities colonial and modern culture have overlaid the earlier elements very thickly.

HABITATIONS

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

As can be seen from plates 11 and 12, the house types and architecture of Moche show considerable variation. Generally speaking, the style of domestic architecture may be regarded as a simple colonial form in which, in many structures, has been incorporated certain elements reminiscent of prehistoric cultures. In the pueblo, especially, the houses do not look notably different from those seen in many a Peruvian coastal village or town. They stand in solid blocks with their white plastered fronts flush with the sidewalk (pl. 10, *lower (right)*). It is mainly in the *campiña* that one finds the "typical" Moche dwelling, which exhibits a variety of distinguishing characteristics.

When all minor variations are left out of account, Moche dwellings and shelters may be classified into the following types, in order of frequency: (1) Adobe houses, (2) *quincha* houses, (3) *tatora* shelters, (4) *tapia* houses. In keeping with the very mixed character of all Moche culture, it is not infrequent to see a house embodying features of several of these types (pl. 11, *upper (right)*, *middle (left)*).

Adobes are made by specialists. There are also some ordinary citizens possessing skill and facilities who make their own adobes when building their houses. In the pueblo the specialists are relied upon more than in the *campiña*, and in 1944 adobes sold for 60 soles (\$9.18) per 1,000. Five years earlier they were obtainable for as little as 20 soles per 1,000, the rise in price being blamed on "the war." The adobes are of the common type used at present, so far as I know, throughout the coastal region.

They are rectangular, with right-angled edges, and, according to my measurements, vary from 18 to 24 inches in length, 12 to 14 inches in width, and 3 to 4 inches in thickness; the lower figure in all cases is "standard." The adobe is made of clayey dirt which is dug loose in the ground itself and puddled by pouring water over it. It is mixed with grass which has been chopped with a machete into lengths between 1 and 2 inches. A spade is used for mixing. It is usually carried from the mixing spot in gunny sacks (*camales*) to a nearby flat piece of ground where it is pressed into a wooden frame of proper size on a flat board platform. After it has been properly smoothed on top with the spade, the frame is removed and the adobe is slid off the board platform onto a clean flat piece of ground (sometimes covered by a *petate*), and left to dry in the sun. A week of drying before use is considered desirable.

Adobe walls are, by preference, laid up by professional masons (*albañiles*) of whom there are 15 in the community. In the *campiña*, however, many a house has been built by the householder with the help of a group of friends and relatives in a modified *minga*. In such a case it is considered desirable to hire a mason to supervise the job. Lines are stretched to keep the wall straight and a plumb line is occasionally hung from the top to maintain verticality. Occasionally scaffoldings or boards are used to support the workers, but more often than not a heap of dirt on the inside of the wall serves the purpose. It is built up as the wall increases in height and shoveled away when the job is finished.

Adobe walls may stand in their original state (pl. 10, *upper (right)*), or may be plastered (pl. 10,

lower (right); 11, middle (right)). The latter is the ideal of all house owners, but many for want of time, money, or energy never get around to it. Plastering may take one of two forms: a white lime plaster made of purchased materials (as there is no lime kiln in the community itself) or a simple mud plaster simply spread over the adobes by hand and smoothed down with the edge of a board. The mud plaster is sometimes whitewashed, in which case it has an appearance resembling that of the lime-plastered walls.

Although no complete new houses were built during my time in Moche. I was told that a mason, when employed, helps to lay out the plan of a new house. The mason may stake out the position of the walls and partitions on the ground, connecting the stakes with cord lines. Often the house owner or the family lays out the plan "free hand," simply marking the position of the walls with lines drawn on the ground. Only the adobe and *tapia* houses are laid out with any care.

In the house with walls of *tapia* the walls are made in the same manner as that employed in constructing the *tapia* fences. The ancient Mochicas knew the *tapia* process, but seem not to have used it in house construction.²⁹ Plate 11, upper (left), shows a house constructed of *tapia*. Although this process is cheaper than adobe, it is not preferred because it produces a very thick wall which, with the technique in use, is hardly ever perfectly plumb. *Tapia* construction is often used to patch adobe walls and to make additions to adobe houses.

The procedure and artifacts in making *tapia*, whether in house walls or in fences, are as follow. The two principal artifacts, in addition to the spade, are the *cajón* (mold made of boards) and the *sogas* (ropes) for tying the *cajón* together. When a *tapia* is in two or more levels, the lower one is called *arrastrada* (creeping along the ground). For making this, four stakes are driven into the ground, one for each corner of the *cajón*, which actually consists of four parts, the four sides of the mold. Then the four elements of the *cajón* are tied to the stakes, tied together, and adjusted to give the proper shape and also to make certain that the *cajón* does not come apart. The earth of the ground alongside is wetted and left to stand for 4 days. Then it is mixed and puddled with the spade, and shoveled into the *cajón*. If the puddling place is distant from the

site of the *tapia*, the wet earth is carried to the *cajón* in gunny sacks or baskets. Once in the mold it is stamped down by a man working barefooted therein. Then the sides of the mold are removed and the sides of the *tapia* while still moist are slapped with the flat of the spade in order to smooth and consolidate them. The upper block of a *tapia* is called *ensimada* (on top). Two bars of iron are laid across the lower block, one at each end, and to these are tied the *cajón*, so that it does not fall down. The tying is done with a double rope, and sticks are twisted into these ropes to tighten them. The sticks are called *toltol* and the capstanlike arrangement is called *cabresta*. (The Spanish Academy, I believe, favors "cabrestantes.")

A second type of wall, much used for patching *tapia* fences, is called *sanja tapia*.³⁰ This is made entirely with the spade and without a mold form. Moist earth is simply shaped by the spade. The top of a *tapia* fence is usually horizontal and is often used as a pathway, because it offers a better surface than the sandy lane. Some tops, however, are made in the form of a pitched roof, in order to prevent their use as sidewalks, which tends to wear down and to break down the fence. In Moche, practically all *tapia* making, whether for house or fence, is done by *minga* (cooperative work), but in other nearby communities it is done by specialists, who in 1944 charged 1.50 soles per *cajón* for their labor. Five years before that the price was 80 centavos.

The *quincha* type of wall is found throughout the Peruvian coastal communities. Two general types, a primitive and a sophisticated, occur. In both types upright canes (*caña brava*) are inserted side by side in line in the ground. They are usually stuck into the ground from 3 to 6 inches, and if the surface is dry, a crowbar may be used to make the hole. On occasion, however, the canes are not inserted at all but have a footing of mud built up around their butts to a height of 3 to 4 inches. The upright canes are then interlaced with two or more series of horizontal canes, called *tientos*. This is to say that every odd cane passes outside the horizontals and every even upright passes inside, as in checkerboard weaving. Usually there are only two series of horizontals, one about middle height of the wall and the other near the top. Sometimes there are three sets of horizontals. These horizontals are usually arranged in a series close together; the series varies from two to three.

²⁹ Personal communication of Rafael Larco Hoyle and Manuel Briceño.

³⁰ I have not secured a clear meaning for "sanja." Can it be Quechua, "sankhu," dense? See Farfán (1941, p. 22).

Most frequently there are three horizontals in the middle series, and two in the upper series. In the "primitive" type of *quincha*, stability is given to the construction by tying some or all of the upright members to the horizontal members with rawhide strips of cattle hide. In the "sophisticated" type, stability is provided by upright posts of sawed lumber, rectangular in cross section and about the size of a "2 by 4." These upright posts have holes bored in them into which the horizontal canes are inserted, thus providing stability and support. In this type of *quincha* the uprights and horizontals are seldom tied together. In a well-made *quincha* the projecting upper ends of the canes are cut off on a horizontal level to produce a clean-cut top, but this is not universally practiced. After the construction of the cane wall, as described, the inside and outside are plastered with mud in a very moist state, just short of liquid (much more maleable than is necessary in making adobes or *tapias*). A well-made job will have several layers of mud which completely eliminate any trace of the cane and which are smoothed down on the surface with the edge of a board and often plastered or whitewashed. In this case the wall is distinguishable from plastered adobe only by careful inspection. However, many *quincha* walls are only half-finished, even when incorporated in dwellings. Also, the *quincha* construction is used in conjunction with almost all dwellings as a form of windbreak for the outdoor arbor, in which case the canes are often only partially covered with mud and their tops are allowed to protrude in an irregular line toward the sky.

Shelters made of *tatora* have no particular plan or shape. Only occasionally are complete dwellings made of this material (pl. 11, lower (left)) and usually only by families who are waiting to construct a more permanent house. Occasionally shelters of *tatora* are erected for guests, and lean-to sheds, made of *tatora* mats leaned against a house wall, are not uncommon. *Tatora* mats are also used for partitions, as windbreaks for kitchens, very occasionally as shades for outdoor arbors, and in other ways as adjuncts to architecture.

Wooden rafters and uprights occur in all houses, except those of the *tatora* type, in which a framework of saplings is used. In the more elegant houses in the pueblo, the rafters are made of sawn lumber, obtained in Trujillo, about the size and shape of "2 by 6's," and the roof framework is fastened to them with nails. In the *campiña* it is more common to

construct the rafters of small logs of wood, usually willow, which grows along the banks of the *acequias* (irrigation ditches). These are cut and trimmed with steel axes of the usual European model. Not a few houses in the pueblo use this type of rafters as well.

In the pueblo all houses have doors of wood. Sawn lumber roof frames, doors, and door frames are usually fitted and made by professional carpenters, of which there are 19 in the community. A door may cost from 20 to 60 soles (\$3.06 to \$9.18), or even more, with hinges and lock, depending upon its elaboration. Doors frequently have barred, glassless openings in the upper panel. Except in houses built by *forasteros* in the "Peruvian coastal" style, windows are practically unknown in Moche houses. Light for the inner rooms is provided by a square or rectangular hole in the roof, which may be completely open, or may be covered by a hinged trap door which opens upward. In the most elaborate constructions a small square lantern or cupola with or without glass windows on all four sides covers the hole in the roof.

No roofs in Moche are watertight, and cracks of light are usually visible from within, even in the more permanent types. Since it "never rains" except at intervals of a generation, the roof serves mainly as protection against the sun and the wind. Whichever type of rafters is used, they are laid in parallel fashion, horizontally set into the adobe or *tapia* walls usually within 3 to 6 inches of the top of the walls, in some cases in mere notches in the top of the wall. In the house with *quincha* walls the rafters are supported on stringers which are in turn supported by upright forked logs, set in the ground, and irregularly placed, although tending toward two in each of the four corners. The framework is tied together with split reed used in basket making. The few houses having nothing but *quincha* walls, however, are, with one or two exceptions, all roofed with *petates* (reed mats), so that the supporting rafters and uprights do not have to be large. The *petates* are simply laid on and tied to a light framework of saplings, canes, or very thin logs.

In the "permanent" type of roof the rafters are crossed by a series of canes, laid side by side at right angles, and over this series lies another series of canes at an acute angle to the direction of the rafters (pl. 12, lower (center)). Over this second layer of canes is placed a layer of *petates*. The two layers are nailed to the rafters when the latter are sawed,

and usually tied at intervals with split reed (*carrizo*) when the framework is of unsawed wood. Finally, a layer of mud, mixed with chopped grass, is laid over the whole for a thickness of 1 to 2 inches, and smoothed down. From an old roof there is a constant settling of fine dust, so that the furniture in the house will be covered with a film even in so short an interval as overnight.

So far as I know, tiles are not used for roofing on any house in Moche, the *campiña* or the *playa*. A few houses, however, have a layer of light cement over the mud covering of the roof, as a protection against the next heavy rain.

Although from street level one has the impression that most houses are flat-roofed, this is actually true in only about one-third of the cases. Practically all roofs have a low-grade slope. In the pueblo, this is most often a single slope from the front of the house to the back (pl. 12, *middle (left)*). Low pitched roofs occur in both pueblo and *campiña*, supported by ridge poles laid on the points of low gables (pl. 12, *upper (left)*). Single-slope roofs also occur with open-ended structures in the case of single rooms, arbors, and sheds. The pitched and the sloped roofs were characteristic of ancient Mochica domestic architecture. There seems to be no functional reason for their survival at the present time other than that these types of roof frame require fewer long heavy beams than the flat type.

In the pueblo houses the roof is often hidden from the beholder on the street by a low parapet.

In addition to the features outlined above, many other variant details and treatments occur, especially in the pueblo. Not uncommon is a series of metal spouts projecting through the parapet on the street wall. Although these are supposedly for the discharge of rain water, they are actually only decorative—if that—for those examined were stuffed with dirt from the rooftops. Since rain is practically non-existent, their functional use is very infrequent at all events.

Windows of the Peruvian colonial type, with support, cap, and metal grill protruding outward from the wall, occur, but are rare. Occasionally a simple small window will be seen in a newer *campiña* house. Also, it should be mentioned that recently *forasteros* have constructed in the pueblo a half dozen cement walled houses with "modified colonial" architectural treatment.

The arrangement of the house is quite variable. In town, owing to the fact that all houses are flush

with the sidewalk, a certain uniformity is presented. In figure 4 is shown a typical house plan for a pueblo-

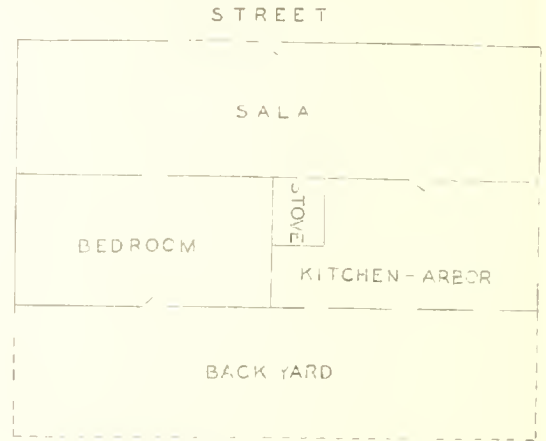


FIGURE 4. Common plan of house in Moche pueblo.

dwelling Mochero's house. The patio is not a feature of the plan in Moche, but each house has an open space in the rear of its lot. In some cases this is nothing more than a dusty yard in which domestic animals and fowl are confined, but, if water is available, an attempt is usually made to cultivate flowers and fruit trees. Emerging from the back room of the house, one usually finds himself in an open-air, shaded arbor composed of a wooden trellis or framework. The shade may be provided by *petates* or vines. Among the latter, grape and *tumbo*³¹ are favorites. There is a wooden plank table with benches (pl. 13, *upper (left)*) and perhaps a chair or two. This is the living and dining room of the family and the place where they usually meet their friends.

The Mocheros live in the open air. The closed rooms of the houses are only for sleeping and storage. In the *campiña* the house plans take numerous forms, often owing to the fact that new portions have been added at various times. One feature which is almost constant, however, is the partly open wall surrounding a sort of porchlike room (pl. 11, *middle (right)*; 12, *lower (left)*). At least one of the "porches" is found in houses of all types, usually located on the lee side of the house. (The prevailing wind is from the sea.) In these structures is often seen the use of square pillars (pl. 11, *middle (right)*) to hold up the roof. Although at present the "cut-out" openwork walls of Mochica times do not exist, nevertheless, the partly open wall and the square

³¹ *Passiflora quadrangularis* L.; this vine produces a large, melonlike fruit which is much prized for food; it is indigenous to the Peruvian coast.

pillar (which was a definite Mochica feature) are both reminiscent of Mochica architecture. The "porch" of the *playa* houses is always made of *quincha*, roofed with *petates*, and is located on the landward side. In addition to these open air rooms, *campiña* houses usually possess an arbor and a garden (*huerta*) facing it, whereas arbors and gardens are at best only rudimentary on the *playa* owing to lack of irrigation water.

The great majority of floors are of hard-packed earth, which is preferred by the true Mochero, because he sleeps on an *estera* of *tatora* laid on the floor, and he claims that cement and tile floors are too cold for comfort. In the pueblo some sophisticated and rich Mocheros live in houses with wooden plank floors, and one or two have cement and tile floors. The *forastero* houses usually have tile.

WATER SUPPLY

Water supply in most houses is a matter of fetch and carry. In the town there are six *pitás* or public spigots from underground pipes. When water is running in the *acequias* (irrigation ditches) in town, people also obtain water therefrom. Outside of town, water is obtained only from the *acequias*. During the dry season when a given ditch has water only every 9 or 10 days, considerable labor is sometimes required; for example, when the nearest running ditch is 2 km. away, on the other side of the *campiña*. In such cases donkeys with pack saddle and two metal cans are sometimes used. Otherwise, water is usually carried to the house from the source by women using pails or clay pots.

A number of houses in town—relatively few outside—have wells (*pozos*) in the back yard. I am unable to understand why all houses do not possess this convenience. In town the water level is between 2 and 3 m. below the surface, depending upon the season, so elaborate work is not required for the sinking of a well.³² These wells are lined either with the shells of oil drums or with brick, and the water is drawn up by means of a metal bucket on the end of a rope.

SANITARY FACILITIES

Sanitary facilities consist of the nearest adobe wall or fence off the immediate premises. So far as I

know, there is no water closet, indoors or outdoors, available to any Mochero. One of my informants, visiting me at the hotel in Trujillo, found himself completely confused when I showed him into the bathroom. Small children relieve themselves on the street, the sidewalk, and almost any other public place, and I have never seen one reprimanded or punished for this behavior. Although women are modest, the sight of a man urinating or buttoning up his trousers in plain view of the general public is very common. Enamelware chamber pots are possessed by about a third of the Mochero families, according to my count, but the regularity with which they are used is questionable. During one night spent in a Mochero's house in the *campiña* in a curing session, I noticed that several members of the family sleeping in the adjoining room apparently openly urinated on the floor during the night.

Garbage and other refuse is commonly thrown into the middle of the street. There is a garbage man (*baja policía*), with a horse-drawn cart, who comes around at infrequent intervals to carry the refuse away.

In the pueblo the houses, as shown on map 1, are arranged along the streets, which are laid out in a rectangular, although slightly irregular, grid plan. In the *campiña*, they are located at irregular intervals, usually shaded by trees. A *campiña* house is usually located in the corner of the owner's land, not in the middle of the plot. On the beach, the fishermen's houses are strung out at irregular intervals for about 11 km. on each side of the small seaside resort of Las Delicias.

A good many *chacreros* have two houses, one in the pueblo and the other in the *campiña*, "on the *chacra*."

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AMONG TRUE MOCHEROS

A North American even of lower economic status might consider even the better furnished Moche houses somewhat bare and old-fashioned. Also, the constant sifting of fine dust from the ceiling prevents the rooms from ever looking spic-and-span in the sense employed by a good housekeeper. It is somewhat difficult to describe the furnishings of the "typical" Moche house at present, owing to the varying influences of acculturation and differentiations in wealth. As has been the case with many indigenous groups in various parts of the hemisphere, it would seem that Moche had achieved a form of "stabilized native-colonial" culture compounded of aboriginal

³² In 1934, the water level of nine wells in the town ranged from 0.5 to 3 m. below the surface and averaged 2.28 m. Data from blueprint No. IT-APM-50, Consejo Provincial de Trujillo, Inspección Técnica de las Obras de Agua Potable, Agua Potable de Moche, Proyecto de la Red de Distribución, Diciembre, 1934.

and Spanish colonial elements. This rather stable culture seems to have persisted without great change from shortly after the Conquest—let us say, from the end of the 16th century until the beginning of the 20th century or perhaps a little later. Precise dates cannot be given in the absence of documentary records. Much of this native-colonial culture remains in the community at the present time, although constantly subject to intrusions of newer elements, overlays, and reorientations. As might be expected, the newer elements are found most frequently in the houses of the pueblo and among the more well-to-do families (*familias acomodadas*).

Until about 40 years ago at the most (as a conservative estimate), it would seem that the great majority of Moche households got along with the following basic furnishings (later introductions are suggested in parentheses): Dirt floors (instead of floors of boards, tiles, or cement); *mats*, large plate-shaped shallow gourds for eating (instead of tinware and enamelware plates); wooden spoons, hand-carved, and frequently none at all, no forks (instead of metal factory-made spoons and forks); *potos*, globular cuplike gourds for drinking (instead of glass tumblers); earthenware cups for hot liquids (instead of glazed chinaware coffee cups); *esteras* of *tatora* used for mattresses and partially for covering, for sleeping directly on the dirt floor (instead of cotton mattresses and wooden or metal bedsteads); woolen hand-made blankets obtained from the Sierra in trade (instead of cotton and woolen factory-made blankets); hand-made earthenware and shallow one-piece carved wooden vessels (*bateas*) as containers for liquids, for clothes washing, etc. (instead of metal, enamelware, and wooden board buckets, washtubs, water storage jars, etc.); earthenware cooking pots (instead of iron pots and pans); use of mats for sitting and eating (instead of tables and benches or chairs); woolen bags for storing clothes etc. (instead of wooden and metal trunks); for lighting, candles and earthenware tallow lamps with rag wick (instead of kerosene lamps of various degrees of elaboration); and long-necked gourd bottles (*porongos*) for *chicha* (instead of beer bottles of glass).

The following "native-colonial" items are present in practically all Moche houses today, rich or poor, although they may exist alongside newer items and may not be used in the old way. (1) Mats of reeds (*esteras de tatora*) are found. (2) Fireplaces on the ground consisting of three or four stones to sup-

port a cooking pot are present (pl. 14, lower (left)). (3) "Botijas" for storing *chicha* are in use. These are elongated, cigar-shaped containers of baked earthenware understood to hold 100 beer bottles of *chicha*. The pattern seems to be Spanish, but those in Moche are said to have been imported from Pisco in times past, filled with the well-known brandy of the same name (pl. 13, upper (right)). Steel oil drums have supplemented these containers in certain *chicherías* requiring a comparatively large storage capacity, but practically every house has at least one. (4) Gourd drinking cups (*potos*) are present, even when the household possesses glasses and china cups. The Mochero prefers to drink his *chicha* from a *poto*, claiming that the true flavor can only be appreciated in this way.

Although kerosene is quite extensively used for lighting, there is, to my knowledge, no kerosene stove or metal stove of any type in the community. In the more elegant houses (usually in the pueblo) hanging kerosene chandeliers are present. There is no electric light, even for the streets, in the community. Factory-made furniture, such as carved dining-room tables, sideboards, dish cupboards, sofas, etc., occur in a few of the richer houses, as well as framed oil paintings by local artists, oleo portraits, and colored lithographs. In the poorer houses pictures from magazines and newspapers, colored advertisements, and religious calendars usually constitute the wall decorations, although several houses have had the inside walls decorated with frescoes by the owners or members of the family. Although door curtains of the portiere type are affected in one or two rich houses, rugs for the floor are totally unknown in Moche.

I was unable to make a systematic statistical survey of the houses for want of staff and for reasons of delicacy. The people suspect officious questionnaire filling as a scheme of the Government to collect taxes, and it was desirable that no such suspicions upset my relations with them at this stage of the work. However, three of the informants were each asked to visit what they would consider a poor house, a middle-type house, and a rich house, to memorize the furnishings of each, and to write them down. The lists given below are a collation of these data, together with observations made by myself in numerous visits to all types of houses, and are presented as the next best thing to a statistical survey.

There are no social classes formally defined and recognized in Moche, but there are differences in

wealth or expenditure, which are readily recognizable, at least in house furnishings. A rough estimate, on which the informants are in substantial agreement, would indicate that about 70 percent of the families of the community use "poor-type" furnishings; about 25 percent live in "middle-type" surroundings; and probably not more than 5 percent live in houses furnished according to the "rich type." It is, however, improper to speak of "upper, middle, and lower classes" in Moche at the present time, at least when considering the true Mocheros alone. Many of the more respected older residents live in houses furnished in the poorest style. The three types of house furnishings among the true Mocheros are as follows:

List of House Furnishings

Poor-type house:

- Two small tables, three benches.
- Five enamelware plates.
- Four *mates* (large flat gourds) for eating.
- Five earthenware pots.
- Five tablespoons of brass; seven hand-carved spoons of wood.
- Seven or eight *potitos* (small gourds) for drinking.
- Five *esteras* (mats) used on ground as beds.
- One enamelware chamber pot.
- Three blankets, and some rags of discarded clothing used as bed covering.
- Fireplace on the ground, consisting of lumps of adobe and a few stones; burns manure.
- Dirt floor.
- Hand broom of brush.

Middle-type house:

- Six modern chairs, one dining table.
- One old, hand-propelled sewing machine.
- One trunk.
- Two kitchen tables with one bench of wood.
- Two wooden beds with bedclothes, including sheets and pillows.
- Two enamelware chamber pots.
- Eight plates, mixed, part of enamelware, part of granite-ware.
- Seven tablespoons of brass (*latón*), and three kitchen knives of same.
- Six earthenware kitchen pots of different sizes.
- One iron frying pan.
- Two *botijas* for *chicha*.
- Tablecloth.
- Adobe stove burning wood.
- One large dishpan of enamelware.
- Five glasses.
- Eight small spoons of *latón*.
- Dirt floor.
- Hand broom and full-sized broom.

Rich-type house:

- One sideboard (*aparador*) with sets of glasses, cups, *copita azapate*, large and small napkins, *garrafa* of crystal, one of earthenware (*barro*), tablecloth.
- One dozen chairs (*sillas americanas*) and others.
- One dining table.
- Four trunks.
- One clothes rack.
- One Singer sewing machine.
- Three bedsteads with bedclothes, sheets and pillows; one bedstead of brass.
- Five enamelware chamber pots, two of children's size.
- Two iron pots.
- Ten earthenware *nacional* pots.
- One frying pan (*sartén*), plates, cups, graniteware pots (about five visible), five iron plates, enamelware; a collection of tablespoons, forks, knives of imitation "alpaca" silverware with wooden case.
- Two large kitchen tables of wood for service.
- Four benches, six mats, one skimming ladle with holes.
- Two *botijas* of *barro* for *chicha*.
- One stove of adobe and stone adapted for wood.
- Two *bateas* for washing clothes.
- Wooden or tile floor.
- Some curtains and textile hangings in the *sala* (parlor).
- Two hand brooms and two full-sized brooms.

The foregoing lists include the essential furnishings of houses of the three classes considered. The Mocheros are not self-sufficient in furnishing their houses and must buy the majority of the articles in the markets or stores of Trujillo or other towns. All items of cloth, metal, glass, and pottery are either bought ready-made or are made of materials obtained from outside the community. The local carpenters make tables, benches, and chairs of the types used in lower- and middle-type houses. Finer finished wooden furniture is obtained elsewhere. A table capable of seating eight persons costs at present about 30 soles (\$4.62). A small bench costs about 6 soles (\$0.92). Adobe fireplaces are made in Moche as well as wooden spoons and containers, although the last two items are also purchased in outside markets.

THE TOWN

This section on habitations may be concluded by quoting, for comparison, Squier's description of Moche, published in 1877.

... A ride of another league, over a flat country and a dusty road, brought us to the Indian pueblo, a considerable town, regularly laid out, of low cane huts, their roofs of reed-matting supported by crooked algarroba posts, and covered with a thin layer of mud to keep them from blowing away. There were a few houses of crude adobes, roofed in like manner, the whole presenting an aspect of squalid monotony. We rode directly to the house of the *gobernador*, a full-

blooded Indian. His dwelling was merely an immense shed, with some compartments fenced off with adobes or canes, for such of the occupants as affected privacy. The bare earthen floor was strewn with the *aparejo* of mules and rude implements of husbandry, for the *gubernador* was both muleter and husbandman. . . . We rode through the silent street, felloek-deep in dirt, to be (thru a narrow alley) which was occupied by the church, a quaint, old, and low down edifice, its bell-tower reached by a flight of stone steps outside the building. [Squier, 1877, pp. 126-127.]

The town of Moche seems to have been somewhat modernized since Squier's time, although many of the town dwellers still complain loudly of the "lack of attention on the part of the authorities." As can be seen in plate 10, *upper (left)* the plaza is now paved with cobblestones and cement, and an ugly modern, imitation brick facade, erected after the flood of 1925, hides the old church referred to by Squier. Presumably, however, the original edifice remains behind this attempt at face-lifting, for the outside stone steps leading to the bell tower are still exposed to the sky, although hidden behind the new facade. About a third of the street mileage in the pueblo is now paved with cobblestones, and several streets near the plaza are bordered by cement sidewalks (pl. 10, *lower (right)*). The great majority of houses in the pueblo are now of adobe, or at least present a plastered adobe front to the street. And a considerable sprinkling of more elaborate *forastero* houses for outsiders who live here, using Moche as a suburb of Trujillo, or who

come here during the summer season, gives the town a "mixed" appearance, doubtless considerably different from the squalid Indian village of Squier's observations.

Among the "civilized" structures of Moche to be seen at present are (map 1, Nos. 1-17 and C): The two-story Escuela de Agricultura (School of Agriculture) near the railroad tracks (No. 13); the railroad tracks themselves, which skirt the east edge of town, although the former station has now been removed; the silo of Señor G.; the partially dilapidated, but formerly elegant, house of the O family with elevated wooden lookout platform; the facade of the Government buildings (pl. 11, *upper (center)*; map 1, Nos. 1-5); the slaughter house (No. 15); the new school for boys (No. 9); the movie theater, rarely used and not impressive from the outside (C); two houses with second stories near the plaza.

This sprinkling of attempts at sophisticated architecture and hard-surfaced streets is mixed with the dominant atmosphere of adobe houses, *quincha* fences and windbreaks in the backyards, low sloping roofs, and dusty streets frequently littered with garbage and refuse. Moche is no longer "pure," and for that very reason is the more interesting to a student of cultural change. The over-all impression a stranger receives of the pueblo is one of ragged rusticity. In the *campiña* the rusticity is complete.

FOOD AND DRINK

THE CONTENT AND THE ETIQUETTE OF BOARD AND BOWL

The Mocheros are not an easy people to become acquainted with, but once one has established rapport with them, their hospitality is extensive and continuous. They are the envy of persons from all parts of the coast because of the time and the resources they lavish on the consumption of food and liquor. In fact, eating and drinking are their principal relaxation and recreation. Generally speaking, they are not gamblers, they care little for bullfighting and cockfighting, they have developed only a vapid interest in the movies, but they love their *causas* and their *chicha*.

Eating and drinking, in addition to being activities essential for the maintenance of life and health, are great socializers and producers of interaction, generally with a pleasant emotional overtone. The dishes served on Moche tables and their ingredients

are not exclusive to this community, but it is widely claimed that they have a flavor not found elsewhere. Although the use of peppers and other "hot" seasonings is common to most of Peru, the food of Moche makes an unusually sharp assault upon the taste buds of the novice and even brings tears to the eyes of the initiated. The Mocheros consider the flavoring of the cooking in other areas insipid. One of my friends spent 10 days in Lima and returned to Moche much disappointed. He told me that he could not get enough to eat, that the yucas were measly small things, the fish stale, and so on—but worst of all, the food had no flavor. He was under the suspicion that the Lima cooks substituted *achote* (a reddish coloring powder) for the strong, tear-jerking peppers of his native *campiña*.

To a North American the three most outstanding features of Moche repasts, aside from details of various recipes, would probably be the *picante*, the dishes made in various ways from raw fish, and the *chicha*,

or maize beer. The first and second of these items in one form or another are characteristic of the whole of Peru, and dishes prepared from raw fish are found throughout the coast. Therefore, Moche is to some extent representative of Peru as a whole in a general way and unique primarily in details.

Picante is a general term referring to what North Americans might call "hot seasoning." It appears in various forms, but its principal ingredients are red and yellow peppers (the red are the hottest), salt (bought in the stores in the form of rock salt), black pepper (the berries are bought in the shops and ground at home), onions, garlic, parsley, *azafrán*, and citrus fruit juices, especially lime juice. Of all these, the red and yellow peppers (*aji colorado* and *aji amarillo*) are the most important, since they appear in practically all food preparations. All cooked foods usually are blended with *picante* during the process of preparation, and raw fish (*seviche*) is "cooked" in citrus fruit juice and eaten with pepper. A small side dish or gourd of *picante* sauce usually stands on the table, in case one is not satisfied with the flavoring of the dishes set before him. And, just to make sure that one's gastric juices are sufficiently stimulated, one often holds a small green pepper (unripe red pepper) in one hand to nibble between mouthfuls, after dipping it generously into a dish of salt and black pepper. This faithful devotion to *picante* among the Mocheros has a certain appearance of masochism. Many a time I have dined with persons whose eyes were streaming with tears and whose mouths were admittedly burning, but who were apparently deriving huge pleasure from this self-inflicted pain. "*Ay, ay, caramba. Pica fuerte, no? Que bueno. Que rico.*" (Ouch, my goodness. It stings sharply, doesn't it? How good. How appetizing.)

Raw fish is served in the form of *seviches*; in this the fish is first "cooked" in lime juice, then covered with cold *picante* sauce, and served with corn on the cob, yuca, sweetpotato and often other vegetables, the whole garnished with leaves of lettuce. Crabs and shrimps are also eaten raw after similar treatment, as well as being steamed or boiled. A particularly charming custom is the "*bocadita*"; a lady at the table, often the hostess, will pick up a *muy-muy* (sea shrimp) and after sucking it delicately will remove it from her mouth and insert it between the lips of a gentleman, accompanying the gesture with a kissing sound. This procedure may be employed with any other tidbits, and after the

chicha bowl has made the rounds a few times, the morsel may be transferred directly from the mouth of the lady to that of the gentleman. Only the more sophisticated persons think it necessary to use table forks or other implements for eating, and spoons are used only for soup. Frequently a single *mate* (calabash plate) is set in the middle of the table. Each guest takes a piece of lettuce which he places on the table before him, proceeding to lift the food with his fingers from the central dish either directly to his mouth or to the lettuce leaf at his place.

Water, as water, is considered to be essential for the irrigation of land, as useful in cooking vegetables and meats (although some cooks use only *chicha*), and as pleasant for an occasional bath, if convenient. But it is regarded as little short of poisonous if used as a drink by man. No doubt this is an eminently hygienic attitude, considering the fact that many available supplies of the liquid are possibly contaminated. Tea made of *yerba luisa* and also coffee are consumed by both children and adults, usually for breakfast only (also milk, cocoa, and soda water in comparatively small quantities by children). Nevertheless, the principal drink for all persons above the age of puberty is *chicha*, a maize beer.

Three main meals are consumed by the Mocheros, breakfast, lunch, and dinner or supper, but they are interspersed with lunches, called *causas* (verb, *causar*). Even when guests do not drop in or the family does not go out, it is normal to enjoy at least one *causa* during the morning and at least one during the afternoon. A lunch of this sort may consist of anything from a small bit of fish and a morsel of yuca to a meal consisting of several dishes, and it is always washed down with mature *chicha*, if it can be obtained. A friend visiting a house is always invited to sit down at the table in the arbor or in the back yard. Within a few minutes the lady of the house sets out a *causa*, which may consist of no more than a couple of boiled eggs, and the guest eats and then is offered *chicha*. The ethnologist visiting a number of houses during a day finds this hospitality agreeable, but also a burden upon his capacity. If one comes uninvited, it is customary to offer money to the hostess to pay for the *chicha* and food, although this will be refused if one is a *compadre* of the household or has elsewhere kept up his end of the entertaining. In addition to household hospitality of this sort, food and drink are obtainable upon payment in many houses operated on a small-scale commercial basis. Many a housewife augments the

family income by making *chicha* and *causas* to sell. The *chicha* sells, according to quality, for 10 and 15 centavos a liter, and an ordinary *causa* is worth 10 centavos. Owing to the rigid etiquette of drinking which requires even a commercial hostess to drink with her guests, many of these women who sell *chicha* all day become more or less thoroughly intoxicated by evening. Such places of refreshment are called *chicherías*, although the word is less used than in certain other parts of Peru.

Some of the more conservative families still eat on *tatora* mats placed on the dirt floor, but the great majority now have rough rectangular tables, somewhat like those for kitchen use in United States farmhouses, around which they sit to eat and drink on benches made of sawed boards.

There is no rule against men and women eating together and for ordinary meals and small gatherings this usually takes place. At festive meals the women of the household are usually in the kitchen during the meal, occupied with the preparation and serving of the food, and at any meal the women are usually up and down, serving the meals, moving back and forth between table and kitchen.

All responsibility of preparing, cooking, and serving the food and *chicha* is customarily in the hands of the women. Although the women do the work they also have the authority, and a man is supposed to secure the agreement of his wife before issuing invitations. If a visitor drops in, the man will ask his wife if she has something in the way of a *causa* and some *chicha*. If he wishes to buy *chicha*, he usually asks his wife for the money. To be sure, certain men dominate their wives or companions sufficiently to make these requests more in the nature of a command than a pleading, but in the pattern and phrasing of the eating and drinking situation the woman is supposed to have the controlling role.

Proper relaxation is required for the healthful digestion of food after eating, according to local belief. Reading, riding horseback, and sexual intercourse within an hour or two after a meal are regarded as extremely dangerous. This is summed up in a frequently quoted proverb, which I believe has a general Peruvian distribution:

*Después de comer,
ni un papelito para leer
ni caballo, ni mujer.
(After eating,
neither a paper to read,
nor a horse, nor a woman.)*

During my time in Moche one of the local *forasteros* was suddenly taken ill and, 2 days after being removed to the Trujillo hospital, died of a ruptured duodenal ulcer, according to hospital attachés. He was a strong, healthy man in his thirties, and the Mocheros were agreed that he met his end by reason of his habit of immediately mounting his horse and riding off to his work after eating.

CHICHA

This drink and the customs concerned with it deserve a fairly long section, not because of its inherent interest for tipplers unacquainted with the beverage, but because, for better or for worse, it plays so large a part in Moche life.

Maize grown in the countryside is used principally for roasting ears (*chochos*) and for making *chicha*. Certainly the latter use absorbs by far the major part of the maize consumed in the community. The consumption of *chicha*, according to my data, seems to average about 2 l. per day per adult (over 18 years of age) for its "normal" or thirst-quenching properties, as an accompaniment of meals etc., with an additional liter per day per adult as a conservative estimate for *chicha* consumed because of its festive properties. These are only estimates, based on relatively small samples of families, but seem to be on the conservative side, if anything; for when the Mocheros become festive, the amount of *chicha* consumed is prodigious. The fact that they are, for the most part, independent proprietors of their lands allows them the leisure and the opportunity for such relaxations.

The word "*chicha*" is in general use for rustic drinks in all parts of Spanish America, and it does not seem to be a term native to Peru.³³ The Quechua terms are "acca, aka, asuha, khusa, aqha."³⁴ The material preserved in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" in Chiclin seems to show clearly that *chicha*, or a similar beverage, was in common use during Mochica times. Many informants have insisted that large sealed pots containing *chicha* in a "good state of preservation," i. e., potable, have been recovered from the Moche ruins

³³ Arona sees the word as an old Spanish term meaning "sustenance" or "nourishment," the same root involved in *saltchicha* (sausage) (Arona, 1938, pp. 165-166), although in another place he raises the question whether it may not be an Antillean term (ibid., p. 177). It is impossible to translate the word as "beer," as will appear later, when beer itself is discussed. In Moche the word *jora* (actually the mash from which *chicha* is brewed) is used frequently to refer to the beverage.

³⁴ Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922, vol. 2, p. 69 ff.; *aqha* is Farfan's rendering (Farfan, 1941, p. 34).

themselves, although I have found no one who has personally seen or tasted this allegedly well-aged brew.

It is said that in Inca times all fiestas, as well as deaths, etc., were celebrated with *chicha*. According to Cieza de León, nobles and plebians alike drank to the point of being unable to hold their drinking utensils in their hands (Valdizán and Maldonado, loc. cit.). According to Garcilaso de la Vega, *chicha* was offered as a sacrifice to the sun, earth, and the *huacas*. It was customary first to dip a finger halfway into the *chicha*, gaze respectfully at the sun, and flip a drop of the liquid off the finger. After this they drank to their heart's content. During the Fiesta of the Sun,³⁵ called by Garcilaso *Intip Raymi*, the Inca drank from a gold vase and gave it to kneeling relatives to drink from. This *chicha* was made by the so-called Virgins of the Sun. The *curacas*, not being of royal blood, met in another plaza, *Cusipata*, and were given the unsanctified *chicha* which the Inca women drank. According to Juan de Betanzos (1880),³⁶ the cult of the Orejones owes its origin to *chicha*. The cult was founded, according to this source, by the Inca Yupanqui who required the Incas to begin a 30-day period of fasting. Before starting they were ordered to make four large jars of *chicha*. During the 30 days they had nothing but *chicha* made by a virgin. At the end of the month they were required to drink all of the four large jars of the liquor at once, whereupon they fell into an unconscious state and had their ears bored before they regained consciousness.

Although drunkenness was prohibited by Inca law and repeaters were supposed to be executed, it seems to have been fairly widespread, according to Guamán Poma de Ayala (1936). Lastres says—

A people essentially idolatrous and superstitious, they had to find release from their anxieties in the immoderate use of stupeficients. And *chicha* was the imperial drink of both nobles and commoners. From its immoderate use came psychic and organic upsets ranging from simple drunkenness to the *Hatummachay*, or loss of judgment. [Lastres, 1941, p. 122.]

Thus, whatever else may be said about the "*chicha* complex" in modern Moche, it seems to be directly in line with the cultural usages of early (Mochica) as well as late (Inca) prehistoric times.

In Moche there is a sort of cycle involving eating

and *chicha* drinking. It is thought necessary for adults to "settle" (*sentar*) all meals except breakfast with *chicha* (although some individuals do not hesitate to "settle" breakfast as well). At least one bowl of *chicha* is essential for this process. "*Ya vamos a sentar el almuerzo*" simply means, "Now that we have had lunch, let's have a drink." Conversely, it is regarded as unseemly and unhealthy to consume any considerable amount of *chicha* on an empty stomach. Since one bowl of the liquor after lunch frequently induces the desire to have another, and so on, drinking and eating frequently progress hand in hand from midday until bedtime.³⁷

Fresh *chicha* (*fresca*) with little or no alcoholic content is used, if available, as a thirst quencher at breakfast and to be carried in bottles to the fields, etc. This fresh drink is, of course, merely the regular product before it has fermented (when it is called *chicha madura*).

Judging by its effects (and not on myself alone), well-matured *chicha* must have an alcoholic content close to that of a heavy ale, perhaps 12 to 14 percent by volume. The strength of the brew is increased up to a certain point proportionately to the amount of *chancaca* (brown cake-sugar) or sirup mixed with the *jora* (mash made from sprouted grains of corn).

Except for the probably excessive consumption of alcohol which it induces, *chicha* in itself would seem to be a comparatively healthful beverage. As will be seen from the standard recipe in a later section (p. 53), it is made from sprouted corn or other grains. This is not chewed up and spit out as is done in the manufacture of certain beers in the jungle portions of South America. The mash, or *jora*, thus made is then boiled with water for from 24 to 48 hours, which is, of course, sufficient to kill contaminating germs. The fermentation process serves the same end.³⁸ It is, however, in the etiquette of drinking that all attention to modern rules of cleanliness disappears.

³⁷ In a footnote in Prado (1894), 1941, p. 181, the late Dr. Pablo Patrón sustains the thesis that *aji* and coca counteract the effects of alcohol and he gives references which I have been unable to locate that "English therapeutics" uses coca and *aji* to break the drink habit. If there is any truth in this, so far as *aji* is concerned, might there be something in the theory of *aji* as a counter irritant? Or would it be beneficial to alcoholics because of its allegedly high vitamin content?

³⁸ According to the anonymous author of "Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Peru, Tres Relaciones . . ." 1879, the Inca physicians invented *chicha* as a means of preventing contamination from infected water, and at least one modern physician has recommended its use for this purpose, in order to prevent infection by drinking water in the *campiña* of Arequipa. See Escomei (1913), cited by Valdizán and Maldonado, vol. 2, pp. 69 ff., 1322.

³⁵ Cited by Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 75); see Garcilaso de la Vega (1919, vol. 2, pp. 188-193).

³⁶ Cited by Valdizán and Maldonado, loc. cit.

The brew is stored in *botijas*³⁹ (large jars from Pisco) and ladled out with a small gourd called a *cojodito* ("little lame one") into a large gourd called a *foto*. Then the single *cojodito* serves as the drinking vessel for all who may be present. The affectation of certain more "modernized" Mocheros of serving the drink in a glass tumbler serves only to render visible the slime left by many mouths on the rim.

The etiquette is as follows. The host or hostess dips out a *cojodito* full of the drink, saying, usually, "*A ver, que usted tome conmigo*" (Look, drink with me). Frequently, this is shortened to merely, "*A ver.*" Sometimes it takes the form of "*A ver, salud, pucs,*" or "*Que dice? A ver.*" The phrase of invitation is accompanied by a bow toward the guest and a raising of the cup to the mouth, followed by draining the contents at once. It is a gross insult to refuse an invitation of this sort and implies, as a refusal to shake hands among ourselves, that the guest wishes to have no social relations with the offerer of the drink. After swallowing the liquor, the host or proposer again fills the cup and passes it to the invitee or guest. The latter then makes a similar proposal to someone else present; the latter person, after draining the cup, then proposes to another, and the process is repeated. If one is a guest at a home or a fiesta, one must "drink with" every other person present in this manner; and minor quarrels sometimes occur because one person has overlooked this salutation to someone else present. The customary reticence of the Mocheros disappears as the bowl makes the rounds, and singing and dancing begin, together with the constant eating and drinking. Food is spread on the table and, after everyone has sat down to eat, there is usually a good deal of toasting. The general effect is often heightened by a few small glasses (*copitas*) of *pisco* brandy, or, more commonly, *cañaso* (drinking alcohol distilled from sugarcane juice). Among the more common toasts are the following:

A proporción del burro son los capachos.

(The *capachos*—rawhide containers fastened on pack saddles—are selected in proportion to the size of the donkey, i. e., some people can drink more than others.)

³⁹ The *botija* "has a yard and a half of height and a half-yard widest part; it has the form of an inverted cone; it contains 23½ regular glasses (1.5 c.), and in them (the *botijas*) are sent to the kingdoms of Peru, Guatimala and New Spain, the wine, aguardiente, rum, and other things." Quoted by Valdiván (1938, vol. 2, p. 187). See also, Diccionario de Peruanismos. Guan in Poma de Ayala (1911, p. 100).

Paz para el alma, salud para el cuerpo.

(Peace for the spirit and health for the body.)

Jesús, te invoco que esto para mi es poco.

(This is not too much for me.)

Salú' compá. Mi amor se va con usted.

(Health, *compadre*, my love goes with you.) Reply: *Esta y otra, lo que siento es la demora.* (This one and another, what I don't like is the delay.)

Tres cantos tiene la encula.

(The dove has three songs, i. e., the woman serving the drink has three drinks for me.)

Tomar y tomemos

con gran placer y contento,

y si no fuere así,

se le fusile al momento.

(To drink, let us drink with great pleasure and happiness, and, if it were not so, one would be shot immediately.)

Esta copita de chimoy

tome ahora porque contigo me voy.

(Chimoy is said to be the old name for Trujillo; translation: take this cup of Trujillo liquor, because I am going away with you now.)

No hay primera sin segunda.

(One is no good without a second.)

A man arriving at a house and wanting a drink will often use the phrase, "*Seco, lavado, y volteado,*" (I am dry, washed, and upset).

The present writer is not sufficiently acquainted with rural drinking customs in other parts of Peru to know, but he believes that these toasts, except for the pronunciation, are not unique to Moche, but are fairly common throughout the country.

A strong prejudice against factory-made *beer* (*cerveza*) exists in Moche. There is a brewery in Trujillo which produces both light beer and dark beer, which experts say are of good quality and which sell for about 50 centavos (7½ cents in United States money) per liter in bottles. This price compares with 10 to 15 centavos per bottle for *chicha* and may have something to do with the prejudice, which in the main, however, seems to be a matter of taste reinforced by traditional beliefs. As a sign of ostentatious spending and to humor a *forastero* friend, a Mochero will order some beer from the shop and will drink it, but he actually does not like it as well as *chicha*. Not only is beer felt to be tasteless or disagreeable, but it is believed to be dangerous. Many ailments are said to be brought on by light beer, colds and other respiratory troubles in particular. Added to this is the general belief that brewery beer contains arsenic as a preservative.

When one sees a Mochero friend and discovers that he is not feeling well that day, the Mochero will frequently say that he believes the cause was that he was "in Trujillo yesterday and drank a bottle of beer." Everyone knows that such a lapse is sufficient cause for illness. I had a persistent cold and cough during the month of June in Moche, and no one ever tired of warning me not to touch any light beer. Dark beer for some reason is not regarded as so dangerous. This attitude toward light beer also seems to be tied up with the general classification of all foods into "cold" and "warm" categories. Beer is among the "cold" substances, but light beer is colder than dark beer.

OTHER DRUGS AND NARCOTICS

Aside from brewed and distilled alcohol the Mocheros are very little addicted to the use of other drugs, except occasionally as medicines.

Coca is available in the shops, costing 5 centavos the handful, but no Mocheros are habitual coca users in the sense that they have a cud in the cheek all of the time. Many men buy a handful of coca which they chew with lime (a pinch is thrown in with the purchase as a form of "yapa" or good-will extra) to keep them awake when they have to stay up all night. Coca leaves are also used for making a tea which is said to be good for aches and pains, but is not drunk habitually as a beverage. No lime gourds, spatulas, or other implements are used in the consumption of coca. A man merely carries his purchase in the paper in which the shopkeeper wraps it.

Tobacco is used only in the form of cigarettes, and there are practically no heavy smokers among the Mocheros. Many men do not smoke at all, others usually only when relaxing. A cigarette is a special treat rather than a daily or hourly necessity. Women do not smoke at all, except as a joke or when drunk. The resistance to the tobacco habit at present is easily explainable superficially by its cost. Tobacco is a Government monopoly, and the cheapest package of cigarettes available costs 45 centavos, a high price for Mocheros. It is illegal to roll cigarettes by hand.

Aside from considerations involved in the psychosocial structure of Moche life, which will be discussed later, the resistance to coca and tobacco seems to be supported by historical tradition. There is no clear evidence that the habitual use of either narcotic was widespread in the Mochica or Chimú cultures; in fact, it is doubtful that the use of tobacco was

general even under Inca domination, and the extent to which the Inca introduced the use of coca on the coast remains to be studied.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND DRINK

In the preparation of food, the following items are used.

Fireplaces of two types.—(1) Fireplace consisting of three or more stones for supporting the cooking pot on the ground or floor of the kitchen (pl. 14, *lower (left)*). (2) "Stove" of adobe about 30 to 40 inches high off the ground. Two parallel ridges of adobe run perpendicular to the front of the stove on its top; between them the fire is laid and on them, or on iron straps or other supports laid across them, stand the cooking pots (pl. 14, *middle (left)*).

Fuel of three types.—Wood obtained from the areas near the river and from trees growing on the plot and alongside the irrigation ditches, charcoal, and manure of domestic animals.

No ovens are used in household cookery. Bread is not invariably eaten, yuca being the "bread" of Moche. All of those who have acquired a taste for bread buy it in the *tiendas*, from peddlers who visit the houses, or from the households which bake it.

Cooking pots (callanas) of various types and shapes (pl. 14, *middle and lower (left)*).—Made of earthenware by Indians of the Sierra or of the region about Chiclayo. No pots are made by hand in Moche.

Water storage pots (olla manca)—Large earthenware pots (pl. 13, *middle (left)*), dug up from the Moche ruins.

Gourd vessels of four general types.—*Mates*, the plate-shaped gourds; *patos*, the bowl-shaped gourds (small-sized bowls or drinking cups are called *coaditos*); and *porones*, the bottle-shaped gourds. All of these are made to some extent in Moche, but the better specimens come from the region of Chiclayo. The latter carry fairly elaborate, if crude, external designs etched with hot irons or (a new introduction) with nitric acid and black and red inks.

Fans (abanicos) for blowing up kitchen fire—Made of *carrizo* woven to give the fan a diamond shape and a handle of *carrizo* ends about 6 inches long.

Hand mill or grinding stones—These consist of two parts, the *mano*, or movable part, and the *batán*, or base. Neither is shaped in a regular pattern. The *batán* is a flat-topped stone of variable shape, but usually approximating 18 inches in diameter; it may be worn into a shallow depression by use, but does not have a raised rim about the edge as do the Mochica specimens. The *mano* is a stone of variable shape which has a smooth rubbing surface along one side about two handbreadths in length. Some are cylindrical, but others are hump-backed, brick-shaped, etc. In modern times, they are selected (like the *batanes*) for their shape, rather than being worked into shape (pl. 13, *middle (center)*).

Wooden spoons.

Chicha containers (botijas).—These have already been described.

The foregoing is a list of the essential items used in food and *chicha* preparation and eating. To this list, which is more or less aboriginal and characteristic of the stabilized native-colonial culture, have been added items of more recent introduction, e.g.: Gasoline cans as containers for liquids; oil drums as water containers and cooking utensils; iron and enamelware pots and pans of various types, of which the metal frying pan is perhaps the most radical innovation (there is considerable doubt that the aborigines of this region fried food); tin cans and glass bottles of all types and shapes; glass tumblers; china drinking cups; knives, forks, and spoons of metal, for eating and for handling the food on the fire.

As with all other aspects of Moche material culture, it is notable that most of the introductions are substitutions for less efficient older items, but that there has been no tendency to adopt new-fangled mechanical devices. For example, the primus stove would be a useful item, and likewise the hand-cranked coffee grinder. Both are within the economic means of many Mocheros, and, while there may be a family here or there which possesses these contrivances, I have not seen them, nor have my informants located any.

The one mechanical improvement, involving the principle of the wheel, which has had wide acceptance in Moche is the sewing machine.

MIDDAY IN A MOCHE HOUSEHOLD

Before presenting more details it may be of interest to set down a description of Moche kitchen management and the noonday household events of a typical menage as seen through the eyes of a North American woman, who is a good cook (in North America), but not an ethnologist. The following notes have been contributed by Helen Norgord Gillin. They cover a household in the pueblo. The señora mentioned is a pure Mochera.

I arrived in Moche at the house of Señora P. about 10 a. m. According to our plan she was going to show me how to prepare the meal which the two families were to enjoy together about noon. She was all ready and had collected in the kitchen: *cabrito*, *yuca*, potatoes (white and yellow), beans, lemon, fish, and rice.

Her kitchen is a large dirt-floored, mat-walled room at the back of the house. A large door opens into the *sala* (main room). A roof of mats covered the kitchen, but various large uncovered patches in the roof and walls allowed ample light to enter. In one corner was a good adobe stove. Underneath the top on which the fire was laid was a hollow space used for storage of pots and pans, with a few rags put down as a bed for the hairless "Chinese" dog she owns. She claims

the dog was given to her by one of the Chinese in town and that the Chinese eat these dogs. The top of the stove, made of wood, but thickly covered with adobe, was used for making the fire, and two ridges of adobe ran down each side from the front to the back of the top. Stretched across these were various pieces of old iron which held the pots over the fire. In the wood supports of the mats of the wall beside the stove, nails had been driven where the wooden cooking spoons were hung.

In front of the stove was a large flat-topped stone (*batán*) with a stone grinder on it. A large old wooden table stood against the farther end of the wall. In the corner next to it was a wooden cupboard with doors on it in which were stored dishes, food, etc. A wooden bench at the side of the cupboard held a wash pan and a bar of soap. Toward the opposite side of the room, as one enters it, was a long wooden table covered with a wornout oilcloth. On either side were benches, and three chairs were grouped around the ends. This is the dining table and the place for drinking in this house. In addition to the *sala*, two enclosures opened off the kitchen, one a poultry yard, and the other a small storage room for *chicha*. The latter formed a small adobe addition to the house proper.

After the older daughter had pinned a large, much-patched apron on me, I was first taught how to grind *ají*. The large red pods are put on the grinding stone and the grinder (*mano*) is moved rapidly and heavily over them, with a sort of rocking motion. Also treated this way were onions and garlic. The *ají* was made into a sort of paste in this fashion. Salt had been brought from the store in the form of large crystals and these also were ground on the *batán*. Meanwhile the *cabrito* was cut up into small pieces and placed in an earthenware pot on the stove to boil in water seasoned with ground salt. Later vegetables were mixed with it. When all was ready the table with the oilcloth was set.

A small drawer in the table held assorted knives, forks, spoons, and two lavender napkins. A place was set for me with knife, fork, spoon, and napkin. The younger daughter took out of the corner cupboard five large spoons which she cleaned by rubbing them with salt, then put them around the table. Six soup plates were then produced from the cupboard and wiped off with a dirty towel before the soup was served in them. After the soup we had the *cabrito*, rice and beans, very *picante*. (For recipes, see below.) The two daughters started to eat with us, then the señora's nephew came in, and finally the señora sat down. While we were eating, Sra. P.'s next-door neighbor and comadre came in. Her husband, she said, was dying of a toothache and had the left side of his face all swollen up. Naturally, it was a neighborly gesture to relieve her of getting lunch while he was ill. Sra. P. said that she would go over to put hot compresses on his face after lunch. Meanwhile the comadre sat down and partook of some nourishment with us, while Sra. P. scolded her for not making her husband have his tooth extracted.

About 10:30, while we were preparing the meal, Sra. P.'s sister, a most attractive woman somewhat younger than Sra. P., had dropped in with a friend to grind some rice on the grinding stone, so that she could make *pepián de arroz*, which she promised to send over for our lunch, also. Now, while we were eating, she came in with the *pepián* in a large

gourd plate (*mate*). She was dressed in an embroidered white blouse with a full dark-blue skirt, with an embroidered petticoat of muslin under it, and she had yarns of brown cotton braided into her hair which was twisted around her head in a sort of crown. She was barefoot. The two ladies had to drink a glass of *chicha* with each of us in turn.

After we had finished eating, the plates and spoons and glasses were washed in a little cold water poured out into a shallow gourd (*mate*) and then they were dried with the same dirty towel. The pots and pans were not washed. The remaining food was just left in them.

The Sra. P. and her comadre went next door to attend to the ailing husband, so they brought over the 2-month-old baby for me to play with. It was a fat, smiling, apparently bright child, but dirtier than any I have ever seen. In her ears the dirt was in great cakes, her face was black, and her head was covered with scales. The ladies told me that a baby should never be bathed during its first year. During the second year it is never wise to bathe it in the winter. This one had had one bath about a week before, and, so they said, nearly caught pneumonia, so they would wait until warmer weather or an older age. Its clothes were comparatively clean, but the child was filthy.

About 1:30 in the afternoon Sra. P.'s husband and my husband returned. They brought with them Don V. The señora said that she must immediately prepare a *causa*, which consisted of fish with onions (*pescado encebollado*). I helped her, and, as a contribution to the entertainment, we sent one of the daughters out for six bottles of beer. Before long, three other men, all compadres of the family, of course, wandered in and were invited to *causar*. By this time the party consisted of the señora and me, her two daughters, her sister, her comadre from next door and the baby, and the three compadres who had dropped in. In addition to the beer, I noticed that the bowl of *chicha* on the table was filled four times before we left. Don V., who probably had a few *copitas* before, was slightly drunk and started making mock-serious speeches making fun of various people. We managed to get away about 3:30, by which time the *causa* was going strong and everyone was very merry indeed.

BUTCHERING

All meat is supposed to be slaughtered and dressed in the local slaughterhouse, called the *camal*.⁴⁰ The slaughterhouse is owned by the municipality, which employs a municipal butcher (*camalero*). A fee of 3 soles is charged for slaughtering and dressing a beef, 1 sol for a full-grown pig, and 40 centavos each for sheep. There is a cement floor with a drain running through the middle. Sheep are unceremoniously held with their heads hanging over this drain, and the throat is slit. Blood is collected in tin cans and used to feed ducks as well as to make certain kinds of blood pudding. Blood sausage is unknown here, I am told.

⁴⁰ This word is a widely used term in the country and appears to be a Peruvianism. See Arona (1938, p. 113). The Mocheros know the word *matadero*, but do not use it except when explaining to a *gringo* what a *camal* is.

A beef is tied with a rope around the horns to an iron ring set into the cement floor. The butcher sticks it with the point of a sharp knife just behind the horns, as in a method of despatching bulls in bull rings. This seems to paralyze the animal, but does not kill it. The killing is done by slitting the arteries of the neck allowing the animal to bleed to death, while the blood is collected in tin cans. Sheep make no noise when their throats are cut, other than three or four very profound sighs as the air leaves the lungs. Pigs are hamstrung before their throats are slit.

Carcasses are immediately skinned and hung up. The meat not needed in the owner's household is sold to the local meat shops (*carnecerías*) and to vendors in the markets. In both cases it is displayed, hung from hooks over head, or laid out on wooden tables.

Nothing is thrown away. Even the intestines are sold for soup and meat (*mondongo*). The intestines are frequently cut into thin slices or shreds and fried, somewhat after the manner of making chitterlings. A local meat seller said that bull's penis is particularly good to eat if the animal is young, not when it is old. When from a young animal it is "*puro nervio*," and gives one strength if he is run down or nervous. This is a curious belief in the realm of contagious magic, which, however, is not completely diffused throughout the community. Some persons had never heard of it. Beef penis is, however, generally eaten, regardless of its alleged powers, and most frequently appears in *sancochado*. Bulls' testicles are much prized in *sancochado* as well.

In Moche—and this is true in most of Peru—there is little attention given to butcher's cuts of meat. It is generally cut or hacked into hunks, regardless of the part of the carcass from which it is taken. Chops or cutlets are unknown as such in Moche. *Lomo* is practically the only recognized "cut," but it is only a flat piece of meat which can be fried or broiled like a beefsteak. It may be taken from any part of the animal, from the rump to the shoulders, and it may represent either a cut across the fibers or along them. Most meat is prepared either *guizado* or *sancochado*. Both processes make use of hunks or cubes of meat, regardless of cut. Thin slices of meat (*carne mechada*) are cut from boiled joints and served cold in sandwiches.

So far as I know, there is no manufacture of ham or bacon in Moche and no consumption of these products. Sausage is made, by a local *forastero* butcher, for sale in Trujillo, but little is consumed by Mocheros. The only means of preserving meat of

which I am aware—if they can be considered in this category—are the customs of frying long strips of meat in fat, after which they may be hung up in the kitchen for some days to be eaten at the convenience of the household; the boiling of joints to be preserved for some days cold; and the drying of small lizards.

Despite the fact that all animals are supposed to be butchered in the municipal slaughterhouse, private butchering takes place as well, especially in the *campiña*. So far as I know, the methods are essentially the same. Animals are never struck on the head with an ax or club, but are always either held down or tied down, and their throats are cut. Poultry are also killed by slitting the throat. Poultry blood is not collected. At the present time no explanation of this method of slaughtering is given, other than the desire to use the blood of larger animals. What its true historical origin or basis is I am unable to say.

MISCELLANEOUS DISHES

In this section is presented a short and partial checklist of foods or dishes not necessarily familiar even to those who know Spanish, if their experience has not included Moche or the north Peruvian coast.

Sancochado.—This is a dish, or at least a term, common, I believe, to the whole Peruvian coast. In Lima, it often appears to resemble something like a "New England boiled dinner," consisting of various vegetables and beef boiled separately and placed separately on the plate. In Moche, however, the *sancochado* is more like "pepper pot." It always contains meat of some kind, yuca, and, usually, boiled corn on the cob. Frequently other vegetables are included. All are boiled together in the pot with a plentiful seasoning of *ají*.

Papán de chile.—A thick soup or mash made of green or brown lentils, mashed up, strained, and cooked with meat.

Panini is made of rice.

Pancas de manta.—These are actually small sandwiches, made of edible "breads" bought in the shops and slices of cold meat (*carne m. lacay*) cut from a joint boiled with peas and cat food.

Frijoles entrecorados.—Hard beans mixed with meat cut into small cubes and made into a sort of stew.

Arroz frito.—Boiled rice, not wet, not dry, of "just the right consistency."

Chocheca.—A sort of mash or soup made from meal of small or medium size which is imported from the Sierra.

La yuca de yuca.—Pieces of boiled yuca cut into lengths of about 2 inches and split in half or four ways. The *ta ada* is picked up in the hand and eaten as bread. "*La yuca es el pan de Moche*."

Arroz con chichas.—A mixture of rice boiled with onions and *placate*.

Lenteja moche.—Small lentils grown only in the Sierra, but imported and used commonly in Moche. Not to be con-

fused with the *lenteja bocona*, also called the *lenteja mochica* or *lenteja mochera*, said to be native to Moche.

Cañanes.—Small lizards. These animals are caught as previously described and disemboweled, after which they are dried in the sun and kept in bundles of a dozen or so. They are cut into short pieces and eaten (heads, feet, tail, and all) in *seviches* and *sancochados*, and are also boiled with vegetables (*ajiaco*).

A FEW RECIPES ⁴¹

Cabrillo Encbollado

1. Cut *cabrillo* (kid) meat into pieces about 1 inch square or cube (depending on the piece you are working with) and wash. This recipe is based on about 2 pounds of kid meat (1 kilo).
2. Put meat in earthenware jar and cover with *mantea* (lard).
3. Grind *ají* (chile peppers), both *colorado* (red) and *amarillo* (yellow), one of each, and add paste to pot; stir.
4. Cut up four green onions into small slices, but do not use green stems; add to pot.
5. Chop up *culantro* with a knife and add to pot.
6. Grind salt and black pepper seeds; add to pot, according to taste.
7. Cut up two tomatoes in small pieces and add to pot.
8. Put in a bit of *oregano*.
9. Place on fire and stir occasionally until done.

Arroz con Frijoles

1. Grind four *ajos* (garlics) on *batán*. Place in earthenware cooking pot (*callana*).
2. Add four wooden spoonfuls of *mantea* (lard). Cook until garlic turns yellow.
3. Add double handful of dry hard kidney beans and salt to taste.
4. Add 1½ Quaker oats cans of water, or according to experience.
5. Wash double handful of rice two times, in shallow gourds (*mato*), pouring from one to the other through the fingers.
6. When the beans, etc., in the pot are boiling, add rice. If the wooden spoon stands upright in the mixture without support, there is just the proper amount of water. If it falls over, there is too much.

Papán de Arroz

1. Grind two yellow *ajos*. Place in cooking pot.
2. Add two cooking spoonfuls of *mantea* and cook until well mixed.
3. Grind double handful of rice lightly, to break each grain into two or three pieces, but not into a powder or flour.
4. Add water and boil. This mixture should not be quite so "stiff" as previous.
5. After rice has come to a boil, add meat in small pieces, if available.

Pescado Encbollado

1. Put cut-up onions, yellow and red *ají*, and lard into pot. Cook slowly for a few minutes.

⁴¹ Collected by Helen Norgord Gillin.

2. Add cut-up washed pieces of fish.
3. Pour *chicha* over all sufficient to moisten well.
4. Cook for about 10 minutes.

Sopa Teológica

This "theological soup" is an essential dish for special occasions, such as birthdays, baptisms, marriages, births, etc. It is also known as *sopa de fiesta*.

1. Bread is cut into pieces and moistened, allowed to stand for half an hour.
2. Place in cooking pot with water.
3. In the meantime prepare a thick chicken soup or broth.
4. Pour this over the bread pap, boiling.
5. Red and yellow *ají* (ground) added.
6. *Azafrán* rubbed between the hands and dropped into the pot.

La Boda

"Theological soup" is usually served on festive occasions as part of a dish called "*La Boda*" (the wedding). This feast is served in one large plate or shallow gourd and consists of the following ingredients:

1. *Sopa teológica*.
2. *Maíz tostado molido*, ground roasted corn kernels, often called *má.lica*.
3. *Pepián de cancha*, a stiff mush made of ground roasted corn.
4. *Jeta* or *geta*, a sort of sauce made of dry lentils (*lenteja bocona*) cooked to a mush, and beaten.
5. *Yuca machada*, boiled, mashed yuca.
6. A piece of chicken or duck.
7. A piece of kid.

The soup occupies the bottom and center of the plate with the other items ranged about the edges. The piece of chicken is placed in the soup and the piece of kid rests atop the *pepián de cancha*. All are well flavored with *ají*, onions, salt, black pepper, *culantro*, *azafrán*, etc. It is the management of the seasoning which distinguishes an expert Moche cook from an ordinary one.

Chicha

Chicha may be made from a variety of grains or kernels, other than maize, e. g., peanuts, barley, wheat, etc. In Moche it is always made of maize, although sometimes wheat grains are mixed with the maize. It is boiled directly over the fire either in large 50-gallon oil drums or in earthenware pots. In Monsefú (near Chiclayo) a *chicha*-making arrangement was observed which consisted of four large pots set into the ground close together but at the four points of a small rectangle. The earth was tamped well up around their outer sides, while a fire was placed in the center and blown with a fan so as to circulate between the pots. This pattern is said to have been used in former times in Moche, but

has now completely disappeared. The following is a standard recipe.

1. Prepare the mass of sprouted maize (*chuño de maíz nacido*). Mature maize kernels are laid out on a damp cloth, usually gunny sacking, in a shaded place. Then they are covered with moist leaves or with a second damp cloth. The kernels are sufficiently sprouted in 6 to 8 days.
2. Make the *jora* (*chicha* with water), placing the *chuño* in the boiler, then adding water.
3. Boil for 24 hours or longer, up to 48 hours. At one house where the writer observed the process, the *jora* was being boiled in a 50-gallon oil drum over a cow-dung fire. The woman in charge said that the *chuño* involved in this batch amounted to 1½ arrobas (37.5 lbs.) and that she expected to get "slightly less" than two *botijas* (200 bottles) of drinkable *chicha* after discarding the dregs. During the boiling a plentiful scum accumulated on the surface and was flucked off with a rough branch from time to time. During the boiling process more water is added to compensate for that lost by evaporation.
4. Allow to cool.
5. Strain the *jora* through cotton cloth and/or a basket into the *botija* or other container.
6. Add *chancaca* (a type of brown sugar in cakes), sirup, molasses, or cane juice. *Chancaca* is most frequently used, and the amount depends upon the experience of the maker. Up to a point, the more sugar used, the more alcohol will result.
7. Allow to stand 4 to 6 days until it has finished "working." *Chicha* made in this way will last about a month without turning to vinegar.

"HOT" AND "COLD" FOODS

All foods are classified as hot (*caliente*) and cold or cool (*fresco*). The classification seems to an outsider to have nothing to do with the physical properties of the foods themselves or the physical state they happen to be in at the moment, i. e., cooked or uncooked, just off the fire or standing cold, etc. In Moche the classification seems to be based upon obscure beliefs concerning the effects which the various foods have upon the human organism in certain states of illness or uneasy physiological equilibrium. Beliefs concerning illness will be discussed extensively in a later section, but, among others, there are two types of sickness in the view of the Mocheros: (1) the illnesses which produce a cold feeling (including colds themselves, *resfriados*, *catarros*, *constipados*, etc.); and (2) the illnesses which produce a hot feeling (fever). If one is suffering from or is susceptible to a "hot" sickness, he should avoid "hot" foods, and vice versa.

Common people are not always sure where a given item is classified and seek the advice of *curanderos* (healers) and old women in general, when in doubt.

The matter is not an obsession with the ordinary man or woman, unless he is feeling ill.

There may well be a magical background for this belief, something embedded in the matrix of curative magic. If so, it is my notion that the magical interpretations have been lost. As we shall see later, the corpus of curative magic is not a completely organized and consistent whole. It either represents a collection of incompletely assimilated accretions from various sources, or an older system now broken into a number of more or less unhinged parts, or perhaps it is both. At any rate, I was able to unearth no hints of deeper meanings in the question of the food classification, although, as with all other aspects of this report, I would be the first to grant that the period of field work was insufficient to be certain.

When one is well there is no harm in mixing "hot" and "cold" foods in the same meal, but this is believed to be dangerous when the individual is ill.

There follows a partial listing of foods in each category, upon which four supposedly authoritative informants agreed. The informants consisted of a professional curing woman (*curandera* or *curiosa*, not a witch or *bruja*), a family matriarch, and two men in their forties. None of these persons are recognized relatives or close friends. Various other food items which I tried to check produced disagreement or uncertainty.

COLD FOODS

Carnero (mutton).
Pescado (fish in general).
Corbina (a large sea fish).
Mishito (another type of fish).
Cangrejos (crabs).
Maíz (maize).
Arroz (rice).
Papa (potato).
Tomate (tomato).
Chocolate (chocolate, cocoa).
Té (tea, but not including tea made from *yerba luiza*).
Mantequilla (butter).
Pan (bread).
Azúcar (sugar, in all forms).
Dulces (sweets, candies).
Conservas (jellies, canned fruit).
Queso (cheese).
Leche (milk).
Palta (alligator pear).
Guanábano (a native fruit).
Carne de chanco (pork).
Frijol panamito (small beans).
Cebada (barley; because barley is "cold," so is beer).
Cerveza (beer).
Cola (bottled soft drinks).

Plátano de la isla (a bland plantain).
Trigo (wheat).
Quaker (rolled oats).
Avena (oats).
Choclo (green corn on cob).

HOT FOODS

Canela (cinnamon).
Yerba luiza (a common herb for tea).
Frijoles corrientes (most of the common beans).
Naranja (orange, but especially the peel, *cáscara*).
Carne de res (beef).
Carne de gallina o pollo (chicken meat).
Cabrito (kid).
Pavo (turkey).
Camote (sweetpotato).
Limón (lemon, lime).
Sal (salt).
Ají (red and yellow peppers).
Café (coffee).
Pisco (native Peruvian brandy).
Cañaso (drinking alcohol of sugarcane).
Coca (sometimes made into tea).
Mango (a fruit).
Cuy (flesh of the guinea pig).
Plátano (banana, except the variety called "*de la isla*").
Garbanzos (chickpeas).
Vino (wine).
Chicha.

STATISTICAL STUDY OF FOODS CONSUMED

In an attempt to obtain a more objective idea of foods actually eaten throughout a typical day than could be obtained from a merely impressionistic account and also in order to discover whether or not there were actual differences in the diets or menus of Mocheros as distinguished from *forasteros*, the help of the local public schools was enlisted. A survey was made during three successive week days of the first week of July 1944 during which there were no fiestas or general celebrations. The method followed was similar to that employed in a Guatemalan town in 1942.⁴² Through the kind cooperation of Señor Rafael Casteñada, director of the Government-supported boys' school, the Señorita, directress of the Government-supported girls' school, and their associated teachers, a contest was carried out in both institutions on the same 3 days. The contest was explained to the students as one in observation, composition, and penmanship. The students were instructed to write an essay each day on the subject, "What I ate yesterday" (*Lo que comí ayer*). They were to

⁴² Gillin, 1943, vol. 1, particularly pp. 352-359. The similarity in method does not imply detailed similarity in the two situations of San Luis Jilotepeque (Guatemala) and Moche (Peru).

describe each meal of the day before, listing specifically all types of food consumed, with quantities of each in conventional terms (spoonfuls, cupfuls, pieces of conventional size, etc.). At the head of each paper the student was required to state his name, age, place of birth, sex, school year, and "Mochero" or "forastero." Care was taken in issuing instructions to the students to avoid any suggestion that our primary interest was the diet as such, and to avoid implications of invidious comparisons or prestige values which might be involved. The contest was open to all members of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years in both schools. Four prizes were offered in each school and a consolation award of 10 centavos for each pupil who turned in his three essays in complete form eligible for the prizes, whether he won a prize or not. The teachers examined the papers and excluded those which were incomplete. They also graded them according to the scholastic objectives set forth for the contest, and the prizes were awarded on that basis. The whole idea was to obtain a naive report from the pupils themselves.

After the returns were in, the papers were turned over to me, and I checked all doubtful cases for their social status, i. e., Mochero or *forastero*. Then, with considerable labor the results which appear in tables 4, 5, and 6 were tabulated. (Anyone who believes that Spanish cannot be misspelled should try reading a collection of school children's papers sometime.) The material was also tabulated by sex, but since the differences between the sexes on the whole did not appear to be highly significant in either group, these tables were omitted. Once the material had been tabulated, the results were used for further checking against observations of food habits, and results of these checks appear in the descriptive section on food and drink.

A similar attempt was made to obtain the same type of data for the *campiña* by instituting a contest in the rural school at Sun, but the director of this school reported that he was unable to secure the cooperation of the pupils on the project. Whatever the difficulty, I was unable to press the matter under the circumstances and with the time available, so it is necessary to confine my analysis to the *pueblo* data.

A detailed discussion will not be attempted, but for those who enjoy the juice which can be squeezed from "statistics" the following drops are offered. The usual warning should be issued to the reader, that is, not to be too impressed with the appearance of precision conveyed by numerals and percentages

set in columns. Very small values, in particular, have no statistical validity as such, but they are included to complete the record and they also serve the purpose of showing the range of variety in the menus. Several other cautions and explanations should be mentioned. (1) Although it is not customary for children to drink *chicha* for all thirst-quenching purposes as do adults, checking showed that a good many children had consumed *chicha* during the period of survey, but had omitted to include it in their essays because the hygiene lectures by the teachers had taught them that *chicha* drinking is considered officially undesirable. (2) Although only the specific reports concerning seasoning items, such as onions, have been recorded, it will be noted that no students specifically reported *ají*, salt, black pepper, and the whole range of *picante* seasonings. Checking showed that invariably the cooked food had been prepared and eaten with *picante*, but that it never occurred to the pupils to consider seasoning "food." For this reason, there is no worthwhile statistical comparison of the seasoning of the dishes consumed between Mocheros and *forasteros*. (3) The same is true in some degree of sugar. Warm drinks, such as tea and coffee, are normally drunk with sugar, but it did not occur to the students as a whole that this was to be considered a separate item. The sugar which was recorded was specifically mentioned by the students, but checking showed that many more had used sugar. (4) It must be remembered that the food consumed during 3 days in July will not necessarily conform in all details to that consumed during some other period of 3 days. The actual details depend to some extent upon what is available in the markets during the period in question. Thus, beef was plentifully available at this particular time and mutton was not, so the low figures for mutton are not as significant actually as they might appear to be statistically. Nevertheless, some kind of meat or fish is eaten every day, and this is the important fact when considering the food patterns. (5) It is for this reason that, although the items themselves are those written down by the students, I have grouped them roughly into categories: beverages, soups, meat, fish, cheese and eggs (animal proteins), vegetables and grains, fruits, sweets, and miscellaneous. These categories cannot be defended in strict terms from the point of view of the science of nutrition, but rather conform to the local ways of grouping food and talking about it. "Tea" includes both herb tea and true commercial

tea. Individual checking showed that it is probable that proportionately more *forastero* households use commercial tea, but the majority use herb tea because of taste and price. (6) It should be borne in mind that I have no control of the accuracy of these reports, other than that obtained by the usual ethnological techniques of interview and recheck with informants. Therefore, I have attempted no elaborate statistical manipulation of the data, have not reduced them to constants, other than percentages, and have not employed the standard statistical measures of error. (7) Finally, no attempt has been made to measure or tabulate quantities of food consumed, either in bulk terms or in terms of nutritional values. Although the subjects were asked to state quantities in their reports, this was for the purpose of focusing their attention upon the food objects themselves, and they stated the quantities in unstandardized conventional terms.

The purpose, in short, was to broaden the base of the usual impressionistic ethnological report. Some quantitative guide to the differences in patterns and trends in food preferences as between the Mochero and *forastero* groups was needed, and the procedure used was the best that seemed available under the circumstances. A more accurate statistical study of these cultural phases of the food problem, as well as of nutritional phases, could certainly be obtained in Moche if one had the time to pursue such questions exclusively for a period of months.

Except for the fact that children do not drink *chicha* as much as adults, and that children do drink milk, which adults disdain, the differences between the meals of school children and their parents are negligible. The three main meals, *desayuno* (breakfast), *almuerzo* (midday meal), and *comida* (evening meal) are eaten in the same house and "from the same pot" as the parents' food, and there is no pattern of preparing separate diets for the children of the age range of our subjects. The after-school lunch (*lonche*), on the other hand, may involve a few centavos' worth of sweets or bread purchased at a shop on the way home from school, a feature which would not appear in the adult menu of the day. Except for *lonche*, then, we may consider these reports as reflecting the menus of adults as well as children.

If the limitations of the tabulations have been sufficiently well set forth, we may proceed to consider briefly a few points of significance which seem to emerge from the material.

The total sample consists of 111 pupils, of whom 83, or 74.8 percent, were Mocheros and 28, or 25.2 percent, were *forasteros*. In the Mochero group, 59 were boys and 24 were girls; among the *forasteros*, 18 were boys and 10 were girls. The age range was 8 to 16. Altogether, the reports covered 789 separate meals of Mocheros and 305 separate meals of *forasteros* over a period of 3 days.

Summing up all of the items of food consumed which were reported for all of these meals, we find that the Mocheros consumed 2,451 items and the *forasteros* 1,171. It thus appears that the *forasteros* had more variety in their menus, for they had an average of 3.83 items per meal in comparison with the Mocheros' 3.10 items, or 23.5 percent more variety.

Now let us consider the incidence of food items, grouped into broad categories. In table 6, columns 1 and 4 show the absolute frequency of food items by category, for Mocheros and *forasteros*, respectively. In columns 2 and 5 these frequencies are expressed as percentages of the total number of meals. Thus, for example, the Mocheros reported 789 meals, and therefore had that many opportunities to report items from any one of the categories, but actually only 51.8 percent of the meals contained beverages, according to the reports, whereas in the case of the *forasteros* 82.6 percent of the meals reported contained beverages. If we divide 51.8 into 82.6, we obtain 1.556. On this basis, then, *forastero* meals contain beverages 55.6 percent more frequently than Mochero meals. In fact, the *forasteros* lead in all categories except meat and fish. They have 27.4 percent more soups per meal, 16.9 percent more vegetables and grains, 115.9 percent more fruits, 115.9 percent more sweets, and 119.0 percent more miscellaneous dishes. The Mocheros, on the other hand, enjoy 22.1 percent more meats per meal than the *forasteros*. Although the *forasteros* seem to have greater variety of foods *per meal*, they do trail slightly in the total number of distinguishable menu items reported. Thus a count of the items in tables 4 and 5 respectively demonstrates that the total *forastero* group reported 65 different menu items, whereas the Mocheros reported 69. The total range is governed by availability in market, garden, and field, and is about equal for both groups. The significant difference lies in the fact that the average *forastero* meal presents more types of food on the table or in the plate, than does the average Mochero meal. Also, the chances of a food item from a given category turning up in a given meal

are better for the *forasteros* in all categories except meat and fish.

Let us now turn to the over-all preferences of Mochero as compared with *forastero* menus. In table 6, columns 3 and 6, respectively, will be found the absolute frequencies of columns 1 and 4, respectively, expressed as percentages of the total number of food items appearing in the reports of each group, respectively. For example, the absolute number of beverages consumed by Mocheros was reported as 409, out of a total of 2,451 menu items reported. In column 3, we see that beverages constituted 16.6 percent of all items reported. Thus we have an indication of the proportions in which foods of various categories appear in the over-all food consumption. It appears at once that the Mochero menus are more concentrated in the two categories of meat, fish, etc., and vegetables and grains. The two social groups are about equal in their liking for soups, whereas the *forasteros* prefer proportionately more beverages, fruits, sweets, and miscellaneous dishes. If we lump together the two categories of meat, fish, etc., and vegetables and grains, we find that 68.3 percent of the diet of the Mocheros and only 58.0 percent of the diet of the *forasteros* fall into these two categories; or, in other words, the Mochero diet is 15.9 percent more concentrated in these two categories. On the other hand the *forasteros* lead the Mocheros in beverages by 29.4 percent, in fruits by 71.4 percent, in sweets by 60 percent, and in miscellaneous dishes by 81.8 percent.

Thus we see that not only is the average *forastero* meal richer in variety but also the over-all diet shows less proportionate concentration on staple food categories. The slight place taken by fruit in the diet is in part explained by the fact that the survey took place in July, early winter, at which season little local fruit is available. Even so, appreciably more fruit was consumed on *forastero* tables in proportion to their numbers.

We may mention a few differences indicated by scanning the individual items in tables 4 and 5. Milk, for example, is a much more important drink among the *forasteros* than among Mocheros. It appears 63 percent of the time among them for breakfast and appears in only 35.3 percent of the Mochero breakfasts. Coffee as a breakfast drink appears nearly twice as often on *forastero* tables as on those of Mocheros (33.3 percent and 17.2 percent), whereas "tea" is twice as popular among Mocheros as among *forasteros* (34.5 percent and 16.6 percent, respectively). Fish is much more popular among Mocheros

than among *forasteros*. It appears in one form or another in 21.2 percent of the Mochero midday meals (compared with 11.9 percent for *forasteros*) and in 18 percent of their evening meals (compared with 5.6 percent for *forasteros*). Both groups like other meats about equally well.

Rice is the most popular starchy vegetable food for both groups, being preferred slightly more often by *forasteros*. Potatoes, although much less important than rice for both groups, are much more popular among *forasteros*. Mocheros, on the other hand, show much more fondness for yuca than do *forasteros*. Modern innovations, like rolled oats and prepared cornstarch, play little part in the diet of either group, but appear twice as often among *forasteros* as among Mocheros. Both groups are well converted to bread for breakfast and afternoon lunch. Greens are several times more popular among *forasteros*, who also show much more interest in almost all the green vegetables.

Dessert of sweets or fruit is seen not to be a standard feature of either Mochero or *forastero* meals, although items from both categories are consumed proportionately more frequently by *forasteros*.

"*Lonche*" in the afternoon is a more firmly established custom among *forasteros* than among Mocheros. Among the *forasteros* 74.9 of the children reported had *lonche* at least once during the 3 days in question, whereas only 28.9 of the Mochero children so reported. This snack meal was taken on the average 63 percent as often as other meals by the *forasteros*, only 16.8 percent as often by Mocheros.

The outstanding differences between Mocheros and *forasteros* as indicated by the data may be summarized as follows:

1. The *forasteros* enjoy more variety of foods per average meal than the Mocheros.
2. The total diet of the *forasteros* tends to show more diversification and less concentration in a few categories.
3. In respect to specific items or categories of food, among the beverages *forasteros* show preference for milk and coffee, whereas the Mocheros prefer herb tea. Mocheros eat proportionately more fish than *forasteros*. Both groups like rice, but *forasteros* prefer potatoes, among the other starchy vegetables, whereas the Mocheros prefer yuca. *Forasteros* eat more sweets and fruits than Mocheros.
4. No major menu item of one group is tabooed by the other group, and the differences noted are

statistical preferences or trends of taste, rather than exclusive preferences reflecting rigid patterns of custom.

The *forasteros* may be considered as representing a broader and more varied cultural background than the *Mocheros*. The *forasteros* are carriers of the so-called *criollo* culture, the general culture of Peru, which is a composite of highland, jungle, and coastal

aboriginal elements, compounded with colonial Spanish, modern European, and North American patterns. If these people show somewhat more catholicity in their eating habits than the relatively conservative *Mocheros*, it is not surprising. It also will not be surprising to see the *Mocheros* trend gradually toward *criollo* patterns in food as well as in other aspects of their culture, as time goes by.

TABLE 4.—*Foods, classified by meal, category, and menu item, reported as consumed by Mocheros of both sexes for a 3-day period*

Individuals, meals, and menu items	Desayuno (breakfast)		Almuerzo (midday meal)		Lonche (lunch)		Comida (evening meal)		Total or average
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Individuals reporting	83	100	83	100	24	28.9	83	100	83
Meals reported	249	100	249	100	42	16.9	249	100	789
Menu items consumed:									
Beverages:									
Café (coffee)	43	17.2	1	.4	6	14.2	1	.4	
Té (tea)	86	34.5	6	2.4	10	23.8	42	16.8	
Leche (milk)	88	35.3			4	9.5	1	.4	
Chocolate (cocoa)	56	22.4			1	2.3	3	1.2	
Chicha			2	.8			2	.8	
Limonada (lemonade)			3	1.2			1	.8	
Agua (water)	23	9.2	15	6.0			2	1.2	
Agua de cebada (barley water)	12	4.8	1	.4					
Total	308	123.6	28	11.2	21	50.0	52	20.8	409
Soups:									
Sopa (vegetable soup)			37	14.8			58	23.2	
Caldo (meat soup)			108	43.3			25	10.0	
Total			145	58.2			83	33.3	228
Meat, fish, eggs, cheese:									
Carne (meat, unspecified)	4	1.6	115	46.1	2	4.7	118	47.3	
Carne de res (beef)			25	10.0			11	4.4	
Carne de chanchó	2	1.2	4	1.6			10	4.0	
Lomo (beefsteak)	6	2.4					6	2.4	
Carnero (mutton)			4	1.6			5	2.0	
Mondongo (intestines)			6	2.4			3	1.2	
Cabrito (kid)			1	.4					
Pollo (chicken)			1	.4			1	.4	
Pescado (fish, unspecified)			41	16.4			38	15.2	
Marisco (shrimp, crab)			1	.4					
Cangrejo (crab)			2	.8			1	.4	
Corvina (a fish name)			2	.8			1	.4	
Seviche (raw fish preparation)			7	2.8	1	2.3	2	.8	
Huevo (egg)	2	.8	1	.4	19	45.2	3	1.2	
Queso (cheese)	2	.8							
Total	12	6.8	210	84.3	23	53.7	199	79.9	449
Vegetables and grains:									
Pan (bread)	236	94.7	6	2.4	19	45.2	10	4.0	
Biscocho (biscuit)	4	1.6			4	9.5	2	.8	
Rosca (sweet bread twist)	2	.8			1	2.3	2	.8	
Trigo (cracked wheat)			1	.4	1	2.3	1	.4	
Arroz (rice)			208	83.4			225	90.3	
Quaker (rolled oats)	4	1.6							
Maizena (cornstarch)	1	.4							
Cereales (mixed cereals)			3	1.2					
Chuchoca (corn-meal mush)			3	1.2			6	2.4	
Tall rines (noodles)			8	3.2			1	.4	
Fideos (vermicelli)							35	14.0	
Papas (potatoes)			5	2.0			4	1.6	
Garbanzos (chickpeas)			24	9.6			19	7.6	
Alverjas (vetches)			3	1.2			52	30.8	
Frijoles (kidney beans)			37	14.8			10	4.0	
Lentejas (lentils)			14	5.6			3	1.2	
Pallares (large beans)			17	6.8					
Olivo			3	1.2			14	5.6	
Zanahorias (carrots)			6	2.4			1	.4	
Repollo (cabbage)			5	2.0			3	1.2	
Zapallo (squash)			14	5.6			21	8.4	
Caigua							2	.8	
Camotes			9	3.6			6	2.4	
Frijol verde (green beans)			1	.4			1	.4	
Lechuga (lettuce)			1	.4			1	.4	
Verduras (greens)			26	10.4					
Yuca			42	30.9	2	4.7	28	11.2	
Choclo (corn on cob)	3	1.2	4	1.6			4	1.6	

TABLE 4.—Foods classified by meal, category, and menu item, reported as consumed by *Mocheros* of both sexes for a 3-day period—Continued

Individuals, meals, and menu items	Desayuno (breakfast)		Almuerzo (midday meal)		Lonche (lunch)		Comida (evening meal)		Total or average
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	
Cebolla (onion)			5	2.0			7	2.8	
Mote (green corn kernels)							1	.4	
Total	250	100.3	495	198.7	28	66.6	453	181.9	1,226
Fruits:									
Plátano (banana)	3	1.2	4	1.6	10	23.8			
Naranja (orange)	3	1.2	3	1.2	3	7.4	1	.4	
Chirimoya			3	1.2					
Sandía (watermelon)			1	.4					
Granadilla							1	2.3	
Fruta (fruit, unspecified)			1	.4	2	4.7			
Total	6	2.4	12	4.8	16	38.0	1	.4	35
Sweets:									
Dulce (dessert, unspecified)					5	11.9	1	.4	
Chocolates (chocolate candy)							1	.4	
Azúcar (sugar)	25	10.0					5	2.0	
Total	25	10.0			5	11.9	7	2.8	37
Miscellaneous:									
Aceitunas (olives)	10	4.8							
Mani (peanuts)	8	3.2					1	.4	
Mantequilla (butter)	15	6.0			2	4.7	1	.4	
Manteca (lard)			1	.4			1	.4	
Sancochado	1	.4	24	9.6			3	1.2	
Total	34	13.6	25	10.0	2	4.7	6	2.4	67
Grand total									2,451
Average per meal									3.10

TABLE 5.—Foods, classified by meal, category, and menu item, reported as consumed by *forasteros* of both sexes for a 3-day period

Individuals, meals, and menu items	Desayuno (breakfast)		Almuerzo (midday meal)		Lonche (lunch)		Comida (evening meal)		Total or average
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	
Individuals reporting	28	100	28	100	21	74.9	28	100	28
Meals reported	84	100	84	100	53	63.0	84	100	305
Menu items consumed:									
Beverages:									
Café (coffee)	28	33.3	3	3.5	17	32.0	6	7.1	
Té (tea)	14	16.6	8	9.5	15	28.0	22	26.1	
Leche (milk)	53	63.0	3	3.5	14	26.4	4	4.7	
Chocolata (cocoa)	25	29.7			3	5.6	3	3.5	
Soda (soda water, soft drinks)			1	1.1			1	1.1	
Limonada (lemonade)									
Agua (water)	12	14.2	7	8.3	7	13.2	4	4.7	
Agua de cebada (barley water)			1	1.8			1	1.1	
Total	132	157.1	23	27.3	56	105.6	41	48.8	252
Soups:									
Sopa (vegetable soup)			15	17.8			45		
Caldo (meat soup)			41	48.8			11	13.0	
Total			56	66.6			56	66.6	112
Meat, fish, eggs, and cheese:									
Carne (meat, unspecified)	2	2.3	38	45.2			36	42.8	
Carne de res (beef)			4	4.7					
Carne de chancho	1	1.1							
Lomo (beefsteak)	1	1.1	8	9.5			9	10.7	
Mondongo (intestines)							2	2.3	
Cabruto (kid)			3	3.5			2	2.3	
Pollo (chicken)			2	2.3					
Pescado (fish, unspecified)	2	2.3	5	5.9	3	5.6	3	3.5	
Seviche (raw fish preparation)			5	5.9					
Huevo (egg)			1	1.1			5	5.9	
Queso (cheese)	3	3.5			1	1.8	1	1.1	
Total	10	11.9	66	78.5	4	7.5	58	69.0	138
Vegetables and grains:									
Pan (bread)	82	97.6	3	3.5	41	48.8	16	19.0	
Biscocho (biscuit)					1	1.8	1	1.1	
Rosca (sweet bread twist)	2	2.3					1	1.1	
Trigo (cracked wheat)					1	1.8			
Arroz (rice)	1	1.1	78	92.8			75	89.2	
Quaker (rolled oats)	7	8.3			1	1.8	2	2.3	
Maizena (cornstarch)			2	2.3					
Cereales (mixed cereals)									
Chochocha (corn-meal mush)			2	2.3	5	9.4	1	1.1	

TABLE 5.—Foods, classified by meal, category, and menu item, reported as consumed by forasteros of both sexes for a 3-day period—Continued

Individuals, meals, and menu items	Desayuno (breakfast)		Almuerzo (midday meal)		Lonche (lunch)		Comida (evening meal)		Total or average
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	
Tallarines (noodles)			3	3.5	1	1.8	5	5.9	
Fideos (vermicelli)			12	14.2			21	25.0	
Papas (potatoes)			14	16.6			9	10.7	
Garbanzos (chickpeas)			2	2.3			5	5.9	
Alverjas (vetches)			8	9.5			7	8.3	
Frijoles (kidney beans)			13	15.4			15	17.8	
Lentejas (lentils)			5	5.9			8	9.5	
Habas (broadbeans)			2	2.3					
Olluco			9	10.7			3	3.5	
Zanahorias (carrots)			9	10.7			3	3.5	
Repollo (cabbage)			4	4.7			1	1.1	
Zapallo (squash)			3	3.5					
Cargua			4	4.7					
Camote (sweetpotato)			4	4.7			1	1.1	
Frijol verde (green beans)							2	2.3	
Lechuga (lettuce)			1	1.1			1	1.1	
Verduras (greens)			21	25.0			5	5.9	
Yuca			24	28.5			3	3.5	
Choclo (corn on cob)							1	1.1	
Cebolla (onion)			7	8.3			5	5.9	
Tomate (tomato)							2	2.3	
Espinaca (spinach)							1	1.1	
Total	92	109.5	231	275.0	50	59.5	181	215.4	554
Fruits:									
Plátano (banana)			8	9.5	9	17.0	1	1.1	
Naranja (orange)			6	7.1	2	3.7			
Granadilla			2	2.3					
Palta (alligator pear)			1	1.1					
Fruta (fruit, unspecified)			1	1.1					
Total			17	20.2	11	20.7	1	1.1	29
Sweets:									
Dulce (dessert, unspecified)					1	1.8			
Azúcre (sugar)	19	22.6			7	13.2	2	2.3	
Total	19	22.6	17	20.2	8	15.0	2	2.3	29
Miscellaneous:									
Aceitunas (olives)	13	15.3	1	1.1	1	1.8			
Maní (peanuts)	2	2.3					1	1.1	
Mantequilla (butter)	8	9.5			1	1.8			
Manteeca (lard)	1	1.1	2	2.3	1	1.8	4	4.7	
Sancochado			18	21.4			1	1.1	
Sandwiches	2	2.3			1	1.8			
Total	26	30.9	21	25.0	4	7.5	6	7.1	57
Grand total									1,171
Average per meal									3.83

TABLE 6.—Comparison of Mocheros and Forasteros by food categories

Category	Mocheros			Forasteros		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Number	Percentage of total meals	Percentage of total menu items	Number	Percentage of total meals	Percentage of total menu items
Total meals reported	789	100.0	100.0	305	100.0	100.0
Total menu items reported	2,451			1,171		
Ratio between totals	3.10			3.83		
Beverages	409	51.8	16.6	252	82.6	21.5
Soups	228	28.8	9.3	112	36.7	9.7
Meats, etc.	449	56.9	18.3	138	45.2	11.7
Vegetables, etc.	1,226	155.3	50.0	554	181.6	47.3
Fruits, etc.	35	4.4	1.4	29	9.5	2.4
Sweets, etc.	37	4.4	1.5	29	9.5	2.4
Miscellaneous	67	8.5	2.7	57	18.6	4.8

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

Although the costume of the men of Moche might excite some mild interest on Fifth Avenue, it is essentially "modern" in all details (except for the fact that men prefer to go barefoot) and so far as I can see is of the general pattern in use for males throughout the Peruvian coastal region. The costume and ornament of women, on the other hand, does not on the whole conform to modern modes, and until fairly recently the majority of women wore garments which clearly set them apart from cholo women of Trujillo and other cities of the coast. The use of one-piece gingham dresses and other changes are creeping into the women's costume, however, and it is doubtful how long the "picturesqueness" which still lingers will last.

It is unnecessary to describe male dress in detail. A study of the photographs will be sufficient for the curious reader. Suffice it to say that the general pattern is a pair of under shorts and under singlet, a collar-attached shirt without necktie, conventional trousers reaching to the ankles, and a jacket of conventional modern design with two buttons and lapels. This combination is completed at the nether end with bare feet or sandals (*llanquis*) and at the upper end by a high-crowned straw hat with broad rolled-up brim. Some men omit one or the other or both of the undergarments. The long trousers and jacket are usually made of white or light-colored drill or other cotton material, although a very few men have woolen suits. A certain variety is to be seen in cut and material; lightweight jerseys sometimes take the place of shirts; an occasional man wears overalls with bib instead of trousers held up with a belt; etc. Most trousers are held up by leather belts of European type or rope. Some men wear sashes. When working about his farm a man often appears in rags of his former good clothes, but everyone has an outfit in which to "dress up" for fiestas and on Sundays. Some men also have a pair of shoes which are used for extremely formal occasions, and this is true of all the young Mocheros who go to Trujillo to the university or to high school (*colegio*). Only the latter, among Mocheros *netos*, have felt hats, and they practically never wear them in Moche. The felt hat is the class mark of the *forastero* or cholo man in the Moche community. Overcoats are unknown in Moche, so far as I am aware. Some men have ponchos made in the Sierra, but the use of ponchos is not universal or typical.

The remarkable feature of the men's dress in Moche is its lack of protection from the cold during the winter months. Nights and cold dreary mornings during June, July, and August are distinctly uncomfortable without woolen clothing, and during this season many of the natives of Trujillo wear woolen suits and topcoats. The "palm beach" garments of the Mocheros are ill adapted to the cool season, and this is the more curious in view of the fact that their women's older costume includes woolen skirt and shawl.

Men's garments are made by tailors, of which there were two leading ones and four secondary ones in the community during my stay. They use both hand needles and machines. Their methods were not studied, but it was understood that they are typical of those followed throughout the country. One Mochero has a tailor shop in Trujillo and lives there.

Women's costumes may be roughly classified into three general types: (1) The old costume (*vestido antiguo*), (2) the modified costume, and (3) the cotton-dress costume. The terms for the second two are my own. The three are illustrated in plates 15 and 16.

The old costume (pls. 15, *lower (right and left)*; 16, *lower (right)*) is habitually worn at present by only a handful of older and more conservative women. It is said to have been universal up to 1912. In this year a certain chief of police is said to have collected all the women in the market during an epidemic of bubonic plague. He ordered them to strip off their old costumes, which were burned. The women had to reclothe themselves with cotton cloth because of inability to replace the old quickly. This, at least, is the local explanation of the loss of the old costume. It consists of one or more white cotton petticoats as undergarments, a dark-blue coarse woolen (*bayeta*) wrap-around skirt with the split in front, held up by a woven woolen belt with red and blue woven designs. The upper body is covered by a white blouse with a wide neck, either square or rounded in cut, and with short sleeves ending 2 to 4 inches above the elbow; the blouse is made with a "yoke" over the shoulders and is shirred below the yoke; it is worn tucked into the belt which supports the skirt. Over the blouse, when the temperature is low, a blue shawl of the same type of dark-blue *bayeta* material as the skirt is worn. This is called a *rebozo*. *Rebosos* vary in size, but a

convenient measurement is 8 feet in length and about 36 inches in breadth. One end is placed over the right shoulder; the *rebozo* is drawn across the front of the chest over the left shoulder around the back, over the right shoulder and chest again, and the loose end is finally thrown over the left shoulder to hang down in back (pls. 15, *lower (right)*; 16, *lower (right)*).

The essential features of the "modified costume" (pl. 15, *upper (right)* and *lower (center)*) consist of a skirt, sometimes of *bayeta* but more often of cotton, attached to a sewn-on tapelike belt with loose ends which can be tied in back. The skirt is a complete tube, except for a slit over the hips at one side, which enables the wearer to step into it. Over this skirt is worn a waist. These waists differ among themselves as regards the details of decoration, but they all show the following basic features which set this garment off from the blouse of the old costume: they have high neck lines, the sleeves extend *below* the elbow, and the lower border of the waist hangs outside over the skirt. I do not know the technical dress-making term for this type of waist, but those who do can doubtless identify it from the photographs.

The cotton-dress costume is very simple. It consists of a single garment of printed cotton cloth. A variety of details occur, but the basic model of 1944 had a waistline effect, that is, consisted of a skirt and bodice sewed together, rather than a simple tubelike or sacklike effect. Although the other two types of costumes usually feature skirts modestly near the ankles, the cotton dress often shows a higher hemline.

Young ladies of marriageable age in 1944 appeared in all three of these types of costumes, but they also seemed to have a considerable variety of "modish" dresses (in Trujillo terms) whose patterns had been derived ultimately from North America and Europe. I am incompetent to discuss how far these creations lag behind the current modes of New York, Buenos Aires, or other accepted style centers. Here is a thesis project for a lady Ph. D. candidate. (See pl. 16, *lower (left)*, for a picture of the leading "younger set.")

Women almost always appear barefoot, even when going into the city for marketing purposes and in church, although the more advanced young women have shoes of modern style (pl. 16, *lower (left)*). The woman's hat is also of straw and follows a single pattern. It has a proportionately higher crown than the

man's hat and a narrower brim, which is turned down rather than being rolled up as in its masculine counterpart. A fringed shawl of wool or wool and cotton, made in a factory, replaces the *rebozo* with most women. This is a feature of cholo feminine dress throughout Peru.

A majority of the women seem to know how to sew but only a minority have sewing machines. It was surprising, however, to run across a large number of women who did not know sewing, other than the simplest patching. The general tendency is to have women's dresses and blouses made by specialist dress-makers (*coscreras*). There are 17 of these specialists who have been identified to me, and there may well be more. In at least one household two sewing machines are operated and the men of the family do not disdain to make women's dresses. An unspecialized housewife will make her own or children's clothes for economic reasons, but sewing is not a general female occupation. One does not see the women of the house sitting about with their needlework as a common thing.

No weaving of textiles is practiced at present (with one doubtful exception) and the *bayeta* used in the old costume is purchased from traveling merchants or in the market in Trujillo or other centers. It is all hand-woven by the natives of the Sierra. The woven belts are hand-made in the Sierra and in Monsefú. The straw hats come from the region of Chiclayo, where the neighboring towns of Monsefú and Lambayeque are highly renowned for their hatmakers; another source of supply is Celendín, in the highlands northeast of Cajamarca. They are made from the fibers of a palm leaf imported from the jungle areas of the Marañón. In Celendín, bundles of this leaf fiber were selling in 1944 at 1.5 to 2 soles. In 1944 a single Mochero had recently started in business as a hat maker and was selling his product in the community.

Sandals are worn by men when doing heavy work, traveling over rough ground, or when they happen to have them. Many men have none at all. The material for the sole is either untanned hide with hair removed or automobile tire casing. The sandal tie is shown in the sketch in figure 5. It is common to the coastal region of Peru. Although it is said that women occasionally wear sandals of this type, it is apparently very rare, for I did not observe a woman so shod in 5½ months' contact with the community. Apparently no kind of sandal was worn by the Mochicas. The sandal first appears in Chimu hori-

zons. Neither the Chimu nor the Inca sandals used the tie that is in use in Moche today.

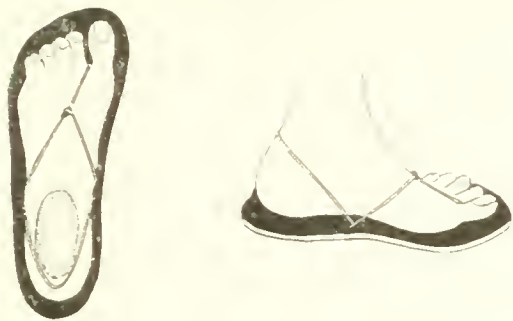


FIGURE 5.—Type of sandal worn in Moche.

Space does not permit a thoroughgoing comparison of the distribution of costumes in Peru in order to shed light on the origin of the women's "old costume." Two suggestions may be made in passing. One is that it shows no resemblance to the everyday costume of women during Mochica times, as depicted on the vases, other than the short sleeves and the wide cut of the neck of the blouse; Mochica women seemed to have been garbed in a one-piece dress of tubular or sacklike characteristics, reaching from shoulders to ankles, with (sometimes) short sleeves above the elbows and a wide neckline. The second is that the Moche skirt is suggestive of those worn in certain parts of the Sierra.

Babies wear diapers of cotton cloth, dresses, and tight-fitting cotton bonnets of European style. The diaper is a longer piece of cloth than is customary in North America, and, after passing between the infant's legs, is wrapped several times tightly about the stomach with the ends tied together in front.

Toddlers and children up to about 6 years of age (up to school age) are provided with a short shirt or dress and nothing more for everyday wear (pl. 15, *upper (left)*); pants are not regarded as necessary at this age except for status purposes. Each child in all but the poorest families, however, has a complete outfit of underpants and suit or dress (according to sex), acquired usually at the time it has its first haircut (if a boy) or when its ears are pierced (if a girl). The child is dressed up in this outfit on subsequent occasions when it may be the center of attention or appear publicly as a representative of its family's status. These children's outfits follow modern North American patterns for the most part. Little boys at this age usually have knee-length shorts.

Children are fully clothed, except for shoes and stockings, after the age of about 6 years. A considerable variety exists in their dress, which is gov-

erned mainly by the finances, taste, shopping ability, and frugality of the mother and the availability of cast-offs. Boys wear shirts usually without tails, long trousers, overalls; some, but few, wear knee-length shorts. Young girls wear cotton dresses. I have never seen one in a miniature replica of the "old costume."

About the age of puberty the children begin to take more interest in their clothes, as among ourselves, and new-fangled and faddish excrescences appear—shoes, fancy fabrics, an occasional necktie, an occasional felt hat for a boy, etc. I have been told that most of these innovations disappear after marriage, although this may not be true of the coming generation.

Ornament for men is practically nil. The short haircut is favored by the majority, although some individuals with enough white (?) blood to have curly hair affect a longer cut. Only the minority attempt to maintain a part. My estimate is that the majority of the men do not have sufficient beard to require shaving more than once a week. Most men have shaving instruments, however. The straight razor is rare; this is because of its cost and the difficulty of keeping it honed, according to some informants. The complete safety razor is rare also. Many men shave with the safety razor blade held in the hand (without the holder), while others use a pocket knife. The razor blade is a general utility implement about the Moche household. My impression is, however, that the majority of men with beards of any significance visit a barber shop about once every week on the average. There are four full-time barber shops in town, two of them operated by Japanese, where a steady customer can get shaved for 10 centavos. A haircut is 20 centavos. (The barbers will, of course, charge more if they can get it. The rate in the "first-class" shops in Trujillo, however, is only 20 centavos for a shave and 40 centavos for a haircut, all prices as of June–November 1944.) Adolescent boys use vaseline and pomades on their hair.

The distinctive hairdress of the Moche women is apparently disappearing, but is more persistent than the women's old costume in clothes. The hair is parted in the middle and is braided into two strands in back (pl. 16, *upper (right)*). Into the ends of these strands are braided homespun yarns of *algodón pardo* (brown cotton) to increase the length of each braid by a few inches. The braids are then crossed over each other and encircle the dome of the head

from opposite sides; the ends of the braids with the strings of brown cotton are then knotted together in front, above the forehead. A small knot of colored ribbon and/or a flower may grace this knot. When a woman does not have time or inclination to put her hair up in this fashion, she allows the braids to hang down her back, but usually tied together at the ends. In former times, the women of Moche were said to be famous for their gold ornaments (*alhajas*). Gold palm leaves were inserted in the crownlike arrangement of the hair-do just described and gold ornaments in the shape of heads of wheat were inserted in the hair above and in front of the ears. Heavy gold collars and chains were worn about the neck and elaborate pendant earrings of gold were common. These ornaments were regarded as important family heirlooms and symbols of status. A woman received a set of them when she married. A few of these ornaments are still in existence, but the elaborate displays at the fiestas and masses of

yesteryear are no longer seen. It is said that most of them have been pawned or sold for money. (At a fiesta in Monsefú near Chiclayo, I saw a considerable number of women wearing sets of this type of ornament, indicating, along with other traits, the greater conservatism of this northern Mochica village.) One of the men of Moche has an oil painting of his mother (painted by a Mochero artist) which shows her decked out in a complete set of this finery.

All women wear earrings on festive occasions. Hand-worked gold earrings are still owned by a number of women, although one would judge that they are on the average less elaborate than the enormous pendants of former times; but the majority of women wear cheaper earrings of silver, gilt, nickel, as well as plastic innovations peddled in the Trujillo market. Earrings are not worn every day, as a general rule, but only for religious and family festivals of first magnitude.

INDUSTRIES

Aside from agriculture and fishing, and service specialties which have already been mentioned, the manufacturing industries of Moche are few and poorly developed. Moche is poor in this respect in comparison with the northern "Mochica" village of Monsefú, where weaving, hat making, and the manufacture and decoration of gourd vessels are well-developed and well-preserved folk industries.

The fact has already been mentioned that gourd containers are made in Moche, but as a rule not on a specialized basis nor for sale outside the community.

The making of fireworks and firecrackers (*cohetes*) is a specialty practiced by three men in the community. These explosive products are used in all religious celebrations and in many other types of festivity. During the recital of the mass in the church on an important religious feast day, such as that of SS. Pedro y Pablo, one can believe that the plaza is under bombardment, because the faithful members of the *hermandad* in charge of the affair are stationed on the plaza just outside the church door and enthusiastically let off a barrage of rockets at each pause in the service. The use of noise-makers and fireworks in connection with religious and other festivals is, of course, common throughout Peru, especially along the north coast. I am told that in

the region about Chiclayo the profession of *cohetero* has achieved the status of an art, with renowned masters who are entrusted with the planning and construction of elaborate and prolonged narrative fireworks "effects." In Moche the two effects most in use are relatively simple. They are ordinary rockets and rockets mounted on a pinwheel which whirls around on a vertical axis while the attached rockets are shot into the air (pl. 17, *lower (right)*). Other effects occasionally produced by the local artists are *La Vaca Loca* (the crazy cow) and *Rabos de Zorro* (foxtails).

The rocket maker must secure a license from the police in order to secure the saltpeter, sulfur chlorate, and antimony which he uses in his trade. Since the police are wary of the manufacture of explosives by irresponsible persons, the number of *coheteros* in a given community is rigidly limited. Otherwise there would probably be more than three of them in Moche, since the trade is regarded as a lucrative one. The rocket maker grinds his materials on a flat stone, using a *mano* consisting of a rocker-shaped river stone about 18 inches long (pl. 17, *middle (right)*). The ingredients of the explosive consist of charcoal, saltpeter (*salitre*), sulfur chlorate (*clorato de azufre*), and antimony (*antimonio*). If one has a license, these materials are obtainable

from the drug stores in Trujillo. The rockets, known as *cohetes* and also as *savillanas*, consist of the following parts. The noise-making or bomb part is a ball of explosive wrapped in leaves, with a fuse protruding. The rocket charge consists of explosive powder. Both bomb and charge are stuffed into a cylinder consisting of a leaf-wrapped section of cane in such a way that the fuse of the bomb protrudes backward into the rocket charge. The rear end of the cylinder is stopped with leaves through which a fuse projects. The cylinder in turn is bound to a handle of split cane or bamboo. When the contraption is shot off, one holds the handle in the left hand, pointing upward, and touches a light to the fuse, which starts the rocket charge. The whole thing, handle and all, shoots up 80 to 100 feet into the air. By the time it reaches the top of its flight, the fuse of the bomb is supposed to have burned through and the bomb bursts high in the air, shattering the bamboo or cane cylinder. The light handle falls to the ground. It is said to require considerable skill and experience to be able to mix and place the charges correctly so that all this happens as planned. Ordinary rockets of this sort sell for 3 soles a dozen.

In connection with this chemical industry, mention may be made of a fire-making custom. It is said that when matches are not available in the *campiña*, the people go to the mountains and obtain a certain white stone; there is a good deal of this on the Cerro Blanco back of the Huacas. One rubs this against his pants until it glows, then holds it against a piece of manure and blows on it until the manure is glowing. I have not seen this procedure.

Basketry is made in several households for sale. There are at least a dozen households regarded as specialists in this industry. The material is *carrizo*, which grows wild and is also planted as cuttings in some fields. The stems are split and smoothed down with a wooden-handled kitchen or butcher knife (pl. 17, upper left) into thin strips. All baskets made in Moche are ovaloid or globular in shape, often with stiff loop handles over the top, but without lids. Trays, rectangular or cubical baskets either simple, or the telescoping type, are not made. Sizes range from small arm baskets about the size of a gallon container to large storage baskets 4 feet high by 3½ feet in diameter. All baskets have flat bases of a discoid pattern. In making a basket, either three or four sets of stiffening elements ("warps") are crossed at a single central point, as shown in plate 17, upper right, to give the effect of six or

eight radiations from the central base point. Each stiffening element consists of a group of four split canes, somewhat thicker than the strips which are used for weaving the wickerwork. The base is then started by weaving the crosswise element over and under the stiffening elements, around the central crossing point in simple spiral fashion. The weaving is done with the hands while one stands on the stiffening elements with his bare feet to hold them in position. After a base a foot or so in diameter has been woven, the ends of the stiffening elements are tied upright to a cord passing about them, as shown in plate 17, middle left, to give the approximate shape of the finished basket, after which the spiral weaving continues. The rim is made by a continuous strip of thin material bound in spiral fashion round and round the two uppermost weaving elements and tucked in on itself when the rim is finished.

It seems that textile weaving has fairly recently disappeared in Moche, although it has not been generally practiced during the past 45 years. One old lady living in the *campiña* has a belt loom, but she says that she seldom weaves any more. Most women formerly wove *bayeta* for the old costume; it is said that, since the old trade pattern with the Sierra villages has disappeared (p. 80), it is difficult to obtain wool and dyes, and it is more economical to buy ready-woven material in the markets. Quite a number of the older women still spin, however. The purpose is to make the yarn of brown cotton which is used in the Mocheras' hairdress, as described above. The spindles I have seen have whorls of calabash and a pointed, but hookless, end. They are spun with the fingers and hang free when spinning.

The two types of mats, *esteras* and *petates*, previously mentioned as being extensively used in house construction and furnishing are also made for sale. The *petate* is a simple checkerboard or twilled (two-jump) mat made of split canes or *carrizos*; the elements are stiffer than the *tatora* reeds used for making *esteras*. The latter consist of reeds laid side by side and tied together by crosswise running double cords into small bundles of four to six reeds each. The crosswise binder may be of cotton cord or of thinly split *tatora* itself. Two methods of binding are used. One is the continuous double cord which is twined and often knotted on itself between each bundle; the other method is the single tie, as follows: Bundles of reeds lie side by side, A, B, C, D, etc.; first a tie is made around A and B, and the cord is knotted and cut off; then another cord is used to make

a similar tie around B and C; the next tie will include C and D, and so on. A *titora* mat usually has three horizontal (crosswise) sets of ties, whatever the method used.

A few minor industries or specialities should be mentioned, all intrusive in the community. There is one tinsmith; there are two shoe cobblers; there are five bakeries, or, more properly, households, in the pueblo which bake bread for sale; there is one blacksmith, who seldom shoes a horse but whose work is concerned with the repair of plows and other iron work. One man is a diploma-holding embroiderer

and specializes on spangled velvet and silk cloths given by the pious to their favorite saints. We have already mentioned the carpenters, masons, adobe makers, dressmakers, tailors, barbers, midwives, curers, witches.

The so-called industries of Moche are of minor importance in the over-all income of the community. Only mats and baskets are sold outside the community on any appreciable scale, and even that is small. The remainder of the industries are actually service specialties whose product is for local consumption.

ECONOMICS

SPECIALIZATION AND DIVISION OF LABOR

Because of the trends of change present in the situation, it is difficult to speak of the economic "system" of Moche in general terms. For almost any general statement made either there are exceptions in the behavior of individuals or there may well be within a year or two. The following remarks, therefore, are to be understood as depicting the outlines of the situation as it existed, according to my information, in the year 1944. A more precise measure of tendencies of change and deviations from general patterns could perhaps have been obtained by means of a systematic collection of statistical information. But this, for reasons mentioned in the Introduction, was impossible to carry out on a large scale with the facilities at my command.

DIVISION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES ON A SEXUAL BASIS

In general, men do the hard and heavy work, while women are concerned primarily with house and child care and financial affairs. With respect to the latter, the women handle most of the commercial transactions and also handle, if they do not entirely control, the household funds. Although the situation is not actually phrased that way in Moche, many a superficial observer has come away with the impression that the man is culturally regarded as the fellow "with the strong back but the weak mind."

Men are primarily concerned with the following activities: Plowing, planting, cultivating, harvesting, supervision of livestock, milking cows, digging, cleaning, and watching of irrigation ditches, fishing and the making of nets and tackle, and building

houses and fences. In the agricultural work, women sometimes assist with the lighter tasks of planting, harvesting, and weeding. The following specialties are exclusively male: Carpentry, masonry, adobe making, tailoring, barbering, fireworks making, shoe cobbling, tinsmithing, butchering (women sometimes kill animals for home use), blacksmithing, hat making (one man). Only men are professional musicians (playing in the bands and singing in the church). Men also serve as *mayordomos* of religious fiestas which are mechanisms of potential economic gain as well as of religious satisfaction. Only men hold political offices and serve as public scribes.

Women are primarily concerned with the following activities: Harvesting of light garden crops for home use; preparation and serving of food, including baking for sale; manufacture of *chicha*; care of the house; clothes washing; care of the children; such spinning as is done; weaving (formerly); repair of clothes and dressmaking, both for the family and on order; transportation of salable goods to market, selling such goods and handling the money or other economic returns; professional midwifery. Unmarried girls and women occasionally help with the lighter field work, but a married woman is not expected to work in the fields.

Both sexes take part in the following activities: Light agricultural and horticultural work; cutting wood for sale; house building (women may carry bags of earth in *tapia* making, while men do the heavy digging and lifting); making gourd containers; basket and mat making, although these activities on a commercial basis tend to be men's work; dressmaking on a commercial basis tends to

be women's work, but there are a few men who take part; both sexes can be curers and witches, although there is a tendency for women to preempt the former specialty and men the latter. Both men and women serve as teachers in the schools; in the pueblo, men teach boys and women teach girls.

Children begin to do chores about the age of 6. Girls are given tasks about the house, such as carrying water or sweeping out the sleeping room. Boys help with weeding, watching the cows, and with the irrigation. I have seen no young children doing or trying to do hard labor.

GEOGRAPHICAL SPECIALIZATION

It has already been noted that the *playa* tends to specialize in sea fishing, while the *campiña* specializes in agriculture and horticulture.

SPECIALTIES

The specialties will be listed once more: Carpentry, masonry, adobe making, tailoring, dress making, barbering, cobbling, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, fireworks making, baking bread, basketry and mat making, playing musical instruments, singing professionally, embroidering, butchering, keeping shop, reading and writing (serving as a professional scribe), sea fishing, hat making, midwifery, curing, witchcraft.

All of these specialties require special talents, training, or economic resources. As already indicated, few of them are sufficiently well represented in the community to constitute distinct groups large enough to be recognized and organized as group units in the society. The only exceptions are the carpenters, the masons, the fishermen, and the professional musicians. The carpenters and masons are not recognized as groups. The fishermen are set off from the remainder of the community, but are not organized among themselves. Only the professional musicians who play instruments in the bands are organized, but this organization is only that required by the nature of band music and does not extend into social life in general. There is only one blacksmith (perhaps iron worker would be the better term), two tinsmiths (both are Japanese at present), one hat maker, and one cobbler. Two of the barbers are Japanese. The scribes are not registered by the Government, but work on an informal basis for fees; they cannot be regarded as professional, and their services are part-time—when some illiterate

Mocheño needs help; the two most active scribes are *ferasteros*.

The curers and witches who operate on a professional or commercial basis number perhaps a dozen in all, but, far from being organized, they regard each other with mutual suspicion and rivalry. The *brujita's* (witch's) calling is phrased in terms of aggression and counter-aggression between *brujos*.

Division of labor and specialization exist in Moche, but the specialties occupy no positions in the organization of groups within the society. This may be partially due to the attitude of individualism which permeates many aspects of life and which must be discussed later. Also, it must be recognized that Moche is still a predominantly rural peasant society in which one should not expect to find highly organized and compact groups of specialists in economic activities. There is still the tendency for every man to be a jack-of-all-trades. As one of my informants said, quoting a proverb of Lambayeque origin,

Di *brujos* de *hetero* en *interior* no hay *cholo* que no entienda su *proquillo*.

Cf. [Jungo] *brujos* a rocket maker, or shyster lawyer there is no *cholo* [i. e., man] who doesn't know his bit.)

In other words, every one knows something about all the specialties.

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE LABOR FORCE

Up to the time I left Peru in November 1944, detailed reports of the age and sex composition of the population of the District of Moche had not been worked up by the Department of the Census. However, we may make a rough calculation which, in round numbers at least, may be fairly near the truth. The Department has already published age and sex figures from the census of 1940 for the Department of La Libertad, of which Moche is a part. For the Department as a whole, males of the age group 20 to 59 inclusive constitute 21 percent of the total population of the Department.⁴³ The total population of Moche is given by the census of 1940 as 3,773. We have subtracted 500 from this figure as representing the *ferasteros*, and we have subtracted 135 individuals counted on the *Haciendita* and the "Hacienda Moche" (students and staff of the Agricultural School), leaving a total of 3,138 true Mocheños. Twenty-one percent of this figure is 659, which, if our other

⁴³ Censo Nacional, 1940, unnumbered table following p. 52. "Porcentaje Nominalmente Censada de Cada Departamento en los Grupos de Edad de 20 a 59 años." . . .

assumptions⁴⁴ and calculations are correct, represents the number of Mochero men between the ages of 19 and 60 and therefore a group which might be considered the adult male labor force available in Moche. We shall take 650 as a usable round number. Of this number 92 were definitely known to be working outside of the community on a more or less permanent basis in 1944. Taking into account 12 others said to be working outside, but whom I could not identify by name, we may assume that 100 is a safe figure for the number of men who gain the major part of their livelihood outside the community, while still maintaining their homes within it. This does not take into account Mocheros who have moved their homes and families to other localities. The outside workers are distributed as follows: 17 work as stevedores and cargo handlers in the port of Salaverry; 40 work as road laborers for the Government, being shifted about to various parts of the Department; 20 work as masons, masons' helpers, and carpenters for private constructors in Trujillo; 8 are employed as masons and laborers on the Government building project, the Barrio Obrero (Workers' Housing Project) in Trujillo; 2 are peons on the Hacienda and 2 are chauffeurs for the same establishment; 3 are professional *arrieros* (pack-animal drivers); and the occupations of the others are unknown to me.

In other words, at the time of this investigation about 15 percent of the resident true Mocheros of working age were employed outside the community. Some of them are landless men, but most have a small plot of ground or a small interest in a piece of Moche land (usually through inheritance), but too small to support themselves and their families. The number of outside workers fluctuates and those that have land sometime have time to work it. If they are busy on their jobs, however, they hire stay-at-home Mocheros to do the work for them. Work for the Government on the roads and building projects is the best paid and steadiest. During 1944 the men working in the port of Salaverry were said to average only 10 to 12 soles per week, owing to the scarcity of ships calling during wartime. The Salaverry workers are required to be on hand every day, but are paid on a piece-work basis. The work is regarded as good and the pay desirable when

there is steady movement of ships, as in normal times. The work consists of handling bags of sugar shipped to the port from the haciendas by railroad. Since Salaverry is an open roadstead, the sugar must be lightered aboard ship, and when the traffic is heavy additional recruits are brought in from Mochico.

It would be interesting to have more precise data of a statistical nature concerning the actual land holdings and average amount of land worked per man. On the basis of the above calculations it would appear that about 550 men between 19 and 60 are left to devote their time to 976 hectares of cultivated land (after subtracting the Hacienda holdings). There are about 50 Mochero specialists in the community, but we leave them out of account since they devote part of their time to agriculture and the portion of their time devoted to specialties may be regarded in a rough way as balancing with the occasional agricultural activities of the outside workers. On this basis then, we would have the labor of one man available for each 1.77 hectares (about 4.37 acres). If we subtract the areas occupied by house lots and for other unproductive uses, this figure might well be reduced to about 1.60 hectares. It should be emphasized that these calculations are at best only tentative. It must be left to agricultural scientists to say authoritatively whether or not this represents an oversupply of labor, taking into account the methods used, the emphasis on dairying, and the fact that a considerable amount of labor is forthcoming from women, children, and men over 60 years of age. To me it appears to be excessive.

The primary interest of an anthropologist in a matter of this sort is to gage the situation from the point of view of cultural adaptation and probable future changes. Unless the irrigated area of Moche is considerably increased by the construction of new irrigation ditches which would water the desert to the southeast (and this is unlikely in view of the present shortage of water in the Río Moche), it would seem that an increasingly large proportion of the economically active elements of the population will have to seek livelihood outside the community.

Flourishing handicraft industries—weaving, hat making, calabash working—bring in a sizable income to the people of the northern Mochica village of Monsefú and seem to have protected that community from the results of land hunger. But, as we have seen, the native industries of Moche have practically all died out—completely so from the export point of view—and show no signs of revival. Whether or

⁴⁴The unknowns are: (1) The exact number of *fostereros*; our figure, as explained on p. 67, is based on a count of households, not of individuals; (2) the exact proportion of the total population which is aged 19 to 59 inclusive and which is male, we are assuming that this proportion in Moche is the same as in the Department of La Libertad as a whole, namely, 21 percent.

not the official vital statistics quoted on page 9 are accurate in detail, it seems certain that the rate of natural increase is high. This pressure of population upon the fixed land area, already too restricted, will doubtless lead either to population shifts or to cultural changes of a radical nature. There are only a few apparent possibilities: (1) The excess population may be squeezed out of the community, disinherited, as it were, and forced to settle elsewhere. The large haciendas of the Chicama Valley with their chronic labor shortages are glad to accept the Mocheros into the barrack life. This eventuality would make it possible for the remainder of the population to carry on a small-scale farming life as at present, although the repercussions of intrafamily and interpersonal antagonism might be serious. (2) The bulk of the Mocheros would continue to maintain their homes in the community, while an increasing proportion earned its livelihood by outside effort. (3) The whole of the irrigated land, with its inhabitants, might be absorbed into some large hacienda which would then redistribute the population throughout its lands and, probably, destroy the whole structure of Moche life as known at present.

Other possibilities, involving developments in community organization, might well avoid or change any of these rather stark pictures, but these aspects of the matter must be discussed in a later section.

MOCHEROS IN THE PROFESSIONS OUTSIDE OF MOCHE

An increasing number of Mocheros are seeking higher education and entering the professions, often to practice outside of the community. In 1944 there were about 10 Mocheros enrolled in the University in Trujillo, 1 in Mexico, and 1 in Lima, and it is said that there is a colony of about 30 Moche families in Lima. This tendency to enter the so-called liberal professions, provided the candidates are successful, also relieves the economic pressure inside Moche, and it may be expected to increase unless some block is placed in the way of successful careers by Mocheros. Insofar as the young men become lawyers, the trend has certain disruptive features in the sense that the tendency seems to lead to increased litigation, which will be discussed later in the consideration of property matters.

As a sample of the sons and daughters of Moche who have made successful professional careers outside the community, I give the following list, culled from various informants. Except for a few, I do not know

the individuals personally. In Moche, at least, they are regarded as distinguished personages.

A doctor of laws, accountant, and professor of mathematics in the Colegio Nacional de San Juan and proprietor of the Colegio de Renacimiento, both of Trujillo.

A doctor of medicine (surgeon), practices in Lima and is on the staff of the Hospital 2 de Mayo of Lima.

A professor in the Colegio Nacional de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Lima.

A doctor of laws and *catedrático* in the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

A doctor of laws, practicing in Lima.

An accountant employed by the customshouse in Ica.

A lawyer, accountant, auxiliary *catedrático* in the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, and professor in the Colegio Nacional de San Juan in Trujillo.

Two lawyers.

A lawyer practicing in Lima.

A professor in the normal school.

A school teacher and professor.

A professor of domestic sciences in the Colegio Renacimiento, Trujillo.

Pedro Azabache, perhaps the most famous of all, is a distinguished young painter who had a successful one-man show in Lima in 1944; he studied in the Escuela de Bellas Artes in Lima and was a pupil of the famous Peruvian painter, José Sabogal. He has maintained his headquarters in Lima, but plans to open a studio and school in Moche.

PROPERTY

We are often accustomed to think of a "primitive," "peasant," or "folk" economy as predominantly cooperative in economic activities and property concepts, although various studies have shown that cooperation is not invariably characteristic of both of these aspects of economics, even on the primitive level (Mead, 1937). However, all the evidence seems to indicate that cooperation in work and a communistic or socialistic attitude toward property, whether voluntary or forced, were characteristic of the aboriginal communities of ancient Peru (Valcárcel, 1943, p. 143 ff.; Baudin, 1943, chs. 6-10), at all events was insisted upon by the Inca conquerors. Moche is in many respects a "peasant" or "folk" community (Redfield, 1941, pp. 338-370), as well as being an heir of the ancient cultures of Peru, but cultural concepts regarding property, particularly land, are definitely individualistic. Even relatives of the closest degree do not hesitate to engage in feuds and litigations with each other over questions of land rights. This matter deserves a rather extended discussion because it is the source of many of Moche's troubles and upon the form of its solution depends much of Moche's future.

Formal definitions of property and its management all conform to Peruvian law, which is governed by the principle of the right of private property, individual and corporative. The Peruvian law also contains provisions for collective and cooperative property holding and management in the cases of legally recognized "*comunidades indigenas*" (indigenous communities), and it furthermore permits and protects the formation and operation of producers' and consumers' cooperatives. The Mocheros have not taken advantage of either the corporative, communal, or cooperative features of the law, but operate exclusively under its individualistic aspects.

At first glance the situation appears the more strange because the intensely individualistic attitude toward land is combined with a cooperative attitude toward labor. The shared-work pattern in agriculture, house building, and irrigation (formerly it was on a completely democratic basis) operates side by side with an apparently rather childish jealousy regarding lands, houses, crops, clothing, tools, animals, money and all other forms of property, but particularly land. Thus it might be said that a tendency toward communism in labor exists side by side with individual ownership and management of tangible property. The idea that one's labor is a commodity which can be sold in exchange for property (or its symbols, e.g., money) is an innovation in Moche, and even yet perhaps only 15 percent of the labor force, as we have seen, sell their labor abroad. Under the older work-sharing pattern, labor was and is traded, reciprocally to be sure, but in exchange for labor and hospitality, not for money or goods. One obvious explanation for this superficial paradox might well be that, considering the realities of the Moche situation, labor has always been plentiful, but landed property and other forms of property derived directly or indirectly from it have been distinctly limited and scarce for generations. There are many hands, but few lands.

Land is the most important type of property in Moche and, in truth, is the most important fact in human life throughout the whole desert coast of Peru. By land, I mean irrigated terrain, capable of producing subsistence and/or commercially valuable crops, for no other type of land has any meaning in this region, other than in terms of barren distances to be traveled and the chances of death in doing so.

Practically every adult Mochero man and woman possesses a bundle or so of legal papers stored away

in a trunk in the house or, in some cases, it is said, buried on his land for safe keeping. These papers are supposed to prove the individual's right by inheritance, purchase, or transfer to the land which he claims to own. Their effectiveness in protecting land rights in Moche is, however, affected by two facts.

(1) Many, probably the majority, of landowners are unable to read and write, which leaves them ill-equipped to contend with cases of litigation. (2) The majority of the documents do not and under the circumstances probably cannot establish property rights in land beyond any possibility of successful contrary legal action, so that an unethical lawyer can always try "to make a case." Lawyers tell me that clearing titles, particularly of small parcels of land which have passed through many hands during the last 400 years, is at the present time a most uncertain proposition and is almost always exposed to attack provided the opposition can dig up countervailing documents, which, particularly in the case of small holdings, can hardly ever be ruled out of possibility.

It is perhaps not generally understood in North America that the Spanish colonial system saddled Latin America with a tradition of intricate red tape and required documents and reports and that certain of these procedures are still followed. Applied to illiterate natives, this system represents a striking form of cultural inconsistency of a type which I have previously termed inconsistency of pattern with pattern (Gillin, 1944, p. 443). In land disputes, it gives literate persons a marked advantage over those who are illiterate (Cornejo Bouroncle, 1935).

Such a set of patterns—documentary legalism and illiteracy—is inconsistent only if both are present in the cultural system at the same time. Education will eliminate illiteracy, but first there must be a transition period, which often is still one of maladjustment. Moche is in such a period at the present time. With the modern emphasis upon education and professional training a number of young men have succeeded in obtaining complete or partial training as lawyers in the University of Trujillo or elsewhere. Many of these have followed a successful career in the law, but some, unable to obtain a place in an established office or to create a practice of their own, turn not unnaturally, perhaps, to litigation among their own people. With the increased pressure of population on the available land, their hopes are not long deferred. As heirs and subdivisions of inheritances multiply, so do quarrels.

There is no recognized communal or family

mechanism, other than mutual good will and good sense, for the amicable settlement of such differences in Moche at the present time. Litigation is looked upon as a way out of difficulties, especially if the litigants are stimulated by young lawyers from among their own people. The result is that increased education has brought about more litigation during the present period.

The present generation of children will probably all be literate. In the meantime, however, as many illiterate property holders may be expected to live for 20 to 30 years more to carry on their quarrels, a good share or all of the Moche land may be alienated from the hands of Mocheros. In addition to qualified lawyers there are a few fake lawyers, literate men who have read some law and who pose as lawyers to ignorant or illiterate people. The Peruvian term for this type of gentry is *tinterillo* (little inker, referring to his preoccupation with documents). These parasites are not apparently as numerous in Moche as in many highland regions, but their influence is just as prejudicial to the good interests of Moche as a community.

The intrusion of the legal profession into a situation such as that of Moche not only entails the ill-afforded economic waste involved in hiring lawyers by individuals in a community of Moche's comparatively meager wealth and standard of living, but has two further consequences. (1) The lawyers stimulate conflict within the community and open wedges for the entrance of larger and more powerful interests. (2) Small-time lawyers, who are forced for want of better business to promote litigation among their home-town relatives and friends, become the tools of bigger lawyers serving larger and better organized clients.

Women as well as men own land and inherit it as well as other forms of property. Transfer from the older to the younger generation is made by gift before death, by written testament, and by customary division if the deceased has died intestate. In the latter case, my informants tell me that it has been customary for the spouse to receive half of the property in life trust, as it were, with the remainder divided equally among the children and their mother's share reverting, share and share alike, to them on her death. Inheritances of this sort, however, run into many types of legal complications, I am told, if the heirs are disposed to dispute the estate, and give rise to numerous court battles. Even written wills, of course, may be subject to legal ac-

tion. Another source of difficulty is the fact that the estate frequently is too small to be efficiently divided into shares, as when a man leaves one-half hectare of land to a widow and four children. One method of solving this difficulty is to allow one of the heirs, often the oldest brother, to operate the property as a single enterprise, dividing the proceeds among the other heirs. However, it is not difficult to see how such an arrangement may produce disagreements, when there is a widowed mother and the operating heir's family to support, leaving a residue for the remaining heirs which is almost infinitesimal. Such a situation is complicated by the fact that the average Mochero has no idea whatever of how to keep useful written records of his accounts. Many such younger heirs are forced to seek work as day laborers for their fellows with larger lands or to obtain work outside the community.

Another method in such cases is to sell the land and divide the money between the heirs. This has been done relatively rarely up to the present. If it should happen frequently and the sales were confined to the community, it would tend to create a class division between landed and landless families, which, although it exists in incipient form at present, is not socially recognized as a class division. If the sales are made to *forasteros*, as has happened in a few cases, the landless still remain landless and the steady and much feared encroachment of outsiders upon the Moche scene increases. Old timers say that up to about 1900 there were practically no *forasteros* owning real property in Moche, and that it has been traditional for the Mocheros to refuse to sell to or deal with outsiders. The influx got under way on an appreciable scale only about 15 to 20 years ago. I cannot be sure about these dates, but I am convinced that the resistance and reserve toward *forasteros* shown by Mocheros in their personal relations is rooted in fear for their land.

Without more complete historical data it is difficult to do more than speculate concerning the influence of land scarcity on present-day Moche culture and the character structure of the Mocheros. I know nothing which would indicate that the Moche lands were at any period since early colonial times greatly more extensive than when the recent *forastero* alienations began. The Mocheros have been surrounded by *forasteros* for centuries. It does seem probable, however, that the pressure from the *forasteros* has increased appreciably during the past generation. First the railroad, and then the highways made the Moche lands more accessible to outsiders; then cer-

tain of the haciendas gradually grew into large, tightly organized, and impersonal enterprises. Only a short time previous to 1944, one of the haciendas of the Moche Valley, a subsidiary of the largest sugar estate in Peru, succeeded through legal action in establishing claim to a fairly large piece of land, formerly considered to be the communal lands of the municipality.

With respect to landed property, then, the Mocheros are divided within and beset from without. If this is an actuality for only a portion of the Mocheros at present, it is a potentiality for all. Under existing conditions of sugar production for export on the world market, an hacienda must attempt to control as much arable land and as large a labor force as possible, if it is to continue to carry on a profitable business. Especially in the case of those enterprises controlled by foreign or absentee capital, the hacienda's approach to the problem of land and labor tends to become impersonal and grimly efficient. It is this type of hacienda in the Trujillo region which exhibits the strongest expansionist tendencies.

The student of cultural change must recognize that the modern capitalistic hacienda system is a mighty mechanism for alteration of the cultural and social system represented by a small, independent community such as Moche. The hacienda system of the coast is incompatible with individual ownership of small plots of ground independently managed, with the production of crops on a small scale for the internal or regional market, with "inefficient" methods of cultivation which do not involve the use of machinery, with undisciplined hours of labor, with time-consuming bargaining by small producers over the disposal of their product, and with freedom of the laborer to change his occupation at will. The hacienda requires the people under its sway to accept a different set of cultural patterns: the worker and his family are to live in a block of dwellings all exactly alike; he is to labor a definite period of hours each day, set by the clock, under the supervision of bosses; he has nothing to say about the disposal of the product, but is paid a small money wage; he is bound to the job for a definite period by contract; he receives gratis part of his rations and buys the remainder in commissaries and markets under the control of the hacienda; he or his family is not allowed to leave the hacienda without permission. Under the leadership of the Hacienda Chiclin (which has not shown expansionist ten-

dencies) and now under pressure of the Government, many haciendas have instituted "welfare features." These features include free hospitals and medical services, supervised housing conditions that result in more hygienic dwellings, free or nominally priced movies and other entertainments, encouragement of athletics and sports, food furnished through the commissaries at prices much below those of the general markets and supervision of the quality and healthfulness of the food, regular hours of labor and discipline that cut down the consumption of alcohol thereby improving health and morals, and others.

The development of the hacienda systems has created a new set of conditions to which the culture of the "independent" community such as Moche must adapt if it is to survive as a free community with an integral culture. Up to the present moment Moche has developed no effective new cultural patterns for adaptation to this alteration of outside conditions, and, as already pointed out, certain existent internal patterns (documentation of land claims and illiteracy) are seriously inconsistent.

Thus, Moche is faced with "a world it never made," and unless a speedy and successful cultural adaptation takes place, the prospects are good for the destruction of the integrity of the culture and the dispersal of the society itself. At present, there is seemingly no general sense of community responsibility on the part of the people. This attitude extends beyond property matters (although it may be derived from them) to practically all aspects of community life. Other features of the matter will be discussed in a subsequent section. During 1944, however, there appeared two organizations, organized by the younger elements, the stated purposes of which are to stimulate and develop community responsibility and pride and to take practical measures for utilizing such sentiments for the public welfare.

FINANCE AND BUSINESS DEALINGS

Very few Mocheros have bank accounts or insurance policies. Formerly everyone buried his saved money in the ground. Nowadays most of the younger adults keep their money in cash in trunks or boxes in the house. No complaints have been heard by me regarding thievery. One of the richest Moche families apparently owes much of its present affluence to an insurance policy. The head of the house, now dead, was persuaded by his wife to take out and maintain a 20,000 sol life insurance policy payable to his wife. When he died a few years

ago, his widow, by that time an old woman, prudently bought land and animals with the proceeds so that she, her children, and grandchildren are now able to live in a good house in the pueblo, hire peons to work the fields, take occasional trips to Lima, and plan to maintain one of the grandsons in the University in Lima for the next 3 or 4 years. This is the only case of life insurance of which I know.

As a general rule, families keep savings in cash only sufficient to cover emergencies, such as funerals, doctor bills, etc. Caches of money are also built up in anticipation of religious festivals and family festivals such as christenings, weddings, and birthdays.

The most profitable form of investment is thought to be cows or female calves. Not only does the investor obtain income from the sale of the milk, but the investment steadily increases through the calves produced, and with luck one does not have to wait too long for a turnover. Cattle are always readily salable, although not always at the desired price, and are thus "liquid assets." Even men without land or with insufficient land invest in cows, which are pastured on other men's land either on a share basis (half the proceeds from the cow) or on a fee basis. It is said that pasturage may be obtained for 10 centavos per day per cow. Some complaint is heard that cows thus boarded out on a cash basis tend to be maltreated by the owner of the pasture.

Land is also a good investment, although difficult to acquire. No sales of land took place during my period in Moche and, in any case, land is sold by the piece after an appropriate amount of bargaining, so that it is difficult to quote prices in terms of standard areas. Several *forastero* men told me that "they would gladly give 2,000 soles (\$306) a hectare" for good Moche land; another said he thought it was worth only about 1,500 soles a hectare, while still another claimed one would be lucky to get it for 3,000 soles a hectare. I do not know if these estimates mean anything in practical terms or not, except that scarcely any amount of money will buy his land from a Mocheero, unless he be in dire financial straits.

Those who own land as an investment usually rent it on shares (*a partidos*). The owner furnishes the land and pays the water rent; the tenant furnishes his labor, the tools, and the seed. The proceeds are divided equally between owner and tenant. The municipality, however, has several parcels of land, all of which are rented for cash; the income is used for the municipal expenses.

Houses in the pueblo are another field for investment. Houses rented to Mocheeros for ordinary dwellings rent for from 3 to 8 soles per month, most of them nearer the lower than the higher figure. I rented one without bargaining for 10 soles to use as an interviewing headquarters. The more profitable type of renting is to *forasteros*, either those who make the pueblo their suburban home or those who come to pass 2 or 3 months during the summer season. I was offered a house with six rooms (not counting various small storage rooms), kitchen, small gardens front and rear, and tile floors for 25 soles per month during the winter. According to local opinion I could have obtained it for about 20 soles on a year-round basis, and would have had to pay about 25 soles for the summer season.

There are various other smaller ways to turn a sum of money into a larger sum. For example, a woman, if astute and lucky, may turn 12 soles into 15 or 20 soles relatively quickly as follows. She buys from a woman who makes *chicha* a *botija* of the brew for 12 soles, the standard "wholesale" price. Then she sells it out retail at 15 centavos a bottle, clearing 3 soles for her trouble. (A *botija* contains 100 bottles of *chicha*). If she can get 20 centavos per bottle, her profit is 8 soles.

Women are engaged in deals of this sort all the time, usually on a small scale. For example, one of the women of my acquaintance operated during 1 day as follows: Her husband milked the cows early in the morning, obtaining 12 l. of milk, which the woman sold to a *revendadora* for 28 centavos a liter, 3.56 soles. She left the 6 centavos in her savings cache and pocketed the 3.50. Then she loaded two donkeys with yucas (the donkey she rode carried only a partial load) and set off for the market in Trujillo, arriving at her assigned stall about 7 a. m. By 10:30 she had disposed of the yucas for 4.10 soles. She began to shop around the market, looking for left-over fruit. The bulk of the retail selling in the market is over by 11 a. m. and usually some of the women have not succeeded in disposing of all their produce and are willing to sell off the remainder at reduced prices. My friend is a shrewd bargainer and succeeded in getting her donkeys loaded with assorted fruit in good condition for 4.50 soles, although it took her until about noon to do so. She then set out for Moche, arriving about 2 p. m. at her house in the town. She set up a table just inside the front door and spread out the fruit for display. She is known as a seller of items from the market, and customers

soon began to come in. By about 5 p. m. she had sold three-fourths of the fruit for 5.30 soles—she says it was not a very good day. She took a few items for home use and made a deal with her final woman customer to exchange the remainder of the fruit for 2 kilos of shelled beans, which she took to market with her next day and sold for 70 centavos. Thus her total visible "take" for the day was 9.16 soles—3.56 for milk, 4.10 for yuca, and a total profit of 1.50 on the fruit deal. Expenses were 30 centavos for lunch and *chicha* at the market, leaving a gain of 8.86 soles in cash. She was involved in a number of other barter transactions in the market of which I could get no clear picture in terms of the profit and loss. It will be noticed that the 3.56 soles for the milk represents no effort to speak of on the part of my friend and represents value produced by her husband. The value of the yuca is mainly produced by her husband, although she provides transportation to market, time, and salesmanship. The 1.50 soles gained on the fruit represents true commercial profit on the transactions involved. In this day's work my friend spent 12 hours and traveled 16 km. by donkey.

This case in terms of money values represents the median of the few cases which I was able to follow through, but my series is so small that I do not wish to suggest that the money values involved are in any way typical of the "average woman's" daily income. In the absence of an adequate statistical sample and check, I can say with practical certainty that this represents "a very good day indeed." Certainly, the data on family incomes I was able to secure do not indicate that 8.86 soles per day in cash is a usual average. This case does illustrate, however, the Mocheras' way of doing business. The woman is constantly on the lookout for propositions which promise a small profit. Part of the transactions are in cash, part by barter, and many of them involve a whole series of trades sometimes running over several days. No books are kept and practically all deals are on a face-to-face basis with goods exchanged physically and immediately rather than being taken out of stock.

Each Moche married couple is a sort of business partnership in which the man is responsible for the production of the agricultural and dairy produce and the woman handles its sale and handles all finances. Those men who work outside the community bring home their wages to their wives who act as guardians. Even funds for production expenses such as the hire of a plow, the purchase of tools, etc., have

to be obtained by the husband from the wife. She also provides him with spending money upon his request. Some husbands working for wages hold out a certain sum per week for their personal expenses, but in most cases, I believe, with the knowledge of their wives. When asked why they do not conceal some of their money from their wives, men say that "You can't expect a woman to run a household if she doesn't have the money," or something similar. My impression is that, far from feeling henpecked under this arrangement, most men feel well satisfied to leave financial matters to their wives. Personalities differ, of course, but even when the husband thoroughly dominates the wife as a person, he seems to be content to allow the woman to handle the money. To sum up, the arrangement as culturally defined does not seem to involve difference in prestige or invidious comparisons between individuals or between sexes. It is rather a form of division of labor or function. Women are supposed to do some things in this life and men other things, and among the responsibilities of women is the handling of money and finances. This is a cultural tradition in Moche, and from the average man or woman's point of view, that is all there is to it.

It is obvious that this cultural definition of functions may change, particularly if men's work for cash wages becomes an increasingly important element in family incomes.

The partnership arrangement between husband and wife does not necessarily interfere with their individual ownership of property. Thus, if a woman has inherited a plot of land, she has a perfect right to allow her husband to work it or to rent it to someone else, as she pleases. Both arrangements occur. However, the income is used by the wife for household expenses as a general rule. When cash savings of a married couple are turned into tangible assets, as in the purchase of a cow, I believe that they are usually purchased in the husband's name, i.e., regarded for formal purposes as his property. Customarily the husband's property passes to the wife and children after his death.

Although the women, as I have indicated, are commercially active in such fields as *chicha*, vegetables, milk, etc., they do not enter shop keeping. All of the shops (*tiendas*) are operated by *forasteros*.

So far as I know, there is no borrowing of funds from banks by Mocheros. Needed funds are obtained from friends or relatives within the community. Also, there is comparatively little use of

credit in the local shops, which make most of their sales for cash.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CERTAIN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

In the section on religion will be found a discussion of certain religious groups called *mayordomias* and *hermandades* (brotherhoods). Similar organizations are found throughout most of Roman Catholic Latin America, sometimes being called *cofradías* or *confraternidades*. In Moche there is a difference between a *mayordomía* and an *hermandad*, which will be discussed later, but, although both are phrased in terms of devotion to a saint or other religious object or objective, these organizations have certain economic aspects which cannot be overlooked. The economic aspect appears as follows. A *mayordomía*, let us say, is organized by a leader (always a man) who is known as the *mayordomo*. He goes to perhaps eight of his friends and says that he would like to show his devotion to San Fulano on that saint's day. He asks the men if they would also like to show their devotion to the saint and to the church in general by joining with him in a *mayordomía*. Some men do not feel that they can afford the time, the cash outlay, etc., but in time the *mayordomo* organizes a group which undertakes the responsibility of carrying out the celebration of the day of San Fulano. Each one has to make a contribution in order to carry the preliminary expenses. Five soles each is common. Arrangements are made to pay for a mass (if the saint's day does not have an obligatory one), to hire a band, to buy the rockets and fireworks, and to provide the food and drink for the feast. Then, some days or even weeks previous to the big day, the *mayordomía* starts canvassing the population for contributions. The members go from house to house asking people if they do not wish to show their devotion to the public celebration of San Fulano's day. The people of Moche seldom refuse such a solicitation. Individual amounts vary from 10 centavos up to a couple of soles. A cup of *pisco* is drunk from a bottle carried by the solicitors, and the contributors' names are entered on a list to which publicity is given by word of mouth and, sometimes, by posting the list in the church entrance. The day before the celebration, i. e., the afternoon before vespers, a band is hired and a final public canvassing of the community takes place with a further collection. After the religious solemnities and parade of the saint's image the fol-

lowing day, all contributors and almost anyone else who wishes to come is invited to a large meal, replete with ample liquor and music, usually at the house of the *mayordomo*. Here again it is not rare for guests, especially after feeling the glow of the drink, to make further contributions to the good saint. A plate is conspicuously provided for this purpose.

It is most unusual that the original contributions of the members of the *mayordomía* are not covered by the solicited contributions. A good *mayordomo* usually manages the affair so that all expenses are taken care of and there is a comfortable surplus. The church and the priest take no official interest in these funds, and the members of the organizing group have no obligation to turn the surplus over to the church. It is usually divided equally between the members of the group after all have been reimbursed for their original outlay and their contributions to the feast. The proceeds are frequently not inconsiderable in Moche terms; two or three hundred soles is a not unusual "profit." This is one of the few opportunities within the culture itself for men to make cash profits directly through their own activities. It is also considered highly honorable, and the members of such a group enjoy high prestige in the community. To be sure, considerable time and some financial risk is involved, and many men can afford neither.

The *hermandades* are more permanent organizations than the *mayordomías*, which are organized on the temporary basis. They have now practically died out in Moche. But until a few years ago, at least one *hermandad* operated a sort of insurance scheme. A certain amount of the proceeds from its activities was kept apart, usually invested in cattle, and from this fund the burial expenses of the members were paid. The organization, however, did not renew its membership, and finally all the members but one died off and the group folded up. The surviving member, I understand, was left with one calf from the "funds" of the group.

DISTRIBUTION

The mechanisms for the distribution of economic goods in the community are as follows: (1) Borrowing and lending; (2) the public market and stores of Moche; (3) the shops and saloons (*salones*); (4) Trujillo and other markets; and (5) ambulatory peddlers.

A great deal of informal borrowing and lending

between friends and relatives takes place, particularly in foodstuffs, *chicha*, and the like. This is on a strictly reciprocal basis, i.e., the lender is expected to return the equivalent when he or she is able. Tools and utensils (except plows) are also passed about through borrowing and lending, although this takes place mainly in connection with emergencies or unusual needs. For example, a man may wish to cut a tree and will borrow an ax from another man. In return he will supply some boards when the other man wishes to make *tapia*. A woman may borrow a large pan for making *sopa teólogo* and reciprocate later with an extra container for *chicha* when the original lender has a party. However, everyone is supposed to have a basic set of the utensils or tools used in his work. A man could not get along as a farmer by borrowing all the necessary tools year after year. A woman could not keep house with a complete set of borrowed utensils.

There is a public market belonging to and supervised by the municipality in Moche itself on the Plaza de Armas. It is universally regarded as a poor market (*una plaza muy chicha, no vale la pena*), because the selection of goods available is very small. A few Moche women sell their farm and garden produce here on certain days of the week and a few meat sellers offer their products. On many a day there will be only three or four persons selling. The market opens at 5 a. m. and is usually over by 9 a. m. Both buyers and sellers will visit the local market to see what is offered in the way of customers and produce, and if things are not to their satisfaction, they go on to Trujillo, where the selection of goods and the number of potential customers are much larger. Many people of Moche never bother to visit the local market, because they know before hand that the variety is poor. The best days in the local market are Thursday and Sunday.

There are eight shops in the town, as shown on the plan in map 1. All of these are operated by *forasteros*, seven by Chinese, and one by a Peruvian. The stock of these shops is small and consists mainly of staples (salt, sugar), cigarettes, soft drinks, bottled liquor and wine, coca, dry grains (rice, olluco, wheat, etc.), bread flour, a small selection of cloth, shelled maize, china dishes, and metal pots and pans. They also sell bread. All bread has to be bought ready-made (except for the few households which bake it for sale). It is provided exclusively in the form of small buns or biscuits which sell two for 5 centavos. The five saloons (*salones*) offer mainly

refreshments—coffee and bread to eat on the premises, sweets, drinks, cigarettes, etc. Cooked meals are obtainable, but only if ordered in advance. This occurs seldom, because the normal way to obtain a meal outside one's own home is to eat a *causa* prepared at the house of a Mochera. Each has a counter and a few tables with chairs. Two have booths or private rooms with oilcloth-covered tables and chairs for parties. Four have hard-packed floors of earth, and the other has a front room with tile floor. Of the five *salones*, two are operated by Peruvians, one by a Peruvian married to a Chinese, a third by a Chinese, and the fourth by a Peruvian woman married to a Russian who works outside Moche. The shops and saloons make a practice of giving a *yapa* (a little something extra) for any purchase of consideration. I have seen *yapa* given to a small boy purchasing 10 centavos worth of sweets. The shops serve mainly the hour-to-hour needs of housewives in the pueblo. Principal purchases are made in the Trujillo market or stores.

Trujillo has a large and active public market where products and handicraft goods from other parts of the country (particularly the Chiclayo region and the Sierra) are available in quantity and variety, as well as manufactured goods. A good many exchanges between members of the Moche community itself take place in Trujillo. In addition, the city has a great many shops or stores. All purchases, even those made in the stores and shops, are accompanied by bargaining, although in this region one does not see the prolonged haggling and gesticulating sometimes visible in other parts of Latin America. Many of the Trujillo stores post signs that they sell only at fixed prices. No one pays attention to this, however, and the proprietors are usually willing to shave the price, especially for country people like the Mocheros, who usually will not buy unless some ostensible concession is made. Generally speaking, in Peru, as well as the Trujillo region, the seller will quote a price. The buyer will say that it is too high. The seller will ask the buyer to "make an offer." The offer is usually too low, whereupon the buyer will ask the seller to make a concession usually accompanying his request with derogatory remarks concerning the goods under discussion and tales about how he can obtain the same for much less at some other place. This goes on for a time until agreement has been reached, but the discussion does not become noisy. In most cases a concession of no

more than 10 to 20 percent of the quoted price is made (I am not speaking of prices quoted to tourists, foreigners, and strangers, which are often twice their accepted value). The technique of the buyer walking away in a huff is not generally used. It is not customary for the seller to come running after the buyer with a new concession in an attempt to make the sale. Such conduct is regarded as beneath the dignity and honor of a Peruvian.

A few ambulatory peddlers come to Trujillo. There is a bread man who comes every morning with two donkeys. Each donkey has two large wooden boxes tied on either side, holding the bread. The peddler delivers to some small shops and also sells from house to house. An iceman appears occasionally on Sundays and feast days. He pushes his two-wheeled cart on foot from Trujillo. The cart contains a chunk of ice in a large chest, some bottles of colored flavoring matter in racks on top of the chest, an ice-shaving apparatus consisting of a blade set in a block of wood, and a couple of glass tumblers. His business consists of selling shaved ice colored and flavored with liquid from the bottles, a tumblerful at a time. Children gather around and pay 5 centavos per tumbler for this refreshment.

It is said that the day before Christmas and the day of the fiesta of San Isidro a *feria* takes place in the plaza of Moche, with booths set up by local and outside vendors. These *ferias*, or fairs, are important mechanisms for exchange in many communities of the Sierra and even on the coast. I visited one in Monsefú in September to which people came from all over the northern part of Peru. However, no *feria* took place in Moche during the 5½ months that I knew it, and the entire complex of *ferias* seems to have practically died out in the community. Probably, the good roads and ready bus transportation which have oriented the people toward Trujillo, so far as buying and selling is concerned, have also killed the old fair and local market patterns. Mocheros speak regretfully of the loss of the old institutions of exchange and distribution, but say that no one takes an interest, it is not worth the trouble, when Trujillo is so near and so accessible.

COST OF LIVING AND FAMILY BUDGETS

It is very difficult to be precise about incomes and cost of living in money terms without a long period of intensive investigation, for the following reasons.

(1) Mocheros do not keep written accounts and do not have good memories for figures, especially expenditures. (2) A good part of the subsistence expenses of the Mocheros costs them nothing in terms of money. Most pay out nothing in cash for houses, a large part of their food, etc. (3) Barter and reciprocal borrowing constitute income and outgo, but often are not translated into money at all; in other instances these profits and/or losses emerge in the form of money ultimately, but only after a prolonged and half-forgotten train of intervening transactions. (4) The Mocheros are close-mouthed about their financial affairs.

It is generally considered that an average of 15 centavos per head per day is a necessary minimum daily cash expenditure for articles of diet and drink not produced in the household and considered essential for the maintenance of life in Moche terms. This presumes, of course, that other items of subsistence are produced by the family. This, for a family of five, is a minimum monthly cash requirement of 22.50 soles and for the year, 273.75 soles (\$40.06).

The richest Mochero living in the community is said to be worth 50,000 soles. I have no way of knowing how near the truth this may be, except that he does have a fairly well-made town house and several parcels of land. Since he and his wife are childless, there is a good deal of speculation among his contemporaries as to what is going to happen to his fortune after his death. The poorest man in town is said to be the victim of one of the common family feuds over land. It is said that his sister managed to get his land away from him in a legal scrape. He gets a bare subsistence by carrying water from the public hydrants to private houses and appears on the streets a pitiful object in rags.

It is doubtful whether the actual cash income of the average family of Moche exceeds 45 soles per month.

I have collected a number of family budgets which are given herewith. These are based upon the memory and estimates of the families involved and are no more than suggestive. I had mimeographed a simple weekly schedule of expenditures and receipts which had been distributed to about a dozen families, but I was suddenly called away from Moche before they were completed, and I have no hope of receiving them by mail in time for this publication, if ever.

*Basic yearly expenditures of family living on a chacra
(man, wife, 3 children in school)*

	Soles
Clothing	70
Alcoholic drinks	50
Religious contributions	5
School expenses	15
	<hr/>
Total	140

*Monthly budget of another family living on a chacra (man,
wife, 3 children, 1 in school)*

	Soles
Estimated monthly income	80
Estimated monthly expense for food (consume ¾ kilo of rice per day, 30 centavos of salt meat; some cheese; 10 centavos of manteca; yucas and camotes; buy 20 centavos of <i>chicha</i> per day)	55
Estimated monthly expense for clothing and school	25

This family has ¼ fanegada of ground. They grow yucas and vegetables for their own use and for sale. They have chickens and 2 donkeys, no cows.

*Monthly budget of a town-dwelling family (man, wife, and
5 children)*

<i>Income:</i>	Soles
Wife sells wood and charcoal, earning about	15.00
Wife sells <i>chicha</i> and earns about	20.00
Man is foreman in Salaverry and earns	150.00
	<hr/>
Total monthly income	185.00

<i>Expenditure:</i>	
House rent	5.20
Pay to water carrier	1.60
Wood and charcoal	15.00
Meat	22.50
Rice	19.80
Milk	4.50
Bread	9.00
Lard	9.00
Salt .....	.70
Miscellaneous food and drink	40.00
Tuition for 2 children in <i>colegio</i>	3.60
Clothes and shoes for the children (estimated 84 soles annually)	7.00
Clothes and shoes for the wife (60 soles annually)	5.00
Clothes and shoes for the father (96 soles annually)	8.00
	<hr/>
Total monthly expenditure	150.30

This family enjoys a relatively high expenditure for Mocheros. Another family of five, without land, the father working as a stevedore in Salaverry, get along on 70 soles per month, or a little less than 2.50 soles per day. They pay 3 soles per month for their house.

I asked my friend, Don Victor Rázuri, to write out his estimate of family incomes. Señor Rázuri is a *forastero* who has lived in Moche for the past 25 years and is one of the few outsiders who enjoy the complete confidence, goodwill, and respect of the Mocheros. He has shown himself their friend on many occasions and has never shown any tendency to acquire their land. He is in intimate contact with many families and may be expected to know something of their affairs. His estimates, however, I believe, are somewhat optimistic, if taken to refer to the statistically average family. On the basis of such information as I have, it would seem that he describes the more prosperous families. He also figures as cash the work of the man in the work-sharing arrangement. His report, in translation, follows.

My small knowledge related to the utilization of labor in this place does not qualify me to have my data taken with complete certainty, but rather they may serve as orientation to direct attention to the ancient development which still persists among the inhabitants, making them a people in their mode of life distinct from many other valleys.

It is known by all that this valley is subdivided into small properties among the agricultural population, so that each farmer is usually owner of his parcel of ground, which he has inherited from his ancestors. Thus it is that somewhat more than two-thirds of the men may be considered *peones* [servants] of their own interests. Naturally they preserve their primitive method of working their lands, that is, with the intelligent use of work-sharing (*préstamos de brazos*). For example, Don Fulano decides to plant his small plot. Then he invites the presence of two or three more workers (*brazos*), and, accompanied by food and drink, according to his economic situation, the planting is accomplished. Of course, when he is invited to return the labor to the others, he is obligated to do so. Thus, one after another, the necessary tasks are performed. But, of course, not all men have the same amount of land; so it is, that among themselves it is customary to give their labor in return for daily wages in cases where this is necessary. Here in Moche the agricultural work is not hard and most men are content to earn a modest living. Added to this is the fact that the major part of this rich *campiña* has been converted into cattle raising, so that each individual has at least two milking cows, which should produce as a minimum 10 liters per day, not taking into account the value of the calves, etc., or let us say, 3 soles daily. Now let us evaluate the work of the Señora (or woman of the house). She frequently dedicates herself to the business of the *chicha* and the *causa*, which can be considered a matter of 15 days per month, with a minimum intake of 2 soles per day. And when she is not doing this she buys certain products, like yuca, *camote*, *alberja*, *lenteja*, etc., at a low price and resells them at the market in Trujillo, obtaining more or less the same average profit (2 soles) per day. The labor of the children is absorbed in the production of milk and crops, but occasionally they may obtain a few

centavos for running errands for neighbors, in which case they are allowed to spend it for sweets or to keep it for their own. We also must consider that the Moche people raise poultry, the sale of which could be figured as bringing in about 20 soles per month. Finally, we may calculate that the sale of agricultural products other than milk and poultry should bring in about 15 soles per month. Thus we have the following list of income per month.

	Soles
Work of the man.....	30
Work of the woman (selling <i>chicha</i> , <i>causa</i> , reselling vegetables)	30
Sale of milk.....	90
Sale of vegetable products.....	15
Sale of poultry	20
	185

Let us now consider the expenses of a household with 3 or 4 children. Nothing is paid for the house, for if the family does not have one in the town, they have one on the *chacra*. For food is spent conservatively 2.5 soles per day. Clothing may be calculated at 10 soles per month. *Chicha* and strong drink would cost about 1 sol per day. For other diversions, 0.5 sol per day; cigarettes, 0.2 sol per day; school expenses, 0.2 sol per day; religious contributions, 0.2 sol per month; taxes to the government, 1 sol per month. We should also add a contingency fund, as when the family celebrates a Saint's day or other festival, makes contributions as *padrinos* at baptisms, diverse gifts, expenses in temporary illnesses, etc. For all this we may consider 25 soles per month. We may now make up the following table of expenses, per month.

	Soles
Food at 2.5 soles per day.....	75
Clothing	10
<i>Chicha</i> and hard liquor.....	30
Other diversions	15
Cigarettes, occasional coca, etc.	0
School expenses	0
Religious contributions	2
Contingency expenses	25
Government taxes	1
	170
Total	170
Monthly balance for saving.....	15

To this small balance saved each month we must add the value of the calves, donkeys, and poultry which each year adds to the reserve and which in case of serious illnesses or deaths serves to save the situation.

Let us now consider the type of family which has some land, but which also enjoys an income from a trade or other

outside labor. Income may be calculated as follows. Pay of the man, 60 soles per month. Earning of the woman of the house, selling *chicha* and *causa* and trading in vegetable products, 60 soles per month; in this sum is included the labor of any of her minor children. Sale of agricultural products, milk, maize, poultry, etc., 120 soles.

	Soles
Man's work	60
Woman's work	60
Sale of products.....	120
	240
Total	240

As expenses, we calculate the following:

Food	90
Clothing	15
<i>Chicha</i> and hard liquor.....	36
Other diversions	15
Cigarettes, etc.	6
School expenses	6
Religious contributions	2
Government taxes	1
Contingency expenses	35
	206
Total	206
Monthly balance	34

If we make a disinterested examination of the situation we may conclude that the standard of living of this community is relatively satisfactory in comparison with that of the *peon* who works in large cities or on plantations, whose income frequently is insufficient to cover the high cost of living.

Our workers have never suffered the pain of a strike or a stoppage of work, because in reality they have no employer (*patrón*). Therefore, it seems to me that our people are privileged to Providence, and they have ample time and opportunity to celebrate fiestas, etc.

In summary, we may say that, whatever an "average" figure might be exactly, the cost of living and the amount of cash needed to maintain life and a family are, in terms of North American values, very small in Moche. It is also obvious that the standard of living, especially in clothing, house furnishings, reading matter, etc., is different and cheaper in money terms from that of even the poorer categories of North American society. One can live in Moche and maintain a family of five not too uncomfortably, according to Moche standards, for 40 to 50 soles cash per month (roughly \$6 to \$7). It is doubtful that any Moche family has a cash budget exceeding about \$30 per month, and such a family would be among the minority.

TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION, AND THE EXPANSION OF THE MOCHE WORLD

THE OLD WAY

The importance of the human foot and the donkey as a means of transportation in Moche have already been mentioned (pp. 24-25). The use of wheeled vehicles by Mocheiros within the community is, so far as I know, totally absent. Not even the wheelbarrow is used.

In carrying loads afoot the principal apparatus is the *alforja*, a woven shoulder bag of cotton or wool, with two large square pockets separated by an unpocketed strip of equal width by which the contrivance is slung over the shoulder, one pocket in front and the other behind. These bags are also carried in the hand in a similar manner, and are likewise used as saddle bags, being slung over the back of a donkey with one pocket on each side. No straps or ties are provided. The bags and their contents are kept in place by gravity. The *alforjas* vary in size, according to the use for which they are designed. They are obtained in trade from the Sierra and from the region of Chiclayo. Those from the Sierra are usually of wool, while those from Monsefú (near Chiclayo) are often of cotton with very elaborate floral designs of Spanish colonial provenience. The tumpline arrangement, which was apparently universal during Mochica times, does not appear in modern Moche at all. Babies are carried in the arms or against the mother's side or hip, but not astride it.

People carry heavy loads only for short distances and the donkey seems to have displaced the human pack animal almost entirely. Horses, as already mentioned, are little used by the Mocheiros, and mostly for riding rather than packing.

From the reminiscences of old residents it appears that modern developments in communication and transportation have constituted one of the most important factors in the change of patterns and orientations of the Moche culture. In the old days, up to about the first of the century or a little later, it appears that a regular system of exchange between Sierra and Moche, employing donkey transportation, was in operation. Simbal, one of the so-called Mochica towns, which lies in the coastal foothills of the Andes, served as contact for commercial exchanges from the two regions. Regular trips were made by the Mocheiros with donkey trains to this

town. The trip required about 3 days, and *tambos*, or rest houses, were located along the road, providing food, *chicha*, and rest for the night. In Simbal the Mocheiros came in direct contact with people from the Sierra with whom they did their trading. These contacts, together with the goods exchanged, would seem to explain the presence of many Sierra traits in Moche today. It would seem that something similar to this pattern of exchange between coast and Sierra goes back into antiquity, undoubtedly previous even to the Inca conquest of the Chimú region. In the Mochica material may be seen Sierra plants, animals, and other traits whose presence on the coast can only mean regular contact between the two areas.

Moche, of course, was not unique among the coastal villages in maintaining this commerce with the Sierra during colonial times and the last century, although some informants would have it that Moche did most of the trading and carrying for the communities of the region, such as Virú, Huamán, Guñape, etc.

In the exchange carried on in this manner, the following seemed to have been the principal products. Moche provided dried and salted fish, *aji*, *cañanes*, salt, cords of brown cotton for hairdressing and weaving. In return Moche received from the Sierra wool for weaving, maize, potatoes, wheat, *quínoa* (which was formerly much eaten in Moche), *chochoca* (maize flour), hams, and live sheep. Through these contacts a good many intermarriages took place, particularly involving Sierra men who came to Moche, married, and settled down. There seems to have been some arrangement of trade friendships and a certain amount of specialization on both sides, but I have insufficient information to expound the details.

This system of trade must have broken down fairly recently, because its existence, if not the details, remains in the memory of many persons. It is possible that the opening of hard-surfaced highways and the development of bus and truck transportation wrought the change, or at least destroyed the donkey-train pattern. The railroad from Salaverry via Trujillo to the Valley of Chicama has been in operation since the 1870's (Paz Soldán, 1877, p. 858).

MODERN MEANS OF CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The railroad, connecting Salaverry with Trujillo and points beyond, a narrow gage line of 0.914 m., passes along the east edge of town, as shown in map 1. At the present time it runs no passenger cars or trains and therefore exercises no appreciable influence in the life of the Mocheros. Until a few years ago, however, it was a principal means of mechanical transportation for trips outside of Moche. A station and siding stood beside the line just opposite from the *plazuela* where the windmill now stands, and a branch line turned off here, passed westward on Calle Alfonso Ugarte to Calle Inclán, where it turned southward and continued to Las Delicias on the shore. This branch line was torn up and abandoned less than 10 years ago. Discarded rails are to be found as uprights in a few houses. The autobuses and the shortages of wartime have conspired to suppress the passenger business of the railroad.

The town of Moche lies in a Y formed by two first-class highways, each two lanes in width and smoothly asphalted. Final work on the surfacing was completed only 3 or 4 years ago. To the north of town the Pan-American Highway (Carretera Panamericana) passes southeastward on its way to Lima. Along the west side of town runs the highway from Trujillo to the port of Salaverry. Only the latter is important for Moche. The busses running between the port and the city turn off the highway and proceed to the Moche plaza, sounding their horns loudly as they enter the town, so that passengers may come running from their houses to the plaza. The trip between Moche and Trujillo requires 20 to 25 minutes and one-way fare is 20 centavos, having been raised from 15 centavos in 1944. According to the posted schedule, Moche is served by 48 trips per day in each direction, an average of one every half-hour, with a couple extra during hours of heavy traffic. In 1944 the first bus was supposed to leave Moche at 5:05 p. m. for Trujillo, and the last bus was supposed to leave at 12 midnight, arriving in Trujillo about 12:20 a. m. The last bus out from Trujillo to Moche left about 11:40 p. m. Although there is some complaint about the high cost of the fare, the majority of Mocheros use the bus, because of its convenience and speed. It is prepared to carry the bundles of agricultural produce (except alfalfa and other excessively bulky bundles) and the cans of milk on its roof. The

busses also deliver the papers and mail early in the morning.

The surfacing of the highways also brings some trucks to Moche. A delivery truck from the Panificadora, a large Trujillo bakery, comes every day. Mocheros, both men and women, catch rides on these vehicles and also on trucks passing along the highways, as a further means of mobility.

There is a telephone "central" in the town of Moche on the Calle Espinar. It belongs to the Compañía Nacional de Teléfonos, but its facilities are little used by the general public because it has only one branch line, that to the police station. The instrument in the "central" itself is used, however, in emergencies, and one may call a person in Moche from Trujillo by long distance with some hope that a messenger will be sent out to bring him to the central office. A post office is maintained in the town, also on the Calle Espinar, which also theoretically receives and accepts telegrams. There is no house delivery of mail. The postmistress calculates that an average of about 15 pieces of incoming mail are handled daily.

According to my count, there are eight radio receiving sets, all in the pueblo; five of them belong to *forasteros* and three belong to Mocheros. None of the Government agencies has a receiver with loudspeaker for the benefit of the public, as is the case in many Peruvian towns. One of the radios is in a *salon* (drink parlor) and thus available to the public, as it were, and the others, in private homes, can be listened to by friends. There is not much interest in radio, however, and the extant sets exert practically no influence on opinion or custom. All are battery sets, owing to the fact that Moche has no electric power, so they are turned on only for a few minutes or an hour a day, and several of them are usually out of order at any given time for want of batteries. No gasoline or oil motors for the generation of electricity are in operation in Moche, so far as I know.

The lack of electricity, together with the general orientations of the culture, probably contributes to a relatively low interest in reading, or may be expected to retard its growth, although the dim, flickering light available in many a small Peruvian town which does have electricity is as discouraging to reading as the most primitive candle or oil lamp. Newspapers have a surprisingly large circulation for so rural a community, but they are read in daylight by those who can read. The Lima papers,

especially the "Comercio." were printing in 1944 a total of 20 to 25 full columns of news of all types daily, but the Trujillo papers, especially the "Industria," carry much less reading material. All informants agree that the total circulation of daily papers in Moche cannot be less than 200. The following figures were obtained by me from the respective circulation managers and agents. "La Nación" of Trujillo reported for June, 1944, 49 paid subscriptions in Moche and estimated a street sale by newsboys of about 15 daily. "La Industria" reported paid subscriptions in Moche for July 1944 as 79, with no sale by newsboy. The agents for the distribution of the Lima papers report a sale of "about 25" papers daily to customers in Moche. This gives a total of 168, to which must be added an unknown number bought by the *plazeras* (women who go to market) in Trujillo in the early morning. All informants agree that this unknown figure would be at least 32, making a total of 200. I did not have the time to trace down these recipients of newspapers to get a figure showing the precise proportion of the total who were Mocheros, as distinguished from *forasteros*. However, the cream of the news, so far as it is available in the papers, circulates widely among the Mocheros, even in the *campiña*, and the average native was usually quite well informed of the latest battles of the war, governmental decisions in Lima, and outstanding doings of the Prefectura in Trujillo. All of the *salones*, shops, and barber shops, as well as the municipal office, take at least one paper, which is read or glanced over without charge by customers and loafers.

As previously mentioned, a large proportion of the Mocheros, especially those above the age of 50, are illiterate, and of course do not read the newspapers. I have been surprised on several occasions, however, by the interest with which these people

follow the news purveyed to them verbally by their literate friends and relatives.

A biweekly newspaper was started in Moche itself in October 1944 under the name of "Inti" (Quechua, "sun"), published and edited by the organization of young men called Moche en Marcha. It is a four-page, four-column sheet printed in Trujillo, but edited in Moche, and is devoted entirely to Moche affairs. The mere fact that a Quechua word was chosen for the title is another indication, I felt, of how deeply is the Mochica tradition buried in the past.

Aside from newspapers, there is no regular inflow of reading matter. An occasional magazine is purchased in Trujillo, but irregularly and at long intervals. The preference seems to be for picture magazines printed in Chile, Argentina, or Cuba, although "Selecciones del Reader's Digest" seemed to be arousing some interest in 1944. Most of the literate Mocheros do not have the habit of reading as a means of cultivating the mind or even as a means of passing the time, while many cannot read at all. On the other hand, there are exceptions here, as in all communities, and quite a number of young men who are in *colegio* or university in Trujillo, take themselves somewhat seriously as intellectuals. A number of these individuals have fairly large collections of books (20 to 30) and magazines.

All of these media of transportation and communication tend to break down the cultural isolation of Moche. Of all of them, the good highways and frequent bus transportation are probably the most important at present. These media serve to place the Mocheros in contact with other cultural currents, but, of course, such contact does not necessarily guarantee that the outside cultural elements in question are or will be adopted by the Mocheros. A discussion of these matters will be postponed to a later section (p. 159).

RECREATION AND ART

DRINKING AND EATING

To eat, drink, and be merry is the customary idea of the proper way to relax and enjoy oneself in Moche. As indicated in the section on the etiquette of food and drink, the Mocheros are prone to recreation of this informal type about the house even on ordinary weekday afternoons, whereas the consumption of elaborate meals and prodigious amounts of

chicha and cane alcohol is a standard feature of all holidays, religious or secular.

In order to give some idea of the atmosphere of the informal weekday affairs which somehow get started without much planning or intention, I quote from my notes concerning an episode in which I was involved during my first days in Moche. Incidentally, it should not be assumed that either dis-

approval or approval of a moralistic type on my part is implied in this description or in other recording of Moche customs.

[On this afternoon] I was going down the street in the pueblo with one of my Moche friends, looking for an old lady said to be able to give me details about the former customs of the community. As we passed a certain house, my friend R., said "There's C. A. Let's go in and see what's going on." We entered the house and went out toward the back, where we found an old man, named C. A., drinking *chicha* with some friends, and already in a state of considerable enthusiasm. The house was that of S. R., a middle-aged woman, who is his *compañera* (mistress). Also present was M. A. J., *viuda de S.*, who, it turned out, enjoys the distinction of having had, in addition to the late S., three other "husbands," namely P. R., J. R., and Q., whose first name she does not remember. Another guest was one P. N., a protestant (*evangelista*) who lives in the *campiña*. Although he was dressed in the usual white suit, straw hat, and bare feet of a Moche man, C. A. insisted jokingly that he was a *doctor en derecho* (doctor of law). It later appeared that instead of being a doctor at laws, he had actually finished only the *primaria* (primary school), but was a serious-minded chap given to reading and to the Seventh Day Adventist doctrine. Another guest was B. de N., an aunt of S. R., the lady of the house. Also present was a woman named M. A. and another man whose name I did not catch at the time.

The affair was taking place in a rather dark back half-room which opened onto a small and mean back yard containing a kitchen, but not large enough for an outdoor arbor and garden. As soon as we entered, the lady of the house rushed out to boil a couple of eggs for my companion and me, in place of the *causa* which the others had already consumed. I was welcomed heartily by C. A., whose mind was dominated by the fact that, although he was 75 years of age, he was only awaiting a call to take a rifle and begin operations against the Japs, Germans, and all other attackers of *La Unidad de las Américas*. He and I would go forth to battle together, according to him. In the intervals when C. A. was occupied with drinking or going out to the back yard to relieve himself (in plain view of the assemblage), the talk revolved about two other topics. We discussed colds and the family relationships of those present. I had a bad cough and inquired what to do for it. I was overwhelmed with suggestions. Each woman had her own remedy which was chattered at me at the top of her voice at the same time all the other women were doing likewise. This bedlam was punctuated by C. A.'s giggles, and interspersed with his speeches in favor of American unity. Occasionally he would lean over to me and say, "Don't pay any attention to this advice. Rub some kerosene on your chest tonight. Tomorrow you will be cured and we'll go out together to shoot Japanese." When the medical topic played itself out, all the guests started telling me at once their genealogies, since they had heard that I was interested in such matters. If one person managed to go along understandably for as much as a minute, she would be invariably interrupted by someone else who would tell her that so-and-so's grandfather's second mistress was B., not A., etc. At

one point the Seventh Day Adventist made a speech in the usual Peruvian flowery style, in favor of the great ideals of North America. I replied in an imitation of the same style, thanking him profoundly and pointing out that we appreciated the confidence of our friends, the Peruvians. This speech was greeted with many cheers and renewed quaffing from the gourd cup. Shortly thereafter a man came in with a guitar and, after a few drinks of *chicha*, started playing, while some of those present started to sing and dance.

About 5 p. m., C. A. insisted on taking me and my friend R., who had brought me to this house in the first place, out to the *salon* of Don Juan Olimpico, for a "*copita*." We took a booth and he ordered a *cuarto* (quarter of a liter) of *cañazo* and some sandwiches made of buns with two black olives in each. His talk continued in the same way, inviting me to come to his *charra* whenever convenient, proposing a Jap-hunting expedition on the morrow, etc. He also had a sad period during which he expatiated on being all alone, for his wife had died several years before and his mistress did not take her place.

Recovering from his melancholy, C. A. insisted on ordering a second *cuarto*, which, however, by means of a few winks and whispered words I managed to have the proprietor dilute considerably. However, old C. A. was not to be deceived, and complained loudly that he would never come to this place again, because the *cañazo* was nothing but water. He sent the bottle back and had a new one brought. After C. A. had disposed of most of the second bottle, I had to order a third to respond to his hospitality (*corresponder*), so that he would not feel insulted. By this time, however, he was very drunk and knew it. He insisted on taking his leave, after having one short drink from the third bottle and effusively thanking me for my hospitality. One of the most comical aspects of the afternoon was the process of getting him out of the place.

We were sitting in a booth with something like beaver-board walls, around a table covered with oilcloth. C. A. was very polite and still enthusiastic about my proposed visit to his *charra* and about inter-American unity, but he was not very well oriented. He put on his straw hat, which had a leather lining, and pushed it back on his head. As he did this, the leather lining came loose and remained as a sort of skullcap down over his eyebrows, while the hat fell off. There was an interval during which C. A. angrily claimed that he had been blinded by the foul liquor purveyed by this place and apologized profusely for having brought his dear ally who was going to hunt Japs with him to such a den. Finally he got his hat on again, but the lining stayed down over his eyes. We all shook hands as C. A. once more took ceremonious leave, and, turning purposefully, tried to walk through the beaverboard wall. He was quite obstinate about it and attempted to continue nonchalantly with legs working steadily, but face pushed up against the wall. R. would say, "No, man, the exit is over here, man," to which C. A. would reply, "Don't tell me that R. I know perfectly well where the door is. Do you think I am drunk?" This dialogue took place several times, with C. A. all the time leaning against the wall with his leather skullcap down over his forehead and the straw hat on the back of his neck, trying to walk through the wall. Finally we got him out through the door, staggering, but still polite.

Later acquaintance with C. A. showed him to be normally a most reserved and rather melancholy man, whose expansiveness and aggressiveness appeared only when released by alcohol.

This episode illustrates several features of the typical *chicha*-and-*causa* relaxation complex. (1) The affairs are impromptu and guests may attend without prior invitation, although strangers without an introduction by a recognized friend would not be admitted. (2) The ordinarily quiet, if not taciturn, natives of Moche become voluble. Inhibitions are released and utterance is sometimes given to statements which it is extremely difficult to pry out of a Mochero when sober. A certain jocularity appears, which is seldom attempted during sobriety. Singing and dancing are indulged in freely, whereas, when sober, the typical individual feels embarrassed by activity which draws attention to himself. (3) The removal of inhibitions leads to expression of suppressed aggressions, as in the case of C. A.'s remarks about his mistress and his eagerness to shoot Japs. Overt physical scuffles sometimes occur during these affairs, and the aftermath of every large fiesta usually includes several persons in the local jail for fighting. Conversely, expression is given to friendly and sympathetic feelings which otherwise are not demonstratively expressed. In fact, it seems that the typical Mochero does not know "to be himself" without the help of *chicha*. When sober he may be personally pleasant, but he is either reserved and noncommittal, or taciturn, or on the defensive. Of course, a stranger and a foreigner such as myself would receive this impression more forcibly, but as confidence in me developed and my acquaintance deepened, I was even more convinced that *chicha* provided a welcome release from anxieties or other tensions among and within the Mocheros. Strangely, only one person in his cups expressed dislike and aggression toward me personally during my time in Moche. Fortunately, after a tussle between us one day, he became a great friend who thereafter annoyed me almost as much with his effusive *abrazos* (a form of embrace when men greet each other) as he had previously with his insults. His first antagonism toward me was at least in part based upon a long-standing grudge against *gringos*, apparently dating from an unfortunate experience with an employee of the railroad in his boyhood. (4) The pattern is to get drunk, but not "dead drunk." One drinks and eats *causa* with his friends to enjoy himself, not to "pass out." C. A.'s

insistence on leaving when he felt that he was in danger of not being able to walk is fairly typical. A "passed out" drunk is a rare sight in Moche. Individuals usually go home when they cannot hold more. There are exceptions, to be sure, but the Moche pattern is not that of an orgy in which the participants seemingly wish to blot out all consciousness save that of the high-keyed nervous pleasure of the dissipation itself. One might say that the Mocheros unconsciously wish to submerge, by means of drink, the consciousness of certain restraints which prevent them from fully expressing and enjoying their own potentialities; but once the state is achieved, they wish to prolong it, not to blot it out also.

The comparative rarity of quick and stupefying drunkenness is, of course, reinforced by the pattern itself; *chicha* rather than hard liquor customarily forms the major part of the drink; it is always consumed with food; and one drinks in the stimulating atmosphere of the presence of others. Nevertheless, there is no acquired cultural drive leading one to quick drunken oblivion. I believe that I am safe in characterizing the Moche drinking-and-eating pattern's cultural goal as relaxation, relaxation of psychosocial restraints, rather than debauchery.

Another feature of possible significance is the comparative moderation of language at Moche drinking bouts. Although people become voluble and loud, the standard tension-releasing words of Spanish are not very much employed and the obsessive interest in sexual, scatological, blasphemous, and obscene topics displayed by many Mestizos in other parts of the country, even when sober, seldom appears in the Mocheros, even when in their cups. Sex matters may be discussed a little more freely, but not with unusual affect, for sex and bodily functions are common topics of conversation in mixed company at any time. The sonorous oaths and obscenities in which the Spanish language is so rich are not perhaps as much used in Peru as in certain other Latin American countries; but Peru has an ample, if comparatively restricted, fund of them in common use. Yet I have seldom heard much of the standard Peruvian swearing in Moche.

SPORTS

Modern team sports make an appeal primarily to the younger generation.

Football (of the type called "soccer" in North America) is played enthusiastically on Sunday afternoons, usually before an audience of at least 40 or

50 onlookers. The sport is handicapped by the lack of a permanent field, and play and practice have to take place on fields which happen to be out of cultivation at a given moment, such as cornfields awaiting the next plowing, and the like. The sport owes a good deal of its impetus to one of the *forasteros*, a player of some regional renown in his younger days. At present he is the operator of one of the *salones* in the town. Six football clubs are in existence and are named as follows: Atenas, Olímpico, Once Amigos, Alianza Moche, Esport Boys, Santa Cruz de Chorobal. The expenses for shoes, uniforms, footballs, and the like, are paid from the membership dues and contributions. Games are played among the Moche clubs and also with teams from the haciendas of the region.

Basketball (usually called simply "*basquet*") is played by only one team, representing the Club Atlético Espartano (Spartan Athletic Club). It is said to be played on the court which exists in the patio of the Government school for boys, the only one available. During my stay in Moche this court had only one basket in position and no games were played.

Tejos is thought of as the distinctive Moche sport, and in its present form, at least, is claimed to have been invented and elaborated in Moche itself. The prime stimulus of the *tejos* movement has been Don Manuel L. Briceño y Vázquez. Don Manuel is a man of many and real talents, who, with Don Víctor Rázuri and Don José Eulogio Garrido, is one of the three *forasteros* who have lived for many years in Moche, have taken a hearty and sympathetic interest in the community, and have won the complete confidence of the true Mocheros. Señor Briceño is a water-colorist of recognized accomplishment, an architectural engineer, and a practical archeologist. For many years he has been employed by the Larcos of Chiclin and, among his other accomplishments, has made a definitive study of Mochica architecture, which has been embodied in a large portfolio of all the known types of Mochica constructions, shown in floor plan, elevation, and also reconstructed in the form of water-color paintings in perspective. These documents, if the money and opportunity to publish them can ever be found, will doubtless prove to be of immense value to the entire public interested in the north coast of Peru.

Señor Briceño has written a monograph embodying his evidence concerning the origin of the *tejos* game and setting forth the rules as standardized by himself. Although this work has not been printed,

it is circulated in typed form among the various *tejos* clubs of the region.

The word *tejos* means "quoits," and the game is played with brass disks 2 cm. in diameter which are supposed to weigh 80 gm. Señor Briceño suggests that certain unperforated disks found in the Mochica and Chimú archeological material may show that a similar game was played in ancient times. Various games involving the throwing of small disks are played throughout modern Peru, but, except for the Trujillo region, in my own travels in provincial parts of the country I do not happen to have discovered any conforming to the Moche game in details. The most common quoits game throughout Peru is that sometimes called *sapo*, which consists of throwing a disk about the size of a silver dollar at a brass frog sitting with his mouth open on a box top that is perforated with a number of holes slightly larger than the disk. The player scores according to the hole into which his quoit falls. The highest scoring play is to throw the disk into the frog's mouth. This apparatus is found in *chicherías* and loafing places in almost all parts of the country.

In Moche the *tejos* game is played on the ground, and it is a sport well adapted to shady arbors with

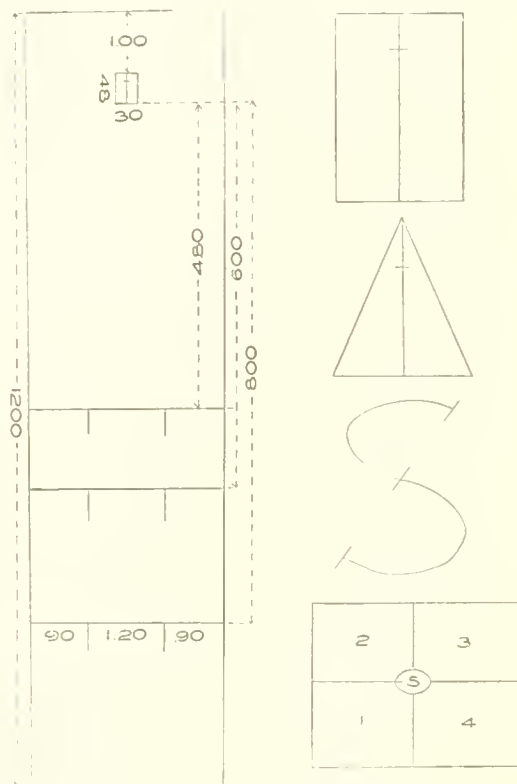


FIGURE 6.—Left, scale diagram of standard quoits court (*tejos*); right, three additional designs of targets.

causa and *chicha* near at hand. The standard court is laid out on smooth, hard-packed earth and conforms to the measurements shown in figure 6. The court is 12 m. long by 3 m. wide and the player throws his quoit at a target area, made of adobe set flush with the ground surface, whose closest point is 8 m. from the throwing line. The target (*raya*) itself may take one of four forms, shown in figure 6. The most common is that appearing in the plan of the court. It consists of a longitudinal line bisecting the target area, with a cross line 10 cm. from the farther end. If the disk lands within the target area without touching its borders, the player scores one point; if it lands on the longitudinal line, he scores two points; and if it lands on the cross of the two lines, he scores four points. Each player has two disks, and part of the game is to prevent one's opponent from scoring by knocking his disk out of the target area while landing one's own disk in scoring position. The game is much more difficult than it appears at first glance. As in other sports, there are many theories and usages regarding techniques: the stance, the wrist motion, the arm motion, and so on, are analyzed in detail by the experts. Individuals may play, each winning his own score, or the game may be played between teams of partners.

Moche has its *tejós* club, which has been granted official recognition by the Prefectura in Trujillo, and has organized a sort of league of clubs in haciendas and communities in the Moche and Chicama Valleys. Tournaments are played and the Moche club possesses a collection of loving cups, diplomas, and other trophies won in these tournaments (pl. 18, *middle (right)*). Considerable pride is shown in the successes of the team, because this is the one activity in which the community possesses recognized leadership and prestige throughout the region. During the Peruvian national holidays of 1944, the Moche team accepted a challenge from the team of the Hacienda of Laredo. The preliminaries took on somewhat more solemnity than one would have thought necessary, not knowing the importance of *tejós* in Moche. The challenge was received in writing, signed and sealed with a rubber stamp by the secretary of the Laredo club. A meeting of the executive committee of the Moche club was called, at which I happened to be present, to discuss the matter; and the acceptance was finally sent off, inscribed on the printed letterhead of the Moche club, formally signed and sealed.

Small boys play marbles, using round *choloque*

seeds or factory-made glass marbles. Top spinning is also popular among the very young. The tops are either bought or made at home; they are of wood with an iron point, and are spun by first winding them around with a length of string, then throwing the top to the ground while holding onto the end of the string. Climbing trees, wrestling, playing on rope swings hung from tree branches, etc., are also among the childish amusements.

Only males engage in sports. Women do not even play *tejós*.

Making string figures on the fingers is a favorite past-time of children. Small girls have dolls, but not invariably. There are probably other childish games which I have not noted. After they are able to walk, most small boys and girls are occupied part of the time with baby watching. They carry the babies about from one part of the arbor or garden to another, using their arms, but one does not see small nurses with babies tied to their backs in blankets walking or standing about for hours at a time as in the Sierra. (See pl. 14, *upper (left)*, for a group of children eating their midday meal together on the ground under the trees.)

THE CINEMA

The town has a motion picture theater located one-half block off the central plaza. It is served by a traveling apparatus which comes to Moche about once a month and gives shows every night for a week, carrying its own electrical generating outfit. The theater building is owned by a *forastero*. It is a plastered adobe building furnished with wooden benches and chairs, and a booth for the projector. Capacity is about 150 seated patrons. The hall is also used for meetings. The screen is of white cotton sheeting, torn and spotted in several places, and the projector is said to be capable of improvement. Perhaps more interest would be aroused in the movies by better equipment, but at the present time Mocheros are not "movie fans," generally speaking.

MUSIC AND DANCING

Music appears in the following forms, to consider the instrumental types first. (1) There are two brass bands in the community, composed of the typical European instruments, such as cornets, tubas, bass drum, etc. These organizations are hired by *mayordomias* to lead the parade on saints' days when the image is paraded through the streets, and they

also furnish alleged music during the mass in the church. (2) A couple of fiddling orchestras, consisting of violins, piano, and drums, are available for occasional fox-trot dances. (3) Several men play the "old-time" instruments in certain costumed dances and parades. These old-time instruments in Moche consist of the reed flageolet (*quena*) and the hand-made skin-covered drum. The only costumed feast day which occurred during my stay was the fiesta of Cristo Rey or Nuestro Señor de la Misericordia. A woman of the community has provided a set of "Indian" costumes for the men and a set of "angels'" costumes for the young girls. The Indians are dressed in a mixture of the North American wildwest movie version of red Indians, with feathered war bonnets, etc., and certain modern additions, such as colored goggles, mirrors, and toy pistols (pl. 18, lower (left)). An informalized allegorical dance takes place while the image is being paraded. The burden of the "plot" is a sort of contest between the bad "Indians," or *diablos* (devils) as they are usually called, and the angels. The parade is led by a couple of flageolet players and drummers. One man dressed as an "Indian devil" was playing both the flageolet and the drum at the same time. The brass band participates likewise. The woman who is patron of this fiesta keeps the costumes put away in trunks between the festival days when they are used. (4) Guitar music is very popular, especially for the informally arranged dances which develop along with drinking and eating in the households. The guitars use steel strings and seem to be played mostly by younger men. There is one man in town who repairs and tunes the instruments, on a semiamateur basis. (5) One household in the pueblo has an old and badly tuned piano, which the owner of the house bought second-hand some years ago for 200 soles (about \$30.60). The owner's son has become an efficient pianist, considering the instrument he has to work with, and fiestas in this house are popular on this account. As of the present, this young man has not turned his talent into commercial channels, but he is now organizing an orchestra with some of his friends. The pianist for the fox-trot orchestra which occasionally performs is a *forastero*.

Vocal music is not much developed as an art, but rather as a form of recreation. During a drinking spree, when the guitars have become well warmed up, almost everyone will sing, or emit sounds said to be singing. There is one professional vocalist among the Mocheros. He has a good bass voice, and earns

money singing in the church as cantor, and also in Salaverry and Trujillo. He happens to be the owner of the piano and the father of the young pianist. His old father, now 93 years of age, tells me that he was a professional cantor in his prime, and his father before him. Thus we may speak of a family musical by tradition, but, of course, the musical forms employed are native neither to Moche nor to Peru. This man is also leader of the church choir, which, however, is a comparatively small and unstable group consisting mainly of young boys whose attendance is not as regular as desired.

There is no original composition in music of which I am aware.

Dancing appears in the following forms: (1) Allegorical dancing of the type indicated above in referring to the "devils" and "angels" is characteristic of certain religious festivals. (2) Occasionally, on the day of a special fiesta, the public market, which has a cement floor, is turned into a dance hall for modern dancing by couples. This type of dance is called "fox trot," regardless of the fact that it may include tangos, two-steps, waltzes, etc., as well as fox trots. Only the younger and more sophisticated natives of the Moche undertake this type of dancing, and at these affairs the majority of couples are *forasteros*. (3) The typical folk dance of the Mocheros, the dance which characterizes household fiestas and drinking parties, is the *marinera*. This type of social dancing is common to Sierra and coast alike, throughout Peru, and hundreds of pieces of special music have been composed for it (not in Moche, however). The dance involves both sexes but does not permit bodily contact between men and women. Without going into a prolonged description, the movements consist of the male partner's doing a sort of two-step on the floor around his woman partner while he waves a handkerchief in one or both hands. He makes sudden turns, lunges, and approaches—which she coyly and rhythmically avoids. The dance is very energetic for both partners and they usually perspire copiously during its performance. The usual pattern is several couples dancing on the floor, while the rest of the party looks on from the side lines, yelling encouragement and making boisterous remarks.

ART

In the realm of pictorial art the stranger is impressed by the general interest in an attempt at painting. It is tempting to see this as a cultural

heritage from the Mochicas, who, for their time and place, produced excellent work in the medium of painting on vases and other ceramic objects. Moche has produced one painter whose work has been nationally recognized artistically and in the form of financial awards. This is Pedro Azabache, 26 years of age in 1944, whose one-man show at the "Insula" in Lima in June of that year earned him critical acclaim and the sale of 14 of his canvases. It is rare that an ethnologist finds a competent artistic interpreter of the culture of the people he is studying among the people themselves. Therefore, by special permission of Señor Azabache, a number of his paintings are reproduced herein (pls. 19-21). Azabache was a pupil of the internationally renowned Peruvian painter, José Sabogal, who has done so much to turn artistic interest in Peru toward the interpretation of the native scene, and who has led somewhat of a revolt against the colonial tradition of servile copying of classical themes and compositions. Azabache paints his own people almost exclusively, and, although influence of Sabogal is readily discernible in his style and technique, he is gradually developing a manner of his own. He is unmarried and, when in Moche, lives with his parents in the *campiña*, where one room of the adobe house has been arranged as a studio. He received his technical training in the Escuela de Bellas Artes in Lima. Although I do not attempt to predict his future course, it is worth remarking that his present success is doubly remarkable because of the cultural climate of Peru. An artist who paints "Indian" subjects and themes has a difficult time getting a showing and a hearing in Peru because intellectual and artistic circles are still dominated in large part by the spirit of *hispanismo* which sees everything that is good as coming from Spain and the "glorious Spanish tradition" of colonial times, and disparages *criollismo* and *indigenismo* (interest in Peruvian native and aboriginal subjects). Insofar as there is no active prejudice against native subjects and Indians themselves, the attitude is often that they are best ignored. Therefore, an "Indian" painter who paints "Indian" subject matter has a doubly difficult task, if he is to achieve any sort of recognition.

In addition to Azabache, Moche has three other Mochero professional painters, namely, Teofilo Rosales, Nicolas Asmat, and Juan Manuel Rodriguez. None of these men have had Azabache's training, nor do they apparently possess his talent. However, they each sell a few paintings within the community

and the region and do some professional work in the decoration of churches and the like.

Many persons who do not pretend to be professional artists seem to have an impulse to paint or draw. I have no statistical measure of the extent of this tendency, but a considerable number of houses possess inside walls decorated, often rather crudely to be sure, with painted scenes and designs. Although many of these efforts are crude from the point of view of the higher art criticism, nevertheless they are not childish scratchings, but show respectable technical competence in the use of perspective, shading, foreshortening, and so on.

Among the *forasteros* mention has already been made of Señor Manuel L. Briceño y Vázquez, who is an accomplished water-colorist, whose works are even now collectors' items among those who know them. Señor Briceño, however, has painted for his own pleasure and his work has been turned out for his own amusement. Señor José Eulogio Garrido, who is the Government-appointed mayor (*alcalde*) of the town, maintains a permanent art collection in his private house in Moche. For years he has been closely associated with many national artists who, from time to time, have presented him with samples of their works. Señor Garrido is also a writer in his own right and has recently been appointed National Curator of Folklore of the North. Among his other posts he is editor in chief of the Trujillo daily, "La Industria." Up to the present his considerable corpus of writings has been published only as articles in provincial and Lima newspapers, but he is understood to be collecting and preparing for publication a goodly part of this material in more permanent form. He is said to have three volumes of material on Moche itself which, when published, should make a valuable contribution to our knowledge. I have not had the opportunity of seeing the latter material.

Two organizations of younger Mocheros of both sexes have appeared recently, having among their stated purposes the stimulation of artistic and cultural interests. They are Moche en Marcha and La Asociación Mochera Cultural. The membership of each is exclusively, or almost exclusively, composed of true Mocheros, most of them under the age of 25. Moche en Marcha has begun, as previously mentioned, the publication of a biweekly newspaper, "Inti," which affords an outlet for a certain amount of writing in the form of poems and essays, while both organizations hold regular meetings in which

the members recite their literary compositions and listen to musical performances.

FIESTAS

Latin America is a land of fiestas and holidays. Peru has 20 official holidays throughout the year in addition to Sundays, and Moche adds at least 7 semiofficial local holidays to this list, not to mention fiestas organized sporadically by *mayordomías* for the celebration of certain saints' days. These are all fiestas involving the entire community. Family celebrations must also be taken into account. In a later section I discuss in more detail the *rites de passage*. For example, there are 11 types of *padrinazgo* (godfather or godmother relationship) in Moche. The establishment of any one of these is the occasion for a fiesta.

It is more illuminating to discuss the details of the various fiestas in connection with their func-

tional relationships with specific aspects of the culture, and to make here the general observation that the fiesta is the institutionalized form in which appear almost all the other types of recreation and art mentioned above, except the actual production of pictorial and literary art. Even modern sports have a place in most of the community fiestas.

All of the officially recognized fiestas have a serious purpose (or I may say, are parts of fundamental orientations of the culture), such as the commemoration of a personage or event, religious or patriotic, as the case may be. This aspect of the fiesta pattern must not be overlooked or minimized, but to the individual the performance of a fiesta brings relief from daily strain and monotony and a certain exaltation. Thus, the fiesta furnishes both relaxation and recreation to the individual and the group.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF LORE AND LEARNING

The symbolic patterns common in Moche are mentioned at appropriate points throughout this report, and in the following section merely a few miscellaneous items are recorded. A good part of what is ordinarily considered lore and learning will be found in the sections on agriculture, fishing, and medicine, as well as elsewhere.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Instruction is provided by two Government-supported schools, one for boys and one for girls. Each gives instruction through the sixth year. Each school is manned by teachers, including a director, all of whom are *forasteros*. The staff of the boys' school is male, and the staff of the girls' school is female. The fact that there are only four teachers for six grades in each school means that there is a doubling up in the classes. I have made no thorough investigation of the instruction, but the plan of the boys' school, at least, is modern and, on the whole, the equipment seems to be good. The director of the boys' school recently established a school library with a gift from the manager of one of the haciendas. In addition to the public schools, there are two "*colegios*" in the *pueblo*. These are merely private elementary schools, conducted in a private house by the housewife, often while she spends part of her time in her household tasks. Tuition in the private

schools is 2 soles per month, and some parents prefer to send their children to these teachers because they believe the children receive more individual attention than in the public schools. A public rural school exists in the small settlement, called Sun, in the midst of the northern *campiña*. It is coeducational and is manned by a male director (who at the same time is a student at the University in Trujillo) and two female teachers. This school offers instruction only up to the fifth year.

On the whole, the people of Moche seem to be anxious to have their children learn the basic skills of literacy, and attendance in school is said to be good. There is, therefore, reason to believe that the coming generation of Mocheros will be completely literate. In addition to the elementary instruction offered in the community, intermediate and high school instruction is available in both public and private institutions in the nearby city of Trujillo, as well as the public university offerings.

PROVERBS AND EPIGRAMS

The use of the proverbial saying and the epigrammatic turn of phrase is much appreciated in Moche. The following I heard frequently enough to remember and to jot down, but I do not suggest that they indicate the extent of the Moche repertoire nor that many of them are native to Moche. On the con-

trary, my impression is that the Mocheros are not adept at the invention of the bon mot, but rather depend upon stock phrases when they engage in repartee. Some of the following are so overworked as to have almost the standing of clichés. A few examples, however, may be of interest in order to show the patterns of thought transfer, metaphor, and phraseology which have some currency in Moche. Drinking toasts are found on page 48.

*Zorro que atreviése,
Pronto estarás tiesa.*

("Fox which meddles, soon you will be stiff."—Play on words in *tiesa*, which also may mean "stuck up".)

*La mordidura del perro,
Con la misma lana se sana.*

(The Peruvian version of, "I need some of the hair of the dog that bit me." More or less literally: "The bite of the dog is cured with the same wool." This is said to be based on a Sierra custom of clapping a tuft of sheep or llama wool on a wound to stop bleeding.)

*Tanto tienes, tanto sales;
nada tienes, nada sales.*

("You come out in this world according to what you have. If you don't have anything, you're not worth anything," or, more literally, "As you have, so you make out; having nothing, you are worth nothing.")

*El hombre propone, Dios dispone,
llega la mujer y todo lo descompone.*

("Man proposes, God disposes; comes a woman and upsets it all.")

*Quién con lobos anda
a aullar se enseña.*

("He who goes with wolves, is taught to howl.")

Lo que fué buen vino es buen vinagre.

("Good wine makes good vinegar," i. e., a good young man is a good old man.)

Más vale morir debiendo que vivir para pagar.
("It is better to die in debt than to live only to pay.")

*Lo mismo que di por verte,
dicra por no haberte visto.*

("The same that I gave to see you, I would give for not having seen you." Used in situations which would be appropriate for the restrained and icy use of the American expression, "If I never see you again, it will be too soon.")

*Quién con lo ajeno se viste,
en la calle lo descisten.*

(He who masquerades as another will be unmasked by the public.)

*Gallina no tiene agua para tomar
convida pato a nadar.*

("Chicken doesn't have water to drink, she invites the duck to go swimming.")

*Agua sabe lo que cose,
dedal, lo que empuja.*

("The needle knows what it is sewing and the thimble what it is pushing.")

*Más vale llegar a tiempo
que ser convidado.*

("It is more important that you arrive in time for the fun than that you are invited.")

*Más pesa una libra atrás
que un quintal al hombro.*

("A pound weighs more when you are pulling it than do a hundred pounds on your shoulders," i. e., it's easier in the long run to do the job right.)

*Todo hombre debe de tener
nueve concubinas, diez con la mujer.*

("Every man should have nine mistresses, ten counting his wife.")

*Nada debe decir
de esta agua, no he de beber.*

(Literally, "You should not say anything about this water, you don't have to drink it," usually in the sense of, "If you don't like what I'm doing, mind your own business.")

These pithy epitomes of folk wisdom may be compared with a few examples picked up in other localities known to the Mocheros.

The following were recorded in Huamachuco, in the Sierra, directly inland from Moche.⁴⁶

Que sabe el burro el freno.

("The donkey must learn to know the bridle," a way of saying that a certain person must learn to know who is boss.)

*El gallinazo no canta en puma,
y si canta, es por fortuna.*

("The black buzzard"—referring to Negroes—"does not crow in the puma"—high plateau of the Andes—"and if he does, it is only to make his fortune.")

*Solo lo falta, que lo pongan jáquima y
capachos para rebuznar.*

(As with a donkey, all he needs is that they put the halter and hampers on him to start him braying, i. e., some men start complaining as soon as they have work to do.)

*Abril, aguas mil,
Si no, cabe un barril.*

(In April there is usually no end of rain—in Huamachuco—but if there is not a lot, a barrel will hold it all.)

⁴⁶ The unpolished English translations attempt to convey the sense in the North American idiom, but no endeavor is made to convert the rhythm, rhyme, assonance, or play on words into English.

⁴⁶ Rafael Larco Hoyle, my genial host on the short trip to Huamachuco, introduced me to several residents of that town.

Quite a number of proverbs and epigrams which might appear to be "indecent" in English translation are also current in Moche, even in mixed company.

TIME

Modern Moche operates on clock-measured time and this seems to be no recent innovation. The clock in the church has a loud bell which strikes the hours, the quarter, and half hours, and its striking can usually be heard all over town and in most parts of the *campiña*. It was shown in the section "Background of Moche" that the community had a church bell as far back as the beginning of the 17th century, which, according to the records of the Cathedral chapter in Trujillo, had been cast in Moche itself. A considerable number of persons possess watches and cheap alarm clocks, as well. As previously mentioned, a number of cultural activities are operated on measured time: irrigation, hired labor, transportation to and from Trujillo, school hours, etc. Cows must be milked at a certain time, for example, if the lady of the house is to catch the early bus to Trujillo. Children must eat breakfast at a certain time if they are not to be penalized at school. Men who work in Trujillo and Salaverry must leave home at a regular hour. And so on.

Another time indicator is the service of the Compañía Faucett de Aviación (Faucett Aviation Co.) whose airplanes fly up and down the north coast. They fly fairly low over the Moche District to and from the landing field in Trujillo. The plane from Lima and the south crosses the *campiña* at just about 11 o'clock every day, 7 days per week, and the plane from the north crosses in the opposite direction en route to Lima about 15 minutes later.

The fact that the Mocheros usually know the time of day does not mean that they are always punctual in terms of the North American ideal patterns. In the community itself a meal, for example, scheduled to begin at 1 p. m. frequently does not actually get under way until an hour or two later. Even the masses in the church are sometimes delayed as much as an hour after the announced time, because the priest is late in arriving from Salaverry where he has conducted the early mass. The parade of a saint may be announced for 9:30 a. m., but does not start until about 11. In cases of this kind, however, there is not necessarily an inconsistency between the representational pattern (dinner will be at 1 o'clock) and the actional patterns⁴⁷ (sitting down to eat at 2:30). It is generally

understood that "1 o'clock" means "about 2:30." The maladjustment which a foreigner feels at first is due to a semantic difficulty arising from the fact that his experience in the local situation has not equipped him to understand the meaning of the verbal symbols in use. Among the Mocheros, then, there is one type of situation, usually of a social or recreational nature, in which a verbal statement of a given hour actually means an hour to 2 hours later than that stated. There are other types of situations, however, usually involving obligations between individuals, appointments of a business nature, school hours, etc., in which there is a close correspondence between the verbal pattern in its literal meaning and the action pattern correlated with it. In other words, the Mocheros have learned to keep appointments punctually when they stand to lose by not doing so. For example, informants who promised to meet me at a certain time and place were seldom late. Men working outside the community arrive promptly at their posts in time to begin work. The responsible parties are always on hand at the time when water is supposed to be turned into their irrigation ditches, etc.

MEASURES

The metric system of weights and measures is in use and fairly well understood by the Mocheros, although apparently it is not as firmly bedded in their thinking as the older Spanish colonial system. For example, the people prefer to talk of land areas in terms of *fanegadas* instead of hectares. The *legua* (league) as a measure of distance is frequently used rather than the kilometer. In weights, it is more common to use the *arroba*, the *quintal*, and the *carga* than to speak in terms of kilograms. In liquid measure, the *botella* is most commonly used, and is assumed to be equivalent to a liter, although the large beer bottles under reference actually hold slightly less than a liter. For small weights, *onzas* (ounces) and *libras* (pounds) appear in conversation almost exclusively. I have never heard a Mochero spontaneously use the term *centigramo* or *miligramo*. On the other hand, the *kilo* (kilogram) is a standard measure of weight.

This preference for the Spanish colonial system is characteristic of all of coastal Peru. The practical use of the Inca land measure, the *topo*, is unknown in Moche.

HISTORICAL TRADITION

A striking negative aspect of "lore and learning" is the lack of historical traditions. There is no time-worn body of tales or legends concerning the past of

⁴⁷ Gillin, 1944.

the community or the region.⁴⁸ This is apparently correlated with the lack of community pride and solidarity. There is, to be sure, a certain vague feeling that the people are descended from an important culture of ancient times, but no details have been elaborated, and the distinction between the Incas, the Chimus, and the Mochicas, for example, is not evident in the thinking of the people, even in disguised form. One family named Azabache (there are a large number of Azabache families) speak halfheartedly of the fact that they are descended from the "curacas" of ancient times. Other families are willing to admit this in conversation, in part at least, because it means nothing to the community as a whole. The Azabaches are willing to derive some prestige from their allegedly noble descent, but they have no impressive details with which to bolster the hazy tradition. Of course, they have no explanation of the fact that they now

⁴⁸ A considerably richer body of traditional material, partly aboriginal, seems to exist in Lambayeque. See Barandarián, n. d.

have a Spanish name. (Azabache means "jet," the black stone).

The ruins are regarded on the whole by the Mocheros as something as curious and foreign to themselves as they are to foreigners and all other persons. The ancient inhabitants are usually spoken of as *gentiles* (heathen) whereas the Mocheros are distinguished from them as *cristianos*. As for the traditional history of colonial times, it is conceivable that prolonged dredging of the memories of the older people would bring up something coherent, but in 5 months I was unable to obtain anything of significance. The two important historical events most often spoken of are the Chilean invasion of 1879 and the floods of 1925.

One cannot escape the conclusion that a community which has no strong solidarity and pride in itself as a group at present cannot be expected to have pride and interest in traditions concerning its past.

SOCIAL FORMS AND ORGANIZATION

POLITICAL CONTROLS

It was not my business to make a study of the Peruvian Government agencies in Moche, other than to consider their relation with the local culture and social situation. Therefore, no elaborate analysis will be attempted, and the following remarks have to do mainly with the functional aspects of the local government as seen from the point of view of an anthropologist, not that of a political scientist. The situation is described as of 1944.

In brief, the political controls in Moche are as follows. The town is the seat of the *Municipalidad de Moche* (Municipality of Moche), which is included within the *Distrito de Moche* (District of Moche) which also has its seat in the town. The District of Moche is a subdivision of the Province of Trujillo, which is one of the 7 Provinces composing the Department of La Libertad, which, in turn, is one of the 23 Departments composing the Republic of Peru. The Prefect, whose headquarters are in Trujillo, is the deputy of the central government and supreme political authority for the Department of La Libertad. He appoints political officers for the various municipalities and districts with the advice of his staff and the approval of the central government in Lima. The Department is repre-

sented in the National Congress by three elected senators and several deputies, but there are no elected representatives of districts or municipalities as such.

The appointed political officers in Moche are as follows. The District is presided over by a *gobernador*, who has an assistant and deputy called a *teniente gobernador*. They appoint a number of informal assistants, known as *tenientes del campo*, who carry out errands pertaining to their own neighborhoods. The municipality is in charge of an *alcalde* (mayor), who has a deputy, the *vice-alcalde*, and who is advised by a group of appointed *consejales* (councilors). The only constituted judicial authority is a justice of the peace (*juez de paz*). There is a police post (*puesto de la guardia civil*) composed of five men under the orders of a corporal. They are directly responsible to the departmental commandant of police in Trujillo, but may be called in by the political officials when needed. With the exception of the police personnel, none of the political officials is paid for his services.

The municipal government is supposed to govern the town and certain surrounding territory and the District government governs the remaining territory of the District. Economic support is understood to

be derived mainly from income from municipal lands plus a few fees. The two governments have offices side by side on the main plaza of Moche. During my time, the municipal office was seldom open, except for the occasional meetings of the council. The District office, on the other hand, maintained a secretary who was paid a salary of 60 soles per month. Usually the *gobernador* or the *vice-gobernador* was also present during the morning.

The central government has shown discretion in its choice of officials, and the incumbents of the various offices were personally well liked. The *gobernador* was a tailor by profession, a *forastero* linked by marriage to Mochero families. The *teniente gobernador* was a respected true Mochero. The mayor was one of the most trusted *forasteros*, and the vice mayor was a true Mochero.

Public services maintained by the municipality include the garbage collections (one man with a two-wheeled cart and horse), the water system (a windmill and tank, with pipes leading to six public outlets in various parts of town), and the street lights (square kerosene lamps hung or perched on brackets fixed in house walls at street corners). The District seems to concern itself mostly with the issuance of required documents and the registry of vital statistics, etc.

The local irrigation administration has been previously mentioned. During a part of my stay a commission of sanitary engineers was working in the District on the problem of malaria control. During a period of perhaps 2 months the commission entrusted with the surveys for the new land register (*catastro*) was also present. Finally, the Government agricultural school maintains a staff of four to six employees.

In summary it is impossible to speak of a unified or unifying political organization for Moche as a whole, which has roots either functionally or historically in its own culture. Such unity as exists is imposed from the outside, and follows the pattern of local administration prevalent throughout Peru in 1944. There are various arguments advanced in favor of this system, most of which seem to boil down to the basic fear of the national administration that "revolutionary" elements would get out of hand if local self-government were permitted. And it can rightly be claimed that surface order and tranquillity, at least, prevail under the system. On the other hand, there is nothing explicit in the attitude of the Government

which would prevent community organization for nonpolitical purposes.

In Moche individuals are not molested in their daily private activities (unless they are suspected of belonging to the suppressed Aprista party), but they are definitely discouraged from attempting to participate on their own initiative in any way in decisions affecting the community as a whole, although as individuals they are legally allowed to make complaints by means of written depositions made out in proper form. The governmental policy in Moche in 1944 was not that of a rigid dictatorship, but rather a fairly tolerant and enlightened paternalism.

A considerable amount of grumbling is current, however, and the complaint is common that "Moche is neglected" and has no effective way of making its wants and needs known to the higher administrative centers. The governmental system has no social mechanism pertaining to the community as a whole for the settlement of those disputes and complaints whose importance have been previously discussed, no mechanism, that is, other than formal legal proceedings. I am not aware that the law specifically prohibits the formation of an informal community council, or something similar, but the fact is that Moche has not organized one, and the present set-up affords neither encouragement nor training in non-legal means of settling disputes amicably. In Moche, as elsewhere in Peru, no public meeting may legally take place without the previous issuance of a police permit, which is obtainable only after full explanation of the purposes and expected constituency of the gathering, its place, time, and program. The objective of this regulation is to prevent the formation of disorderly mobs or subversive organizations.

FAMILIAL AND PSEUDOFAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Although Moche as a community lacks solidarity and organization, each person is supported by three nets of relationships, as it were, of a familial or pseudofamilial type: (1) his blood relationships, (2) his marriage relationships, and (3) his ceremonial kinship relationships. If Moche were a primitive tribe we should probably follow the ethnological habit of calling the whole complex the kinship system.

SEX⁴⁹

A boy begins to have sexual relations when he is about 12 or 13, but such relations are restricted.

⁴⁹ Most of my information on this topic came from male informants.

Seduction of adolescent boys by mature women was not reported. Most boys seem to have their first experience with girls of about their own age or somewhat older. The more common practice seems to be for a boy to waylay a girl as she passes alone through the *campiña*. Sometimes a group of boys waylays a group of girls. As a general rule, either type of seduction is preceded by verbal plans or hints and certainly by prior acquaintance. I have heard of no cases of violent rape.

By the age of 15 or 16 a boy makes dates with a girl to meet him at a given place in the *campiña* when she is supposed to be coming home from market or is out on errands. Another opportunity is during drinking bouts, when the parents are too occupied to pay attention to the young folk.

There is a belief that a boy who has robbed a girl of her virginity and is apprehended will be brought before her parents. He has the choice either of paying 500 soles (approximately \$76) or of marrying her. Some informants said it is the law; others, that it is only a custom. None, however, was able to point out an instance in which such compensation had been paid. To judge by my observations, it would seem that most parents ignore the matter if the couple is not caught in the act and unless the boy is a "good catch" for their daughter. Indeed, there is little else that they could do, for a young adolescent boy is able neither to pay 500 soles, which is a small fortune in Moche, nor to set up a household for himself and the girl. There is a pose taken by most adults that premarital intercourse by girls is reprehensible, but the typical Mochero really takes it for granted in both sexes. The boy and girl receive a beating if apprehended in the act, and the parents may insist on at least a customary "marriage." Generally, however, it is more convenient to hush the matter up.

The modern Peruvian lower-class pattern is followed in requiring that a girl be accompanied by another girl, by a group of boys and girls, or by her parents or brother when she is in public. Actually, she is not very strictly guarded, and there are opportunities for arranging trysts. The Mocheros are, however, neither promiscuous nor obsessed with sex. To the contrary, sex is not an emotion-laden topic, and it has no great interest to them. Although many individuals are somewhat promiscuous during the first year or two of experimentation, a man and a girl usually form an attachment which lasts for months or years before either of them is old enough

to think of marrying or settling down. Mistresses show great fidelity, and men do not circulate promiscuously. Furthermore, the chaperonage system somewhat restricts promiscuity.

With respect to perversions, there seems to be no bestiality with animals. Several informants had never heard of such a thing; a couple of others had heard some jokes about it, but these referred to the Sierra and the informants were not very interested. Two men have been identified as male transvestites (*maricones*). One, a Mochero, is obsessed with religion, dresses like a monk part of the time, and is said to have avoided relations with women. The other is a *forastero*. Neither has been attributed homosexual tendencies. There are some women who are said to have no interest in men. They are spoken of in whispers as homosexuals (*mariconas*), but I do not know if they actually practice perversions. On the whole, Moche seems to be remarkably free of unnatural sex practices.

There were no professional prostitutes living in Moche during the period of study. It is said that some appear during the big fiestas at New Year's and San Isidro, but they do most of their business with *forasteros* and visitors. Four married women have been mentioned as willing to add to their earnings furtively, and there may be more. I am under the impression, however, that prostitution for gain is very little practiced or patronized by Mocheros. Comparatively few Mocheros seem to have an interest in or even knowledge of the brothels in the nearby city.

The modeled vases of the ancient Mochica depict a large variety of heterosexual positions and perversions, and a good many of these motifs linger on in Chinu art. Modern Moche seems to have lost most or all of these. Sexual relations are accomplished in the so-called normal manner.

In the household, the adult pair try to have a sleeping room to themselves. Separate rooms, however, are not possible in many cases. The parents occasionally go outside the house for their relations or send the children out. Perhaps the majority of children, however, have seen intercourse at an early age, and practically all children know about it in a vague way by the time they are 8 or 9 years old, though they fail to understand its details or biological purpose. There is no puritanical attitude about it, and there is no effort to withhold knowledge from children, though privacy is preferred in the act. Intercourse during menstruation is tabooed, but

there are no restrictions when a woman is nursing a child.

Mechanical and chemical means of birth control are unknown, and pregnancy is not uncommon among unmarried women. Means are known, however, of producing abortions. One method explained to me by a respected *curandera* is the following (reference to some other methods will be found in the chapter on medicine). A plant called *zavarriala*, which comes from the Sierra but which can be obtained from herb sellers in the Trujillo market, is used. After about a quart of water has been brought to a boil, a handful of *zavarriala* is put into it and allowed to steep. The resulting tea is mixed with bees' honey and all of it is swallowed by the patient. This is alleged to "make the period come when it is stopped" and will produce abortions up to the fifth month, after which any method is unsafe. Quinine is said by this source to be too strong. "It breaks up the child inside the mother" (*Sancocha la criatura dentro de la mujer*). This woman says she is consulted quite frequently in these matters and that many women and girls know the techniques themselves. If abortion is practiced, it seems to be kept secret from the men, for the latter profess to know little about its methods or the extent to which it occurs.

There are various indications of the accretion of European attitudes on a simpler, perhaps older cultural complex having to do with sex. For example, the disapproval of masturbation seems to be more half-hearted than real. People do not talk about it with the affect so often displayed by Europeans and North Americans. The basic attitude seems to be that it is natural if no other release for the sex drive is present, and informants said it was common among boys under 6 and over 12, the latter sometimes performing in groups. Children are not corrected for acts evidencing autoeroticism, but a concession is made to European mores. "Of course it is bad," they say, but children are not lectured on its baleful effects nor hounded to desist. The official attitude is negative, but the basic attitude is one of indifference. The same is true regarding premarital intercourse. Officially, it is disapproved by married people, and there are certain forms of behavior that are supposed to guard against it. But very few parents think that an affair will ruin their daughter's life. As a result of these affairs not a few girls have children, called *niños de la calle*, "children of the street." They are not thrown out of the house or disowned by outraged fathers, nor, in fact, is any serious obstacle put in the

way of their continued normal social development. If the father of the child is economically suitable to the girl, her parents will try to force the pair into setting up a household together; if not, the girl and her child continue to live with her parents. Practically all such girls eventually settle down with some man and form a family without any great social stigma attached either to them or to the child. Men do not disdain to marry or set up a household with an unmarried mother. The main bar to illicit unions is Church disapproval. The guilt felt on this score, however, is somewhat assuaged by having illegitimate children properly baptized in the church.

LOVE MAGIC

There are methods in use for attracting a member of the opposite sex. This procedure is spoken of as *enguayanchar*, or simply as *brujar*. A professional witch (*brujo*) may be employed either to attract the love or desire of a given person to his client, or in cases of unrequited love and jealousy to cause harm to befall the faithless or indifferent lover. I am not completely acquainted with the methods used for attraction, because the *curanderos* and *brujos* with whom I established good contact claimed not to practice it. The baleful love magic uses the same general techniques used to cause harm to anyone, described in the section "Native Medicine and Magical Curing." It is said, however, that one can *enguayanchar* a piece of clothing of the beloved or other intimate article and thereby arouse his or her desire. A plant called *yerba de la señorita* is said to be used in this process.⁵⁰ Further reference to love magic and similar matters will be found in the section on medicine.

The standard aphrodisiac in use in Moche and the whole north coast is *huanarpo* (*Jatropha macrantha*).⁵¹ I have been shown specimens a few times in Moche, but believe that it is relatively little used here. In the general market of Chiclayo I saw several specimens on sale. I do not know what this plant looks like in nature, but the specimens kept in houses or for sale look like a species of dried mushroom. There are two kinds, male and female (*macho* and *hembra*). The male type has a rather shriveled stalk with a penislike head. The female type has a very short stalk and a large soft head with a fold in the middle, suggestive of a vulva. The

⁵⁰ See Camino Calderón (1942, p. 202, and *passim*) for reference to this matter in the region of Lambayeque. The plot of this novel turns on love magic whereby a jealous stepmother induces her husband's son to commit incest with his half-sister.

⁵¹ Identification given by Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922, vol. 2.

plant is made into a fine powder and a pinch is administered in wine or other drink. The male type is administered to men and the female type to women. If one wishes to excite a lover, the administration is done by stealth. However, it may also be self-administered to increase one's sexual power and desire. I believe that, in Moche, the latter use is even less common than the former. No chemical analysis of this material is known to me which would show whether it possesses any actual physiological effect, or whether the alleged results claimed for its use are merely psychological. However, overdosage is said to be harmful and even fatal. For this reason the *huanarpo* is also known as "*la muerte dulce*" (the sweet death).

Another aphrodisiac mentioned, which I have not seen, is called *achuni-hullu*,⁵² also said to be administered in drink in the form of a powder.

ABERRANT INCEST AND BRUJERÍA

Although it is regarded as incestuous and tabooed to have sexual relations with or to marry a person of the same family name, and certainly one who is a first cousin, the following aberrant case came to my attention. An old lady named J. has a sister named F. who in turn has three daughters by her dead husband, C. J. These daughters we shall call X., Y., and Z. J. had a son named P., now 32 years old, but still a "*soltero*," i. e., not officially married. Nevertheless, for a time he lived with and had sex relations with his cousin X. Later he had sex relations for more than a year with her sister Y. Y. is now ill and under treatment by a curing witch. While these intrigues were going on, Z. fell ill of a mysterious ailment and died. F. accuses her sister J. of bewitching her daughters, first because two of them committed incest with their first cousin, second, because one of those who did so is now sick; and finally she accuses the sister of having caused the death of the third daughter by witchcraft. J. insists that these accusations are baseless, but admits that the so-called incest took place. It is known as an open scandal in the community and the general public believes that someone was bewitched, otherwise the behavior would not have taken place, but opinion is divided regarding who did the bewitching to whom.

⁵² According to Camino Calderón, 1942, p. 193, *achuni* is the Amazonian otter or nutria (*Nasua socialis*) and *hullu* is a corruption of Quechua "tullu," meaning bone. *Achuni-hullu* is, according to this source, the penis bone of the Amazonian otter.

COURTSHIP

Young people of opposite sexes become acquainted in each other's homes when they and their parents go visiting, especially during drinking sprees, in school, in church, during the community religious and patriotic fiestas, and through chance meetings and arranged appointments in the *campiña* and the village.

When a couple decides to set up housekeeping together, the boy is supposed to ask the girl's parents for permission. The proper way to do so is as in the following case, which actually occurred during the period of investigation. The brother of one of my friends, M., is regarded as a correct young man in these matters, and his request for his intended's hand followed these lines. The whole process is called "*intencionamiento*." The brother, or *novio*, came to M. and to M.'s uncle, Tío Pedro, and asked if they would intervene. They arranged to go with him to the girl's house at 5 a. m. one morning, carrying with them a bottle of *pisco*, *si por acaso* (just in case). M. says that his brother had previously had nothing but words with the girl, and that he would not sleep with her until they were married, even after the betrothal had been formally announced by exchange of rings. This, if true, is atypical of the majority, but nonetheless is regarded as the ideal pattern. Tío Pedro knocked at the door of the girl's house. After some time, the father came and acted very surprised to see them there and asked what he could do for them. First Tío Pedro told what was on their minds, then M. The *novio* kept discreetly silent. The father expressed surprise and said he had never heard of such a thing, but he invited them into the outdoor arbor of the house to hear more. He turned to the *novio* and asked if it were true that the latter had a *compromiso* with the daughter. The *novio* replied in the affirmative. The father asked how long this had been going on and accused the *novio* of being a sly and underhanded character to be able to reach this stage without the father's knowing anything about it. He, of course, had been aware of the whole business for some months, as the couple had made no secret of their affection and the young man had been at the house and at other houses for *chicha* and *causa* with the girl various times in the presence of her father. The father next called in the girl and in a tone of incredulity asked her if she had a *compromiso de amor* with this—this mere boy. (The *novio* was 24 years old.) The girl admitted that it was true and that she wished to

marry the *novio*. Tío Pedro and M. chimed in assuring the father that it was true and that everything had been done on a strictly honorable basis. The father, enjoying his position, proceeded to harangue them for their secretive methods, their lack of frankness and confidence with him, etc. After he had held forth in this wise for some time, it was next up to Tío Pedro to inquire whether he perceived any objections to the proposed union. The father called in the mother, and they retired into the house for private conversation, leaving the young couple and their agents in an embarrassed silence. Finally the father came back, looking doubtful and annoyed. The girl and her mother withdrew. There followed a long discussion in which Tío Pedro and M. presented the fine points of the *novio*, his prospects, and the advantages to be expected from so suitable a union, while the father interposed objections and doubts. Finally, there was an agreement on the general proposition, involving also the practical arrangements concerning presents to be made from both families to the couple. The *novio* was pinned down to commitments regarding his circumstances, plans, and projects. After everything had been agreed, Tío Pedro and M. brought forth their *pisco* and everyone drank a *copita* to seal the agreement. The atmosphere immediately changed to one of complete good will and affability, the bottle was finished off, and the meeting broke up about 7:30 a. m.

This is said to be the only decent way to get a woman, although some couples merely set up housekeeping without consulting the parents of the bride. There is no formal dowry pattern, but the girl's parents, if properly approached, usually expect to contribute something to the impedimenta of the house, and the boy's parents expect to contribute something to the stock of tools needed. The question of land and house site is also worked out. The interventors for the groom may include his father, another blood relative, or one of his *compadres* or *padrinos*. Relatives are preferred, because only they usually have authority to speak of economic arrangements involving the boy's family.

Properly, such a proposal is followed by a formal engagement fiesta with *padrinos*, as described in the section on ceremonial kinship (p. 111), and ultimately it is followed by a church marriage ceremony. In many cases the betrothal and wedding ceremonies are simply omitted or postponed and the couple proceeds to set up housekeeping and to live together at once. Until their own house is ready, they may live with

either the boy's or the girl's parents, depending on arrangements in each case.

MARRIAGE

An informal type of marriage, more common than the formal, is accomplished by the couple simply starting to live together, as previously mentioned.

"Marriage" and its derivatives (*casamiento*, *casar*, *casado*, etc.) have the technical meaning in Moche of a union formally sanctified by the Church. This terminology is often difficult for a North American to grasp at first. He may inquire if Don Fulano is married; Fulano will reply that he is not married, that he is a *soltero*. Later the North American finds that Fulano has lived in the same house with María for the past 20 years and that they have eight children. He begins to wonder whether he heard correctly in the first place or whether his Spanish is failing him. If, after Fulano had said that he was not married, the North American or anyone else had asked, "Do you have a *compañera*?" Fulano would have replied readily in the affirmative and would have shown no hesitation in supplying further details. This technical purity in the use of the word "marriage" is, of course, quite common throughout Latin America, and, having passed through the stage of bewilderment in Ecuador and Guatemala, I was prepared for something similar in Moche.

For sociological purposes, *compañeros* publicly living together on a permanent basis are married, and in the following section "Family and Household" I call this type of arrangement "customary marriage," and discuss the relation of the various types of marriage to the family structure. Here I shall consider only briefly the formal marriage with benefit of clergy, as follows.

First the couple must announce their intentions in the *gobernación*, await the period of the banns, pay a small fee, and secure a certificate properly signed and sealed. From the civil or legal point of view, they are now married. Although some advanced persons in other parts of Peru are satisfied with this, no one in Moche is. The advantage of merely a legal marriage is that one can be divorced, but in Moche a marriage without the Church ceremony carries with it no prestige and is not satisfying to the bride or her family. The groom is obligated to buy the wedding garments for both himself and the bride, as well as another set of new clothes for the following fiestas. He also pays the priest's fee, which is 12 to 14 soles plus whatever the groom is inclined to add. The

groom chooses a *padrino* and the bride a *madrina*, who act as their sponsors at the church, and who are often older persons. They usually give presents to the couple. After the ceremony in the church, there is a fiesta the first day in the house of the groom's parents. The next day there is a fiesta in the house of the bride's parents. The third day the fiesta continues wherever convenient, sometimes in the house of the *padrino*. Late at night on the third day the couple go to their own house to live. There is no ceremony of crossing the threshold nor any fiesta in the form of a housewarming. If the house has been recently built, the housewarming fiesta may take place later. The heaviest expense of these celebrations falls on the groom or his family. The feast at their house should include the slaughter of a bullock. This and expenses of clothes, feasts, and priest's fees amount to at least 350 soles, while 500 soles is said to be closer to the average. The economic requirements are sufficient to encourage the postponement of many a marriage.

Following is an account of an atypical marriage, which may serve to illustrate some of the attitudes and motivations surrounding marriage.

I did not get married in the regular way myself. I had lived seven or eight years with my *compañera* and had five children, when a sudden epidemic of pneumonia carried two of them off suddenly. My woman at the time was pregnant. She felt very sorrowful about the loss of the children, and one day she fainted in the *charra*, the result of which was that the fetus (*feto*) died inside her. She had to be rushed to the hospital in Trujillo, where the doctors opened her stomach and womb and extracted the dead baby. It looked to me as if she were going to die and I wished to visit her and be with her in the hospital. But the nursing mothers would not allow me to enter because I was not married to her. They told me that, if we got married, I could come to see her. It is said to be improper in the sight of God for a man to visit the mother of his children, even when she is on the point of death, if he is not married to her. (This was said with emotion.) I told them that I would be married then and there. That was about 10 a. m. I had to go out and get two witnesses (*testigos*) and a *padrino* and *madrina*. The mothers got the certificate for me and the banns were waived. I got my uncle for *padrino* because I had no time. The priest married us at the side of my wife's bed that afternoon at 2 o'clock, with the regular service with ring and coins. It did not cost me anything, as it would have in church. Why didn't I get married before this? Well, I was always ashamed of being married in the church, and having all my friends laugh at me as I marched in all dressed up. Then there was the question of expense as well. You have to have two sets of new clothes, one for the ceremony and the other into which you change after you leave the church. And the man is supposed to buy the outfits for himself and the bride both. Then there is the question of the

fiesta, the *pisco*, the *chicha*, the bullock to be killed, and so on. Since I was left an orphan when I was three years old, I never had any money.

Marriage, of whatever variety, of course, increases a man's or woman's social resources. In time of trouble or need the "in-laws" will usually do what they can to aid. An individual always is respectful toward his or her parents-in-law but real intimacy of a cooperative type also often develops between the individual and his in-laws.

No cases of formal annulment or divorce in Moche are known to me. Effective divorce is accomplished by one or other partner leaving the common dwelling and refusing to come back to it. Attempts are usually made by the respective families and by the ceremonial relatives, especially the marriage *padrinos*, to effect a reconciliation. If this cannot be accomplished, the estranged spouses usually form another household with other partners in the course of time.

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

The Moche household normally consists only of a pair of spouses and their unmarried children, who constitute the family (or immediate family). This family group is the only universal functioning group in Moche which is based on blood relationship (actual, potential, or putative). Although some households exist, composed of an older couple or a widowed parent and married children, they are distinctly in the minority and will be discussed below. The woman, as previously mentioned, has effective control of the finances, but the man is always spoken of as "chief of the house" (*jefe de la casa*). However, there is no tendency toward patriarchal control by the man, and his formal position as head of the house seems to be in the nature of a concession to Spanish customs. On the contrary, if any tendency of dominance is to be noted, it is in favor of the woman, since she controls the finances and the operations of the dwelling itself. Both parents discipline the children, although infants are handled almost exclusively by women. Physical punishment by slapping with the palm of the hand or light switching is used, but not extensively. My data on the everyday details of Moche family life are not as complete as desired because I did not live day in and day out, around the clock, with a Moche family. However, informants and personal observation lead to the impression that the typical family life is tranquil, at least so far as surface manifestations are concerned. There is generally an absence of loud scolding of the children, and discipline would seem

to be relatively light. Nursing infants are usually near the mother constantly and are given the breast whenever they cry, although between nursing they are often carried about and amused by older small children.

Quarrels between man and woman do occur, of course, and even lead to physical violence between the partners. However, both spouses seem on the whole to take a more or less equal part, and violence is most likely after one or both have been drinking. Wife beating is not any more common than husband beating, and I know of several cases of husbands who have been driven out of their homes by their wives. Jealousy and the aggressions released by drink, or both combined, seem to be the most frequent causes of violent outbreaks. Both partners may leave the house if fighting takes place. Women tend to go back to their parents' house, but men tend to hide out with a ceremonial relative or to leave the community temporarily, if the matter is serious and especially if the man is embarrassed (*tiene vergüenza*). Persistent quarreling usually leads to break-up of the household.

The details of division of labor and function in the household have been previously described. Those families which can do so have at least two sleeping rooms, one for the children and the other for the parents, because the children are very inquisitive about sexual intercourse (*los chicos son muy curiosos*).

The immediate family as a social structure shows certain inconsistencies which seem to be the result of the fact that it is a combination of a folk institution, a legal institution, and a religious institution. On the one hand, we may see the Moche family as a primary group composed of father, mother, and children performing certain functions, such as economic production, training of children in crafts, techniques, and attitudes, proferring relaxation and recreation, providing shelter, maintenance, and employment for its members, furnishing some religious training, and offering an opportunity and a background for making friends and social contacts. In fact, the family in this sense fulfills all the functions normally expected of a family in a folk society and would show no cultural inconsistencies were it not that the Spanish legal and social system has imposed certain forms upon it, and the Church likewise. Let us try to elucidate this situation as follows.

A family is established *de facto* simply by a man and woman living together publicly in the same quarters—setting up housekeeping together, in other

words. A family is established *de jure* by filling out certain forms in a Government office (civil marriage). Finally, a family is established *de religio* by participating in a sacrament of the Church administered by a qualified priest. We may speak of these, respectively, as the customary, the legal, and the religious family. A specific family group however, may be only customary, without the legal and religious sanctions. Or it may combine the customary, legal, and religious institutions. (Legal marriage without the church ceremony is practically unknown in Moche.)

We should not overlook the distinction between family and household. At any given time a house is usually occupied by a family and this unit forms the household. Households, however, may be broken up by separation or death of the spouses. Such an event does not break up the family in the legal sense. That is, the members of the former household may still be members of the family in the sense that they may have claims against the persons or property of other members. Thus, although households seem to be characterized by tranquility and lack of disputes, families in the legal and kinship sense are less so. Most of the quarreling over property which occurs between siblings takes place after their common household has been broken up or after they have left it.

As regards the status of the members of a family, there is no cultural difficulty so long as the customary aspects alone are considered. Complications arise when we (and the Mocheros) begin to consider the legal and religious aspects.

First, to consider the religious aspect, a union sanctioned by the Church may not for practical purposes in Moche be dissolved in the eyes of the Church. The training behind this attitude and the solemnities of the religious wedding ceremonies are such as to invest the status of religious marriage with a heavy charge of emotionalism. Although such marriages are occasionally dissolved by the partners simply breaking up the home and going to live with other partners, the guilt feelings involved and the community pressures brought to bear are disquieting, to say the least, to the individuals. Rather than face the responsibilities which a church wedding lays upon them, many a couple elects to dispense with it as well as the preceding legal formalities. The man must take the initiative in arranging a church wedding, and some men apparently are reluctant because the lack of this solemn seal upon their family life

gives them a certain hold over their partners. If the woman does not behave, the man can break up the partnership without being damned for breaking his solemn religious vows. Doubtless some women look at the matter in the same way, although none of my female informants have said so.

From the legal point of view, unless a woman is legally married to a man, she may have difficulty obtaining a share of the inheritance unless expressly provided for in a written will or by voluntary acquiescence of the legal heirs. The same is true of children born out of legal wedlock who are not legally recognized by their father. Also, they do not inherit his name. A man may, on the other hand, recognize his children, even when not married to their mother, by a relatively simple procedure in one of the Government offices.

Let us now consider the statuses of individuals as they actually may occur in the Moche family.

The couple under consideration may be married or unmarried at the moment, or they may marry later. The woman, not uncommonly, may have one or more previous children by another man who may or may not have been married to her. Some of the children of the present union may have been born before the couple was married, others after. A child may be in any one of the following statuses. (1) He may be the product of a clandestine affair of his mother before she "settled down" with anyone, and at present has not been recognized as the child of any man. In this case he bears his mother's maiden family name. (2) He may be the child of a former unsolemnized union of his mother, but has been recognized by his mother's former partner. In this case he carries the man's family name. (3) He may be the child of a former marriage of his mother, in which case he carries her former husband's name. (4) He may be the product of a former unsanctioned union of his mother, but has been recognized by her present partner (adopted) and now carries the present partner's family name. (5) He may be the product of the present union which has not been sanctioned by Church or State and remains legally unrecognized by his father, in which case he has his mother's maiden family name. (6) He may be recognized by his father, the present partner of his mother, although they are not officially married. In this case he carries the present partner's name. (7) He may be the offspring of a fully recognized marriage of his mother and father who are now in union, and, of course, he carries his father's name.

Normally there is no stigma attached to being illegitimate in the strict sense of the word. The word is, in fact, little used. The general tendency is for the young children of the mother by previous unions to be taken into the household of her new husband or companion, and arrangements to this effect are usually made before the partners decide to live together. Such children form a regular part of the new household and there does not seem to be any tendency for the man to grow emotional about their presence. He may even legally adopt them. As for his own "illegitimate" children, a man tends to recognize them, if at all, after they have reached the age of adolescence, particularly if they turn out to his liking. The main practical importance of such recognition is that they may share his name and his property.

It should not be supposed that the typical Moche household is notably unstable as a result of these somewhat conflicting patterns of the family institution. As previously indicated, a few liaisons are expected by both sexes before settling down into the customary family. But changes are not frequent thereafter. Of a sample consisting of 46 couples now living together, all over 45 years of age, the average number of permanent relationships including the present one, was 1.30 for men and 1.19 for the women. Forty of the women had been married or partner of a man only once, 5 twice, and 1 three times. Twenty-four men had been married or partner of a woman only once, 10 twice, and 2 three times. Of the 46 present unions, only 27, or 59 percent, claimed to be legally and religiously married.

LOVE MAGIC IN MARITAL SITUATIONS

Magic, or *brujería*, can be and is used in marriage as in most other situations of life. The case of the wandering spouse is not unknown, and magical means may be used both to break up the home and to recapture the affection of a wayward partner. The techniques are essentially the same as those used in courtship magic. Following is a case, translated from the words of one of my informants but omitting names, as taken down in Spanish.

It was not many years ago that I first knew a couple to whom I was united by a certain degree of friendship. They were people of a certain grade of education and of regular economic position . . . My friend, the man, not content with the good spouse which he had in his home, elected to take up with another woman, or sweetheart (*querida*), of whom he was also fond and whom he supported. All right. With

the passage of two years or so, the sweetheart, being completely convinced of the affection of her lover, wished to be mistress of his heart (*dueña*) forever, but her ambition would be realized only if she could eliminate from this life the true spouse, who was a model woman of the house. She had to have recourse to crime, by means of *la brujería y el mal*. All this she had to do without the intervention of her lover, because he felt a true affection for his legitimate woman. From this arose the fatal drama of the sweetheart. On various occasions, when the adulterous husband visited her, she insisted that he bring her some bread from his other house. The innocent husband, whether by lack of attention or forgetfulness, failed to do this and his sweetheart pretended to be angry and would not permit the caresses which he had previously enjoyed. He could not understand what motive pursued his sweetheart and said to himself, "Every day she asks me to bring bread to the house. To save trouble I shall just take some of her own bread from her kitchen as I come to visit her the next time." This he did, presenting the sweetheart with some partly eaten bread which he had found in her kitchen when she was otherwise occupied. Great was her satisfaction to see in her hands the desired bread and many were the caresses which she lavished on her lover. Repeatedly she asked him if the bread was from his house, to which he replied, "*Sí, sí, sí, hijita,*" not having any presentiment of the cruel denouement. As soon as the bread was in her power, the sweetheart ran and delivered it into the hands of a *bruja* (witch), who had been previously advised to produce certain desired effects in the innocent victim [the man's wife]. But the opposite took place. A short time thereafter the second woman fell ill; she was completely incapacitated and the *médicos* could not diagnose the sickness, until finally the crisis arrived. In her delirium and the pain which she suffered, she could do nothing but call to her bed the husband and invoke his pardon for the wicked act which she had wished to do to his legitimate *señora*. And at the same time she told him, "If you wish to save my life, go to the back yard of my house and in a corner there is a small barrel with a large stone on its top. Take away the stone carefully and inside the barrel there is a toad with the bread in its mouth. Take the bread out of the toad's mouth and throw it in water." The man, bewildered and not accustomed to performing these offices, did the wrong thing. He took the top off the barrel, and without intention, dropped the stone on the toad, killing it. When he arrived at the side of his sweetheart, her condition was hopeless and he could understand only these words, "Now you have killed me. You never really loved me." She died almost immediately, only shortly after the death of her nefarious friend the toad.

My informant says that his friend, the man involved, told him the whole story because he himself was not involved in any magical plot against his wife. The man is now said to be reconciled with his wife, and both regard the experience as a good lesson. It would seem, however, that the wandering husband's preoccupation with the matter is not his sexual infidelity to his wife, but the possibility that he might have been implicated unwittingly in a magical at-

tack upon her. He felt no profound guilt over his "betrayal" of her in the sexual relationship, but he would have been seriously disturbed had he been involved in a magical assault upon her health or life.

LARGER FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

By means of genealogies, I "placed" 206 adult Mocheros with respect to their blood relationships. I was obsessed at the time with the notion that there must be some structurally recognizable type of extended family or kinship grouping. Now, however, I am convinced that such is not the case.

Although an individual's blood relatives beyond the immediate family are recognized as such, they are not recognized, either by the individuals involved or by others, as a group with internal functional organization or with recognized status relations vis-à-vis other groups. Extended families or kinship groups are not among the constituent units of Moche society. So far as its structural features are concerned, the Moche family and kin are very much like those of North America, except that they and the individuals involved are less mobile, both physically and socially. As a result of the latter circumstance, the average Mochero has more face to face contacts with a large number of his relatives than is perhaps the case with the average North American.

There are a few exceptions in which a group of siblings and other kinsmen maintains a certain solidarity and unity. In all cases the unity seems to be imposed by the personal influence of a "matriarch," an old woman, usually the mother of the siblings. In one of these cases, the brothers consulted with and took orders from their mother, a strong-willed widow in her seventies with a sense of family pride. Each of the brothers, however, maintained his own household for his family of procreation. It is also worth noting that this old lady, who was sometimes spoken of as the "*curaca*" (chieftainess) of the *campiña*, exerted a somewhat similar influence over the actions of other persons not her relatives who were in the habit of approaching her for advice and counsel and who often obeyed her suggestions even when the latter were not solicited. Another "matriarch" of this type is the old lady, previously mentioned, who inherited the proceeds of an insurance policy with which she acquired considerable property. Several of her children and grandchildren live with her in her house and she effectively controls this

group. Formerly, one of her sisters, likewise an elderly widow, also lived with her. Another elderly widowed sister, however, is not on speaking terms with her, and a public feud is known to exist between them.

Old people, particularly parents, are always treated with respect and gentleness, which together with the prominent position of the woman in the household, to some extent accounts for the influence of old women, such as those mentioned above. However, the cases in which they have succeeded in holding a group together under their orders or influence are the result of personality factors rather than social status.

FAMILY NAMES

Detailed discussion of the facts emerging from a study of the genealogical material must be postponed to another publication, but we may note that the family name identifies individuals in a limited way, i. e., only with the immediate family and closer relatives, not with an extended group. For example, there are many immediate families named Asmat, but all the Asmats do not consider themselves a group. Although the chances are that all individuals named Asmat are blood relatives (actually or putatively), it is typically impossible for a member of Asmat family No. I to tell one how he is related to Asmat family No. X. Usually he will not suggest spontaneously that he is related to family No. X, family No. XII, or whatnot. It is only after one says, "You must be related, you have the same name," that he will say, "Yes, I suppose we are."

There are two reasons for this state of affairs. (1) Without written records the people have difficulty in remembering the names of relatives beyond the grandparents' generation, so that many collateral lines of relationship, the junctures of which must be sought several generations back, are lost. (2) The extended family or group of relatives has no importance in the social system, so that there is no drive to keep a reckoning of distant relationships in mind, even in the absence of records.

What are found, then, are loose informal groups, each composed of several immediate families, within the larger aggregation of those bearing the same family name. These are immediate families descended from a known, identified ancestor. Thus, we may speak of group A of the Asmats, all of whom are Asmats descended from a man still living or recently dead, named Asmat₁. Then there is the

group B of Asmats, all descended from Asmat₂, and so on. The same will be found in the cases of all the other widespread family names. Even these groups are not socially recognized as discrete entities; we call them groups merely because they usually define the limits within which an individual can accurately describe his blood relationships.

The inheritance of names theoretically follows the Spanish pattern, i. e., one inherits his father's and his mother's family names, but one passes on to the next generation only his father's name. The mother's name is commonly used only on documents and formal occasions, not in conversation. Thus a man might be named José Federico *Fulano* y *Sutano*;⁶³ *Fulano* is his father's name, *Sutano*, his mother's. He may marry a girl named *María Cristina Mengano* (father's name) y *Piedra* (mother's name). After her marriage, her full name is *María Cristina Mengano y Piedra de Fulano*. And after her husband's death, her full name is *María Cristina Mengano y Piedra viuda de Fulano*. Her son might have the baptismal name of *Juan*, and would be *Juan Fulano y Mengano*; her daughter, *Juanita*, would be *Juanita Fulano y Mengano*. It is thus clear that this system is patronymic and that family names persist for more than two generations only through the male line. The principal surface difference between this system and the "Anglo-Saxon" North American system, is that the mother's maiden family name is added to the official cognomen of the child, and that the husband's family name is added to the wife's maiden family names.

In Moche, a woman does not add her husband's family name to her own unless she is formally married to him. She may have lived with a man for 30 years and have 11 children by him, but will still call herself *María Cristina Mengano*, without adding her husband's name of *Fulano*. This, of course, adds to the difficulty of genealogical reckoning. There is a simple legal process whereby a father may "recognize" his children, even though he is not married to the mother, in which case the children carry his family name without that of the mother. If the father does not recognize the children either by marrying the mother or by the other type of recognition, they carry their mother's family name only.

Perhaps because relatively so many mothers are

⁶³ As most readers will know, *Fulano*, *Sutano*, *Mengano* are words used in Spanish in the same sense as "Doe, Roe, and Poe," "Smith, Jones, and Brown," or "Tom, Dick, and Harry." No one in Moche, or anywhere else, actually has such names.

legally unmarried to the fathers of their children, it is customary for most women to be known by their maiden family names, although the courtesy title, "*Señora*," is used in polite address, whether they are married or not.

The family name, in addition to identifying family lines of a limited range, serves as a symbol of incest taboo. Although bearers of the same family name do not typically recognize functional membership in an extended kinship group, unless closely related, it is regarded as "bad" to marry or set up a household with a person bearing the same family name. This is borne out in fact by the showing that among the 206 persons in my genealogical material not one has married or set up housekeeping with another of the same family name.

The family names of persons rated as true Mocheros are the following:

Angahuamán.	Ipanaque.
Asahuache.	Jácono.
Asma.	La Rosa.
Asmad.	Melgar.
Asmat.	Mendoza.
Azabache.	Navarro.
Bracamonte.	Nique.
Bustemonte.	Ñique.
Cafo.	Pumayaga.
Calasán.	Ramirez.
Calderón.	Ramos.
Cedeño.	Rodriguez.
Celestino.	Rojas.
Colisán.	Rosales.
Cornelio.	Sachún.
Delgado.	Sánchez.
Fernandez.	Sicche.
Fuentes.	Suysuy.
García.	Valverde.
Gutierrez.	Variado.
Huamán.	Vega.
Huamanchumo.	Vergara.

Of these 44 family names borne by Mocheros, it will be seen that 30 are unquestionably Spanish. The remaining 14 may be Indian: Angahuamán, Asahuache, Cafo, Calasán, Colisán, Huamán, Huamanchumo, Ipanaque, Nique, Ñique, Pumayaga, Sicche, Suysuy. Of these Angahuamán, Asahuache, Huamán, Huamanchumo, Ipanaque, and Pumayaga seem to be definitely Quechua. I am uncertain as to Cafo, Calasán, and Colisán.

Among the list of Mochero family names only five stand a chance of being Mochica in origin, namely, Nique, Ñique (these must originally have been the same name), Sachún, Sicche, and Suysuy, although all of these may be Quechua or derived therefrom as

well. (In a personal letter to the author, dated October 30, 1944, Dr. J. M. B. Farfán suggests that Sicche may be Aymara (*seqchi*, "ragged").)

SUMMARY REMARKS ON KINSHIP

The usual Spanish terms are used for kinship. These differ from the apposite English terms only in the fact that sex distinction of relative is recognized for grandchildren and cousins. First cousins are always called "*primos hermanos*" or "*primas hermanas*." The terms for "son" and "daughter" (*hijo*, *hija*) are commonly extended in address to nonrelatives who are on intimate terms with the speaker. The terms for "uncle," "aunt," and "grandfather" (*tío*, *tía*, *abuelo*), on the other hand, are not usually extended to nonrelatives, as they are in some Latin American communities, nor are other terms thus generalized. The use of the affectionate diminutive is common both in address and when speaking in the third person, if the individual thus referred to is actually in close and frequent social contact with the speaker. Thus people frequently speak of "*papacito*," "*mamacita*," "*abuelito*," etc. "*Padre*" is never used as a kinship term; the male parent is always "*papá*" or a diminutive of it, while "*padre*" is used only in referring to a priest. "*Padres*," on the other hand, is generally used to mean "parents." "*Madre*" is usually used as a relationship term only in the third person, and then but rarely, in solemn or formal discourse. The usual term for "mother" is "*mamá*," or a diminutive of it.

Among 20 adults from whom I was able to get complete kinship records, the average man or woman could without difficulty call the names of about 45 blood relatives and about 18 affinal relatives. Others were recalled only after hesitation, a period of cogitation, or consultation with some other relative. Time was not sufficient to study these cases in great enough detail to determine the degree of interaction between each individual and his "relatives," but the fact that one can call by name without difficulty a certain number of relatives may be taken as a rough indication that his social relationships with the individuals named are fairly frequent and meaningful to him. To be on the conservative side, we may reduce these figures to 35 and 14, respectively. To this number may be added a very conservative figure for the average number of fully functioning ceremonial kinship relationships, which can hardly be less than 20. These figures would eliminate occasional duplications.

On this basis, it is probably safe to say that the

average adult individual is supported by and helps to support a "net" of at least 69 relationships connecting him by socially significant ties to as many different individuals in the society. He may expect help from and must be ready to give help to any one of these individuals. The relationships are distributed as follows: 35 blood relationships, 14 affinal relationships, and 20 ceremonial relationships. Of the 3 types, the ceremonial relationships are the most permanent and least likely to be broken in times of stress.

It is this network of kinship relationships, rather than a structure of organized groups, which forms a basis for the security of the individual in Moche. The affinal strands may be broken by separation or effective divorce, and the blood lines show a tendency to burst under stress of inheritance disputes, but the strong and abiding fabric is composed of the ceremonial kinship bonds. Two apparent reasons for this are that ceremonial bonds are not normally subject to the strains of cooling "love," sexual jealousy, and other emotional factors, on the one hand, nor to the strains involved in property division and inheritance, on the other hand.

CEREMONIAL KINSHIP OR COMPADRAZGO

The system of relationships called the *compadrazgo* or *padrinazgo* (co-godparenthood and godparenthood) is perhaps the most important body of interpersonal relationships in Moche. It is also the most foreign to North American customs and ways of thinking, for even that minority of North Americans who possess or are "godparents" find themselves enmeshed in no such web of relationships as do the Mocheros. It is strange that this type of linkage between persons and families has not received more extensive treatment in the sociological and ethnological literature. Its presence constitutes one of the outstanding differences between the basic social organizations of "Anglo-Saxon" North America and those of Latin America.⁵⁴

The essence of the system in Moche is an "artificial" bond, resembling a kinship relationship, which is established between persons by means of a ceremony. The ceremony usually involves a sponsorship of a person or material object by one or more of the persons involved, and the ceremony itself may

be relatively informal. However, in Moche it seems to be placing the wrong emphasis to label the whole system, in Spicer's terms, "ceremonial sponsorship." In many cases the sponsorship is secondary in importance and is merely the mechanism whereby the social relationships are set up. The emphasis in Moche is upon the relations between sponsors (*padrinos, madrinas*) of an individual or thing, and between them and other persons (the parents of the godchild or the owners of the thing sponsored)—in other words, relations between adults rather than between adults and children or things. Sponsors and other unsponsored persons so linked together are *compadres* and *comadres* to each other, and the relationship involved is *compadrazgo*, whereas the relationship between a sponsor and a child is that of *padrinazgo*. However, human beings may also be sponsors to inanimate objects, such as houses, *botijas* of *chicha*, and altars, in which case no social bond exists between the "godparent" and the object, but only the bond between the "godparent" and the owner or proprietor of the object, who are mutually known as *compadres* or *comadres*. Not only in this formal aspect, but also in everyday behavior, the emphasis is placed upon the relationship between adults who are linked by *compadrazgo*. Finally, there is one type of *compadrazgo* which involves no sponsorship whatever. There are no persons in Moche who do not have *compadres*, and some persons stand in this relationship to scores of other persons. It is the nature of the system that, for every godchild an individual may have, he will have several *compadres* and *comadres*.

The whole idea of this type of relationship has been carried to extremes in Moche. There are more types of *padrinazgo* in this community than in any other concerning which I have seen reports. This fact may be linked with the absence of spontaneous community organization and solidarity. The ceremonial kinship system provides security for individuals which is not provided otherwise. It would seem that the ceremonial kinship ties are even stronger in some respects than the relationship ties of blood and marriage. Although various cases of quarrels over property between blood and affinal relatives are known to me, I have been unable to find a single case of such feuds involving *compadres, comadres, padrinos* or *madrinas* and *ahijados* or *ahijadas*. One may speak sharply and with relative impunity to one's blood relatives or in-laws, but it is a cause for

⁵⁴ The only analyses of a system of this sort of which I am aware are in Spicer (1940, pp. 91-116) and Beals (1946, pp. 102-104). See also Redfield, 1931, *passim*; 1941, pp. 122-125, 192; Parson's, 1936, *passim*; see also Rojas González, 1943, for aboriginal antecedents in Mexico.

widespread comment if any cross word passes between persons linked by ceremonial kinship.

The following types of ceremonial kinship are recognized in Moche at present. In order to simplify the terminology, I shall speak in terms of the types of godparents and it will be understood that, except as noted, females as well as males may be involved.

A. Spiritual *padrinos*. (They sponsor persons.)

1. Godmother of birth (*madrina de alumbramiento*). The midwife who delivers a child stands thereafter in relation of *comadre* to the parents of the child.
2. Godparents of baptism or christening (*padrinos de pila or de bautismo*). The child has one such godparent of each sex.
3. Nail-cutting godmother (*de quitar uñas*), when the child's nails are first cut, usually a woman only (*madrina*) serves as sponsor.
4. Water of succor godparents (*del agua de socorro*) when an unbaptized child is in danger of death and is baptized with holy water by someone who is not in holy orders.
5. Haircutting godparents (*del corte de pelo*), when the male child has his first haircut.
6. Ear-piercing godmother (*de la apertura de orejas, or de abrir oídos*) when the girl child has her ears pierced for earrings; followed at age 10 to 12 by ceremonial presentation of earrings.
7. Confirmation godparents (*de confirmación*).
8. Scapular godmother (*de escapularios*), when scapulars are hung on the child; usually a woman only (*madrina*) serves as sponsor.
9. Engagement godparents (*del cambio de anillos*), when a couple exchange rings as a sign of betrothal.
10. Marriage godparents (*de matrimonio*), when a couple is married.

B. Friendship *padrinos*. (They sponsor things.)

11. Altar-lowering *padrinos* (*de bajar altares*). They sponsor the ceremony of taking down the altars and crosses erected by individuals, families, or groups for certain religious feasts. The most important of these is:
 - a. *Padrino* of the lowering of the Altar of the Nativity (*Altar del Nacimiento del Hijo de Dios*) on January 6.
12. House-warming *padrinos* (*de la casa*), when a new house is opened for the first time.
13. *Chicha* *padrinos* (*de la botija de chicha*), when a new container of maize drink is ceremonially broached.
14. Carnival *compadres* (*compadres de la cinta*). No sponsorship is involved here. During *carneval*, several days of festivities preceding Lent, it is customary that men and women be tied together with strips of paper or thread in a mood of fun while dancing. Either the man or the woman may make the advances, and if the other accepts,

the two become *compadres de la cinta*. The relationship is extended to their respective spouses.

The ceremonies and relationships involved vary in importance. In the above list they have been classified into two categories, "spiritual" and "friendship," which are the terms used by the Mocheros in speaking of them. The "spiritual" *padrinos* sponsor persons, and the "friendship" *padrinos* (*de amistad*) sponsor things. (Actually the *padrino* helps out or assists the owner or proprietor of the thing.) All those ceremonies in the first category celebrate recognized "life crises" or transition states in the life history of the individual who is being sponsored, whereas those in the second category celebrate an event of importance only to the owner or proprietor of the material object involved (although the material object may have certain religious or animistic aspects).

Another classification might be made. It will be noted that certain types of *padrinos* are established in connection with crisis rites of the Roman Catholic Church, namely, *padrinos* of baptism, water of succor (which is an approved emergency substitute for baptism), confirmation, and marriage. In the establishment of this type of *padrinazgo* and *compadrazgo*, the ceremonial kinsmen participate in Roman rites. Certain other types of ceremonial kinship, on the other hand, are also set up in connection with individual life crises, but bear marks of being derived from an aboriginal or "pagan" context. They are the relationships involved in haircutting, ear piercing, nail cutting, and scapular hanging (although the scapulars now in use are church medals or at least are blessed). Possibly the engagement ceremony should be included in this category as well, although it may possibly be derived from European or North American cultural sources.

In the "friendship" type of sponsorship, the *padrino* is said to sponsor a thing, but he is actually sponsoring or aiding the thing's owner or proprietor. The word or relationship of *ahijado* (godchild) does not appear in this type of ceremonial kinship, and the only relationship between human beings involved is between *compadres* and *comadres*. In this category, the lowering of altars is the most serious type of ceremony and involves Catholic religious beliefs, although it is not enjoined by the church. Whatever may have been the spiritual or animistic background of the house warming, *chicha*, and carnival ceremonies in the past, at present they are merely

mechanisms for creating social relationships between individuals.

The most important of all the types of ceremonial kinship is that based on baptism. The child is baptized by the priest according to the usual ritual of the Church, and actual baptism takes place at the font to the right and just inside the main entrance to the church. Children are baptized at almost any age under 6, depending upon when their parents feel financially capable of organizing the fiesta and the ceremony, and there is no feeling of compulsion, as in some North American Catholic families or communities, that the child must be baptized within 8 days after birth. Following the church ceremony a large meal accompanied by copious drinking—in

short, the typical Moché drinking-and-eating household fiesta—takes place with all friends of the family invited. (In these affairs, noninvitees are not encouraged “just to drop in.”)

The statuses involved in a system of baptism relationships are illustrated in the diagram in figure 7. They may be described as follows: (1) The child being baptized, who is the *ahijado* of the godparents; (2) the godfather; (3) the godmother; (4) the nurse (*ama de pila*) who carries the child in her arms from the house to the church and return (pl. 25, *middle (right)*); (5) the child's father; (6) the child's mother; (7) the godfather's wife; (8) the godmother's husband; (9) the nurse's father; and (10) the nurse's mother. The

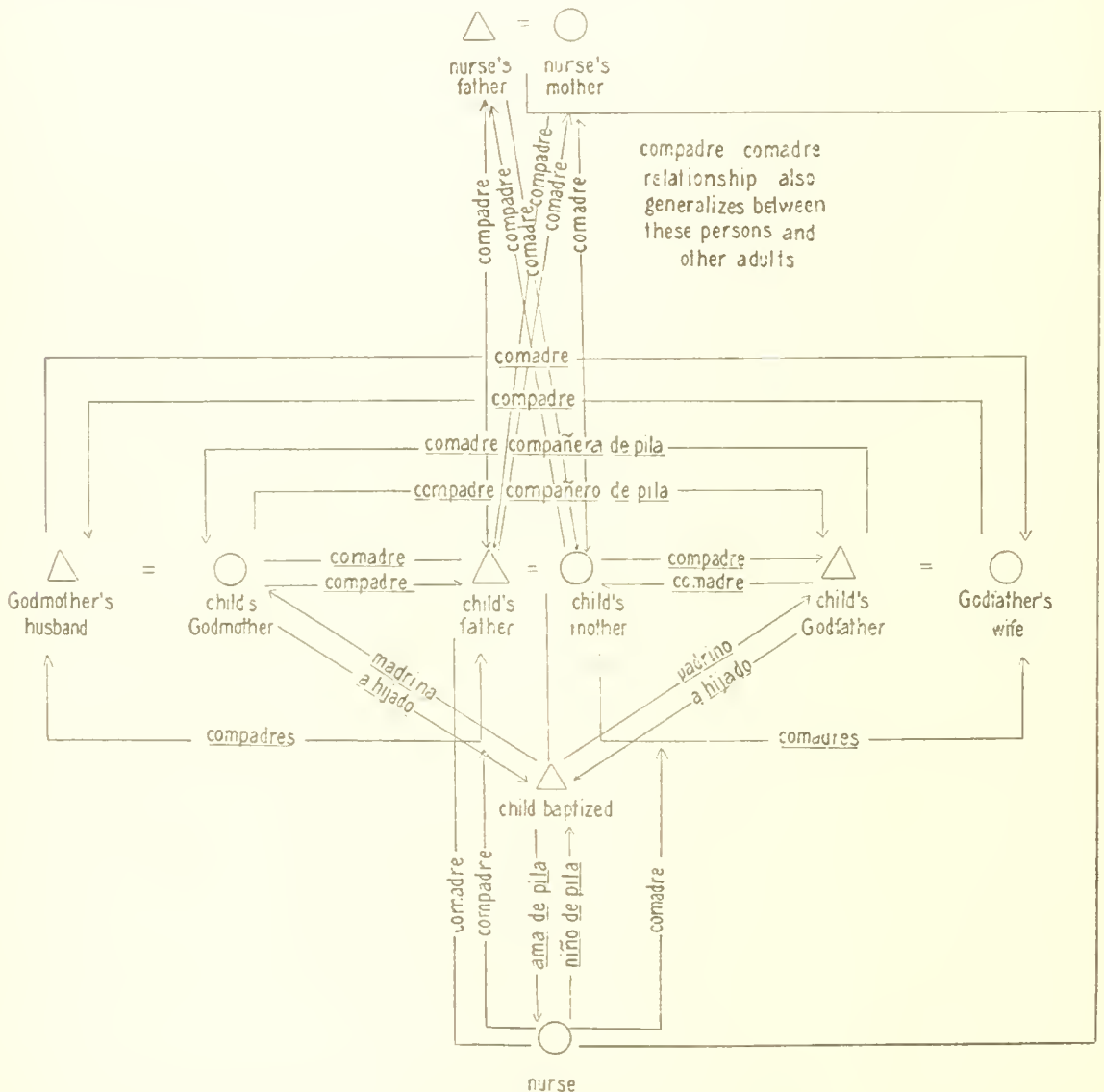


FIGURE 7.—System of relationships involved in baptism *compadrazgo*.

nurse is usually an unmarried woman or girl. Except for herself and the child, all the other statuses in the system are occupied by adults. The relationships of all to one another are signalized by the use of terminology. Thus to the child, the nurse is *ama de pila*, and to the nurse the child is *niño de pila*. The godfather is *padrino* to the child and the godmother is *madrina*. To both godparents the child is *ahijado* (*ahijada*, if female). To the godfather, the godmother is *comadre compañera de pila*, and to the godmother, the godfather is *compadre compañero de pila*. In everyday address these terms are sometimes shortened to *compadre* and *comadre*, but the fact is made plain that this is a special type of *compadrazgo*. A joking relationship exists between these two statuses. The jokes turn on the fact that the two persons can "almost" be considered husband and wife. "*Compañero*" and "*compañera*" mean not only "companion," but in local usage mean "lover" and "mistress" respectively.

In addition to this *compadre* and this *comadre*, the system contains a number of other relationships recognized by the ordinary, unadorned terms, *comadre* and *compadre*. Thus the godfather and the father are *compadres* to each other; the godmother and the mother are *comadres* to each other; the godfather is *compadre* to the mother, and she is *comadre* to him; the godmother is *comadre* to the father and he is *compadre* to her. The same terms, sex differences considered, then extend to include the godmother's husband, the godfather's wife, and the parents of the nurse. The nurse herself is *comadre* to the parents of the child, but her *comadre* relationship does not extend to other statuses in the system. It will be noted that the child is *ahijado* only to the actual godparents, not to their spouses or to other statuses of the system. The godfather's wife, when speaking of the child, will usually say, "He is my husband's (or my companion's) godchild (*ahijado*)," but will not attempt to claim the status for herself.

Finally, the *compadrazgo* terms generalize to blood relatives of the parents and of the godparents. Thus, brothers and sisters of the parents always stand in this relationship to the godparents and also to the latter's respective brothers and sisters. The relationship even extends to cousins of the same generation. Some informants say that it also extends to the grandparents of the child, but in testing this I have never heard a godfather spontaneously call his godchild's grandfather, "*compadre*."

We may sum up this matter in our own terms as follows: The baptism of a child creates a sociocultural subsystem which we may think of abstractly as a system of statuses. So far as the patterns and customs are concerned, they fall into three groups.

I. The mental customs consist of the customary ways of "thinking" about the statuses involved, e.g., "what a godparent should be in relation to all the other statuses in the system."

II. The representational aspects of the system consist of a series of ceremonial kinship terms. These terms are used in reciprocal pairs, with sex of the occupant of the status recognized in the terminology. The terms (representational patterns) fall into three general categories, reflecting three types of relationships between the statuses involved: (1) *padrinazgo* terms, referring to the relationship between godparents and godchild; (2) nurse-child terms, referring to the relationship between these two statuses; and (3) *compadrazgo* terms. The latter are divided into several subclasses according to falling degrees of intimacy, right, and obligation: (a) first-degree *compadre-comadre* terms are those in use between the godparents and the mother and father of the child; (b) second-degree terms refer to the relationships between godfather and godmother; (c) in the third degree are *compadre-comadre* terms used between parents and godparents, on the one hand, and other statuses in the "core" of the system as represented in figure 7, except the status of child and nurse; (d) fourth-degree terms are those in use between statuses in the core of the system and statuses defined with respect to the core statuses in terms of blood relationship, which latter may be considered the "fringes" of the system.

III. The actional patterns and customs will now be discussed briefly. Individuals are invited to serve as godparents either directly by the father or both parents of the child, or by an intermediary, usually a brother or close cousin of the father. There is no fixed ceremony of invitation, but it is always done solemnly with a sense of responsibility on both sides, and if the godparent accepts, the parties drink a "*copita*" of *pisco* brandy together at the expense of the parents to seal the arrangement. Godparents may be blood relatives, but usually the attempt is made to secure persons who are not relatives of either of the parents. Not only Mocheros, but in these days, trusted *forasteros* are chosen. From the point of view of the parents, it is desirable to choose godparents who are financially responsible, if not rich, and also

persons who have "influence" and prestigious social connections. The real function of godparents is to broaden and, if possible, increase the social and economic resources of the child and his parents and by the same token to lower the anxieties of the parents on this score. It is for this reason that relatives are usually passed over, and *forasteros*, if trusted, are invited. Also, the godparents have certain financial responsibilities with respect to the ceremonies, and if they do not perform properly, the family is "ashamed." Although *padrinazgo* is sometimes abused in certain parts of Peru, this does not seem to be the case in Moche, and it is not usual to attempt to levy more than the customary obligations against the godparents. It is, on the other hand, regarded as an honor to be chosen, if one feels that he can meet the obligations which, on the whole, are not heavy.

The *padrino* and *madrina* are not husband and wife, and usually are not relatives. They have the obligation to provide printed announcement cards which are given to the guests at the feast following the baptism and either pinned on their clothes or tied on with colored ribbons, and afterward stored away as keepsakes. A typical announcement of this sort, consisting of three parts, reads as follows:

[first card]

Flor Victoria Rodríguez Vargas
Nació el 10 de Marzo de 1944
Se bautizó el 5 de Noviembre de 1944
PADRINOS
Luz Yupanqui de Tám
Abraham Díaz y Días

[second card]

FLOR VICTORIA
Nació: el 10 de Marzo de 1944
Se Bautizó el 5 de Noviembre de 1944

[third card]

PADRES:	PADRINOS:
Sr. Carlos Rodríguez	Sra. Luz Yupanque de Tám
Sra. Elena Vargas de Rodríguez	Sr. Abraham Díaz

The *padrinos* are also expected to make a present, of money, clothing, or a toy, to their godchild at the feast. After the ceremony itself the *padrinos* have the obligation to bury the child if it should die before its twelfth or fifteenth year (informants are vague on the year) and to render help to the child upon demand. Usually a good *padrino* will make an occasional present to his *ahijado*, especially on the latter's birthday, and will always be available for advice and counsel. The godchild, on the other hand, has the

obligation to pay respect to his godparent at all times, and for this reason does not trouble the latter with trivial matters. Also, a good godchild should be willing to offer assistance to his godparent when the latter needs it. The *padrino's* responsibilities and rights extend only to the godchild, not to other brothers or sisters. It appears that a number of lawyers, interested in fomenting litigation over land, have taken advantage of this fact by installing themselves as godparents, and are quite ready and willing to contest wills and claims of other siblings, ostensibly on behalf of their godchildren (and, of course, for a fee). At the feast of baptism, the godparents also frequently contribute a bottle of *pisco* or some other delicacy to the parents.

The nurse (*ama*) carries the child in her arms to the baptismal font, where she turns it over to the father. After the church ceremony has terminated, the father gives the child to the nurse once more and she carries it back to the house. She also is supposed to look after it during the subsequent festivities. A respect relationship continues between the child and the nurse. This is the only ceremony in which an *ama* appears.

The parents themselves are obligated to provide as elaborate a party in their house as their circumstances will permit. Weeks before, they start collecting poultry and make plans to get meat. In this, as at all other times when help is needed, their *compadres* assist and on the day of the feast the *comadres* of the family are usually in the kitchen helping to prepare and to serve the viands. (These are *comadres* and *compadres* previously established, not those established in the present ceremony.) *Chicha* and hard liquor are provided, as well as music and a place to dance the *marinera*. During the feast numerous toasts are drunk to the health of the child, its parents, and to the newly established *compadres*. Aside from its recreational aspects, the feast, in short, serves as a public recognition of the newly established ceremonial kinship relationships.

In after years the *compadres* and *comadres* continue in a special relationship of mutual respect, friendship, and disposition to aid each other. The closest relationship exists between the parents and the godparents, and so far as obligations between these two pairs are concerned, the heaviest falls on the parents, for they are under obligation to the godparents for the obligations which the latter in turn have undertaken toward the child. Thus, if a man is in need of assistance, he will tend first to turn to

his *compadre de pila*, meaning the father of his god-child, before turning to another type of *compadre*.

The two godparents, who are *compadres compañeros* with each other, share the mutual responsibilities of the announcements and other matters previously mentioned as concerned with the feast, and stand up beside the parents and answer for them during the church ceremony. After the ceremony and feast, they continue without formal obligations to each other, although in a relationship of special friendliness which, as already mentioned, usually involves a joking pattern with sexual overtones. At the feast itself, the two godparents are usually supposed to start the dancing, by performing alone the first dance, and the godfather frequently makes a show of mock courting behavior toward the god-mother. This is especially true if the two godparents are Mocheros. If one is a Mochero and the other a *forastero*, especially if the latter is from outside the community, their mutual behavior is usually more restrained and respectful.

As a rather pallid imitation of this joking behavior, the spouses of the two godparents will also sometimes engage in playful courting activity. All such joking behavior is, of course, supposed to be performed strictly in public and accompanied by the laughter of the other members of the assemblage. The two families of godparents now enter into a relationship of special friendliness, the *compadrazgo*. All the other persons who call each other *compadre* and/or *comadre* as a result of this occasion are from now on united into this type of bond. In general terms, it means that one may approach his *comadre* or *compadre* with less timidity or shame (*vergüenza*) than he would feel with other persons. One may call on his *compadres* for help in social obligations, work and emergencies, and one has the obligation to respond to such appeals and even to offer aid and assistance without appeal, as at times of sickness and death. The work-sharing groups, for example, usually are composed of *compadres*. Pallbearers are frequently *compadres* of the deceased. However, the rights and the obligations are graded more or less according to the degrees which we have indicated in discussing the terminology of the *compadrazgo*. When in need, one goes to a *compadre* or *comadre* of the first degree first, and so on down the line.

Aside from the drinking of toasts and the practice of newly established *compadres* and *comadres* dancing together, there is no formal ceremony involved

in the establishment of this relationship. No one lectures the participants on their new obligations or reads a ritual solemnizing their status. Godparents are, of course, registered as such in the baptismal records by the priest.

Perhaps the foregoing discussion will make clear the basis of the view that, although the ostensibly central social feature of the baptism, aside from its religious features, is the establishment of a bond between godparents and godchild, actually the most important goal is the establishment of a group of *compadres*. At least, this aspect has more far-reaching social results than the godparent-godchild relationship. First, the latter relationship in itself has reduced social importance, because, regardless of the godparents' behavior, the child is functionally incapable of effective social interaction until it has passed its infancy; after that, the formal social and economic obligations of the godparents continue only until the child has reached adolescence and is supposed thereafter to be capable of fending for itself in case of need. Second, the largest number of relationships in the system established by a baptism are relationships between *compadres*. By playing a role in such a system an individual increases his range of intimate friends, creates a net of relationships for himself, as it were. From the individual's point of view, one might think of these relationships as something like the ropes attached to mountain climbers, if such ropes were spread from climber to climber in a number of directions, instead of in a continuous line. The individual may get along all right by his own efforts, but, if he slips or falls or has difficulty, he may lean on his connecting ropes and be supported or pulled out of the abyss. Conversely, if some other member of the group slips or falls, our individual has to stand fast and pull on his end of the rope to assist or rescue his fellow. In the baptismal system, the individuals who have the most "ropes" attached to them are the parents of the child, not the child himself, and all the other *compadres* and *comadres* are better linked up by the system than is the child.

Although adults, by entering such a system of *compadrazgo*, form a group of *compadres*, it must be recognized that this is not an organized group with status in the society as a whole. The relationships are phrased in terms of social connections between individual statuses and the individuals who occupy them. Although the child might be considered the symbol of the group, there is no leadership, no group

activity, no right or obligation pertaining to the group as a whole, and no internal organization. Furthermore, there is no word in use in Moche referring to groups of this sort as discrete, functioning entities, occupying a place in the social organization. In short, there are no symbolic, representational, or actional patterns in the Moche culture which would lead us to see these aggregations as status groups.

With this somewhat lengthy discussion of the system set up by baptism, we may pass to a briefer mention of the other types of ceremonial kinship establishment. All of them establish *compadre* relationships and extensions of them, although the baptismal *compadres* usually outrank other types in importance.

If a child falls seriously ill before it has been baptized, the father and mother seek a *padrino* and a *madrina* and ask them to perform the ceremony of the *Aguas de Socorro*. This is a simple emergency affair and involves no fiesta. The *madrina* holds the child, while the *padrino* baptizes it with holy water (*Agua Bendita*), a bottle of which is always kept in the house. He simply says, "I baptize you"—giving the child a name suggested by the parents—"in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen." The only requirement is that the *padrinos* themselves be baptized Christians. The purpose of this ceremony is to prevent the child's dying without benefit of the church's blessing (conveyed through the blessed water). If the child recovers, it goes through the regular baptism ceremony, but remains a godchild of the godparents of *Aguas de Socorro*, although the formal godfather-godchild relationship usually takes precedence. In any case, the parents and the godparents are *compadres*.

Usually when the baby is about 2 months old, its nails are cut for the first time. A small fiesta (*de quitar uñas*) is organized and there is usually only a *madrina*, no *padrino*, whether the baby is male or female. The *madrina* has to buy a new pair of small nail scissors with which she performs the operation and which are later given to the child. Other persons present may make small presents.

Between the ages of 2 and 3 years, boy children are supposed to have their first ceremonial haircutting. A *padrino* and a *madrina* are chosen. They provide colored ribbons with which the child's hair is tied into small tufts. A fiesta is organized at the expense of the parents, and in the midst of the assembled guests the child, dressed in its best clothes, is set on a stool or chair in front of which is another stool holding a

plate or *matc*. Although there are some variations, the *padrino* is supposed to deposit a *propina* (gift or tip) of money in the container, after which he takes the scissors provided by the parents and clips off the first tuft of hair below the knot of ribbon, so that it remains a loose lock of hair tied with ribbon. He is followed by the *madrina*, who deposits a similar or smaller gift, and also cuts a tuft of hair (pl. 25, *middle* (*center*)). Then all the guests do likewise, although they are not expected to deposit such large gifts. The *padrinos* are expected to deposit something sizable—5 to 10 soles—the others 50 centavos or 1 sol. In theory, this is supposed to be the child's money to be used for purchase of childhood clothing, now that it has passed from helpless infancy. The theory, at least, is respected, and if the child wishes to play with the money after the haircutting is over the parents, at least in front of the guests, do not prevent it from spilling coins on the floor, bouncing them against the wall, and the like. By the time everyone has sheared a lock of hair, the child has a complete, if uneven haircut. The *padrinos* and guests pin the ribbon-tied locks to their clothes during the fiesta and are supposed to take them home as souvenirs.

The ear-piercing ceremony for girl children takes place at the earliest at the age of about 3 months and sometimes as late as 2 years. Frequently only a *madrina* is involved, although some parents ask a *padrino* as well. In the midst of the usual fiesta with guests, the *madrina* opens the ears with a needle and puts a loop of red thread through each lobe. No tips or gifts are involved in this ceremony. About 10 or 12 years later the little girl receives her first earrings from the same *madrina*, an event which is celebrated by another fiesta during which the guests often present the girl with small presents of clothing or ornament. This second ceremony, which is called the *fiesta de aretes* (celebration of earrings), might be considered as signaling the social recognition of the beginning of the status of adolescence for girls.

Not all children are confirmed in church, but when they are they have a *padrino* and *madrina* who accompany them to church. The usual type of fiesta takes place after church, although it often involves a combination of several families, each of which is celebrating confirmation of children. The *padrinos* have the obligation of providing part of the confirmation costume.

A scapular is usually a small bag of cotton containing a sacred medal or a relic and provided with a string from which it can be hung from the neck.

The type for which *madrinas* serve are blessed and are bought from the Carmelite monastery in Trujillo. People may be sitting around talking and one of the women will notice a child of the house playing about. She will say, "*Voy a ser madrina de escapularios, porque quicra echar escapularios a este chico.*" She then goes to Trujillo, returns with the scapulars, and in a small fiesta drapes them around the child's neck. There are usually two or more and they are supposed to ward off various types of misfortune.

Betrothals are announced at a fiesta at which the couple exchange rings, and publicly plight their troth, usually with the announcement of the date on which the church ceremony will take place. The man chooses the *padrino* and the girl chooses the *madrina* who act as sponsors before the guests. The *padrinos* are usually older than the betrothed couple. Even when this ceremony is not followed by the church ritual, the couple are regarded as having done the honorable thing by thus publicly announcing their intentions.

A wedding performed by the priest is a serious business because it is permanent and because it is expensive. The groom chooses a *padrino* and the bride a *madrina*, who function respectively somewhat as do best man and bridesmaid or matron of honor in North America. They have no obligations other than to give presents to the couple and in case of subsequent marital difficulty to try to patch matters up. The latter function, however, is apparently often evaded.

May is "the month of the crosses" during which the crosses set up in the countryside for the past year are taken down and renewed. Some crosses are cared for by an individual and others by a small group or *mayordomía*, but in either case a *padrino* and *madrina* are required to supervise the lowering of the cross. The man in charge (*ducño*) places a plate or *mate* before the cross, in which the *padrino* deposits his contribution, followed by the *madrina* and the other guests. After the lowering of the cross, a party takes place at the house and at the expense of the *ducño* or of him and his group. The funds collected are supposed to be used for the refurbishing of the cross.

At Christmas time some houses set up small altars in the house in front of which is laid out a miniature tableau of the Nativity, composed of toy animals, figures, a manger, etc., either made at home or, more usually, bought in the Trujillo stores. This is called the *Altar del Nacimiento del Hijo de Dios* (Altar

of the Nativity). On January 6 these altars are taken down (*bajan los altares*) and put away for the next year. *Padrinos* and fiestas are required.

The *padrinos* of the housewarming fiesta are usually expected to furnish *chicha* or a piece of furniture for the house. Other guests likewise bring small gifts.

Occasionally a family wishes to have a party without having to pay for it. They get a *botija* full of *chicha* and cover the mouth with paper or cloth. Then the husband goes out to find a *padrino* or *madrina* or both, and to gather in their friends. The *padrino* pays a *propina* of a sol or two for the privilege of broaching the *botija*, after which everyone else present lays some change on the collection plate and the party proceeds to become inebriated. Anyone who serves as *padrino* becomes *compadre* with the husband and wife of the house, but is usually referred to expressly as *compadre de botija* and with a laugh of pleasant reminiscence.

In the carnival type of *compadres*, there are no *padrinos*.

It should not be supposed that every individual of proper age in Moche has *padrinos*, *ahijados*, and *compadres* of all the types mentioned above. Although it confers great prestige to be a *padrino* often, it costs money and time. Likewise, many families cannot afford to put all their children through all the crisis ceremonies. The solution is to drop out some of the ceremonies (baptism is, however, never omitted) and to double up on others, i.e., to have 1 set of *padrinos* and 1 fiesta for 2 or more children at the same time. However, everyone has passed through some of these ceremonies, and through the extension of the terminology and behavior characteristic of the system he is provided with a sizable group of ceremonial kinsmen. One of my informants is a poor man. He is an orphan without land or other inheritance, and he works in Salaverry as a stevedore. Yet he is able to call the names of 27 living *compadres* and *comadres* without difficulty, and by thinking a while can recall 11 others. He also has 7 *padrinos* and *madrinas*. Among all his *comadres* and *compadres*, only 2 are blood relatives (2 aunts) and none are affinal relatives. Among his *padrinos* none are blood relatives, and only 1 *madrina* (a godmother of baptism) is a blood relative (an aunt). Among his *comadres* and *compadres* are: The 2 midwives (*parteras*) who delivered his 7 children; 13 *compadres-comadres de bautizo* (several of the children were baptized in pairs to save money, the same *padrinos* serving both); 3

comadres of ear piercing for his girls; 5 *comadres* and 4 *compadres de cinta*; and the others are extensions of these relationships. His children have not yet been confirmed, for lack of funds, but when they are, new sets of ceremonial relatives will be added to his collection. Among his *padrinos*, he counts 1 *padrino* and 1 *madrina* of baptism; 1 *padrino* of confirmation (the *madrina* is dead); 1 *madrina* of scapulars; 1 *madrina* and 1 *padrino* of marriage; and a *madrina* of nail cutting.

Another man, somewhat more comfortably fixed economically, named 67 *comadres* and *compadres* and 15 godchildren. He claims that he has many more. The ceremonial relationships which function best are, of course, those which are kept bright with use, that is, those in which contact between the individuals involved is frequent and meaningful. Many of the half-forgotten *compadres* occupy statuses, to be sure, but the individuals in these cases have not practiced the customs linking them sufficiently recently to maintain the occupants of the status fresh in memory.

About 2 weeks before we had to leave Moche my wife became a *madrina de bautismo*, and I became a *padrino de corte de pelo*. The 2 children involved were brother and sister in the same family, but there were 2 other godparents in addition to us. Between us we were immediately recognized as *compadre* or *comadre* by 47 persons, according to the count we kept, and the counted number of our recognizable *compadres* and *comadres* would probably have increased considerably had we had more time to fix in mind and celebrate socially the extensions to other relatives of the families involved.

NAMESAKES

Two persons who happen to have the same name call each other *tocayo* or *tocayito*, and there is supposed to be a mystical or a "spiritual" bond between them. It is easier for one to become acquainted with such a person and, once acquainted, two namesakes tend to feel closer to each other than to other persons, unrelated in any way. The namesake bond, however, is not as strong as either the blood or ceremonial kinship ties.

THE FORASTERO ELEMENT

Among the *forasteros* settled in the community, there are 96 family names represented (counting the Chinese and Japanese). Only 4 of these family names are found in the list of Mochero family names:

Bracamonte, Rodriguez, Sánchez, and Vergara. This would seem to indicate that the present *forasteros* have had little to do with bestowing the Spanish names which occur among the *Mocheros*. Also, the large number of distinct family names (96 compared with 44 for the *Mocheros*) among the *forasteros* seems to be an indication in itself that the *forastero* families are relatively recently established in the community; in fact, it indicates either that the great majority of *forasteros* are of the first generation in Moche, or that their descendants do not multiply, marry, and settle in Moche. We know both facts to be true from other evidence, but the great majority of the strangers are comparative newcomers as residents in the community. Marriage and sex relations between the *forasteros* and *Mocheros* are very rare.

Speaking in general, the *forasteros* do not form a part of the community world of the *Mocheros*. Except for about five families, they are ignored by the true *Mocheros* and, at least subconsciously, resented. One *forastero* who owns land in Moche, who has lived in Moche for the last 7 years, and hires *Mocheros* as peons from time to time told me that in all that time he had never been invited to a *Mochero* house or had any approach of a friendly nature made to him. *Mocheros* will speak to him civilly, but when he tries to engage them in conversation, they shut up like clams. So far as I could discover, this man is guilty of nothing more than being a *forastero* landowner in Moche. His experience is typical of that of the other *forastero* landowners.

On the other hand, certain *forasteros* fulfill useful functions in the community. The Chinese are all shopkeepers, the Japanese are barbers and tinsmiths, several of the Peruvians are engaged in shopkeeping and saloonkeeping. These strangers have more contact with the *Mocheros*, and some of them seem to be liked by the natives, although only a few are on terms approaching intimacy.

Among the foreigners (non-Peruvians) only the Chinese are known to be organized. If the five Japanese have an organization, they keep it quiet. The Chinese have a "Chinese colony," of which the leading shopkeeper, whose place of business is on the plaza, is president. The Chinese are a familiar element in this part of the coast. Considerable numbers of their countrymen were brought into the country during the past century as bonded laborers for the haciendas. The usual term of bond was 12 years, during which time it is said that they were often treated for practical purposes like slaves. It is

said that at the present time there is no Chinese laborer on any of the haciendas of the north coast. Practically all of the Chinese have gone into shop-keeping and into other types of business, and throughout the region most of them have reached at least the level of a lower middle-class standard of living, and some are comparatively wealthy. This seems to be an interesting demonstration of what persistence, thrift, and hard work will do, even under conditions which many a local Peruvian claims offer no opportunities for advancement. For the Chinese had neither wealth nor influence behind them in their rise, and their economic situation at the start was about as hopeless as could be imagined.

One of the Japanese, who has lived in Moche some years, is married to a Peruvian woman and is said to have become an ardent Catholic. This man has ceremonial kinship relationships with several of the Mocheros.

If all the *forasteros* together as a group are considered, with a few exceptions, it must be concluded that they do not form a functioning element of the society. They are an element of the population, and that is all. Many of the families are actually Trujillo suburbanites and their social position and function are to be found in the circle of Trujillo society rather than in that of Moche, and in the city they belong to varying social levels and interest groups, a fact which robs the Moche *forastero* population of functional cohesiveness. The *forasteros* as a group have not attempted to define a position for themselves within the Moche social scheme. There is no prestige in being a *forastero*, which is recognized by both *forasteros* and Mocheros. Although certain *forastero* individuals may consider themselves "better" than Mocheros, there is no general claim made out to this effect. Thus one cannot view the *forasteros* as a castelike group with generally recognized rights and obligations vis-a-vis the "Indian" group in the community, as is the case in some parts of Guatemala, for example (Gillin, 1943). Also, within the group the interests of individuals are too varied to permit us to consider the total aggregation as a social class within Moche society. In short, the *forasteros* are physically present⁵⁵ and are tolerated, but under present conditions, they are a rather undefined, although disturbing, element in the society.

⁵⁵ The black dots on the plan of the pueblo (map 1) show the location of *forastero* dwellings, which will be seen fairly well scattered throughout the town without evidencing a pattern of concentration of or choice of location of social significance.

The patterns of relationship between the *forasteros* and the Mocheros are characterized by avoidance and their effect is to maintain maximum social distance on the "horizontal" plane. It is for this reason that the *forasteros* are not as effective in the acculturation of the Mocheros as they might be expected to be from a superficial consideration of their numbers and physical proximity.

CLASS

There is no evidence of true social classes in Moche at the present time. The following bases of differentiation exist on which class distinctions and structures might be reared in the future: (1) Differences of wealth; (2) differences of residence, e. g., town, *campiña*, and *playa*; also the three neighborhoods of the *campiña*; (3) differences between *forasteros* and Mocheros; (4) differences in education.

I have already pointed out the bases of my view that the *forasteros* do not compose a class or caste in the community at present. So far as the other differences are concerned, there are no symbols, privileges, obligations, or internal cohesiveness which set off individuals who might otherwise be considered members of one class from possible members of another. The anthropologist or sociologist can classify the population of the community according to the differences mentioned above, but the society itself has not reached agreement on the matter.

PRESTIGE

In the present situation, which may be one of transition, such prestige as is generally recognized in Moche attaches to individuals rather than to groups, and is based upon what is considered valuable in individuals. Although one Azabache family, as previously mentioned, vaguely promotes the idea that they are descendants of the former *curacas* or chiefs of the area, no visible or practical benefits to their social position accrue thereby. One does not achieve prestige, in general, because he belongs to a certain family.

A man may achieve prestige and honor among his fellows by his work in *mayordomías* and other religious functions, by the successful management of his lands (thereby acquiring a respected position as a good farmer), by having wealth (provided this is combined with agreeable personal characteristics), by being a generous entertainer (frequently inviting

other persons to his house for eating and drinking), and by personal characteristics which render him agreeable and respected in the eyes of others. Among the personal characteristics admired are geniality, capacity for food and drink, honesty in dealing with others, and a disposition to mind one's own business. Anyone who achieves distinction outside the community by becoming a successful professional man also enjoys prestige among his fellows, although he usually is no longer a functioning member of the society. Ability to read and write and to acquire "influence" with the powers that be is gradually becoming a most important prestige-giving characteristic, and therewith is developing a powerful "acquired drive" (Gillin, 1942) within the culture which should produce an increasing rate of acculturation.

Women acquire prestige by their beauty and sex appeal while young. Once settled down, a woman is valued for her housekeeping and child-raising qualities (ability to perform woman's tasks efficiently), by her success in marketing, trading, and financial operations (providing she does not habitually cheat the other women), by being a good entertainer and providing good food and drink for household guests, and by personal qualities of affability, virtue (i. e., not being a man chaser once she has formed a household), and capacity for food and drink. Literacy for women is likewise acquiring an increasing value, and certain girls who have secured positions of a clerical nature or as teachers outside the community are highly regarded.

A man or woman who is a *brujo* (witch) or a *curandero* (curer) has prestige because of power and knowledge. The attitude toward such individuals is mainly one of respect, mixed with a certain amount of fear and awe. Since their profession is illegal, the *brujos* are not publicly advertised or overtly recognized. The prestige which a "bad *brujo*" (*malero*) enjoys is something like that of a malevolent, but powerful underworld character among North Americans, while that of a "good *brujo*" who specializes in counteracting black witchcraft is something like that of a North American lawyer who "fixes" the difficulties of people, although he has to operate on the quiet and according to legally shady methods.

Thus it is that prestige in the community itself is rather loosely defined, and practically all of the prestige statuses are of the "acquired" type.

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

From what has gone before it appears that if I were to portray the social organization of Moche graphically, I could not use one of those neat "organization charts" so common in business organizations and government offices, in which clear lines from top to bottom and side to side connect rectangles representing groups, such as departments X, Y, and Z, all neatly suspended from a higher rectangle representing a group called "Board of Directors" or "Executive Committee," and the like. In social organization in Moche, the only constituent groups are the immediate families, and these, as we have seen, often have a somewhat blurred position from the legal and religious points of view. There are other groupings to be sure, the association of irrigators, the two cultural clubs, the body of Government officials, the amorphous group of *forasteros* set off from the group of Mocheros, the neighborhood or regional groups in the *campiña*, the *pueblo* as set off from the *campiña* and *playa*, etc. But at the present time the relations of these groups to each other are indistinct and "unorganized", i. e., no clear-cut general pattern of relationships has been worked out. This situation may well represent a phase of development and change in the community and in the course of time patterns of group and social organizations could be expected to emerge.

As the case now stands, however, a diagram showing the socially significant relationships in Moche would depict individuals, each with a varying number of lines radiating from him. Most adult individuals could be enclosed in rectangles representing the limits of their respective household groups, but even so the majority of the significant relationships burgeon from the individuals within the household groups leading to specific individual relatives, "in-laws," ceremonial kinsmen, and so forth.

Certain of these individuals would be placed on a slightly higher prestige level than others because they happen to be relatively wealthy farmers, or are ardent and successful organizers of religious devotions and celebrations, or because they are lavish entertainers, etc. However, their status would not appear as a function of the family groups to which they belong. If we may use the metaphor, we might say that outstanding individuals in Moche are those who have the most lines of functioning social relationships radiating from them; as a result of the more numerous and more tightly drawn lines connecting

them with other individuals, they are raised higher, they are "better supported" socially than those of their fellows with a paucity of social connections. Thus they are raised above the multitude.

It would not be fair to suggest that in social organization Moche is necessarily typical of all the small rural communities of Peru. Its proximity to a city, its rapid and recently established communications

with the outside world, its peculiar land problems, and probably certain imperfectly known features of its cultural development are all factors which combine to form a configuration the details of which may be unique to Moche. The vegetative type of life and a certain lack of development of community enterprise and organization are not unknown, however, in other parts of Peru.

NATIVE MEDICINE AND MAGICAL CURING

GENERAL ORIENTATION

The complex of customs concerned with the curing of physical and mental ailments in Moche exhibits perhaps the greatest range of "primitive" elements of any aspect of the culture, and also illustrates most vividly the mixture of old and new which is so striking and sometimes so confusing a feature of Moche in general. Characteristic of the latter is the following incident.

One afternoon I was enjoying a leisurely *causa* (typical Moche lunch) at the house of one of my friends in the *campiña* near the Huaca del Sol. One of the "accepted *forasteros*" was with me, but otherwise the gathering was composed exclusively of Mocheros *netos*—six men and their female *compañeras* and *señoras*. While the women were disposing of the remains of the food in the outdoor kitchen, we men continued sitting around the table, trading anecdotes and drinking *chicha*. One of the men told a story concerning a discovery he had made in a *chichería* in Ascope, where, during his residence in that community, he had for some years been in the habit of eating *cuy* (guinea pig) and *picante* once or twice a week. One day, when the proprietress stepped out of the establishment to obtain some rice from a nearby *tienda*, our friend slipped into the kitchen and, to his surprise, found that the "guinea pigs" which the good *señora* had been in the course of preparing were actually large, fat rats. The discovery took away his appetite.

This story stimulated a pseudophilosophical discussion of the sources and preparation of meats. Except for the "idea of it," everyone agreed that there was no reason why people should not eat dogs, horses, and a series of other familiar animals not actually used for meat in Moche. But rats were different, because they lived in filthy conditions and fed on garbage and offal. Then someone asked, "How about pigs? Aren't they just as filthy?"

One of the Mocheros replied, "Yes," and went on to point out that pork must be thoroughly cooked before eating, because it often contains "trichinosis." The actual word was used. Discussion continued as to whether or not cooking actually kills the trichina, with everyone using the words and the concepts in what struck me as a most educated and modern manner. At the same time, however, that my Mochero friends were learnedly bandying about words and theories of modern medicine, the single *chicha* glass was making the rounds in the usual fashion. None of the men paid any attention to the slime and the lip marks on the common glass, which, to me, were only too visible.

This tendency to use both the modern and the old together, often in the same situation, but in what one might call a dissociated manner,⁵⁶ occurs in practically all aspects of Moche culture, but is especially evident in curing beliefs and practices.

First of all, the Mocheros are acquainted with modern medicine and with drug stores, called *boticas*. Although there is neither a physician nor a drug store in Moche itself, those of nearby Trujillo are available and are used. The general attitude toward physicians is a mixture of respect and lack of confidence, and this is true of Mocheros, old and young. Although I have discussed these matters both directly and indirectly with many Mocheros, including some who are attending the university and who hold professional positions in Trujillo, I have yet to find one who seems to have wholehearted and complete confidence in the *médicos*. Yet most Mocheros agree that in certain conditions if anything at all can be done, only a *médico* can do it. For example, even the *curanderas* and midwives agree that a case of complicated childbirth, such as a breech presentation, must be immediately taken to the hos-

⁵⁶ This is an example of a violation of the principle of consistency in culture, or of a cultural inconsistency as between representational patterns and actional patterns, as discussed in Gillin, 1944.

pital in Trujillo if the lives of mother and child are not to be lost. It is likewise agreed that all cases of major surgical intervention must be handled by *médicos* and, in fact, there are, so far as I know, no "native" techniques of major surgery in practice in Moche. However, the ordinary Mochero will usually either express skepticism that surgery is necessary in a given case or attribute the need for it to non-scientific causes. For example, the great-aunt of one of my informants died last year of cancer. At least this was the medical diagnosis, and the family is willing to admit that she had cancer. However, they are firmly convinced that it was originally caused by the fact that she had been *brujada* (bewitched). At first she was treated by *brujería* (curative witchcraft). When she got worse, she was turned over to a *médico* and, finally, at considerable expense, was taken to Lima for an operation. The hospital care and surgery were actually supervised by the then Minister of Public Health, who took a personal interest in the case, by reason of being a friend of a friend of the family. The family, in short, was convinced that the best of scientific medical care had been provided for the old lady. However, after the operation she was returned to Moche and, as is often the case with postoperative cancer conditions, continued to decline after a short period of improvement. Finally, as a last desperate resort, she was taken to Salas, the great center of the north coast *brujería*, where, after a short period of treatment by the best *brujos*, she died. Her body was brought back to Moche in a truck for burial, and when the box was opened after the journey, it is said that she had turned over during the trip and was found to be lying on her face—the final insulting result of the original *brujería* which had caused the sickness. Although this case is slightly more spectacular than the average, it is typical of many with which I was familiar personally or through reliable accounts. In the treatment of illness, however serious, the modern Mochero oscillates between folkloristic methods of treatment and modern scientific medicine (i. e., that version of it which exists in this region), with the balance usually tipped in favor of the folkloristic. The Mochero takes the stand that he will try the *médico*, but if satisfactory results are not forthcoming, he will seek out a *brujo* or *curandero*. A common comment is, "Perhaps the *médicos* know some things, but, among us people here, there are a lot of things which they can't cure. Take *susto*, for

example. The *médicos* don't know anything about it."

As we go on with a description of the folkloristic cures, it will be noticed that "modern" elements appear, even in the most esoteric parts of the *brujería* and *curandismo*. One "modern" institution appears to be indispensable to folkloristic medicine in its present form, namely, the drug store or *botica*.⁵⁷ Without the *botica*, neither the *curanderos* nor the *brujos* could carry on their present practices, since certain products which play a central role in their manipulations are obtainable only from these institutions.

To sum up, the treatment of sickness among the present-day Mocheros is handled by three general classes of specialists: (1) Physicians, i. e., practitioners of modern medicine; (2) *brujos* (witches), and (3) *curanderos* or curers.

In addition, every adult person is acquainted with a number of first-aid practices and the uses of certain herbs and other remedies. This may be called the unspecialized, household medicine. As in rural communities in the United States, certain individuals, usually older persons, have a wider knowledge of these household remedies than others, without pretending to be specialists or making a profession of their knowledge.

Since the present section is not a treatise on modern medicine, we shall leave the practitioners of this science among the Mocheros to their own devices, mentioning them and their arts only as they enter in-

⁵⁷ Neither in the Sierra nor the coastal cultures of prehistoric times do we find clear evidence of pharmacists or pharmacies, although, as Valdiván says, we may see an antique parallel in the persons still found in most markets dedicated to the sale of medicinal products. Such specialists seem to date from prehistoric times. True pharmacists were introduced by the Spaniards, but not for some time after the Conquest. "In the first years of the conquest there was neither *médico*, nor surgeon, nor pharmacist." The first mention of pharmacies occurs in the year 1537 (Libro de Cabildos). "The *boticas* of the colonial period . . . must have had some similarity to the present stands of herbalists, since herbs and vegetable simples composed the principal part of the therapeutic arsenal of those times, when the pharmacists had to store up a quantity of leaves, roots, woods, flowers which served as the base for the preparation of pisans and potions . . . The pharmacists kept a large quantity of lards, greases, viscera of certain animals (the omentum of the hog, for example), etc. To the Spanish system of weights and measures there was added another, completely conventional, not only in Colonial Peru, but in the whole world. We refer to the bits [*pacos* or *pacas*], handfuls, knife pointsful, papers." Lickers (persons who lick the skin, *lamedores*) and *seringeros* (persons who specialized in giving enemas) were other colonial medical specialists. Mustard plasters were much employed. The training of pharmacists during the colonial period was by apprenticeship and practice, and it was not until the establishment of the Colegio de San Fernando in Lima in 1808 that formal courses in pharmacy were offered in Peru. More scientific training and supervision of pharmacists began in 1856 with the establishment of the Facultad de Medicina in the University of San Marcos. (See Valdiván, 1938, article "Boticas," vol. 2, pp. 173-186.)

to the customary or folkloristic beliefs and practices of the Mocheros.

The practice of *brujería* is not, of course, confined to Moche. The casting of spells and the curing of them goes back both into Inca culture and into pre-Conquest Spanish tradition. Undoubtedly the Mochicas practiced and believed in something similar. At the present time both *brujería* and *curandismo* are illegal and frowned upon by the authorities, especially the former, a fact which renders their investigation in a situation like that of Moche doubly difficult, because it adds legal sanction to the natural reticence of the practitioner with a vested interest in his knowledge and manipulations. Although these "superstitious" practices are forbidden by law, they are, as previously stated, extensively practiced, and the legal sanction is rather more of a potential than an actual threat. Relatively few arrests and trials have taken place in recent years, and the general practice of the police is to act only upon specific complaint, when a general hullabaloo or scandal breaks out, or when a person seems to have died as a result of the ministrations. Nevertheless, the practitioners do not take unnecessary chances and are suspicious of any investigation until their confidence has been won, which is a fairly long process in some cases. I myself succeeded in establishing good relations with only one *brujo* and one *curandera*, and for many weeks I despaired of being able to accomplish this. I have personally watched their various ceremonies and have held long discussions with them on all phases of their work. However, each practitioner has specialties of his own; information from the two informants mentioned, therefore, does not necessarily represent the complete range of practices in Moche. Although this has to some extent been supplemented by information and experiences proffered by laymen of the community, I am not by any means sure that my informants have exhausted their knowledge for my benefit. There may be certain special secrets which only years of association with the practitioners would bring out. In this respect, however, the material at hand seems to check well enough with such published data as exists, the best two sources for which are Valdizán and Maldonado (1922), and Camino Calderón's fictionalized presentation of 1942.

It would be possible to write an entire volume on native medicine and magical curing in Moche. The following pages present only the highlights of even that material which I have at hand. A more extended exposition awaits a later opportunity. Much of the

unused material at hand should be followed up by longer period of investigation, not only from the anthropological point of view, but also medically and psychiatrically. The "superstitions" of the common people of the Peruvian coast are not mere ethnological curiosities but form a setting for customary action and thought which is extremely important for the interpretation and understanding of Peruvian culture as a whole. It also seems possible that a close study of the native *materia medica* and the techniques of its use might lead to discoveries of therapeutic importance to somatic as well as to psychological medicine, which could be generalized to medical practice in other parts of the world.

BRUJERÍA⁵⁸

In Moche, as in most parts of Peru, there are two kinds of *brujería*, good and bad, or white and black, with their corresponding practitioners. According to my information, which for reasons mentioned above, may not be complete, there are in the community at least seven persons frequently mentioned as *brujos* (experts in or practitioners of *brujería*). Five of these are regarded as bad *brujos*, usually called *maleros* or *hechiceros*, and only two are good *brujos*, sometimes called *brujos curanderos*, or *brujos buenos*. Three of the *brujos* are women, and they are all said to be bad. I had at least a speaking acquaintance with all of these individuals, but I was intimately friendly with only two, and only one of these discussed and demonstrated his *brujería* to me with freedom. This man is a good *brujo*, who has studied his craft among the great experts of the art in Salas. My impression is that there are actually only three professional *brujos* living in Moche itself. All of these are men. Two are good *brujos*,

⁵⁸We shall use the Spanish word *brujería*, henceforward without italics. It is pronounced, as "Time Magazine" might say, "broo-her-EE-ah," rhyming with English "diarrhea." Although this Spanish word is usually translated as "witchcraft" or "sorcery," these two English words have wider and more uncertain connotations for modern American readers than has "brujería" for residents of Moche. Possibly this is because the witchcraft of North American tradition represented a historical complex (compounded of English and North European elements, involved with Reformation and Puritan formulations) distinct from those which are the historical sources for Peruvian coastal beliefs and practices (derived from aboriginal Indian, Spanish, Arabic antecedents, involved with the Inquisition, etc.). "Magic" in its anthropological connotation would be satisfactory except that the Spanish equivalent, *magia*, is used in a different sense than is "brujería" in Moche. "Shamanism" would likewise be satisfactory except for the fact that it is generally used to refer to usages untouched by so-called higher religions involving belief in God or gods and to usages entirely "primitive," i. e., representative of cultures basically unmodified by literate civilizations. Moche *brujería*, on the contrary, involves certain aspects of the Catholic region and is also compounded, not only of "primitive" but also of Western elements.

one of them my friend mentioned above, and another who is still in more or less of an apprenticeship status. The "bad brujo" is an old man. Although I was friendly with him, either because of his senility or his slyness I was unable to extract any useful information from him with respect to his art, but everyone I know in the community claims that he is a powerful *malero*. The other four individuals frequently mentioned as brujos (including the three women), I am not inclined to regard as professionals. They are either the victims of slander—and the accusation that one is a brujo is a favorite theme for whispering campaigns—or else they are believed to have accomplished certain feats of spell-casting against their enemies, but without special training or attempting to make a career of it.

When I say that an individual is to be regarded as a "professional" brujo in Moche, I do not imply that he employs all his time in this profession. Nowhere in Peru, so far as I know, does an individual usually devote himself exclusively to one calling, except in agriculture. Just as the university professors of Lima have their law practices, their drug stores, and their haciendas, so the brujos of Moche have their *chacras* and agricultural activities.

The origin of the black and white varieties of brujería is a historical problem, which perhaps cannot yet be definitely solved. According to Guamán Poma, an outstanding authority on many Inca customs, both "good" and "bad" brujos and curers seem to have existed among the galaxy of specialists concerned with such matters in the Sierra under the Inca rule. Guamán Poma, however, makes it sound as if the bulk of the brujos' efforts were devoted to undesirable activities, whereas the counteracting and curing of such business was mainly in the hands of a variety of herbalists and surgeons.⁵⁹ Surgical intervention seems to have been much more highly developed in the "medicine" of the Sierra than on the coast.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Guamán Poma

makes no mention whatever of the diagnostic use of the guinea pig rubbed over the body of the patient.

The curing *brujo* with whom I worked was a native of Virú, although he made his home in Moche many years ago and has raised a family of Mocheritos. He has more white blood than many Mocheros, however. He himself is a man of serious mien, about 60 years of age, with large, "piercing," blood-shot eyes. He is somewhat reserved in manner, but after a basis of confidence has been established, talks in a frank way. His conversation is sprinkled with quiet jokes and he speaks freely. With me, at least, he made no great show of omniscience, eccentricity, or of supernatural powers. He admitted frankly that there are some things he does not know and some conditions which he cannot cure, but he showed a quiet confidence in those powers and that knowledge which he believes he possesses. He himself got into brujería when he went to Salas in his early youth to be cured of a "case of worms in the leg." One of the great masters of Salas cured him, but since he had no money to pay the fee, required him to stay 6 months and work out the payment of the treatment as an *alsador*. In the course of time he became interested in brujería as a profession. The master "tested" him for another year, during which he continued to serve as assistant, living in a room of the master's house with bare subsistence. He says that only those candidates are accepted for final instruction who the master is convinced have the "true spirit." One must have an innate ability to learn the techniques, and to see visions, but above all, the candidate must be absolutely sincere in believing in the power of the herbs. He claims that his own master could detect the slightest faltering in interest or belief, and that he was thrown out of the master's graces several times before his "soul was pure." He says that the emphasis is on spiritual dedication and honesty. Chicanery of all kinds is definitely ruled out.

Although the most which the average Peruvian medical man would admit regarding this is that there may be honor among thieves, I am inclined to believe that brujería, at least the "good" type, does involve a strong spiritual element regarding which its properly trained practitioners are quite sincere. Considered as a professional institution or cultural orientation, its symbolic patterns would seem on the whole to be consistent with its representational patterns. If laymen are "duped" by brujería, so also in most cases

⁵⁹ Guamán Poma (1936). I have succeeded in obtaining this original source (in the facsimile edition) for only a few hours' study. Consequently I have had to lean heavily, for the present, on Lastres (1941) for a summary of the medical data and methods of curing set forth in the original work. See also Dietschy, 1938. The French facsimile edition of Guamán Poma is apparently out of print at this writing, and another facsimile edition, published in Bolivia, I have been unable to purchase up to the time of going to press.

⁶⁰ Although the Mochica ceramics in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" at Chiclin show that punitive surgery was extensively used in the amputation of limbs, nose tips, and sexual organs of presumed criminals, therapeutic surgery occurs very infrequently, both in the ceramics and in the bones recovered from Mochica graves. Trepanation, so common among the Incas, is extremely rare among the Mochicas.

are the practitioners themselves. This does not mean, of course, that the practitioner does not endeavor to acquaint himself with all of the objective facts of a case before he undertakes it, e.g., sickness and symptoms of the patient, his quarrels and other social relations, his state of mind and prominent anxieties, etc. Likewise the brujo does not fail to maintain a certain air of mystery and authority about his treatments and seances, and to guard his secrets from laymen. However, within the framework of brujería, this is, of course, regarded as no more unethical than the practice of scientific physicians looking into the economic and social circumstance of their patients without directly interrogating the patient himself. Likewise, a certain "window dressing" is employed by the medical profession because it gives the physician a position of dominance and authority in relation to his patients—it helps him to "control" the case, which is regarded as an essential part of the treatment. Even the most enlightened modern patient in North America expects his physician to assume an air of certain seriousness when considering his complaints, to wear a white coat or gown when performing surgery if not at other times, to keep his instruments in a compulsively regular although perhaps unnecessary neatness in their cases, and so on. Likewise, the care with which the brujo lays out his *mesa*, the solemnity with which he conducts the divination, etc., are "ethical" accompaniments of the practice of the profession. And, of course, the brujo, just as the modern physician, comes to convince himself that such ritual is an essential part of the cure he is trying to effect. No doubt it is.

I do not wish to appear to defend brujería against modern medicine, but in many parts of America we must face the facts that brujería has existed for a long time and is still firmly imbedded in the culture of many of the common people. To persist in this manner, it must be rewarding in certain ways to its clients. It seems plausible that its *materia medica* does possess real therapeutic value in certain physical conditions, and that its procedures have the effect of lowering personal anxieties in many cases. If any curing system can relieve pain—either physical or psychological—it is rewarding and will persist. Therefore brujería cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere body of superstitions which can be legislated out of existence. Modern medicine makes slow headway against brujería, especially in those conditions in which it takes no account of the cultural factors which

produce certain punishing "acquired drives"⁶¹ from which individuals seek relief. In Moche, for example, the complex of patterns and customs involved in bewitchment or magical attack, in *susto*, in *ojo* (evil eye), and so on are not purely "imaginary." They exist in the thinking of the people and in the culture of the group and produce ailments which for all practical purposes are quite real. A man's anxiety does not have to be based on the germ theory of disease in order to make him sick.

Only in certain areas of therapeutics has modern medicine as practiced in the region shown itself to the Mocheros to be more rewarding than the native procedures, for example, in surgical intervention, in difficult deliveries, and in violent infections such as certain types of pneumonia and malaria.

THE SÉANCE

A curing brujo operates by means of a séance called the *mesa de brujería* (table of witchcraft). Actually the *mesa* or "table" is laid out on a white cloth spread on the ground (pl. 22, upper and lower (left), upper and middle (right)). It is a sort of altar where the herbs and simples, patron saints' images, and other magical apparatus of the brujo are laid out before him. I attended one séance, after which my friend the *maestro* put on another séance for my benefit alone, in which he went through the actions slowly and carefully with explanations, and on a third occasion he set up the *mesa* for me in daylight so that I could photograph it and note down in detail all the elements composing the collection of working materials. These are listed in the following section.

The general theory of the standard séance is that the operating brujo is carrying out the affair in order to discover who has done magical harm to the patient and how it was done. Once this information, produced by the séance, is obtained by the brujo, he may prescribe remedies for the patient from among the materials on the *mesa*. However, the theory always is held that the patient is sick because some other individual has caused evil magic to be worked against him. Hence, in the séance the brujo is always thought to be working against a rival, *la parte de la contra*. The rival brujo or brujos or their familiar spirits, the *shapingos*, may appear during the séance as shadowy forms with the intent of upsetting the proper course of events, confounding the operating brujo, and confusing the cure of the patient. In other words, the rival evil brujo is constantly at work to prevent the

⁶¹ See Gillin, 1942, for a discussion of these matters.

reversal of the evil influence which he has produced in the health of the patient. It is partly for this reason that séances are held at night and in secrecy, so that the rival brujos and the individuals who have employed them to do harm to the patients may not learn that their evil work is about to be undone.

Séances may be held for the benefit of two or more patients, but the following description is in terms of one patient. These affairs can take place only on Tuesday or Friday.

The séance may take place either in the house or in the open. In the former case, the brujo sets up the *mesa* so that he is facing the door which is left wide open, so that he may see the approach of the shadowy forms of the counter influences, and with his back against the wall. In the open the affair takes place in a secluded spot. The brujo is called the *maestro de la mesa* or simply *maestro* (master), and is aided by two assistants, called *alsadores* (literally "raisers"). The latter are sometimes young men "studying" to be brujos themselves. The assistants and the master form a team which always works together, and the assistants each are paid an agreed sum from the fees obtained by the master for the treatment. In the team I know personally, one of the assistants is a man in his fifties who has been working with this master for the past 20 years. The other is his son, about 20 years old, who has been working at this profession for about 3 years and hopes to become a master himself in the course of time. The older assistant is the father of the woman with whom the master lives, but was the master's assistant before this household was set up, and in the affairs of brujeria at least, is thoroughly subordinated to the master at all times.

The *mesa* must be set out and ready to operate at 9 p. m. The master kneels on the floor or ground with his back against a wall, if possible. First he says the phrase of invocation in a pious voice, "*Al nombre del Padre, del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo.*" Then he begins the proceedings by laying out the white cloth and sticking the protective dagger (*puñal*) in the ground at the opposite end and with the blade facing outward. Then he proceeds to take the various articles which compose the content of the *mesa* one by one from an *alforja* and to set them out in their proper places on the cloth. The two pictures of the saints are first set up against a bottle of alcohol, and the other articles are then laid out in their proper places. The two assistants stand, crouch, or kneel facing him on the other side of the

mesa. All three members of the team should have been on a diet for 3 days previous to the séance. They cannot eat cow meat during this period, only mutton, *garbanzos*, rice, and vegetables which stand up off the ground, nothing which touches the ground while growing, such as potatoes, sweetpotatoes, etc. They are not to eat bread or pastry made with shortening, or to drink milk. The patient likewise is supposed to have dieted for 3 days during which he eats no meat and partakes only of "cold" foods. (See classification, pp. 53-54). Also, great care must be taken that the patient's food is prepared separately from that of other persons. The pot must be continually watched, for, if any of the contents boils over or spills on the ground or in the fire, the patient will be seriously harmed.

The patient lies or sits facing the master and behind and to one side of the assistants, alone or accompanied by one or two friends or relatives. The affair begins with the light of a candle, and the first step is for the assistants to "raise the table" (*levantar la mesa*). This "raising" procedure is the principal activity of the assistants and recurs at intervals throughout the séance. It consists of snuffing up through the nostrils an alcoholic liquid contained in a flat sea shell. The master takes two of the smooth sea shells (Nos. 30-32; see list, p. 124, and fig. 8) and places them before him. He pours into each about a tablespoonful of *cañaso* from the bottle (No. 3). Then he pours in about a teaspoonful of *agua de florida* (No. 47) and finally adds a few drops of jasmine perfume (No. 50). This process of mixing is repeated each time a "raising" takes place during the séance. The assistants now proceed to "raise the table, one hand to each side." They both kneel on the floor and place their respective shells full of the mixture before them. Then, in unison, each takes his shell in his right hand, bows down with his face to the ground so as to place his nose against the edge and takes a large sniff through the right nostril. Then, in unison, they raise the head and the shells about 6 inches and take another sniff, thus continuing in a slightly higher position each time until they are kneeling upright. Then, each raises his right knee, with his left knee still on the ground, and takes another sniff; then they get to their feet, and so on until they are completely upright and all the liquid has been snuffed into the right nostril and swallowed. The process is then repeated, using the left nostril, the left hand, and raising the left knee before the right knee. This

imbibing of a strong alcoholic mixture through the nose produces violent eructations and belches from the stomach and causes tears to run. The theory of this snuffing is that the assistants vicariously purify the situation by so doing. When they "raise" the *mesa* at the start of the *séance*, they thereby purify it and protect it from evil influences. When they "raise" the patient, the latter is purified and protected. The procedure is said also to "raise the soul." Great care must be taken during this process that no drop of the liquid is spilled, and the procedure should be followed through smoothly without hesitations or time taken out for lengthy belching and eye wiping. If a drop is spilled, the master has to purify the assistant, patient, and *mesa* by blowing white corn powder, chewed in his mouth,⁶² over all, and the "raising" must start all over again. If an assistant gets a nostril stopped up, the master uncorks one of the bottles of *seguro* (Nos. 27 and 28) and gives him a whiff to clear it up.

After the "*mesa* has been raised," the lights are blown out and the *séance* proceeds in darkness. The master now begins by snuffing up the same mixture in the same way, one shellful to each side. All the time he is talking rapidly in an undertone, "Now we'll see. Now let's see. Ha, now it's coming," and so on. Next he takes two or three noisy gulps of the jasmine perfume and twice in succession sprays a mouthful over the *mesa* to make it smell good. This is supposed to keep the *maleros* away. Next he takes a mouthful or two of *agua de florida* and twice in succession sprays the table with this. Next he "sweetens the table" (*endulca la mesa*) by blowing a mouthful of white granulated sugar over it. None of these perfumes or sugar is swallowed. Swallowing a liquid through the mouth during a *seance* makes the patient weak. Swallowed liquid must always be taken through the nose.

Now the master begins to call the spirits, which are thought to be represented by the functional articles on the *mesa*, by beginning to shake his rattle (No. 49) rhythmically, chanting and whistling a special tune the while (each master has a sacred tune composed by himself). At the start of this process he cuts a piece of *misha negra* (No. 54) about the size of a quarter-inch cube and puts it in his mouth, chewing it slightly and keeping it in the cheek for a while until he swallows it. Calling the spirits continues for about half an hour, provided no counter

spirit (*shapingo*) appears. If this should happen, the calling is stopped at once. Working in a house, the master has to keep his eyes fixed on the door to see the shadowy shapes. In the open he looks about continuously, for they come from all sides. When a counter spirit puts in an appearance, the proceeding stops suddenly. The audience hears the iron magnet crashing to the ground some distance away, accompanied by a few fierce curses from the master. It is said that the magnet flies toward the evil shade of its own power, although on a confidential level the master admits that, of course, he throws it. Since this heavy piece of iron may be flying unannounced through the darkness at any minute, it is advisable for all present to stay quietly in their places during a *seance*, unless ordered to do otherwise by the master. If the counter spirits do not go away after being attacked by the magnet, one of the assistants, on orders from the master, will seize the long dagger or knife (No. 1) and fight a shadow battle, slashing the air with the knife. If he is unsuccessful, the knife will be seized by the master, who fights the battle himself. It is said that occasionally a *brujo* is overcome in one of these ghostly contests and falls to the ground in a faint (or possibly from intoxication). This breaks up the *séance* and is exceedingly dangerous, both for the health of the patient and the reputation of the *brujo*.

Once the *shapingo* has been routed, all present stand up, the master repeats again the phrase of invocation, and then continues with his calling of the spirits of the herbs. At 11 p. m. the counter spirits begin to come in greatest numbers, and therefore it is advisable to "raise" the patient at this time. This is done by the assistants, each of whom sniffs three shellfuls of liquid in the process, which is divided into three "*manos*" (beginning with the right hand) as follows: (1) Up to the waist on each side; (2) up to the neck on each side; and (3) from neck up to top of head, one assistant in front and the other behind. The patient stands up or is held up, and as the assistants raise themselves sniffing the liquid they press closely against the body of the patient. After the third "*mano*" is finished, each assistant places his shell upside down on the head of the patient and rubs it all over the scalp. Then the patient lies down to rest.

An even more powerful method and one also prescribed for certain conditions of the patient—of which the master must be the judge—is to administer

⁶² Blowing maize meal from the mouth was used by Inca *brujos* to nullify the power of rivals. See Lastres (1941, pp. 147-148).

about a gallon of the San Pedro brew (No. 7) to the patient after he has been "raised." The recipe for two patients is as follows: Peel one cactus, but save the skin; the peeled cylinder is then disked and quartered and placed in the gasoline can one-half full of water, together with 16 grains of white maize, and a bit from each herb in the bottle of *seguro* (Nos. 28 and 29). The mixture is heated over the fire, but is cool by the time of the *séance*. Some *brujos* administer this brew or something similar to all persons present at the *séance*. It is said to produce vomiting, diarrhea, and visual hallucinations.

Usually the *brujo* has divined the cause of the trouble before the patient is "raised" for the second time. While he is calling the spirits, he continues to chew *misha*, replenishing his cud from time to time, and also has usually inhaled several shellfuls of alcohol because of interruptions by contrary spirits. Gradually his singing, whistling, and monologic exclamations increase in tempo and he begins to be more certain. "Now they're coming. Here it is," and so on, he mutters excitedly. Finally, when the possession is full upon him, he stops shaking the rattle and lights a candle. Then he stops and sits motionless as if in a trance, gazing fixedly at the framed pictures of the saints on the *mesa*. Finally he sighs, and says with conviction, "Yes, now I see it. Aha, so that's the way it was," and so on. He calls other members of the company to come and look at the framed photographs. "You see that figure in back there. A man, no? What is he doing?" In the flickering light it is not too difficult to see a ghostlike form in the cloudy backgrounds of the photographs. At the first *séance* I attended, I was the only one for some time able to "see anything." The *maestro* announced to the others that I was the only one present who had true spiritual sight. The trouble with the others, he said, was that they were letting their minds wander. Members of a *séance* must concentrate only on the matter at hand. After he has received some agreement that there are forms or figures to be seen, the master then asks certain questions of the patient. "Did a woman visit you on Thursday of last week? Did she have anything in her hand? It was your cousin, wasn't it?" And so on. If he has not completely made up his mind concerning the cause, the identity of the persons involved, and other features of the case, the master puts out the light and continues to call the spirits for a further time.

If he has decided in his own mind the diagnosis of the trouble and how the case should be handled, he

tells the patient so, and advises him that he will describe the affair to the patient next day and advise further magical measures to be taken. For the moment, the next thing to do is to relieve the patient of his symptoms. The patient is stood up again and "raised" by the assistants moving closely alongside his body. This time, however, the assistants move over all parts of his body, not just along the two sides, and, whenever they come to a part which hurts, the patient so advises the master. The assistants then finish the contents of the shells, holding their heads closely pressed to the complaining spot, while the master speaks reassuringly to the patient and prepares one of the herbs from the *mesa* to be administered at once and/or to be taken home. Patients usually feel better after this treatment.

The work of the *mesa* usually continues until at least 2 a. m., and often until daybreak, before all matters have been satisfactorily cleared up. Sometimes the *brujo* requires two or three *séances* to cure the case.

In this kind of cure, the patient always expects to be told that some specific person has had black magic worked on him. If the divination has been completed, usually the next day the *maestro* visits the patient and relieves his curiosity concerning the identity of the enemy. The herbs are considered to act as neutralizers of this baleful influence.

Without a precise knowledge of the physiological effects of the cures given, we may concede that they perhaps have some therapeutic value. Serious illness in Moche, however, is always accompanied by strong, but diffuse, anxiety feelings. Doubtless this is true of sickness in most human societies, but in the Moche context the patient is certain that his trouble comes from baleful magic wrought against him by some person or persons; the uncertainty is the identity of his persecutor or persecutors and the type of magic which has been used. Once a plausible identification of these elements has been provided by a *séance*, the individual is able to reintegrate himself. His diffuse anxiety is lowered by identifying its source (channelizing it) and also by the protective or neutralizing measures believed to be taken by the prescriptions of the *brujo*. By countervailing magic the patient may even transform his anxiety state into aggression aimed at a definite object. This change in the feeling state of the patient which is wrought by the *brujo's* treatment also is apparently therapeutically effective in certain types of somatic complaints. From the point of view of psychosomatic

medicine it is not surprising that cures take place under this type of treatment.

If we may grant that the cure may be at least temporarily beneficial to the individual, we nevertheless have to admit that it is unhealthful for the society in which he lives. The results of these divinations often serve to reinforce the aggressions and divisions which, unfortunately, are too frequent in Moche society in any case. Moreover, the *brujo* is in a position to foment various aggressions which otherwise might not exist. This is illustrated in the following case told me by several informants and typical of a number of similar cases. I set it down as told by one informant, in translation.

Our good friend and compadre S. was the only son of his parents and inherited all the goods of his father, some land, house, cattle, yoke of oxen, donkeys, a horse, etc. His wife was completely healthy and robust, weighing about 80 kilos. We must believe that there are in this life envious persons and characters of bad faith, but this case took place in the bosom of a family and involved a person who was receiving favors from that family. All right. The Sra. S. was a person of good humor, loving, amiable with her friends. The couple had been several years married and were educating their children. The Sra. enjoyed life, but with no one more than a female relative of the house, the daughter of one of her sisters whom she had invited to live with her. This niece knew how to make herself prized by preparing good *causas* and food, and, in short, the family was very happy. Suddenly, after New Years the Sra. S. became sick with acute liver colic, which became so bad as to endanger her life. It was at this time that our compadre S. began to dispose of some of his property in order to attend to the serious illness of his woman. Very just of him. The best doctors of Trujillo could do nothing to cure these colics which were frequent and painful. Finally they diagnosed the case as an incurable illness and the Sra. remained sentenced to death. By this time the weight of the Sra. had declined to only 46 kilos, she could not walk, and was bedridden. Then arrived the Angel of her salvation. Our friend C., propagandizer of this art of bujeria, visited S., and learned of the illness of his woman. He succeeded in convincing the suffering husband that a brujo was needed and offered to bring one immediately who was his *compadre*. Since the case seemed to S. to be lost, he agreed. Previous to this S. had never believed in the occult science, but the upshot was that he and the brujo agreed on the fee to be paid and the work of cure was begun. They had to go to a secluded part of the *campiña* where a *mesa de brujeria* was prepared. Then the human cargo was carried there and the seance took place. The next day the sick woman was better and gave signs of life. It was necessary to prepare a second *mesa*, which started work the night of the following Friday. As luck would have it, this second *mesa* was raided by the police, because, as you know, the brujos are knocked about and persecuted by the authorities, because it is believed that they needlessly take away the money of the poor people. Bueno. But to S., in the midst of his affliction, appeared the Virgin, as they say, for the

chief of the police party turned out to be one of his best friends. S. offered to pay the fine if his friend the chief would allow the brujo to continue and then told the sorrowful story of his wife. The chief reminded S. of the dangers which might ensue, but finally allowed himself to be convinced, if S. would agree to take full responsibility. Pocketing the fine, the police party left. The brujo, relieved of his anxiety over the affair of law, proceeded with his treatment with such success that the Sra. S. was completely restored to health following this second *mesa*. As is usual, the brujo told the Sra. (patient) that in order to be permanently cured she should "see" the person who had caused her the harm (*daño*). Of course, the Sra. was anxious to know. A third *mesa* was organized and during the seance he showed her a form in the glass plate covering the picture of the sacred image and near this image a plate of food which she recognized as one of her favorite dishes prepared by the niece who lived in her house and by means of which the harm had been transmitted to her. The surprise of the Sra. was great to recognize the face of her niece in the glass, she with whom she had shared her moments of pleasure and whom she had befriended economically. This bad friend, this ungrateful niece, upon learning that her plot had been uncovered, fled from the community and is at present in Lima.

No one to whom I talked seemed interested in further evidence regarding the culpability of the unfortunate niece. The evidence of the seance seems to have been sufficient to satisfy all.

MESA DE BRUJERIA

In plate 22, upper and lower (left) and upper and middle (right), the process of setting up a *mesa de brujeria* has been photographed, and in figure 8 the

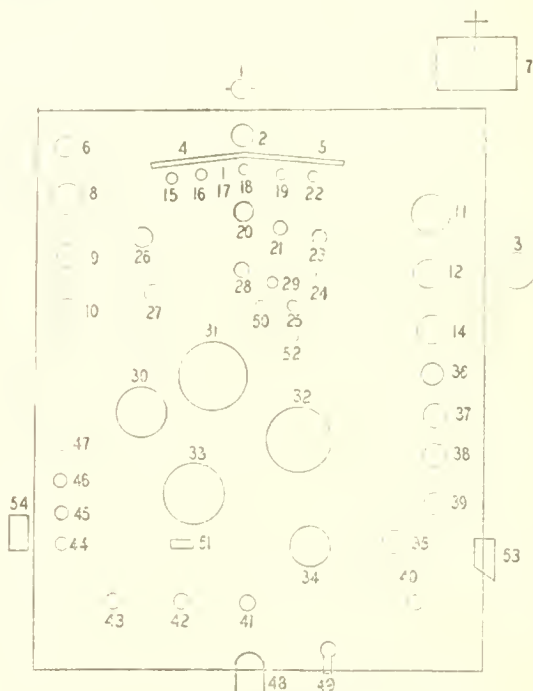


FIGURE 8.—Explanatory diagram of a *mesa de brujeria*.

various objects on the *mesa* in question are identified. This, so far as I am aware, is the first time that a brujo or his apparatus has been photographed at work and is the first published account of the details of the apparatus. As previously mentioned, each brujo has specialties and peculiarities of his own and, according to accounts, no two *mesas* are exactly alike. The *mesa* in question is supposed to be for white witchcraft, i. e., for the helping and curing of persons who have been attacked by witchcraft.

The *mesa* itself consists of a rectangle of white muslin, actually a sugar sack, laid out on the floor or on the ground, as shown in the photographs. Before anything else is put down, the *puñal*, a large wooden-handled steel knife, is stuck in the ground at the head of the *mesa* (opposite end from the operator) with its edge facing outward. This is supposed to "cut" the interference of rival brujos and must be of pure steel. The other items may be listed as follows, according to the identifying numbers which appear in the sketch (fig. 8).

1. *Puñal*, or knife.
2. A half bottle of cane alcohol with which to prepare *cañaso*.
3. Bottle of *cañaso*, made from one-half bottle of alcohol, fresh water, and three tablespoonfuls of sugar.
4. Frame containing pictures of La Virgen de los Dolores de Virú, covered with glass.
5. Framed, glass-covered picture of La Virgen de la Puerta de Otuzco. Each brujo has his own favorite saints' pictures. In them appear the visions at a certain point in the seance.
6. A raw piece of San Pedro cactus.
7. Tin 5-gallon gasoline can for making infusion of San Pedro cactus, with a cross made of *carrizo* stuck into it. One-half the contents of the can are given to the patient.
8. Paper-wrapped package of an herb called *flotación*.
9. A bottle of holy water (*agua bendita*).
10. Paper package of white sugar.
11. Paper package of *solimán*, a white powder which is used dry in massage of the skin. It is a counterirritant. It is powdered onto the skin with cotton, then rubbed with the hand.
12. *Yerbas para el aire*, wrapped in paper. Included in the package are five types which are mixed together in an infusion and given to the patient hot: (a) *toro* stems, (b) *misha negra*, a root, (c) *pedra mineral negro*, a black root, (d) *pedra mineral blanca*, a root, and (e) *cóndor blanco*, a root.
13. A cloth sack containing the following: (a) *Mishpingo* fruit, about as big as a walnut, in a hairy shell; (b) *pedra imán* (iron pyrites), male and female; the male pieces are covered with long exudations of rust which look like hair and cling by magnetic attraction to the female piece; (c) a cube of bone with an incised face; design consists of three squares one within the other,

and seven dots on the face of the inner square; (d) metatarsal bones of a human "*cristiano*"; (e) three rusty steel needles; (f) *haylulito negro*, a stone; (g) *aserin*, loose flaky and dusty rust, which is called the food of the pyrites (*alimento del imán*). The contents of this sack are used with the *yerba para el aire* to cure and control "*aire*." The seven dots on the bone cube indicate that the remedy should be taken every 7 days, on Tuesday or Friday, at 11 a. m. The *pedra de imán* is placed in a glass of cold water for an hour, then taken out and dried with a cloth before putting back in the sack; then the water in which it has been soaked is used for cooking the herbs listed in No. 12. The bones and other articles in the package are considered "food for the *imán*."

14. *Piedra de ara* ("communion stone"). This is scraped to make a powder which is administered one-half teaspoonful in one-half a glass of cold boiled water for heart troubles.
15. *Piedra de lobo del mar*. Comes from the body of the sea lion. Powder is made from it by scraping, which is mixed with powder of No. 14, and the two administered for heart troubles.
16. *Piedra de huaca del rayo*. Ornament only. All items called "*de huaca*" have been obtained in archeological ruins.
17. *Piedra de huaca del Cerro Blanco*. Ornament.
18. *Piedra de lobo del mar*. More of the same as in No. 15.
19. *Corazón*. Ornament for the "heart of the *mesa*." It is a heart-shaped piece of chalky stone with *pedra de huaca* set into it.
20. *Caracol blanco de huaca*. Ornamental shell.
21. Blessed image of San Antonio de Padua, *patrón* of the *mesa*. San Antonio de Padua was a brujo before becoming a saint. This image was blessed in the church in Moche.
22. *Piedra de ara oscura*.
23. *Piedra de huaca*.
24. *Piedra de huaca*; quartzite?
25. *Piedra de huaca*; quartzite? These two stones (Nos. 24 and 25) are a part of the defenses of the operator. During the seance, when the opposition influence ("*la parte de la contra*") is nearby, these stones shoot off sparks which warn the operator. He then takes the two stones in his hands and rubs them together vigorously so that more sparks fly out, which forces the rival to go away.
26. Round egg-shaped pebble *de huaca*, for decoration.
- 27 and 28. "*Los seguros*." Two small glass bottles containing the most powerful drugs and plants (called *pajas* or *hojas*) of the brujo. These are called "*la fuerza de la mesa*." The contents of these bottles is as follows: (a) *Trenzacia blanca*, small sections of certain plants called *huaringas* found in a large sacred lake inland from Salas among the outliers of the Andes; (b) *trenzacia negra*; (c) *vira-vira*; (d) *botón de oro*, a plant; (e) *trenzacia macho*; (f) *condor macho*; (g) *condor hembra*; (h) *simora blanca*; (i) *simora negra*; (j) *hunuquay*; (k) *misha blanca*; (l) *misha negra*; (m) *pedra de ara*, small pieces. All of these remedies are surrounded in the bottles by a liquid composed of the following substances: (a) *agua calanga legítima extranjera*; (b) *essencia de jasmín extranjera* (foreign-made essence of

jasmine, a cheap perfume); (c) *agua de florida extranera* (a proprietary product made in the United States). The liquid in these bottles is believed to have very strong curative powers. If the patient is seriously ill, he is given some of this liquid by drops in boiled, but tepid, water. After the patient has been "raised" (*alzado*), one of these bottles with contents inside it is rubbed over the head and body. This is called *limpiar al enfermo con la botella*. After this has been done, the bottle must be "refreshed" by placing it next to some pulverized white maize. Otherwise the contents will "burn" with the heat from the patient, and lose its efficacy.

30-32. Three *perlas de naera blanca*. Large flat sea shells, bivalves, smooth inside and outside. One for each assistant and one for *maestro* for "alzar" (imbibing through the nose) as explained in text.

33-35. The *perlas de huaca*. Flat sea shells with pink, serrated edges, one smooth, and two with spiny backs (*Spondylus pictorum*). These are sea shells, but were found in the Moche ruins. Bad brujos use these for imbibing through the nose (*alzar*), but only by left nostril. A good brujo imbibes from them when under attack by rival, a situation which is made evident by "rumores," nearby sounds, like "ka-ka-ka," during the seance.

36-46. Twelve *caracoles* (spirally formed sea shells), for ornament only.

47. One bottle of *agua de florida legitimo*, manufactured by Murray and Lanman, New York.

48. An iron magnet (*imán*). These may be purchased in Chiclayo. This particular one was given to the operator by a colleague in Virú.

49. A gourd rattle (*chingana* or *macana*) containing white stones of quartzite (?); has wooden handle.

50. *Olor*. Bottle of cheap jasmine perfume, manufactured by Laboratorios Maldonado, Lima.

51. A bottle of *agua cananga legitimo*.

52. Ten centavos worth of white maize kernels.

53. Ten centavos worth of white granulated sugar.

54. A head of the drug plant, *misha negra*. I do not know the chemical composition of this substance, but it is chewed in small pieces by the *maestro* and apparently has the property of producing visual hallucinations.

The contents of the *mesa* thus constitute the material equipment of the patterns of brujería practiced by the master, his "stock in trade" from the material point of view. These materials are seen to be in total a strange mixture of the indigenous and the European, of modern and medieval, of pagan and Christian, of coastal, Sierra, jungle, and foreign provenience. Yet each brujo feels that every item is essential to his work. In this publication I have no space to analyze in detail the origins of these various elements. A few passing comments will suffice for the present to indicate the diversity of cultural backgrounds involved in this complex. The purifying properties of white maize, for example, seem to be an Inca trait, if not older. Guamán Poma, in discuss-

ing provisions made by the Incas in times of epidemic, says that a diet of nothing but white corn was decreed (Lastres, 1941, p. 132). Many of the allegedly powerful drug plants (often called "*hojas*"—leaves), especially the *huaringas*, *mishas*, and San Pedro cactus come from the region of Salas, the headquarters of the north coast cult of brujería, and may be in part derived from the pharmacopoeia of the ancient coastal cultures. Other items, such as *mishpingo*, come from the jungle regions. The insistence on a trade-marked foreign-made perfumed alcohol called *agua de florida* alongside these items is a curious touch, as is also the presence of human bones of a baptized Christian alongside the pictures of saints and a bottle of holy water. The importance of the iron magnet and magnetized iron pyrites might be derived from the use of the magnet in 19th-century mesmerism. On the whole, the indigenous elements seem in the majority to be derived from coastal rather than Sierra indigenous cultures.

The treatment with guinea pigs (*limpia con cuy*) is said to be entirely different from "*mesa* work."

OTHER PROCEDURES OF "GOOD WITCHCRAFT"

The type of seance in which a guinea pig (*limpia con cuy*) is used for diagnostic purposes is, according to the brujo with whom I worked, entirely separated from "*mesa* work." I have not personally witnessed this type of session. It is a method of diagnosis used when the patient is apparently suffering from some serious, but undetermined, internal ailment and, in this man's technique at least, is not in itself concerned with discovering the human being who has perpetrated the black magical cause of the illness. He says that this is the view of all properly trained brujos. Some use the guinea pig diagnosis preceding the *mesa* in a single session. My informant uses it, he says, as one of a series of sessions. The session begins with an invocation and by the brujo making the sign of a cross with his forefinger on the head, chest, and stomach of the patient. He then takes a live guinea pig, preferably red, in his hand and starts to rub the entire body of the patient with it carefully. If the patient is in an extremely grave condition, the animal dies immediately. If not, after the entire body of the patient has been massaged, the animal is opened by ventral incision while still alive to see if the circulation is normal. If any part of the viscera is congested, the analogous organ of the patient is the seat of his trouble. If this type of examination is not convincing, after the

guinea pig dies, the master grinds white corn kernels on a table with a bottle used like a rolling pin and sprinkles powder over the viscera. Those portions where the white powder darkens are, analogously, the sick portions of the patient's viscera. After this, the animal is buried on its back in a hidden place. First dirt is placed over it, then kitchen ashes, then dirt. If anyone or any animal digs it up, harm is done to the patient.

No *alzadores* or sniffing of alcohol appear in this type of diagnosis.

The work of Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 1) contains an extensive, although somewhat diffuse, discussion of brujería in various parts of Peru. Miñano, 1942, has reported some interesting laymen's accounts recorded in the town of Chicama, near Chiclín.

The most vivid and detailed account of brujería seances of which I know, occurs in fictionalized form by Camino Calderón (1942, pp. 179-185). I have the pleasure of Señor Camino Calderón's personal acquaintance and I have his word for it that the background material pertaining to brujería in his very successful novel "El Daño" was obtained by him at first hand during a period of a year and a half, during which he lived in Salas and became intimately acquainted with the leading *maestros* of this center of north coast curing. Since his book is practically unknown to readers of the English language, I quote, in translation, several passages bearing upon the subject at hand, with permission of the author, in order to round out the background of the present material recorded in Moche. The brujería of Moche of which I know lacks several features mentioned by Camino Calderón. This may be because it is a somewhat pale and "provincial" reflection of the center of this art described by him or because this account represents a literary synthesis of the work of a number of different brujos.

Speaking of a certain practitioner, he says:

In addition to Spanish—which he spoke somewhat masticated, in truth—he spoke in "lenguaraz," or the Quechua brought from the Sierra by the warriors which Tupac Ypanqui sent to restrain the fierce men of Chota. (P. 176.)

Personality:

Narciso was very educated, very suave in his manners, and belonged to a family in which the practice of the "limpiadura" dated from the ancestors and was practiced as a true profession, with absolute orthodoxy, and with a spirit full of charity and disinterestedness. (P. 176.)

Profession:

A "limpiador" not born in Salas is like a bullfighter not born in Spain. Salas is the matrix of the brujos, the cradle of the diviners, the mastic tree (*almácigo*) of the love magicians, the Lourdes of Peruvian curandismo, the Montesiños cave of everything grand and supernatural.

Whoever does not know Salas, does not know the North. Everything that is most fantastic and marvelous, takes place in Salas. . . . The mountains and the lakes, bewitched, provide miraculous *pajas* upon demand if one sings to the rhythm of the chungana:

*Cerrito encantáu
dá la medicina
que la necesita
tanto desgraciáu*

*Taita San Cipriano
con que Dios trabaja
guítame la mano
pá sacar las pajas . . .*

. . . Every year Narciso Piscocoya . . . went up to purify himself and to receive new training at the Gran Guaranga de Huancabamba where Quintín Namuche lived, an almost mythological person who was the Pope of witchcraft and the owner and distributor of the *pajas* which originated there: *the misha rey, the simora, the huachuma* . . . divine plants whose alcaloids awoke supernatural spiritual powers and with which the *curandero* acquires a double sight which extends beyond all scientific notions of time and space. In this chilly *páramo* whither he had had to flee from the Guardia Civil, Quintín Namuche—the repository of the therapeutic tradition of the Incas—uncontaminated by *maleros* and humbugs, led a life of an anchorite, receiving the homage of the neophytes, initiating them in the secrets of the *pajas* [herbs] which must be employed for the welfare of mankind and exercising an absolute power over the brujos for 100 leagues around. (P. 177.)

To bring rain, a *curandero* goes to the sea to fill jars with sea water, which is sprinkled on the fields.

"*Mal de hombre*, the finest brujo cures, *mal de Dios*, no one," said Narciso Piscocoya, drawing near to the bed of Don José Miguel. There was no time to lose. This same night he would diagnose (*rastrear*) the patient with a *cui ruco*, in order to find out which organs were affected and what type of *daño* was involved: bad wind, shadow cut with a dagger, or soul lost. Late at night, Piscocoya took out of his bag an enormous *cui ruco* [red guinea pig], and whispering mysterious words, began to pass it over the back of the neck and the head of Don José Miguel. Then he passed it over the back, the ribs, and the lumbar region. Then the thorax, and upon being placed over the heart, the animal let out a squeak. "Pain. Pain. The señor has pain in his soul," said Piscocoya lowering the *cui* to the abdomen. Upon scraping the knees of the patient, the poor *ruco* had convulsions and died.

As all grave and solemn facts which a *limpiador* has to announce, this also was announced in lenguaraz: Huañolonna, Huañolonna . . .

The diagnosis having been finished, Piscocoya opened the *cui* with a knife and examined the entrails carefully. "*Chachu. Chachu.*" he exclaimed, "It is all *chachu* [irritated or congested]." And so it was in fact. The viscera appeared irritated and congested, covered with violet spots. There was not an organ which was not affected. The congestion was general—*todo está chachu*.

Fortunately, it was *mal de hombre*, caused by an *ayahuaira*—bad wind—and could be cured. It all depended upon using the proper *paja* [herb]. Thus said Piscocoya as he rubbed the body of the *cui* with vinegar and gave it to be buried, warning that the face not be turned, under threat of the immediate death of the patient. (P. 179.)

Following the diagnosis, a great difficulty developed. Traditional practice required that Don José Miguel be taken to a solitary spot in the campo where at midnight, the *limpiador*—provided with his classic equipment: table, *chonta*, and rattle (*macana*) and accompanied by the *alsadores* who would raise the spirit of the patient, and by the *rastrero* who would direct the treatment—would ask the saints, the mountains and the sacred lakes which herbs Don José Miguel would have to drink there in infusion. Given the prostration of the patient, it was not possible to move his bed . . .

The preparations lasted only a short time. The following night, Piscocoya appeared with his bag and his group of assistants: Casimiro Farroñán and Miguel Peche, "sorbedores," and Mateo Sernaqué, "rastrero." Beside the bed . . . the table was set up, consisting of a piece of cloth (*tocuyo*) El Inca, and the instruments were lined up: a rusty sword, various images of saints in *pedra Berenguela*, bits of quartz, sea shells (*perlitas*) and small idols taken from the *huacas*. At the end of the table were the medicines, represented mostly by the vegetable kingdom: sea weed, cactus and verbenaceas of the coastal plains, the *gayas* and perfumed flowers of the mountain *quebradas*; the velvety and resinous plants of the *jalcas* [high plateaus], the liquens charged with metallic oxides and calcareous salts of the cordillera. And together with these vegetables, the egg of the Angelote, against the tuberculosis; the eye of the Gran Bestia, which cures heart trouble; the grease of the Yacumama, without rival in rheumatism. Finally, within a tin of "Bacalao de Noruega sin espinas" were placed three powerful panaceas of the jungles of Jaén: the *oje* (*Ficus glabrata*), the Chuchuhuasi, and the Ubos (*Spondia momborin*). And, inside a bottle of Spey Royal Whiskey were two lizards and a centipede, drowned in cane alcohol (*cañazo*). (P. 181.)

When the arrangement of the table was finished, Piscocoya took his *macana*, made from a dry calabash, and rattling the dry seeds within, opened the affair with an invocation to *San Cipriano*, *patrón of the brujos*:

*San Cipriano, milagroso santo,
dáme la virtù
já la gloria de tus años, y de tu juventú. . .*

"Tirense una perlita." At this word of Piscocoya, the "sorbedores" filled the sea shells with a mixture of Agua Florida and tobacco, and sniffed up, part of the contents in their noses. The "rastrero" drank a glass of the infusion of *San Pedro de Cuatro Vientos* (a cactus plant; the flutings of the stem are called *vientos*; its power is thought to increase with the number of flutings; also called *huachuma*;

best grown on the sacred mountain of Chaparri) and the "mestro" began to chew some leaves of *misha*. By means of these terrible narcotics, all aimed to place themselves in a position to be able to "see" the cause of the "*daño*" and to select the herbs which would cure the patient.

Various minutes passed; half an hour; an hour, and nothing. The invocations to San Cipriano, the Cruz de Chalpon, and the sacred lakes and mountains seemed to have no end. Neither the *limpiador* nor his assistants *alcanzaron a ver*:

*Santo San Cipriano
permítenos ver,
y que tu yerbita
Salga dionesté. . .*

Suddenly the "*rastrero*" who had never stopped drinking the infusion of San Pedro constantly—began to stagger. "Yerbita, what do you see?" shouted Piscocoya, stopping the rattle and going near to the *rastrero*. "I am seeing a *malero* who wishes to do harm to the table," answered the *rastrero*, and getting hold of himself as much as possible, added, "He is going to blow a *remalazo* [bad wind blown by an invidious brujo]. Look out!" Upon hearing what the *yerbita* said by the mouth of the *rastrero*, the *sorbedores* threw themselves face downward, trying to cover the head with the poncho. With a jump, Piscocoya placed himself in the middle of the table; and seizing the sword, he started to cut the wind, while he howled:

*Atrás Atrás sombra mala.
Estoy con Dios, y los santos;
Con el alto Yanahuanga,
Con el ancho Chaparri.
No podrás contra de mi.*

For a good while the sword, agilely wielded by Piscocoya, whistled through the air, while the *rastrero* did not tire in "raising the spirit," of the Maestro: "*Críe valor, mestro. Críe valor. Yá está cortáu el ramalazo. Yá se jué. Yá se jué.*"

Now that the *remalazo* had passed, Piscocoya wiped the sweat off himself; he made the *sorbedores* get up—they were completely stupefied—and replacing the sword with the *chonta*, he started to dance.

There was a long period of singing and dancing:

*Yerbitas, Yerbitas,
ramas yá viniendo,
porque el enfermito
mucho está padeciendo.*

At this point, one of the *sorbedores*—not being able to restrain himself and inspired by a force greater than his will—got up and placed himself in front of Piscocoya, making the same movements as the latter. With his eyes turned inward, his gaze fixed on the maestro and the muscles of his face shaken as by an electric current, the *sorbedor* had a horrible and strange aspect. There was a moment in which, balancing himself on the threshold, he tried to leave; but Piscocoya, sure of the hypnotic power which he exercised over the unfortunate man, retained him with a movement of the *chonta*; with another movement he made him return to his place; and with another, he immobilized him. "*Yerbita, qué ves?*" he demanded. "*Una mujer gorda, con dos moños largos, está*

dañando a Don Miguel!" Piscocoya continued to ask, "*Tiene contra?*" "*Si tiene. Pero no puedo ver tuavía.*" Piscocoya took up the dance again and the song. But this time, the verses were more emotional and plaintive:

*Taitito San Cipriano,
caballerito,
con lágrimas te ruego
ese tu yerbita milagrosa.*

Finally, San Cipriano was moved; and the *sorbedor* Miguel Peche, amid hiccups and sobs, communicated to the maestro the happy news: "*Yá vide la yerbita. Yá la vide. . .*" "*¿Onde está?*" shouted Piscocoya. "*En el montoncito, junto a mi Señora del Cármen. . .*"

Rapidly, Piscocoya extended his arm toward the indicated place. There were the *pajas* and *yerbas más apreciadas*: the *huachumas*, the *hórnumos*, and the *cóndores* of Yanahuanga; the *hualmis*, the *huamingas*, and the *simoras* of the Gran Guaranga de Huancabamba. He took the first which came to his hand: a small branch musty and spiny, covered with the varnish common to the bushes of the *puna*. Don José Miguel was saved. The medicine which would cure him had been found; it was only necessary to apply it immediately. (P. 185.)

Love magic is practiced by brujos, according to my sources. The brujo with whom I worked sells love potions to unrequited lovers. This business involves no seance. If a husband has left his wife for another woman, the brujo can bring him back, provided the other woman has not been "*segurado*" by another brujo. The brujo desiring to reunite the spouses works with hairs of the wandering husband. My brujo told me one case in which he brought the man back simply by writing him a letter, unknown to the wife, of course. The magical discovery of the whereabouts of a missing lover consists of setting up a *mesa*, but without *alzadores*. Directly under the saints' pictures on the *mesa* is some of the hair or other intimate property of the missing man. After imbibing jasmine perfume and spraying it over the *mesa* and the token of the man, the brujo proceeds to work with his rattle, asking the *mesa* a series of place names where the man might be. If the answer is negative, a road appears in the saints' pictures. When the brujo says the name of the right place, the road disappears and the face of the man appears.

A cure recommended for female infertility is the powdered flowers of a plant named *pacra* infused in water from boiled potatoes, to be taken each morning after breakfast. Nothing can be done about infertility unless menstruation is natural.

EVIL WITCHCRAFT

Whether "good brujos" also practice evil witchcraft and the casting of spells I am unable to say

with certainty. The brujos themselves say they do not. Many laymen think they do, or that some do. My data on their operations are all second-hand. It is said that they cause harm to a person by making a doll (*muñeca*) representing the person. Then a stake, a nail, or a pin is stuck through the part of the doll which represents the part of the body of the person which is to become sick. The doll is then buried or hidden away where it cannot be found. Countervailing magic consists of the procedures previously described. In Moche itself I have heard of no systematic procedure for discovering these dolls and destroying them, other than through revelation to the curing brujo in the seance. This does not often occur, however.

The *shapingos* are believed to be the evil spirits at the command of the evil brujos. In Moche they are visualized in the form of the European devil, with horns and tail. They are the shadowy shapes which try to break up the curing seances, and are sent out by their "master," the evil brujo, to do his bidding. They are said to appear to women now and then, nude, and with the intention of having sexual intercourse. If a woman is once conquered by one of these spirits, she becomes the servant or dupe of the evil master; if she resists, there is danger that the evil brujo will cast a spell upon her, and cause her to fall sick.

It is not entirely clear in some informants' minds whether or not the *shapingos* are the same beings as the "messengers of the devil." Properly speaking, the latter apparently represent another concept stemming from medieval Europe. It is they who persuade men to sell their souls for money.

Evil brujos are believed to have the power to change themselves into animals and birds. Thus disguised, they are able to visit farms and houses to work their evil without the knowledge of the residents.

One account, illustrating the supposed power of evil brujos to change themselves into animals, has been given in the section "Sustenance and Basic Economy." Following is another.

C. was renting a piece of his *chacra* to another man and one night about sundown he stopped by to ask his tenant how things were going. The tenant said that everything was all right, except that for the last hour a large hawk had been making a noise in the *chacra*, hopping about, flapping its wings, and that he was on the point of going out to chase it away or kill it. The two of them went out to the field, the tenant with a stick, and they saw a large hawk hopping about and making a commotion. The tenant sneaked around

through the bushes on the field border, sprang on the hawk, and struck it with the stick, breaking the left wing. Immediately the bird yelled out, "Don't hurt me, *compadre*, I am A. (one of the known *brujos*). I am doing nothing to your *chacra*." The two men drew back and the bird scurried into the bushes and disappeared as if by magic. It did not fly away and C. claims that he and his tenant could not find it (although he admits that they were somewhat afraid and not very enthusiastic in the search). At all events, some neighbors found old A. a few hours later in the night at a spot between the site of this event and A.'s house. His left arm was broken, as if by a sharp blow, and it was bleeding. He was taken to his house, speechless, and a short time later died of his wound.

When I ask why *brujos*, if they have the power to transform themselves into animal shapes, cannot ward off attacks of this sort, or at least cure themselves afterward, my informants say that once a *brujo* has been surprised and wounded in this way, he is lost. If they see a man about to attack them, they can frequently transform themselves quickly enough to save themselves, but when taken by surprise and real damage is inflicted upon them, there is no hope. Many other anecdotes tell of supposedly personal experiences in which individuals have been about to beat some stray animal and drive it away, when, before they can begin, it disappears and a known human being appears in its place. In some cases this has been the first intimation that the observer has had that the individual in question is a *brujo*. In order to start a whispering campaign against an individual, all that is necessary is to tell a story of this sort. "Last night I was about to kick a duck out of my garden when it suddenly turned into Fulano. I had no idea that Fulano was a *brujo*." The persons to whom such a story is told will say, "Oh, so that's it, is it? I thought Fulano was behaving queerly lately. He must have studied to be a *brujo*." And thereafter everyone will keep a sharp eye out for Fulano and suspect his movements.

Hórgamo is an herb which is ground to a powder and thrown on the doorsteps of a house by evil witches. It is supposed to make everyone therein fall sick. The evil witches likewise are said to possess a full armory of herbs and stones, comparable to those employed by good witches, except that their effects are deleterious to the health and peace of mind of victims. These are given to clients with instructions for slipping them into the food and drink of intended victims. Toads seem to be a favorite spell-casting animal used by the evil *brujos* or used with their advice.

When an evil witch wishes to ascertain who is working countervailing magic against his spells, it is said that he sets up a "*mesa negra*"—black table. This resembles the *mesa* of the curing *brujo* except that everything which is white in the latter is black in the evil *mesa*. Thus black bottles are used instead of white, a black cloth instead of a white one, powdered charcoal instead of white maize, etc.

Finally, an evil witch may work harm against his victim by blowing a "bad air" (*mal aire*) at him. I am by no means clear how this is supposed to be done. In the seances of the good *brujos* the patient is sometimes asked if sometime before falling sick he did not feel a draft or *aire*, followed by a chill. With all due respect, this seems to be a sure-fire question for the diviner, because it is seldom that the patient cannot recall such an occurrence. Of course, the diviner still has to give an answer to the question, "Who did it and why?"

Any cold draft or sudden chill is suspected of being a *mal aire*, and in the list of remedies (pp. 139-142) will be found a number of items used by laymen to ward off the evil effects.

CURANDISMO

A CURANDERA

Most of my information on the practice of *curandismo* in Moche comes from an old lady about 68 years old, acknowledged to be the outstanding curing woman of the community. She is now married to her second husband, who cultivates with her help a small *chacra*, and they live in a small adobe house, not very well kept up, on the outskirts of the *pueblo*. The house has the arbor or *ramada* in front rather than behind and here she receives her patients. Directly behind this is a semiopen room containing the kitchen and the usual large wooden table. There the brews which she uses in her cures are prepared.

When I first visited her, she was sitting on a *petate* on the ground under the front arbor with two *cholo* women who had journeyed to her from outside the community. She was engaged in the cure of *susto* in their respective babies, and the ladies were loud in praise of her knowledge and technique. Nonetheless, her appearance was somewhat forbidding, and, during the following months of our acquaintanceship, I learned to know that this first impression was typical. She was wearing a dark-gray cotton skirt, somewhat patched, very ragged, a once-white blouse,

and a straw hat of the Mochero type. Her hair was not cared for, and hung about her head in a somewhat matted mass. She has a heavily pock-marked face with inward slanting eyes with small bags under them and a good many wrinkles and crows' feet around their edges. Her mouth is wide and the upper incisor teeth are worn off at the roots. Her hands were dirty, with long, black-rimmed fingernails. In general, she looks, on first appearance, a good deal like the proverbial "witch" of the fairy tales. But when in a good humor she is capable of a wide, easy smile that transforms this forbidding visage into a map of merriment, and she is ready with a comfortable chuckling laugh when she is convinced one is her friend.

After we had become acquainted on the first day, it was, of course, incumbent upon me to partake of her hospitality in the form of *chicha* and *causa*, and during the refreshment I told her that we had no such methods of curing in the United States and that I was convinced that she probably knew things of which our medical men had never heard. I invited her jokingly to come to New York with me, and told her if she would teach me some of her methods we would set up an office together. To this she agreed readily in high good humor and promised that, at all events, before I went back she would give me a complete course in curing. We discussed various cures superficially and I went away well pleased, because I had been warned on all hands that I would never succeed in getting her "secrets" from her. Then, however, I made a series of mistakes. Not having heard from her, after a week I sent an intermediary to ask if I could visit her and start the "course." The answer was evasive. Then I bethought myself to enlist her professional interest. My young son was ill in Trujillo with what was thought to be rheumatic fever, and I asked her to come and examine him, saying that I thought he might have *susto*. She did not reply positively but said to send for her on the coming Friday. I then asked one of her *compadres* to go on Friday to remind her. When she did not appear in Trujillo, I got in touch with the *compadre* and discovered that she had driven him out of the house, saying that she would not be ordered about by him and that if Don Juan (meaning me) wanted her, he could come personally, bringing the child. I then got in touch with her daughter and son-in-law and we went to see her. She told me to stop fooling around with intermediaries, that she would not be treated that

way, that she knew very well I would not entrust my own child's cure to her, and that anyway she did not want to go to the hotel in Trujillo and have everyone laugh at her. I then told her that she was right and that I had only acted as I had because I did not understand her. Now, I said, if she would talk to me as one "doctor" to another, we would exclude all other persons from our meetings, and I would give her 50 soles as a token of my esteem, provided she was frank with me. If I could find out that she had used a certain method in a cure which she had not told me about, I would deduct 10 soles from the total for each such concealment. She was somewhat taken aback by this approach, but shortly agreed, we drank *chicha* together again, and became friends. For several months thereafter I consulted with her on all matters of *curandismo* and found no reason for deducting anything from her gratuity. Even so, I am sure, of course, that I have not learned all about this art in Moche. The photographs reproduced herewith are, so far as I know, the first published series of photographs of certain of her curing methods.

The following discussion is in terms of locally recognized symptom groups or disease entities.

SUSTO

Susto, an abbreviation of *asustado* (past participle of *asustar*, to frighten), is a term widely used throughout Peru (Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922, vol. 1, pp. 61-90) to refer to a generally and popularly recognized type of syndrome believed to be caused by or associated with soul loss. In some parts the term "*espanto*" is used. The latter term also occurs in Central America, but there the symptoms and alleged etiology differ in some details (Gillin, Ms.). The wide distribution of this complex must be fully studied, but here I can only attempt to deal with it in the local situation. Valdizán states that *susto* was very prevalent among the "ancient inhabitants of Peru" and that it not only represented an individual nervous upset, but also reflected a "true state of collective anxiety." (Valdizán, 1915, 1917; Valdizán and Maldonado, loc. cit.)

In Moche *susto* occurs in the following forms: (1) Adult, of which there are two varieties, (a) nearby and (b) distant; and (2) infant.

Adult *susto* is always precipitated by a sudden fright of some kind. Frequently the patient is frightened by an animal, sometimes merely by a sudden gust of wind, a reflection in an irrigation

ditch, a sudden fall, etc. This is believed to scare the soul out of the body. The difference between the nearby (*de cerca*) and distant (*de lejos*) variety is that the former usually takes place in or near the house, and the soul of the person which has been jarred loose nevertheless remains near him. If the fright has taken place in the field or some distance away, however, the soul stays at the site of the fright and special methods must be used to get it to come back.

No one, even a strong man, is ashamed of being *asustado*. It is regarded as something beyond the control of the individual. Men pride themselves on their physical courage when facing other men or dangerous physical situations, but they do not regard it as childish to be "frightened" in the technical sense of *susto*. Several Moche men have served as conscripts in the armed services in the jungle and during the "incident" with Ecuador, but claim they had never been *asustado* in this sense, although they are willing to admit that on occasion they have been *asustado* (frightened) in the ordinary sense of plain physical fear. Women do not fall ill of *susto* during childbirth nor at the monthly crisis. Although individuals are frightened by nightmares, one does not get *susto* from them. It is thus clear that *susto* involves special psychological complexes which are not well translated by the English words "fright" or "fear" in their ordinary North American contexts.

The symptoms of importance to a *curandera* are as follows. The armpit and lobe of the ear are white and the inside skin of the arm does not show any veins and is often wrinkled. There is a low fever and the patient is "nervous" and hypersensitive to sudden sounds. Physically he is weak, and he often has diarrhea. A man does not lose potency, but he will do harm to a woman if he tries to have intercourse with her. Urine is yellow; when it turns white, the cure is successful. Aside from hypersensitivity to loud noises or interruptions, the patient seems to be in a depressed state, saying little, often with the eyes closed or cast down to the ground. Some patients have an abstracted or dreamy attitude, gazing off into space. I have personally seen only three adult patients in the first stages. All of them were depressed and quiet but contactable and well oriented in time and space. I was able to obtain some detailed history on seven cases in all. I discussed nine other cases from the experiences of my informants. One man in Moche died, allegedly of

susto, during my work there, although the immediate cause of death was recognized as tuberculosis. There were no newly developed cases of adult *susto* handled during my work in Moche, but I had an opportunity to see something of three new cases brought for cure from outside the community and four old cases from the community itself (including the fatal one just mentioned). Full case histories were not obtained from any of these patients, but the following features appeared in all histories: (1) A debilitating illness, usually malaria, had appeared some time before the *susto* attack; (2) all patients seemed to be emaciated or wasted physically; (3) all but one case gave a history of some emotional crisis preceding the fright which had precipitated the *susto* itself. The four women all had a "love" or sex crisis, such as a man leaving them for another; two of the men had had trouble with their sweethearts, while a third had had a row over inheritance rights.

Dr. Pedro F. Castillo Diaz, chief of the women's section of the Trujillo general hospital (Hospital de la Beneficiencia Pública), has handled a good many cases of alleged *susto* in his service. He emphasizes that he is not a psychiatrist, but rather an internist. However, his impression is that *susto* is a hysterical manifestation based on general debility usually caused by malaria or tuberculosis. He says that he has practically never seen an alleged *susto* patient who is not run down; the patient usually has a low fever, is poorly nourished, usually has anemia, and is in a "delicate and irritable frame of mind." He does not rule out the possibility of such cases appearing in families with a history of psychopathology, but has no records which would show this. In Lima I discussed this matter with two young psychiatrists attached to the Hospital Loyaza, Dr. Arnaldo Cano J. and Dr. Valega. They expressed the opinion based on their experience that so-called *susto* usually turns out to be either hysteria or tuberculous meningitis with an underlying history of malnutrition, malaria, or tuberculosis, or all three.

Certainly the medical and psychiatric aspects of this condition should be more thoroughly studied, and I await the opportunity to carry out more intensive investigations of this interesting problem. The present tendency of the medical profession seems to be to pooh-pooh the business, because it does not fit neatly into the textbook definitions of diagnostic symptoms.

It is my tentative opinion that *susto* is somewhat similar to the "nervous break-down" among North

Americans. Both phrases may cover, in their respective cultural contexts, a variety of psychopathic and physically pathological conditions, considered from the strictly diagnostic point of view. Both, however, are culturally defined escapes for the individual from the pressures and tensions of life. When a North American "can't take it any longer," he has a "nervous break-down;" when a Peruvian cholo "can't take it," he gets *susto*. Actually, depending upon the configuration of the case, one patient may have hysteria, another a depression, a third possibly an anxiety attack. *Susto* also becomes a mechanism for calling the group's attention to the individual by his assumption of a culturally patterned configuration of "symptoms." At all events it seems to represent at least a temporary collapse of the psychic organization of the individual and consequently of his ability to deal normally with his life problems.

The treatment of nearby *susto* by the curing woman already mentioned proceeds as follows. Three treatments are required, on Tuesday, Friday, and Tuesday. The materials used are as follows: (1) The seven herbs of *susto*—*yerba de gallinazo negra, de gallinazo blanca, Santa María, ajenjo, chocha, ruda, and campana*; (2) the four waters of *susto*—*agua de la reina de Hungría, agua de azahar, alcohol de melisa, agua de Buda* (some curers use five "waters," and among them, other types of waters, as indicated in the list of remedies); (3) *San Mério*, an incense powder. The steps in each session of the cure are the following. (1) The curer or the patient, if the latter is able, strips the herbs of their leaves and mixes the leaves together in a pile on the ground. (2) When the "*pajas*" have all been stripped, the pile of leaves is kneaded in the hands. (3) A double *escapulario* is made with needle and thread from unbleached cotton cloth; it consists of two square bags or sacks each about 2 inches square with two cloth connecting strips each about 18 inches long. These are called *almohaditas* (little pillows). The two small sacks are stuffed with the mixed leaves of the herbs, then sewn shut. Then the sacks are well moistened with the mixed *aguas de susto*. The patient puts his head through the two connecting strips so that one sack of leaves hangs over the chest, the other on the back between the upper corners of the shoulder blades. The waters of *susto* have been previously mixed together and are kept in an ordinary pop bottle. (4) An earthen pot of about 2-quart capacity is heated over the fire

and the remainder of the kneaded and mixed herb leaves are placed in it and well sprinkled with the mixed waters of *susto*, and kept on the fire long enough so that the whole mass becomes lukewarm. (5) A retiring room is made by placing an *estera* on the ground or floor and leaning *esteras* against the wall, so that privacy and freedom from drafts are provided. (6) The patient goes into the retiring room and removes his clothing and the *curandera* follows with the pot of lukewarm herbs and a frying pan or plate of hot coals from the kitchen fire. The *curandera* takes a handful of the moist herbs and begins the massage (*frotación*). In the first of the series of three treatments she begins with the feet, in the second with the back of the head, and in the third with the feet again. In any case, with her hand full of herbs, she makes the sign of the cross, muttering an invocation, "*En el nombre de Dios, de la Virgen Santísima y del Rey del Cielo.*" If she is beginning with the head, she squeezes some juice into the right ear, then into the left ear, then rubs the back of the head, the scalp, and the face with the wad of moist herbs. Then she works down over the whole body. If she begins with the feet, the massage proceeds in the opposite direction, covering all parts of the body. (7) *San Mério* is sprinkled on the hot coals of the plate or frying pan, producing a sweet-smelling smoke. The patient drapes himself in a sheet and stands up with feet spread apart over the coals, allowing his whole body to be smoked. (8) The patient lies down inside the retiring room, wrapped in a sheet and blanket. Shortly he begins to sweat and goes to sleep. (9) The *curandera* takes in her hand one of the garments removed by the patient. This is used to call the patient's spirit. Waving the garment through the smoke, the *curandera* makes the sign of the cross in the air, then calls out in an animated voice, "*¡ámonos, Juancito* [or whatever the patient's name may be]; *vámonos. No te dejas. ¡ámonos con nosotros; no quedas solito; ven, vámonos.*" This calling is repeated three times, after which the article of clothing used is placed under the patient's neck. (10) The *curandera* closes up the retiring room tightly so that drafts cannot enter, leaving the patient inside. (11) She then takes the remains of the herbs and the incense to an isolated spot. First she buries the herbs in a hole, then spreads the ashes of the incense and coals over it and makes the sign of the cross; then she scatters rubbish over the spot, so that it will be unnoticeable. If anyone digs up the herbs, harm will befall the

patient. (Pls. 22, *lower* (center and right), and 23 show various stages in the process of the cure.)

In case the patient has lost his soul at some distant place, e.g., in the field, the curing ceremony just described must be gone through at the site of the fright. Some curers walk through the streets and the lanes, carrying the patient's clothing in hand and calling loudly for the return of the soul. The curing woman with whom I worked disapproves of this, because it may attract the attention of evil *brujos* and *shapingos* (evil spirits or devils).

After a treatment, the patient must be kept in bed for a day. He is not to take milk, cow meat, plantain or banana, or oranges. The patient can take sheep broth or chicken broth and can eat *plátano de la isla, sancochado*. Tea made from the gratings from the stem of the valeriana should be given frequently. Otherwise he should eat only rice, noodles, and "cold" foods, but plenty of them.

It should be noted that no internal medication is given during the curing session itself.

Some *curanderos* use a cock's comb instead of the herb-stuffed *escapularios* mentioned in step No. 3 of the above-described treatment. The comb is cut off the living bird, and a cross with the blood is made on the forehead and on the base of the neck of the patient with a verbal invocation. Then the patient is rubbed with *agua de florida* sprinkled on brown cotton, after which the comb is strung on a string with a needle and suspended around the neck, hanging down on the chest. This is supposed to be especially good in the treatment of women.

If the patient recovers his normal personality and health, it is believed that the spirit has returned to his body. However, it is sometimes impossible to call back the spirit and the patient dies, for it is believed that it is impossible to live with a permanent *susto* (i. e., to live without one's soul). While I was working in Moche, a young man named H., about 32 years of age, died. It was widely believed that the basis of his trouble was an uncured *susto*. About 4 years previously, he had fallen down and hurt his hand, and in the process had sustained a violent *susto*. Although he received treatment, it was impossible to secure the return of his soul, and he continued to decline until he contracted tuberculosis, which killed him. This case, incidentally, is complicated with *brujería*. Many persons agreed on the following version. He became enamored of a certain girl, who was said to be very determined (*bien guapa*; *guapa* here does not mean "good look-

ing" as in some other parts of Latin America, e. g., Guatemala). She became pregnant by him and was resolved that he would marry her. He was working as a collector on a bus, but she persuaded him to give up this job so that he could be with her more. Although other work was offered, such as road work, she would not allow him to take it because he would have to be away from Moche part of the time. He became restless, would not marry her or care for the child she bore him, and had affairs with other women. Therefore she bewitched him or had him bewitched. After this he became much attracted to her and settled down with her, but shortly thereafter fell ill of *susto*. He left her with three small children at his death. It is believed that the bewitchment prevented the return of his soul, which had been captured by his *enamorada* or the *brujo* she had employed. I cannot vouch for this series of events, of course. The story is only "what people say."

Another case was told me of a woman who fell ill with *susto* and died within a year, "because she did not believe in *curandismo* and would not take the cure."

Susto in children seems to occur most often at about the time the child is beginning to walk and to be weaned, about 1 year of age. The locally recognized symptoms are fretfulness, low fever, "colic," diarrhea, pale shriveled armpit, and bloodless ear lobe. It is of much more frequent occurrence than *susto* in adults. One cannot pass over the suggestion that the difficulty, whatever it may be from the medical standpoint, seems to occur at a period of crisis in the infant's life, i. e., when it is making a readjustment from the complete dependency of its mother's arms to the increased necessity for self-reliance of the toddler. There is no forcible weaning among the Mocheros, but one child is frequently supplanted by a younger one at his mother's breast, so that sibling rivalry may be one of the factors in infantile *susto* as well as dietary readjustment. The treatment session follows exactly the same steps as those outlined above for the adult, including the calling of the spirit, except that the child is usually held in its mother's arms. Plate 24 shows a series of scenes in the treatment of infant *susto*. The condition may also befall older children as well, in which case its onset coincides with a specific "fright."

PHYSIOLOGICAL WEAKNESS

It is believed that the physiological system is at its lowest ebb about midnight, and this is the time when

most people are said to die. The reason for this is said to be that the world has revolved on its axis with the effect that at midnight in Moche everyone there is hanging head downward, a position which upsets the normal functions of the body and weakens it. The bodily system is at its best just before dawn, between 3 a. m. and 4 a. m. At this time one can do his best work, especially intellectually, a belief which reinforces the early rising pattern of the Mocheros and coastal *cholos* in general. (It is superfluous to point out that this early morning period is the time when most deaths occur among ourselves and when the body forces are at their lowest.)

UMBILICAL HERNIA OR QUEBRADURA

Quebradura, or umbilical hernia in infants, is regarded as a serious condition which must be corrected before the child is 2 years of age at the oldest. It is believed to be caused if either a pregnant or menstruating visitor to the house picks up the child in her arms. This will produce "*empuje*," a straining and coughing of a particular type which induces *quebradura*. Treatment may be given any day of the week and proceeds as follows, to describe one of several treatments I have witnessed. The mother brings the child to the house of the *curandera*, bringing along a pad of white surgical cotton previously purchased in a pharmacy. The *curandera* then goes with the mother and child to the house of a woman in whose garden grows a *higaron* tree. This woman charges 50 centavos for the use of the tree. Some twigs are broken so that they exude a white, sticky sap, which turns brown after a period of exposure to the air and which has a strong astringent action on the skin. Curing takes place in the open air in the *huerta* itself. It is also possible for the mother to obtain the twigs previously and for the cure to take place in the house of the curing woman. A flat pad of white cotton about 4 by 6 inches in size is thoroughly moistened on one side with the *higaron* juice. A hole about 2 inches in diameter is made in the center of the pad, which is then placed, moist side down, on the child's abdomen, so that the umbilicus appears through the perforation. Then the curer massages and pushes down the protruding umbilicus with her index finger so that a reflex contraction of the muscles of the abdominal wall is produced and the umbilicus retracts somewhat. Then she pours into the umbilical depression about a tablespoonful of a white powder made from the feces of

the small lizard. This is a secret remedy not made known to the client. Then strips and tufts of moistened cotton are stuck onto the remaining surface of the abdomen in more or less haphazard fashion. Next, a pad of moistened white cotton is placed over the umbilicus itself, but only after it has been thoroughly smoked in the incense of *San Mério*, produced by sprinkling this powder over live coals in a plate. Then a binding of cotton cloth is wrapped around the abdomen two or three times and tied together tightly in front. Usually three treatments are given, one every other day. Then the binding is kept in place for 15 days. When it is removed, if the hernia is not well reduced, a final treatment is given.

INGUINAL HERNIA OR ESTIRADURA

The curing woman cures inguinal hernia, involving descent of the hernia into the testicles, as follows. The condition is called *estiradura*, and treatment may be given any day of the week. A pomade is made of *cebo de macho* and menthol with which the groin is first thoroughly massaged. Then the testicles (*compañones*), with the penis protruding, are placed in a suspensory bandage made of unbleached cotton cloth, together with a paste made of *matica* and *compaña*. Next, the testicles are massaged gently until the hernia is drawn up. The suspensory bandage is tightened. Then a pad of white surgical cotton well moistened with *higaron* is placed over the lower abdomen or groin, and another on the small of the back, and the two are bandaged firmly into place with cloth which is also wrapped around the suspensory bandage, with the penis left protruding. The whole produces a fairly firm truss. Several men of the community tell me that they have been cured in this manner. One treatment is said to suffice in some cases, several treatments in others. In the latter case, the bandage is removed and treatment repeated about once a week.

DISLOCATION OF THE RIBS OR TRONCHADURA DEL PECHO

Tronchadura del pecho usually occurs in children or infants. In the cases I have seen a lump appears on the chest near the sternum. One has the impression that it may be bowing or enlargement of the heads of the ribs due, possibly, to rickets, but the local explanation is that the head of a rib has slipped out of its articulation with the sternum.

Treatment may take place on any day of the week. A paste is made from *cebo de macho*, *agua de caranga*, *resin*, *arnica*, menthol, and *paico*. The patient takes a bottle in his mouth and alternately sucks and blows hard according to the directions of the curer. This is supposed to help bring the bone back into place. In the meantime the curer manipulates the swelling with her hands, attempting to reduce it. When she has reduced it ("the bone back into place"), the aforementioned paste is spread over the affected part with a cloth that has been smoked in *San Mério* and a tight cloth bandage is wrapped around the chest and tied in front over the site of the swelling.

Other sprains and dislocations (*tronchaduras*) are treated with the same medicaments. The sprain or dislocation is first reduced by massage and manipulation, after which it is bandaged. The curing woman does not believe in reducing such swellings by pulling the joints by force as is done by some *curanderos*.

EVIL EYE OR OJEO

Ojéo, or sickness caused by the evil eye, is practically always a children's ailment. It is caused by a glance given the child by an adult who possesses the power to "*ojear*" children. Some persons have this unfortunate power and others do not; those who do, have it functioning at certain times and not at others. The power is entirely involuntary and the persons possessing it are not held accountable. One of the respected men of the community has this power and he cannot help himself. He is well liked in other respects, and both he and parents take care to keep children out of his way. Some say that this fluctuating power is due to a "bad humor" (*mal humor*) in the body which arises only on certain days. Others say that it is due to "electricity." At any rate if a person thus endowed looks directly into the face of a child, the latter falls ill with *ojéo*. If the adult and the child laugh together when the event takes place, the result is said to be much worse.

The distinctive physical symptom is that the back of the neck and head pulsate (*brincan*); this is not a symptom in *susto*. Also, the child may be hot and feverish and restless. There may also be nausea and vomiting. The diagnosis is made by the *curandera's* placing thumb and forefinger on the back of the head and neck to feel the pulsating.

Medicaments which may be used are brown cotton (*algodón pardo*), willow leaves, a pinch of salt, half of a cigarette, yellow pepper (*ají amarillo*), *cerraja*, fruit of lime, a pinch of white sugar, and water.

The treatment, which may take place only on Tuesdays or Fridays, is as follows. (1.) First the seeds are taken out of the cotton, if not already removed, so that they will not scratch the body. A good handful of cotton bolls may be bought from the owner of a cotton bush for 10 centavos. The seeded cotton is made into a pad which is held in the hand, and inside the pad is placed a yellow pepper. (2.) The *curandera* takes the child on her lap and says, "*En Nombre de Dios, de Jesucristo, y del Espíritu Santo. Amen.*" Then she begins to massage the back of the head and the nape of the neck with the cotton held in her hand. Then she proceeds to a careful massage of the abdomen, mostly in a circular motion, then the small of the back, then the arms. The child's clothing is not removed, but the massage is given underneath it. The cotton is now stringy and is thrown out. It must be thrown out toward the north. (3.) With the heel of the hand the *curandera* next massages the forehead, the back of the head, nape of the neck, and the whole face. (4.) If the child is feverish, a small can of menthol is heated on a dish of hot coals and the contents poured into the bare hand of the *curandera* who then uses it to massage the crown of the head, the back of the neck, and the whole body. After this, if there are no other symptoms, the child is wrapped in a blanket and put to sleep. It sleeps, sweats, and loses its fever and fretfulness. (5.) If the child is nauseated or is vomiting, a special massage of the abdomen is given. A handful of willow leaves, a pinch of salt, and half of a cigarette are all made into a sort of wad which can be held in the hand. It is first heated in a dish of live coals, then used to massage the abdomen in a circular motion. (6.) For nausea a small lime is cut at one end with a knife; the incision has the form of a cross. The lime is not squeezed. It and a handful of *cerraja* leaves, well chopped up with a knife, are boiled together in one-half cup of water. When this mixture cools, a pinch of white sugar is added and the liquid is given to the child internally.

Some curers precede the massage with brown cotton by an egg treatment. An egg is broken into an earthen pot full of water and is beaten alternately with the right hand and the left (bare) foot of the patient, until it coagulates. Then it is thrown out to the north. What the purpose of this procedure is, I am unable to say, unless in terms of homeopathic magic the egg is taken to represent the eye which has caused the *ojéo*. Informants are unable to provide a verbal explanation.

HEART PAIN

Orange flowers, lemon flowers, and *toronjil* are placed in a cup. Boiling water is poured over them, after which white and red carnation petals (*clavel blanco y negro*) are put into the mixture and two drops of *agua de florida* are added. After the mixture has cooled, a pinch of white sugar is added. The liquid is given to the patient every morning for a week.

VENEREAL DISEASE

Syphilis and gonorrhoea do not seem to be clearly recognized among the Mocheros, nor have I seen much evidence of them among the people. However, it is recognized that men sometimes get sores (*llagas*) on their sexual organs. As a treatment for this condition oil of canime (*aceite de canime*) and hydrogen peroxide (*agua oxigenada*) are used. First the sore is washed with the peroxide, then the oil is applied and a bandage tied on.

COLIC (CÓLICO)

The symptoms are extreme abdominal pain, sometimes in the lower right quadrant of the abdomen. The idea of appendicitis is not clear either to curers or to lay informants. "Colic" probably covers indigestion, liver and gall bladder trouble, appendicitis, and all abdominal pains. Treatment is as follows. (1) Three stalks of the leaves of the *yerba santa* are washed in a basin of water and wrung out. The water itself, by now green, is thrown away, but the pulpy leaves are placed in a bottle. (2) Two corn-cobs of the red variety (*tusas negras*) are burned or toasted until they are carbonized. They are then put in a pot with water and boiled, stirred meanwhile with a spoon. The resulting water is then poured into the bottle on top of the *yerba santa* pulp. (3) Then a tablespoonful of sugar—one-half raw, one-half burnt white sugar—is added. (4) About two tablespoonfuls of the liquid is administered to the patient. (5) The first result is vomiting. (6) After the patient has vomited, a whole cupful of the liquid is given; the result is a strong purgative action.

Apparently the Mocheros do not suffer much from infected appendixes. Otherwise I would have heard more about conditions resembling peritonitis as an aftermath of this treatment.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

These matters are not necessarily handled by curers who treat *susto*, *ojío*, and the like, although some

women who specialize in *curandismo* are also midwives. The profession of midwife (*partera* or *curiosa*) is, however, more generalized and less esoteric than that of *curandera*. Nevertheless it is a speciality in Moche, and it is not customary for women to be delivered by untutored, unspecialized members of their families.

It is well-known among Mocheros that sexual intercourse is the cause of pregnancy and that the stoppage of menstruation is an indication of its onset. It is popularly believed that a male child is born 8 months and 8 days after conception, whereas the term of a female child is 9 months and 9 days. According to a *partera* who explained her calling to me, it is possible to determine the sex of the child after the seventh month. The midwife palpates the head of the foetus in the woman's abdomen; if the head is hard, the child will be a male; if soft, it will be a female. Neither *parteras* or lay informants have any theory of pre-determination of sex. This is purely a matter of chance ("*casualidad*"), and there is no other explanation.

I did not witness a delivery in Moche, and the following information concerning midwifely techniques was obtained from midwives and from women who had passed through the experience.

After a woman knows that she is pregnant, or at least after the seventh month, she retains a midwife, who advises her for a period before childbirth. In general, there seem to be no stringent rules for pregnant women. They go about their usual duties, nurse their latest child, and have sexual intercourse, even during the last months. They are not supposed to bend over or lift heavy loads during the last 2 months, and it is advisable, although not required, to eat only "cold foods."

When the labor pains begin, the midwife is called and the patient lies on her back either on a bed or on a mat on the floor. The midwife massages the abdomen from above downward, but does not have the patient sit up. No ropes or poles are provided for the patient to pull on, nor are any instruments used by the midwife, although a tight band is usually bound about the upper abdomen. During labor the midwife palpates the abdomen in order to determine the type of presentation. If it appears that a breech presentation, or some other abnormality is in the making, a member of the family is sent at once to the telephone office to call an ambulance from Trujillo. Some midwives claim to be able to work a transverse foetus around into the proper position with their hands, but

all agree that only a hospital can handle a breech presentation. A typical attitude toward antisepsis is reflected by my conversation with one midwife. Since her hands always appeared dirty, I asked her if she washed them before delivering a child. She smiled and tossed her head, saying "Sí, sí" as if it were a matter of small importance. This same midwife claims, however, never to have lost a patient in childbirth and that puerperal fevers are unknown in Moche. The latter claim is doubtful on the basis of lay information. Some cases were mentioned of midwives extracting dead fetuses with their hands, but apparently most such cases are handled in the hospital.

In order to ease the labor pains, *agua de albahaca* and port wine are given by mouth, as much as a glassful. A punch made of port wine and *chicha* is also said to be helpful. Camphor oil is massaged on the stomach to hasten the birth. On the whole, there seem to be few magically colored attitudes involved in childbirth; both patients and midwives proceed in a strictly businesslike and secular manner.

It is said that most women bear relatively easily; midwives say that the average labor of multiparous women is 5 hours. Several cases of primiparas staying in labor for over 20 hours were mentioned to me, however. If labor lasts 24 hours without delivery, the patient is usually taken to the hospital. The midwife seeks to avoid a dry birth by administering by mouth an infusion of *jerania* flowers.

The birth takes place in bed or in a reclining position. To start the child crying and breathing, the midwife picks it up by the feet and pats it on the buttocks. In stubborn cases, she lays it on its stomach and places a newly hatched chick on its buttocks. When the chick pecks the babe invariably comes to life, according to the *parteras*. The umbilical cord is cut with unsterilized scissors the width of four fingers from the child's abdomen and is tied with cotton sewing thread. The mother is then required to stand up, spread her feet out, and shake herself until the placenta is expelled. It must then be buried in the floor of the kitchen by the midwife. If it is touched or dug up by anyone else, "the mother will die." The umbilical cord falls off eventually. No attention is paid to it. The child's abdomen is bound with a bandage of cotton cloth. To clear the eyes of the newborn child, the midwife bathes them with white cotton moistened with drops of boric acid solution. The ears are cleaned with a toothpick and cotton, but very carefully, to avoid breaking the drums.

The newborn is given a cloth nipple to suck for 3 days after birth. This contains a starch compound (*amidón compuesto*) mixed with powdered sugar and is said to have the dual virtue of providing nourishment and cleaning the infant's system. If the child has colic, it is given a few drops of *agua de anís de costrella*.

To stop uterine hemorrhage, *rumilanche* and a few drops of iodine are mixed in boiling water and injected hot into the vagina with a donche bag and nozzle. A preventive of recurring hemorrhages is *tara* boiled in water. To this infusion are added *jerania* flowers well cut up. The liquid is given by mouth. Eight days is the standard lying-in period, although some women habitually get up after 3 days and others lie in as long as 2 weeks. Only "cold" foods should be eaten. *Chicha* helps to increase the mother's milk. A wet nurse is used, if necessary, usually a relative or a *comadre*. This is seldom required.

The Peruvian Ministry of Health has been carrying on a campaign against infant mortality, and attempts to persuade women to have their children delivered in hospitals. This service may be had free or at a nominal charge, and a number of women in Moche have been converted to this method and always go to Trujillo. In cities, certified, registered female midwives, who have passed an officially approved short course are available. As a sidelight on the impression made by these modern facilities, I quote from my notes the substance of a conversation with a woman who is not a Mochera but who has lived years in Moche and is married to a Mochero, whom she met while he was working in Lima. Although she comes from a *cholo* working-class family in Lima, she is well acculturated to Moche ways.

Two men and I dropped into this woman's house for some *chicha* and *causa* one afternoon. The woman received us heartily and told us the news that the woman next door had just given birth to a robust male infant. This provided an opening for the discussion of childbirth customs, and the *señora*, who is the mother of six, was far from bashful. In fact, her frankness in discussing such matters with three men was surprising to a North American. It was as if this were one subject on which she, as a mother, was a clearly recognized authority and concerning which no one present could easily contradict her. We shall skip over her remarks about the technique of childbirth, which have been abstracted, together with information from other informants, in the material which has gone before. She said that the midwives charge about what the traffic will bear within a range of from 3 to 15 soles. She herself has never paid more than 10 soles in Moche. One time in Lima, however, she said she had a terrible experience. She fell into the hands of a *profesora* (an officially qualified midwife). Our friend was

scandalized by the requirements and the costs which this expert laid upon her. First and last it cost her about 100 soles (\$15.30) to have her baby, and the *profesora* was always coming around before the birth, prescribing clean sheets for the bed, a mountain of paraphernalia for the delivery (which took place in the house), many "useless" medicines, and so on. In the opinion of the *señora* such fussiness is entirely unnecessary and nothing but an affectation and excuse for getting money out of poor women. If she ever allows herself to get involved with a *profesora* again, she knows that she will be ready for the *manicomio* (insane asylum). The Moche midwives are quite good enough for her or for any self-respecting woman, she says.

LAY CURING

Many of the remedies in the list (p. 139) are used by ordinary laymen and women just as North Americans use household or old wives' remedies. We shall omit further description of these therapeutic measures, contenting ourselves with a brief discussion of *chucaque* and *secretos*.

CHUCAQUE

A certain complex of rather vague symptoms is called *chucaque*. In general, it is a feeling of "being out of sorts"; one feels a slight stiffness in the muscles, may have an upset stomach with a feeling of nausea, a slight headache, and the like. It generally appears after a shock of some sort which produces ego deflation or an upset of the emotional balance. For example, one of my informants fell off his horse while riding with me and some other men back from a visit to the *campiña*. This embarrassed him. Next day he felt bad until given the treatment for *chucaque*. Although it is described in the literature as precipitated by "shame" (*vergüenza*),⁶³ the word was never used in describing or discussing the condition by my friends in Moche.

In Moche all adult men are able to cure *chucaque*, although some are better at it than others. The treatment which might be called the native version of chiropraxis or osteopathy is as follows: (1) The patient is given a general massage of the face, back

of the neck, shoulders, arms and trunk, without removing his clothes. The curer uses only his bare hands. (2) The patient's arms are folded across his diaphragm tightly, so that a hand protrudes on each side. The operator stands behind the patient. With his right hand, he grasps the patient's left, and with his left hand grasps the patient's right hand. Now he pulls hard with both arms so that the patient's folded arms are pulled tightly across his trunk. Then with a swift series of jerks the patient is lifted off his feet and bent backward sharply by the operator. Usually the operator places his knee in the small of the patient's back and continues jerking until there is a cracking sound in the patient's vertebral column. (3) Next the operator, still standing behind the patient, places his right palm open against the lower right jaw of the patient and his left hand is held in position to steady the patient's head while, in a series of quick jerks, the right hand rotates the patient's head sharply several times to the left until a cracking noise comes from the neck. This is repeated in complementary fashion on the other side until the "neck cracks."

Brutal as this treatment may sound, it has a soothing and relaxing effect, as I can personally testify. Psychologically speaking, I can only surmise that the treatment serves to shock the patient out of his feeling of inferiority or anxiety by reducing his internal tensions. Whatever may be the internal neurological and physiological mechanisms involved, the patient usually loses his physical symptoms as well as his anxiety feeling. He drinks a glass or two of *pisco* with his curer and the whole thing is forgotten. Men perform these cures for each other without payment. However, it is believed that *chucaque* must be cured without delay; otherwise it will persist and become worse.

SECRETOS

Secretos are of two types, children's and adults'. They are made of woolen yarn. Small babies have a red yarn tied around the left ankle. It is believed to prevent *empujes*, such as those which produce umbilical hernia. Such strains are caused by a particular type of evil influence which menstruating women, especially, exude, and the *secreto* prevents the entrance of this power into the child's body. Cords of any color are worn by grown persons on the wrist or above the elbow to prevent "cramps" (*calambres*), and it is stoutly maintained that they are very effective.

⁶³ Camino Calderon (1942, p. 201) states: "In Arequipa they call *Trocadura* that which in the north is called *Chucaque*. It consists in the malaise (*mal'star*) produced by a feeling of shame (*vergüenza*)." In Lima it is called *pava* (fear). According to Valdizán and Mallo-nado (1922, vol. 1, p. 102), *chucaque* is especially widespread in the north, in the Departments of Piura, Lambayeque, La Libertad, and Cajamarca. They speak of it as a syndrome found in a person who has suffered strong shame (*vergüenza*): vomiting, diarrhea, pains in the stomach. They give the treatment as follows. Head is massaged with open palms of the curer. He spits on the hair of the patient several times in several directions. Then he rolls a lock of hair in thumb and index hair and pulls it out with a cracking noise, which "breaks the *chucaque*." Then both ears are jerked downward. Afterward the patient drinks an infusion of the leaves of *chileno* and the ashes of *tocoyu* dissolved in water.

GENERAL REMEDIES USED IN CURING

Below, I have itemized a selection of the plants, remedies, and apparatus used in curing in Moche. Not being a botanist, I do not vouch for the scientific names, which I give only so that readers unfamiliar with the local terminology may have some clue for identifying the plants or substances mentioned. The scientific names have been determined by comparing the common Moche names with common names given by Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2), by following a similar process in certain other literature, and by consulting with Dr. Nicolás Angulo, who, in addition to an extensive medical practice, teaches one course of botany in the University of Trujillo. Dr. Angulo is the favorite *médico* of the Mocheros. He will come at any time of day or night in response to a call, his charges are reasonable, and he does not press for collections. All this, in addition to his skill as a physician and his geniality as a man, has made him the most trusted of the scientific medical men with whom the Mocheros are in contact. Dr. Angulo is also a scientist of wide interests in anthropology and botany, in both of which fields he has published a number of papers. Up to the moment, however, he has not had sufficient time to complete his studies in "popular medicine," a project in which he is much interested. I hereby express my appreciation to Dr. Angulo for his many kindnesses, including his placing at my disposal such information as he possessed concerning botanical identifications of plants used in native curing.

I also wish to express my appreciation to Señor Juan Llontop, proprietor of one of Trujillo's leading drug stores, who furnished the information incorporated in the following notes concerning the pharmaceutical preparation of certain items habitually obtained by the Mocheros from the drug stores of Trujillo. Señor Llontop, although he received his professional training in Lima, was reared in the northern "Mochica" community of Monsefú, and his family name is one of the oldest and most distinguished among the genuine natives of that community.

Except when otherwise noted, scientific botanical names in the list given below are those given by Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2).

The bulk of the articles used in the *mesa de brujería* are listed and explained in the section with that title.

In every market in the Sierra there are several stalls or places on the pavement occupied by sellers

of herbs and simples, with the various products set out before them in small cloth sacks with their tops open and rolled down. In the Sierra these medicine-sellers are called *callahuayas* and in Arequipa, *arroceros*. There are no such vendors in the Moche market. In the Trujillo market some of these products can often be obtained, but the variety and selection is not as wide as in a typical Sierra market or in the market at Chiclayo. The supplies used by the curers and *brujos* of Moche are mostly obtained in Trujillo, in Chiclayo, and from itinerant peddlers, called *médicos bolivianos*, who visit Moche about once or twice a year.

The following list of remedies can only be considered a set of notes which, haply, may serve to round out the picture of folk medicine in Moche until such time as the material at hand can be more fully studied and until further investigations can take place. It would be very helpful to have a thorough-going pharmaceutical study of the *materia medica*.

Aceite de alcanfor. Camphor oil, used for massage. Obtained in pharmacies.

Aceite de camine. Obtained in pharmacies and used in treatment of sores, particularly venereal lesions.

Agua de azahar. A pharmacy preparation, orange-flower water, one of the "waters of *susto*."

Agua de espanto. A pharmacy preparation, distilled water of rosemary (*romero*). One of the "waters of *susto*."

Agua de la Reina de Hungría. A pharmacy preparation, one of the "waters of *susto*." Distilled water of lavender.

Agua de melisa. A pharmacy preparation, "water of balm," (distilled water of *toronjil*) which is one of the *aguas de susto* (waters of *susto*).

Agua florida. A patent preparation obtainable in the pharmacies; something like eau de cologne, alcoholic and heavily scented. One of the "waters of *susto*" and also essential in the *brujería* seance. Original is manufactured in the United States. A Peruvian imitation is now on the market; *brujos* and *curanderos* claim that the national product does not have the power of the original.

Agua oxigenada. Hydrogen peroxide, obtained in pharmacies.

Ajenjo. Apparently a species of wormwood (*Artemisia* sp.). Some persons grow it in *huertas* for curing purposes. Dried stalks may also be purchased in the pharmacies.

Albahaca. Grown in gardens and used as a pain killer in childbirth.

Angelote, peje perro. A large fish egg, sometimes about the size of a goose egg. Consists of a mass looking like egg yolk enclosed in a tough membranelike covering. Small quantities are given with food. Each specimen sells for 3 to 4 soles, depending on size.

Altamis. When one has "cold bones," leaves of this plant are heated and bound onto the leg or arm where complaint is.

Algodón pardo (*Gossypium* sp. ?; not definitely identified in literature). In Moche this variety of cotton is grown

- in *huertas* and sometimes along roadsides. Those who own bushes sell the cotton to those who need it. The cotton is light brown in color, streaked or uneven in tone, ranging from almost yellow to dark brown. After being separated from the seeds, it is rolled into strands or loose rolls about as big as the little finger and these in turn are made into a small pad or mass used for massaging the body, in *ojéo*. The cotton is also used by curers and frequently by witches, in other types of curing. It is not moistened or medicated, but is believed to have a special power in removing magically caused ailment.
- Amor seco** (*Bidens* sp.). In Moche is taken as an infusion to cure inflammation of the stomach and liver, especially after heavy drinking. It is said to reduce "inflammation" of these organs.
- Anís estrellado, or agua de anís de estrella.** A pharmacy preparation, one of the "waters of *susto*." Anís seeds are macerated and infused in water.
- Arnica.** Made in the pharmacies; a tincture of the macerated flowers steeped in low-grade alcohol for 10 days. Used for sprains, etc.
- Bálsamo de Buda.** A standard pharmaceutical formula, also known as bálsamo floravanti. Used in cure of *susto*.
- Bórico.** Boric acid powder obtained in the pharmacies. Made into solution at home and used as an antiseptic by some curers.
- Brocamelia.** Flowers made into infusion, which is drunk for cough.
- Campana, floribundo.** A small tree with lilylike leaves; flowers are rubbed together in the hands and bandaged over an inflammation.
- Caraña.** Oficinal preparation of the pharmacies, composed of essence of turpentine, beeswax, Burgundy pitch (*pez de Borgoña*), and coloring matter. Used as an application for curing umbilical hernia and gumboils.
- Cebo de macho.** Fat extracted from mules; a pharmacy preparation; used in cure of sprains and bone breaks.
- Cebolla, onion** (*Allium cepa*, identified by Angulo). An infusion is made for pneumonia, composed of three pieces of olin and three heads of the white onion, to which is added a cup of cognac. Taken by mouth.
- Cerraja** (unidentified). Infusion of the stems used in Moche as a cure for colic. Leaves also may be used for making infusion, although they are said not to contain the medicinal element in large quantities.
- Clavel, carnation** (*Dianthus* sp., identified by Angulo). Flowers as an infusion for cardiac trouble.
- Cola de caballo** (*Equisetum xylochaetum*, *E. giganteum*). Given as an infusion for kidney trouble in Moche. In other parts of Peru, according to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 37), used as follows: As a decoction for washing old rebellious ulcers; decoction used as a collusive in all affections of the mouth and for washing stubborn acne of the face; the infusion enjoys prestige as a constrictor and is used for combating all kinds of hemorrhages; also used as a dissolvent of renal calculus and as a diuretic and emmenagogue, in the Department of Lima. Used as a stimulant and for illnesses of the liver in Ica.
- Congona** (*Peperomia congona sidro*, identified by Angulo). Given in infusion for heart trouble.
- Corpusuay** (*Gencianacea* sp.?, according to Angulo). Given by mouth as infusion for malaria and also for kidney trouble.
- Culen** (*Psoralea glandulosa*, according to Angulo). Used in Moche as a stomachic. Valdizán and Maldonado (*ibid.*, pp. 78-79) give following information concerning medicinal use of *P. lasiostachys* and *P. pubescens*: The ancient Araucanians cured their wounds with culen, according to Guevara; nowadays is given by mouth as an infusion for diarrhea in Ambo, Huancayo, Hualgayoc, and Loreto; reported as a decoction with celery and burned bread administered by mouth for diarrhea in Ambo; reported as a decoction for foot baths in Arequipa; as an infusion by mouth as a carminative and vermifuge in Lima, Cajamarca, and Piura; as a sudorific in Cajamarca and Piura; as an infusion with bread and burned sugar by mouth for indigestion in Cajamarca; as an infusion by mouth in infantile enteritis in Huaylas; in infusion as an astringent and in decoction as a purgative in Santiago de Chuco; in infusion by mouth as a stomachic and carminative in Cailloma.
- Cuncuna** (*Vallesia dichotoma*, according to Angulo). In Moche said to be used for bubonic plague. Poultices are made with it and salt of ammonia (*sal de amoniaco*) and applied to the buboes, while enemas are administered made of an infusion of the leaves.
- Chamico.** A weed, the dried leaves of which are smoked in cigarettes as cure for asthma.
- Chicoria** (*Hypochaeris* sp., according to Angulo). In Moche used in infusion as an antimalarial; in a warm bath as an emollient.
- Chilco macho** (unidentified). In Moche used in cure of *tronchadura* (dislocation of joint or sprain). Leaves are bound hot onto affected part with bandages. Also bound over a broken bone "to keep out the cold." Sometimes single leaves are stuck on as a form of sticking plaster without bandages. According to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 394), it is used in Piura in decoction as a bath in cure of tumors and exuberances created by the cold.
- Chocho.** Unidentified green plant used in curing.
- Flor de arena** (unidentified). In Moche used in infusion externally as an emollient in inflammations and boils.
- Flor muerta.** A yellow flower which is cooked into a paste and stuffed into an aching tooth.
- Flor de overo** (*Cordia rotumbifolia*, according to Angulo). The flowers in an infusion are given internally for liver trouble.
- Gramá dulce** (*Cynodon dactylon*, according to Angulo). Infusion of the leaves administered internally as a diuretic. Valdizán and Maldonado (*ibid.*, p. 45) say it is widely used for same purpose, also that freshly squeezed juice is used in drops to remove "clouds" from the eyes, in Arequipa.
- Higerón.** White cotton is moistened with the sap after which it is applied to the abdomen of child with umbilical hernia.
- Huanarpo** (*Jatropha macrantha*). Powder used in wine and other drinks as a love charm and aphrodisiac.
- Jerania.** Flowers used to prevent hemorrhages.
- Llantén** (*Plantago major*, and other species). Used externally in decoction for pimples in Moche; also, infusion

of leaves mixed with *aceite rosado* is applied to inflammations. According to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 330), is used in decoction as an astringent wash for wounds in Arequipa; as astringent in ocular affections in Loreto and Huancayo; leaves fried in oil as an analgesic in earache in northern Peru; infusion or maceration of leaves given in enemas for bloody stools; decoction with barley, *yedra* (ivy), *verdolaga* (purslane), and *alteca* (mallow) in pulmonary hemoptisis (Arequipa); decoction made with leaves of rosemary, to which, when cool, beaten white of egg is added, taken by mouth to stop bloody vomit (Arequipa); widely used against hemorrhages of all kinds and against inflammations.

Maichill (*Thevetia neruifolia*). In Moche an infusion is used for bathing wounds and pimples. According to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 283), the seeds are poisonous and are used in some parts for killing dogs; in the jungle regions the stringed nuts are used as cascabels.

Maíz blanco, white corn kernels. Used in setting up a *brujeria mesa*. White corn is specified.

Malva real. A roadside green plant, used in enemas.

Marrajudia (unidentified). A drop of the milk is used in the eye to remove film.

Matico, yerba de soldado, cordoncillo (*Piper angustifolium*). Taken as an infusion of the leaves for cough and as a douche for inflammations of the vagina. According to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, pp. 130-132), the pulverized leaves are widely used to cicatrize the umbilicus of the newborn child and an infusion of the leaves is generally used to bathe wounds. Also reported as a pectoral from Santiago de Chuco.

Menthol. "Mentholatum" or a proprietary imitation of this mentholated salve. Obtained in the Trujillo pharmacies and also in the Moche *tiendas*, usually in small tin cans about the size of a half dollar.

Molle (*Schinus molle*). A small berrylike fruit growing on a bushlike tree native to Peru. In Moche the leaves are bound on sprains, in hot form, so that "cold does not enter the bones." Fruit is sometimes eaten; in other areas *chicha* is made from it, but only rarely in Moche.

Nogal (*Juglans regia*, *J. neotropica*). The first species was apparently introduced by the Spanish after the time of Padre Cobo, as he does not mention it. Professor Weberbauer has found *J. neotropica* growing wild in the valley of the Utcubamba and the jungles of the Montaña, according to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 135). In Moche an infusion of the leaves is used internally as a pectoral and in douches for vaginal baths, also as a bath for all types of inflammations. It is also reported as an astringent in uterine baths in Arequipa and Lima, as a wash for wounds in Lima, and as a cough remedy in the Department of Lima and, with boiled milk, for the same purpose in Arequipa. A decoction made of scrapings of the wood is taken internally to reestablish menstruation, in Arequipa. And in the south, leaves are placed under the pillow as a cure for insomnia (Valdizán and Maldonado, *loc. cit.*).

Paico (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*). In Moche the leaves are removed, heated moist, and bound in a poultice on any painful part of the body. According to Valdizán and Maldonado, Cobo gives the following information of

aboriginal uses: Leaves were applied in the form of a poultice to any tumor to reduce it; this species was also used to reduce flatulency, for which purpose it was eaten, or cooked with *muña*, drunk hot before breakfast with some *aji*; paico eaten with much salt reduces the swellings of gouty legs. In modern Peru, according to Valdizán and Maldonado (vol. 2, pp. 146-147), the leaves are eaten as seasoning in food; leaves also eaten as a vermifuge; cooked root is applied as an astringent to bleeding wounds; it is given internally as an infusion for *susto* in Huancayo; cooked leaves mixed with *borraja* (*Borago officinalis*) in cure of "*caracha*"; it is said that roasted leaves are eaten to counteract chills and "aire" in Trujillo; also, the juice is taken to stop diarrhea; in Cutervo, an infusion of three hearts of paico, taken 3 mornings successively with a Pater Noster each morning, is believed to increase intelligence.

Pez, resin. Obtainable in the pharmacies.

Pie de perro. In Moche used in infusion as emollient and diuretic.

Polvo de lagartija. Pulverized, dried, white feces of the small lizard; used in cure of umbilical hernia and placed on navel of newborn child to hasten healing and to prevent rupture.

Rabo flaire. Roots are mashed up and used as infusion, mixed with infusions of chichoria and verbena in enemas.

Romero, rosemary (*Rosmarinus officinalis*). In Moche an infusion of the leaves is taken internally for heart trouble; also appears as a pharmaceutical preparation, *agua de espanto*, one of the "waters of *susto*." For inflammations, especially of the eyes, an infusion of the flowers. According to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 291), this plant was brought to Peru in 1579 by Alonso Gutierrez from Spain.

Rosa de castilla (*Rosa indica*, according to Angulo). The infusion of the leaves is administered internally as a purgative and in douches for vaginal baths.

Ruda (*Ruta graveolens*). In Moche the plant, minus the roots, is used in raw form to give massages in the cure of *susto*. The stalks which have been used in curing are then placed on the ground under the growing plant. If a *brujo* wishes to do harm to the person who has been cured, he kills the growing plant. This causes the *susto* to return, as well as the appearance of other symptoms. Also used in decoction as an agent to promote menstrual flow and as an abortifacient. Used also against *brujeria*, to attract women, and also for good luck and good times. Elsewhere in Peru, say Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 221), the temples are massaged with the leaves for "aire" in Arequipa and Ambo; an infusion or powder of the leaves is used internally for dismenorrhea and as abortifacient; a decoction is administered in enemas as a vermifuge; the stems are used to stop the nosebleed of *serroche* (mountain sickness); infusion of the stems in southern Peru for palpitations, hysteria, and in general as an antispasmodic; infusion of the leaves drunk for epilepsy in Loreto, etc.

Rumilanchi. Used as an infusion to promote menstrual flow and as an emollient.

San Juan. A creeping vine with a yellow flower. Body of an *asustado* is rubbed with the whole raw plant.

San Mério. A type of incense powder obtained from the pharmacy, composition unknown to me. In Moche the smoke is used for magical fumigation in various cures, including that of *susto* and *quebradura*. Sr. Llontop tells me that it is taken internally by the *criollo* public of Trujillo to cure pneumonia, dissolved in weak alcohol and mixed with a small quantity of white kerosene. Also, it is used in the form of plasters on the chest, mixed with boiled onions and lard.

San Pedro (family of the Cactaceae, according to Camino Calderón, 1942, p. 205). Used in Moche in *brujeria* seances. It is a fluted cactus stem and must have at least four flutings; the more flutings, the more power.

Santa María (family of Liliaceae, according to Angulo). In Moche the leaves are heated over the fire, and the whole body is massaged with them in cure of *susto*. Also taken internally in infusion for correcting menstruation, according to Angulo. Also, leaves used to make a tea drunk with meals as a beverage.

Sávila (*Aloe vera*, *A. abyssinica*). In Moche it is believed that when a *brujo* enters the house, the *sávila* hanging over the door will turn red and even, in some cases, exude drops of blood. According to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 199), this plant was brought from Spain in the first years of the Conquest. In addition to its power to protect from *brujeria*, which is general throughout Peru, these authors say that it is in use as a general antidote for poison.

Sombrerita. A lilylike low-growing ground plant; an infusion is drunk for kidney trouble (*dolores de los riñones*).

Tamarindo. Fruit used as a purgative.

Tara (*Cassalpinia tinctoria*). In Moche an infusion of the vine is used as a vaginal douche to cure white discharge and uterine hemorrhages. Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, pp. 209-210) indicate that it has a general use in Peru as an astringent.

Toronjil (*Melissa officinalis*). In Moche used as a stomachic and in heart trouble; also as a pharmaceutical preparation, one of the "waters of *susto*."

Turre. In Moche a cure for scurvy. The root is mashed up and a bit of bicarbonate of soda and some drops of lemon mixed with it, to which is added boiled water. Taken internally.

Valeriana. Used in *susto* and as a heart remedy.

Veneno. A plant used for curing in Moche. The leaves

are mascerated and mixed with or moistened with *agua de florida*. The whole mass is sewn into a cloth scapular and hung around the neck as a protection against *susto*, especially in children.

Verdolaga, purslane (*Portulaca peruviana*, *P. oleracea*). Infusion of stems as diuretic in Moche. Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 151) report the following uses in various parts of Peru: Applied as a plaster to the abdomen in certain dysenteries, in southern Peru; seeds used as emmenagogues and vermifuges; trunk or stem as infusion for liver trouble in Loreto; decoction given as refreshing enema in burning fevers (Piura); also as cooling agent, sedative, and antiscorbutic (Cuzco).

Verbena (*Verbena littoralis*, according to Angulo; *V. bonariensis*, according to Valdizán and Maldonado). Root only in infusion used as an antimalarial and emollient in Moche. Elsewhere, according to Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 228): Decoction for pernicious ulcers in Arequipa; for malaria in Ayachucho and Loreto; as a poultice of the leaves to relieve pain and supuration in the liver (Ica); powder drunk in old wine for liver trouble in Arequipa; decoction taken with salt and lemon as a purgative in the north; decoction taken as mouth wash for toothache in Cajamarca; poultice of leaves as hemostatic in small wounds; decoction in enemas during typhoid fever in Loreto; decoction by mouth for colic in Puno; decoction by mouth as a febrifuge in Huaylas.

Yedra, ivy. Leaves and stems are mascerated and made into an infusion which is used to bathe irritations of the skin. Not mentioned by Valdizán and Maldonado.

Yerba de gallinazo (*Chenopodium opulifolium*; *C. murale*, according to Angulo). Leaves and stalks in raw form used for massage by *curanderas* in Moche, in cure of *susto*, especially in adults.

Yerba mora. A small plant with long white flowers, used in enemas.

Yerbaliza, yerba Luisa (*Andropogon schoenanthus*). Used as a standard beverage in Moche, also believed to have stomachic properties. Valdizán and Maldonado (1922, vol. 2, p. 113) say that this plant is native to the north and center of India and was unknown in Peru until introduced by the Spanish. They report that it is used as a carminative in Lima, Arequipa, and Loreto.

Yerba santa. Leaves are boiled and bound onto a wound in a poultice, especially good also for boils and pimples.

RELIGION

THE VARIOUS RELIGIONS OF MOCHE

Strictly speaking, the "religious" parts of a cultural system are those complexes—orientations, trends, and objectives—which invariably involve symbolic patterns dealing with the supernatural. In other words, "religion" in cultural anthropology refers to cultural beliefs and practices based upon notions of supernatural or extranatural power and/or beings. In this broad field, Moche culture is a mixture or mosaic as in so many other areas. In the foregoing section on

Native Medicine and Magical Curing much of the "religion" of Moche has been described. In this section I shall deal briefly with certain religious beliefs and practices associated with the Roman Catholic Church. Before opening this subject, however, it is worth noting several divergent trends in Moche religious culture and thus in the religious thinking and acting of the typical individual. Underlying all is a common body of rather generalized and amorphous ways of thinking which we might call the substratum

of folk magic. These can be classified into the two hackneyed categories of sympathetic and contagious magic. For example, the fact that the aphrodisiac *huanarpo* looks like the human sexual organs is an important fact of sympathetic magic, whatever its pharmaceutical properties may be. The use of a garment of the patient in the cure of *susto* is, on the other hand, based upon concepts of contagious magic. Both of these types of concepts, if not universal, are at least very common among peoples in all parts of the world.

In Moche these basic magical beliefs, together with later accretions and concepts of "higher religion," have been organized into at least two cultural orientations or institutions. These are (1) the institution of witchcraft which has its (a) white and (b) black subdivisions, related to each other in opposition; and (2) the institution of the Roman Catholic religion which, as we shall see, aside from the central body of approved doctrine, is manifested in a number of subsidiary or peripheral patterns, and which also has its opposition aspect in a number of beliefs surrounding the Devil. Although witchcraft in its "white" aspect, at least, has made some concessions or bows to Christianity (e.g., use of saints' pictures in divining, the invocations, presence of the cross on the *mesa*, etc.), nevertheless witchcraft as a cultural institution is functionally entirely separate from institutionalized Christianity. Thus there are at least two fairly well organized bodies of religious beliefs and practices which function in a "parallel" fashion in Moche and are not functionally interrelated, even in the sense of being opposed to each other. On the whole, witchcraft tends to be individualistic and divisive, socially speaking, and anxiety-raising, psychologically speaking, while Christianity tends to be unifying in its social effects and anxiety-reducing in its psychological results.

Historically each of these systems is in itself derived from various cultural backgrounds. The complexity of Christian history is familiar to all, and in Moche is further heightened by cultural changes wrought in the institution of the church since its importation at the time of the Conquest. The tracing in detail of the various historical components of witchcraft must wait for another publication, but it is obvious that Moche witchcraft at present is a fusion of both coastal and Sierra elements, which originally belonged to entirely separate cultural traditions. The recognition of this historical diversity of the religious orientations of Moche—and other Latin American

communities—is important from a functional point of view, if it prevents us from falling into one of the common errors of identification. We cannot merely dismiss the diverse patterns in this kind of situation by saying without qualification that the Mocheros are "Christians" or that they have "Inca" witchcraft, or "Chimu" magic, or something relatively simple of that sort. In religion as in respect to its cultural system as a whole, Moche is not "European," nor is it "Indian."

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

There are said to be about 30 Protestants ("Evangelistas") among the Mocheros, apparently Seventh Day Adventists. They have no chapel at present, and they hold their meetings in private homes. Otherwise everyone in Moche is nominally Roman Catholic. The Mocheros take pride in being "very religious" and they have this reputation in Trujillo and elsewhere. Specifically, "very religious" and "very devoted" mean that the community makes a good showing in the performance of the various religious fiestas.

The dogma and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church are, so far as I know, faithfully followed by the local priest, who also serves the port town of Salaverry.

Our discussion is limited to certain selected aspects of the religious picture in Moche.

The position of the church in a community is dependent to a large extent upon the methods and manner of approach of its ministers. In Moche in 1944 the active priest was a young Peruvian, trained in a Lima seminary, who had been in charge only a year or two. He lives in the small semiruinéd former monastery (*convento*) on the plaza, which was apparently erected to house the members of the Mercedarian order who seem to have founded the Moche church. The former priest, a Spaniard, is now retired, but still lives in Moche in a house of his own, and intends to spend the rest of his days there. He is a genial and affable old gentleman with a good many personal contacts among the Mocheros, but he no longer takes an active role in the church, other than to say an occasional mass when the *cura* is absent on some other mission.

INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION

Generally speaking, it is only the older men, among the male element, who take an active and continuing interest in the church itself (as distinguished from

the fiestas). Most men of adult age take the position that they, of course, are members of the church, but that the devotions are mainly an affair of women. Most men questioned could not remember when they had confessed last or had taken communion. Many men over 35 years of age had confessed only once or twice in their lives. All of them know the Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer), but that is all that many of them know. Strings of rosary beads are possessed by some women and old men, but the average man never uses them. Several men did not know what they were. Apparently, confirmation does not as a rule involve the organized study and memorization of the catechism, and most of my informants report that they have been confirmed without effective examination at about the age of 12 in a body of boys, when the bishop of a "mission" of friars had come to the town for that purpose. Parents are, of course, enjoined to provide religious instruction in the home, but perhaps the majority fail to provide anything effective. I found it quite impossible to obtain a coherent explanation of church doctrine or "what the church stands for" from any Mochero, or, in fact, from the *forasteros*. One concludes that the church to the typical individual represents not a body of verbal teachings and precepts, but a body of personal and group experiences. The most devout Catholics among men whom I could contact were a few older men, retired from active life, who spent a good deal of their time reciting prayers, taking communion, and confessing. It seemed to me for a time that I must have involuntarily associated with only the very secular-minded or indifferently minded section of the male population, but attendance at services in the church tended to confirm the picture. On ordinary Sundays, it is common to see only a handful of adult Mochero men in the church, amounting to about one-tenth the number of the women present, and very few taking communion. The men are usually at the back of the church, sitting on stone benches along the sides, or standing. They go in and out during the service, indulge in a certain amount of conversation among themselves, and, although respectful in attitude, do not give evidence of strong attention or emotional involvement.

Apparently the true definition of "devotion" in Moche consists in participation in the *mayordomías* which operate the various fiestas. A man who gives contributions to these organizations is a devoted and respected man, and one who participates is even more so. Many men seem to have an attachment to

one of the saints whose days they celebrate. They pray to the saint and believe that he takes a personal interest in their worldly welfare. Many, if not the majority, of persons thus devoted to saints know nothing of the saint as an historical personage, but are devoted to the image itself. In conversation they admit that the image is representative of a saint, not the saint itself, but the ideas of who or what is represented by the image, are vague. On the other hand, an individual takes an active interest in the physical welfare of the image to which he is devoted, helps in keeping it clean, dressing it, refurbishing its paint, and so on. One of the best ways of showing one's devotion to a saint is to provide at one's own expense a *sudario* or some other ceremonial garment or ornament for the image. There is a qualified embroiderer in the town who makes most of his living from preparing these gifts, usually made of velvet, richly embroidered with gold and silver thread and ornamented with glass brilliants, sequins, and other bright decorations.

Women seem to participate more often and more earnestly in the rituals of the church than do men. They attend confession and take communion, on the average, much more frequently than men. Also, they are organized into groups which meet occasionally in the church in the afternoon or at night to sing *novenas* for a departed relative and in adoration of various saints. The average woman is better acquainted with the prayers and rituals. For this reason, the priest apparently has more contact with the women than with the men of the community. Women are also devoted to saints, but they do not participate formally in the *mayordomías*. One of the richer women, as a sign of her devotion, presented one of the images of the Christ with a *sudario* in October of 1944 which cost 700 soles.

In Moche there is no organization of laymen similar to the Knights of Columbus or the Catholic Action groups which endeavor elsewhere to some extent to interpret and to apply the precepts of the church for the benefit of laymen to the affairs of the world and of the community.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS IN MOCHE

From the psychological point of view an important aspect of the church's function in Moche is that it does not create a load of anxieties for the individual. The Mocheros do not have "consciences" of a type with which so many North Americans and North Europeans are equipped and from which they

are so continuously suffering.⁶⁴ The "conscience" is, of course, a complex of "acquired drives" of a punishing sort⁶⁵ which are created within the individual by cultural (frequently religious) training. Such training usually also includes learning of responses (habits or customs) which, if performed by the individual, will lower the anxiety drives and thus relieve him of their punishing effects. In Moche, the "average person" is ignorant of many of the anxieties.

Fear of hell is not a particular obsession with Mocheros. The living worry somewhat about the condition of the souls of their departed relatives in purgatory, an anxiety which is connected with the potential willingness of such souls to intervene on behalf of the living, but such anxieties can be easily lowered by offerings and masses for the repose of the dead. And it is always desirable that burial should be in hallowed ground with benefit of clergy. Finally, many of the problems of everyday life can be referred in a familiar manner to the saint to whom one is devoted.

Although the church offers fairly simple ritualistic means for quieting the anxieties which it creates, most of these rituals cost money in themselves and also for the peripheral expenses. Funerals, for example, are classified into first, second, and third class, each with its set fee. In a first-class funeral, the priest officiates at the church, at the house, and at the cemetery. In a second-class funeral, he officiates only at church and house, and in a third-class burying only at the church door. Because of the inhibition on approaching the priest for a service of this kind without having the fee in hand, several individuals are said to have been buried without the services of the priest, simply because the family could not raise the money.

I have never heard women express verbal aggressive attitudes toward priests, but they are very common among men, to whom the priest does not occupy a generally respected social status, although his status as a religious officer is never questioned.

SOCIALIZING FUNCTIONS

In Moche, religion has certain socializing functions. In the first place, the fact that practically all Mocheros are Catholics provides practically the only generally accepted basis of real, if somewhat vague, unity present in the community.

In the second place, the fiestas celebrated in connection with the various images in the church building itself, are occasions for general community participation as well as for effective organization and group activity in the responsible *mayordomías* in charge of the respective fiestas.

In the third place, the church looks with a tolerant eye upon the recreational features of the ceremonies—the feasts, parades, dances, drinking, fireworks, and displays—which, with the passing of time, have become as much a part of the life crisis ceremonies and saints' day celebrations as the performance of the holy offices themselves. Puzzled outsiders are often at a loss to understand the hold which the church has over the population of Latin American countries. However, it should not be forgotten that in Moche one may "enjoy himself" at the same time he is "being religious." Devotion and recreation, one might say, are combined, rather than separated into distinct areas of experience. In Moche the religious fiestas are the only activities in which all members of the community may spontaneously participate and are therefore of importance in promoting a certain degree of social unity. And the fact that they are accompanied by a feeling tone of satisfaction and enjoyment accounts, I believe, for much of the strength of the church among the population. In psychological terms, it is more rewarding to be a Catholic than not to be one or than to be a practitioner of puritanical Protestant patterns.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

Although there is not a large attendance at Sunday mass, the *templo* is full of people on the days when the fiestas are celebrated. In general, each fiesta is in charge of a *mayordomía*, organized as previously explained in the section on Economics (p. 75). A few fiestas, such as that of Nuestro Señor de la Misericordia (which was held on October 20–22), are a charge of a permanent group called an *hermandad*, although these groups are gradually dying out.

The general pattern of a fiesta is, in outline, as follows. Some days before the central date of the fiesta, the *encargados* (those in charge, members of the *mayordomía* or *hermandad*) pass through the streets, taking up a collection. (See p. 75.) In the night previous to the day of the fiesta, the priest performs the rite of the *vispera* in the presence of a large crowd. After this the *mayordomos*, followed by a musical band and carrying paper lanterns, lead a parade out of the church through the streets of the

⁶⁴ This generalization is based on notes of numerous conversations and discussions.

⁶⁵ See Gillin, 1942, and references cited there.

town. At each corner they stop while at least two individuals dance the *marinera*, usually in costume, disguised as Negroes or Indians, while the *mayordomos* set off a few rockets. The parade winds through the town, returning to the central *plaza*, where a barrage of rockets is set off. Then the *mayordomos* and the band go to the house of a *devoto*, who awaits them. They dance and drink *chicha* and hard liquor until about dawn when they return to their own houses. Shortly after sunrise on the day of the fiesta, everyone comes out of his house, shooting off rockets while the band starts up the music at the house of the chief *mayordomo*. Then the *mayordomía* proceeds with the band to the church to prepare for the mass, which is usually supposed to start about 9 a. m., but does not customarily get under way until about 10 a. m. The mass lasts about 2 hours, punctuated by the discharge of rockets just outside the church door and by the rather dissonant music of the band, which has been installed in the choir loft in the back of the church. After mass, the *invitados* go to the house of the chief *mayordomo*, preceded by the band, and a feast takes place. From the house, plates of food are sent to certain *devotos* or contributors who are unable to be present. In the afternoon, the party, well fed and somewhat drunk, goes to the *templo* and takes out on parade the image which is being venerated that day, passing through the streets of the town, preceded by the band, at a pace so slow that it is nightfall before it returns to the church. Another feast usually follows in the evening, accompanied by the usual drinking and dancing. The following Sunday there may be a mass of the Adoración and afterward the *mayordomos* and the contributors go to the house of another *devoto* where the eating and drinking of the previous Sunday are continued. Often during these feasts fights and family arguments develop, which are said to be an invariable accompaniment of a fiesta. The majority of the celebrants, however, enjoy themselves and suffer nothing worse than hangovers and "liver colic" after the fiesta is past. The drinking and merrymaking aspects of the usual fiesta are said to be absent from the fiestas of Holy Week, beginning on Holy Thursday.

The religious fiestas which are most actively celebrated in Moche are the following: Epiphany, with the lowering of the home altars of the Nativity, January 6; Fiesta del Señor de Ramos (Palm Sunday); Semana Santa (Holy Week); San Isidro, patron of agriculture, May 15; Corpus Christi; SS. Pablo y

Pedro (SS. Peter and Paul), June 29; Santa Rosa de Lima, August 30; La Exaltación de la Santísima Cruz, September; Señor de la Misericordia (Our Lord of Mercy), October; Fiesta del Cristo Rey (Christ the King), October; Todos los Santos and Todos los Ánimas (All Saints' and All Souls' Days), November 1 and 2; Santa Lucía de Moche, "La Mocherita," patroness of the church of Moche, December 13; La Pascua de la Navidad, December 24 and 25.

In addition, a number of fiestas of various images which adorn the church are celebrated somewhat irregularly, depending upon whether a *mayordomía* is organized or not, during a particular year. The celebration of the fiestas of certain of these images brings out especially clearly the importance of the image cult. Thus, the image of Nuestro Señor del Calvario, celebrated on September 14, 1944, does not represent a historical personage distinct from Nuestro Señor de la Misericordia or Nuestro Señor de Ramos, for example. To be sure, the images in each case represent Jesus, but the attention of the people is fixed on the image itself, and people speak of the images as distinct beings, rather than as representations of the one and only historical and sacred person of Jesus Christ. The same is true of a number of images of Virgins and Señoras, each of which, unless otherwise specifically named, it may be presumed is derived from the historical and holy person of the Mother of Jesus. Yet people have fallen into a way of thinking as if the image were an entity or being in itself. The nearby village of Huamán possesses a famous Señor. Mocheros compare their several Señores with that of Huamán, as if speaking of distinct persons. Certain images have exhibited powers of curing and healing which other images have not shown and are therefore the more venerated, better dressed, and so on. It is perhaps too much to label this "cult of the images" idolatry, because the devotees are usually willing to admit that a vague higher power stands back of the image itself, but it represents a type of cultural orientation in which the material object (the image) has lost much of its function as a mere representation of a character or of a concept in church history and instead has come to represent a power and a goal in itself.

The same is true in many cases of the images of the saints, but with them it is always possible to argue that the image is a mere representation of a historical personage now present in spiritual form on the right hand of God. For example, Santa Rosa de Lima, be-

ing the national patron saint of Peru, is still fresh as a historical woman who lived and wrought miracles in Lima. No doubt many individuals are more devoted to her material representation than to her spiritual personality, but the image is not everything. With the other type of images, however, the idea of the image itself as a personality or embodiment of supernatural power seems to overshadow any notion for which it might stand.

New Year's is always celebrated, but not always with a religious observance.

Following is an inadequate translation of the celebration of the Fiesta de Ramos (Palm Sunday) as written for me by a true Mochero, Manuel Nique, a young man who shows considerable promise as a writer. It portrays one of the outstanding fiestas of the year, as seen through the eyes of a representative of the younger, progressive, and educated element of the Mocheros.

This movable fiesta takes place the Sunday before Holy Week and is an annual event. The narrow streets of the town are filled with people who come from surrounding places. Amid the crowd, which can be counted in the thousands, we can distinguish two types of pilgrims. Some are manifestly Catholics and others only attend the fiesta in order to enjoy the popular diversions. The fiesta begins the previous Saturday. On this day the vespers are celebrated and the day has both a religious and a profane phase. Thus we may note a general activity and a sudden growth in the number of houses serving food and *chicha*. Also booths for refreshments and amusement are set up in the plaza. Each tries to present the most attractive menu.

When the afternoon is well along, the ancient devotee of the Señor de Ramos, Don Juan Ascencio, is very busy, for the altar of the Señor must be ready by 7 o'clock in the night. The altar where the image will be placed from Saturday night until 4 o'clock the following afternoon is located in the park where the water tower is, near the railway tracks. At 7:30 the bells of the church begin to ring, calling the faithful and announcing to the town that the religious fiesta has begun. Inside the church the liturgical hour proceeds in the midst of a profuse illumination, and the priest makes plain in suggestive form how The Savior entered Jerusalem. Once this ceremony has been terminated, the *mayordomos* proceed to carry out the Señor de Ramos (a life-sized image of Jesus) in their arms, taking him to the outdoor altar which they have erected for this occasion. The procession moves via the Calle Grau, continues via Espinar and Salaverry, and finally via the Calle Galvez to arrive at the place where is erected the altar. Along the streets, the people give their adoration and with profound devotion prolong the procession. Once the image has been placed in the spot where it will pass the blessed night, those who have not had opportunity to adore it proceed to do so. As the hours of the night advance, the crowd begins to diminish until the only ones left with the Señor are those who pass the night guarding the image, and receiving alms

in the early morning from those who leave early for their *chacras* to milk their cows. The youth of Moche mixed with *forasteros* in a compact living mass occupy themselves with the traditional dance which the Junta de Progreso Local or one of the sport clubs has organized in the plaza. The dance continues until nearly 5 o'clock in the morning. How many couples will be from this moment inseparable lovers, how many will have been deceived by illusory promises, and how many will have felt they could have better spent the time preparing for the following day! But the gaiety began on Saturday and will not depart until Holy Monday.

The town arises very early, and with the arising, begins Palm Sunday. The earliest risers have already visited the altar of the image. Amid rustic aromas and surrounded by flowers, the happy image of Christ Triumphant distributes his benedictions to his adorers. Again the bells sound forth their merry tones and groups of people fill the streets. The temple is filled with Christian people from town and *campesina*, from port and city, from hacienda and *chacra*. The mass begins with the rituals of the cult. The padre, from the sacred pulpit, begins the sermon, turns his eyes to heaven, and blesses in the name of God the crowd in the temple. A few minutes later the music stops with the distribution of palms and olive branches. Shortly afterward begins the reenactment of the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem. For this the padre, followed by the faithful, goes forth from the temple, and they proceed to cover the streets to the image with palms and olive branches.

After this the people begin to look for a place to eat lunch, some searching among the booths for those with the best dishes and music, while others go to visit the houses of their *comadres*. In many cases these visits are occasions for household fiestas for hair cutting or ear opening of the small children.

In the afternoon begin the kermes and the dance. There near the booth where they are selling cabrito, yuca, and sweetpotatoes, the people are indulging in *criollismo* without equal. Here others are eating *sopa teóloga* and other typical dishes. Over there is a merry party quaffing *chicha*. In other booths lively maidens offer, in addition to food and drink, the temptation of ruby lips. The orchestra and the band animate the dance and there is no place to sit quietly. Everywhere is movement, agitation, and music. The minutes slip away, the hours. The moment of the procession draws near. The merry throng thins out as people go to the place of the image.

The tradition is displayed in this procession. A white female ass is present in front of the altar. [This white donkey roams the town freely during the rest of the year and is fed and watered by whomever she visits.] The *mayordomos* divide into committees, one to direct the band of music and the other to put the saddle on the "little donkey of Our Lord." Here is the band of the Maestro Antonio Sachún with his justly famous musicians. The image of The Señor is placed on the ass, and then begins the majestic procession of Palm Sunday to the temple.

The view which this transcendental procession affords is magnificent. Palms and candles, music and faith, confounded together in the most remarkable act of the year in the town of Santa Lucia de Moche. Along the line of this procession have been erected various altars, and the people along the

streets have been stirred by the explosions of numerous rockets. The bystanders carpet the pathway of God with flowers they throw from their hands. In front of the temple, the image of Christ Triumphant is lowered from the saddle and carried in the arms of the *mavordomos* to the main altar of the church. After a few words by the priest, the religious fiesta is terminated.

It is 7 o'clock in the evening and almost the entire crowd which took part in the procession begins to dance again. Merriment reigns supreme and there are no sad faces. People dance, they drink, they enjoy themselves and forget their troubles. This dance continues until late in the night. The omnibuses are working overtime until the next dawn carrying home the visitors from other towns, while other visitors accept hospitality in local houses.

Silence begins to enter the town with the beginning of Holy Monday. The village will again sink back into the peacefulness of other days. The streets will be empty and one will no longer meet the strange face. Once again conversation will return to the gossiping of the *comadres* and *compadres*. The gossip will rotate about the events of the fiesta. Palm Sunday and its merriment will not return for another year. Holy Week with its mantle of grief will cover the town with an aching pain, silence, and sadness.

FACTS WITH THE DEVIL

There is a well-developed belief that mortals can and sometimes do make pacts with the Devil or his emissaries. The Devil and his minions are in general considered to be the arch enemies of Christianity. It is said that the Devil or his deputy usually appears in the form of a man to a person who is in difficulties of a worldly sort, needs money, is in trouble with the law, etc. In return for the worldly aid required by the individual, the Devil demands the delivery of the person's soul, and sometimes the souls of other persons under the orders of the individual in question. The Devil is simply called "*El Diablo*," or "*El Príncipe de Mal*." If one wishes to make a pact of this kind, he invokes the Prince of Evil, by concentrating his mind on it and calling out in private or inaudibly. It is believed that the Devil or one of his minions is always hanging about, waiting for such a call, so that one does not have to shout very loudly. Once one has sold himself to the Devil, there is no way he can renounce his pact nor is there any help which the church can give. The souls of such persons, of course, are believed to reside permanently and inexorably in hell. The case of a certain man is told who repented of his pact with the Devil. He confessed and even went to Spain where he took Holy Orders and later became a missionary father in Peru. However, the Devil kept after him, tormenting him, until he died.

Such beliefs seem to be clearly derived from European sources. The *shapingos*, familiar spirits of evil brujos, are the native analogy of these beliefs, and some individuals tend to confuse the Devil and the *shapingos* in their thinking, but most persons are quite explicit that the Devil is something entirely different. The evil witches and their spirits are not thought to be in competition with God, whereas the Devil is considered to be a competitor of God and the church. Following are some incidents illustrative of the belief in the Devil and his nefarious schemes.

T., the woman of J. A., disappeared from her coffin. The priest, who had been called to say responses over the coffin, surprised the family filling the box with adobes in order to simulate the "weight of a Christian." A few days later the woman's son found the naked body of his mother in the *chacra*. It was buried there secretly so that people would not know. The disappearance of a body from its coffin is, of course, irrefutable proof that the individual had formerly made a pact with the Devil, who has come to foreclose on it; for once a person is buried in hallowed ground, he is beyond the power of the Devil.

Another case is said to be that of A. S. On his death bed a person came to him, in the presence of his family. This person was clothed in white and rode to the house mounted on a white horse. The person said, "Come with me," and disappeared. The moribund man tried to get up and follow him. It was almost impossible to keep him in the bed. He raved and shouted and his tongue swelled up so that he could not talk coherently. He had to be restrained by force. Finally he died. During the night following his death, his body disappeared. It was never found and a coffin filled with adobes had to be buried to avert suspicion. Of course, the mysterious visitor was the Devil, come to claim his own.

M. R. S. had a startling experience with what he takes to be the Devil. Behind the mountain to the east is a valley where, in wintertime, men sometimes take their animals to graze off the short-lived grass. One day M. happened to be in this region and came upon a rock which looked much like a dining table. More surprising was the fact that it was set with a complete silver service, which also included silver plates and cups. M. picked up the silver and took it home with him. He estimates that it was easily worth 5,000 soles. That night, as he was sleeping in his house, he was awakened by a stern voice which commanded him immediately to get up and to return the silver service to the place where he had found it. He lay awake frightened all night, and the first thing in the morning he took the silver back to the table rock. It is supposed that it was a table set by the Devil for the entertainment of someone who was invited to make a pact with him.

The I. house in Trujillo, a large old colonial mansion, is said to have a long subterranean passage in it, connecting the house with the same spot (mentioned above) behind the mountain. Through this passage peons in the old days disappeared, so goes the story, never to be seen again. They

were delivered to the Devil in return for silver plate, of which formerly this house possessed a great deal.

Young R. is said to have died after having met the Devil. S. C., his cousin, was in an argument with him about land. Young R. was in the disputed *chacra* on Good Friday. This land he had acquired from S. C., but they were having an argument about it. S. C., unknown to R. at the time the deal was consummated, had previously promised the land to the Devil in return for money which he had received some years previously. On this Good Friday the term of the pact with the Devil was ended and the Devil came to obtain the land from S. C. Instead he found young R. on the land and young R. saw him. He appeared in the form of a well-dressed man. As soon as R. realized who it was who was asking him for the land and why, he fell down with a *susto*. He was sick for a long time thereafter. None of the regular cures for *susto* did him any good, and in the end he died.

G. worked for J. A. as a herder and had taken some animals to the winter pasture on the other side of the Cerros. There is a water hole there which has to be dug out repeatedly. One day G. started to dig for water in a new place, only to find that the ground was solid rock. Suddenly he looked up and saw an elegantly dressed white man before him. G. was ashamed because he was so poorly dressed in comparison with the stranger. The newcomer told G. that he could not expect to find water there, but that if G. would deliver to him his soul, he, the stranger, would arrange ample water and pasture. G. realized that he was talking to the Devil, and immediately rounded up his animals and took them back to the Moche *campiña*.

DEATH IN MOCHE

HARBINGERS OF DEATH

The hooting of an owl near a house is an omen of an impending death. "*Le cantó la pacapaca*" (Quechua, owl) is a way of saying, "His hour has struck." The Spanish word *lechuzza* is also used. The firefly (*luciérnaga*) is likewise believed to announce that someone is dying or is about to die. The black cat, the *toledo* bird, the *chichy* bird, and the sparrow are also regarded as harbingers of death or disasters. Apparently the association of the owl with death goes back to Mochica times, according to the material on display in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera." Numerous vases with representation of owls associated with what seem to be cadavers are extant.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FUNERAL

When a person succumbs, there are a number of things to be done at once, and the relatives and *compadres* of the deceased gather at the house to assist. Death is announced by tolling the *doble* from the bells of the church—two short strokes together, repeated over and over for about an hour. Small

boys do this without pay. The word runs about the town and countryside that so-and-so has died, and those who feel obligated or wish to help gather at the house. The body must be laid out. It is usually not bathed completely, but the face, feet, and hands are washed. It is laid on a wooden table in one of the interior rooms of the house, on its back, either dressed or wrapped in a blanket, feet together, hands folded on chest, a white cloth over the face. A small cross made of carrizo is placed upright in the folded fingers of the hands. Embalming is not practiced in Moche, and by law the dead must be entombed within 24 hours after death. Next, word must be sent to Don T., one of the local carpenters who specializes in coffins and funeral trappings. He has a supply of black hangings and coffin ornaments. A good coffin in Moche costs about 80 soles. They can be had as cheap as 30 soles. Don T. acts as funeral director, and usually appears in a fresh white ill-fitting cotton suit. As soon as the coffin is brought to the house, a few old clothes are placed in the bottom of it, the body is lifted in, and the coffin is set on the table. It is no longer customary to bury all the deceased's belongings with him as in former times. By this time a fairly large group of friends and relatives has gathered for the *velorio* or wake. A black cloth with silver stars on it hangs on the wall at the head of the coffin and eight candles are set up on the table and lighted, one at each corner of the coffin and one in the center of each side. The female attendants have long since begun a monotonous weeping and wailing. There are no professional mourners (*lloronas*) in Moche, but older women who come to wail will be provided with food and drink.

The next thing to plan is that the male relatives and *compadres* organize themselves in a *minga* to dig the grave or to prepare the tomb, if an adobe or cement tomb belongs to the family. The surviving spouse, or responsible head of the deceased's family, has obtained a burial certificate from the Municipalidad (2 soles for adults, 1 sol for children), and will provide food and drink for the gravediggers. The night following the death the *velorio* is held in the house. The guests speak of the character and personality of the dead person and imbibe *chicha* and food. Sometimes the affair becomes rather animated.

THE FUNERAL

Next day at the hour the procession to the cemetery is to take place, the *doble* is tolled once

more for about an hour. If it is a first-class funeral, a coffin and hearse from Trujillo will be involved, and the padre will accompany the procession to the cemetery. If it is a second-class funeral, the coffin will be carried by relatives and ceremonial kinsmen of the deceased. In a second-class funeral the priest, accompanied by a cantor to sing the responses and an altar boy with a censor and a portable holy water font, comes to the house at the appointed time. He anoints the body with holy water dipped from the font with a small wand. He repeats the Latin of the service and the cantor intones the responses. During the whole ceremony the wailing of the women continues, so that the words of the service are usually inaudible. It is bad form for the male mourners to wail; if the dead person is a close relative a man may allow tears to run down his cheeks, but he does not "carry on" as do the women.

The religious service in the house lasts about 10 minutes, after which the padre and his assistants precipitously leave. Then the coffin is lifted to the shoulders of the bearers—usually only four at a time—and they carry it out of the house and up the street, around the plaza to the door of the church, followed by the mourners and those attracted by curiosity. The general wailing ceases when the coffin leaves the house. Frequently there is quite a wait for the priest to come out of his dwelling. During the whole time the sorrowful tolling of the *doble* continues. Finally the padre appears, the right half of the church door is opened, and he reads, book in hand, a few words over the coffin. During the whole time the box has not touched the ground. Then the procession starts off down the street for the long walk to the cemetery. If the person is of ordinary good reputation, there may be a crowd of 150 or more persons. Some people wear their better clothes, others only workaday garments. The older women wear black shawls around their shoulders (nothing on their heads). The cross which will be set up at the head of the grave is carried by relays of small boys at the head of the coffin. It is a wooden cross, painted black; on the upright arm is painted the date of death, and on the cross arm the name of the deceased. Four dots at each point complete the ornament. Various men, relatives and *compadres*, alternate as bearers of the coffin.

In these processions, humble and quiet, one is struck by the humility of manner, a certain stoicism in the face of death, and a lack of expressed emotion,

especially by the men. They are simple people following the coffin of one of their companions in life to its final resting place. To be sure, there is usually at least one female relative who keeps up a ritual wailing: "*Mamacita, ay-y-y, q'he perdido mi mamacita,*" or "*Papacita, porque te has ido?*"—a sorrowful phrase repeated over and over again.

At the graveside there is no ceremony, but there is considerable delay while the carpenter removes all the silver and tin *adornos* from the coffin. These usually include a metal crucifix on the top, an embossed tin plate on the side reading, "*Descansas en Paz,*" and 14 or 15 embossed tin plates of angels, doves, and stars, and silver-looking handles on the sides. These are used on other coffins, ad infinitum. This task completed, the coffin is lowered into the grave. Two men stand inside the grave and receive it from the bearers. They cross themselves, set the box on the bottom of the hole, and, with a hand offered from someone along the margin, hoist themselves out. Then everyone moves up and tries to cast a handful of dirt on the coffin from the two piles lying on either side of the excavation. After a few minutes the *compadres* get to work with their shovels and the humble people straggle out of the Campo Santo, which the priest did not visit. Some families have adobe or cement vaults above ground, so that the grave digging part of the sequence is not necessary. The older vaults are in disrepair, with not a few loose bones scattered about. (See pls. 25, *lower (right)*; 26, *center, upper and lower (right)*, *lower (left)*, for pictures of funeral and cemetery.)

AFTER DEATH

Survivors who can afford it usually pay for a mass in the church on the eighth day following death. There are few who pay for masses at regular intervals thereafter, although some do.

On the eve of All Souls' Day, November 1, the survivors of the dead gather in the cemetery at the respective graves to hold a *velorio*. Wreaths of flowers are placed on the graves, candles are set up, and the night is spent in eating, drinking, and recalling the virtues of the departed. Although souls are supposed to go to purgatory after death, in accord with Catholic doctrine, not a few of the Mocheros entertain somewhat hazy beliefs in the persistence of the soul in the neighborhood after death. The house is cleaned out, the walls brushed down or white-washed, and the intimate articles of the deceased

washed or destroyed. Frequently dogs bark inexplicably in the night, a sign that the ghost is returning to its former habitation. Persons out in the dark are

occasionally troubled by whisperings, nudgings, and odd sounds, which are attributed to the disembodied spirits still extant in the neighborhood.

THE CULTURAL POSITION OF MOCHE

THE CONCEPT OF THE CREOLE CULTURE

There is a romantic appeal in considering Moche a living museum of the ancient culture of the Mochicas, a culture which was developed in this very region and which, as we have seen, came to an end, according to the most conservative estimates, not less than 900 years ago. It is true that Moche, like every other healthy society, is not a static structure as of today only. Its culture is in part the product of its history. If we consider the historical aspects, the past, we are at once convinced that the present-day culture of Moche is a composite, a conglomerate or fabric, as you wish, composed of elements derived from many sources, some of them now almost unrecognizable. And among the contributions out of the past, those of the Mochicas are undoubtedly of considerable importance.

However, if Moche's culture is a product of its history, it is no less the foundation of its future. It seems that we shall be more realistic if we regard Moche, not as a survival from antiquity, but as one of the seedbeds from which is growing the new Pan-Peruvian or Creole culture, the culture of today and tomorrow, which characterizes a nation of living human beings seeking and finding a place in the world community. I submit that, taken as a whole, the mode and organization of life in Moche at present is more characteristic of this new synthesis than of any of its ancestral sources in their functioning forms.

I do not believe that we are jousting with straw men when we say that one of the reasons for the failure of North Americans to understand completely the Latin Americans is our failure to recognize or identify properly the cultures of Latin America as cultures in their own right. Our tendency and that of most Europeans has been to identify the modern way of life either with some indigenous configuration or with European civilization in one or other of its European national traditions. We have persisted in seeing the Latin Americans either as latter-day Indians with an impoverished native culture or as tainted Iberians fumbling with the traditions of Spain and Portugal. It is as if, since an "angel food" cake contains appreciable amounts both of eggs and of sugar, we should refuse to recognize it as an angel

food cake, but insist on considering it either an omelet or a chunk of candy.

The new culture, for want of a better name, may be called Creole (*criollo*). Since the early days of the colonization, this term has signified a mode of life and a type of person of Spanish antecedents, in part, but developed in and as a product of the New World. It seems to be a better term to apply to culture than the word "Mestizo," which implies racial mixture. Although genetic hybridization has everywhere paralleled the development of the Creole culture, it is not a necessary cause for the latter, and the use of the term "Mestizo" tends to confuse biological and cultural processes. At present, some pure Indians on the one hand and some pure whites on the other hand, as well as most Mestizos, participate in the development and performance of the Creole culture, and there is no reason to believe that biological mixture does or will proceed at the same rate as cultural mixture and development. In fact, most of the indications are that the Creole culture, at the present time, is growing toward an integrated configuration more rapidly than the Mestizo race.

The Creole cultures of Spanish America (leaving Brazil out of consideration for the moment) have a common general framework and a common tone which enables them to be spoken of collectively as *the* Creole culture and to be compared with *the* North American culture, for example. The similarities in the cultures are apparently due to the Spanish elements which are common to their composition and which were involved in their development during three centuries or so under Spanish Colonial control. Thus all are nominally Catholic and many of the details of content and organization are those of Iberian Catholicism as distinguished from the North European type. Of course, the Spanish language itself with sundry modifications has become part of the Creole culture. Ideologically, the Creole culture is humanistic, rather than puritanical, if such a contrast is permissible. Intellectually, it is characterized by logic and dialectics, rather than by empiricism and pragmatics; the word is valued more highly than the thing; the manipulation of symbols (as in argument) is more culti-

vated than the manipulation of natural forces and objects (as in mechanics). Patterns of medieval and 16th century mysticism are strong in the culture, and these patterns show no inconsistency with those of argumentation, for, as with the medieval scholastics, the worth of the logic lies in the manipulation of concepts, not in the empirical investigation of premises. It is partly for this reason, I believe, that ideas have been more readily accepted as part of the content of the Creole culture than artifacts and their associated techniques. The use of modern medical words and the manipulation of verbal legal concepts, even in Moche, for example, are more advanced than the "practical" techniques associated with them in certain other cultures. If we were to analyze the intellectual content of Creole culture as a whole, we would find a vast variety of ideas, derived from numerous sources—ideas from the Enlightenment, from the French and American Revolutions, and, more recently, from Marxism, etc. The content of the ideas themselves is in many cases not Spanish, but the patterns of argumentation probably represent heritages from Spain. In the more mundane level of life, we see other Spanish or Spanish Colonial patterns fixed in the Creole culture—for example, in town planning (the "plaza plan" rather than the "main street" plan), in family organization (official male dominance, double standard, and patterns of ceremonial kinship), in the preeminence of the ox and the ass as traction and transport animals, in certain features of domestic architecture (e.g., the "patio" or courtyard in some form; the barred window; the house front flush with the sidewalk, and the absence of "front yard"), in the broad-brimmed hat either of felt or straw, in the use of a cloth head covering by women (mantilla, head shawl, decorative towel, etc.), in the preference for the one-handled plow in agriculture, in concepts of "personal honor" and emphasis upon form in interpersonal relations, in certain political statuses still persisting from the colonial system, in the patterns of Roman law, etc.

It should be clear that these remarks are not to be taken as a substitute for a formal analysis of the Creole culture, a task which is beyond the limits of this monograph. But they are intended to suggest that Creole culture is a synthesis of elements drawn from various sources and that the Spanish stamp gives to this general mode of a life a certain external uniformity, at least.

Although the Creole culture is to be found in all nations of Spanish America, its areal, regional, and

local forms vary and are distinguishable among themselves. This seems to be primarily because the natural environments of the various regions and localities differ among themselves and, even more important perhaps, because the indigenous components of the regional Creole cultures derive from aboriginally distinct configurations. Thus it is, that the Creole cultures of Guatemala and Peru, for example, while sharing a common set of Iberian elements, are nonetheless distinguishable, because the one contains many patterns of Maya origin while the other is colored by its Inca heritage. And within each such area of Creole culture one recognizes present subconfigurations associated respectively with regions and localities. Thus, although the Inca culture of the Empire covered both the coast and the highland of Peru, one recognizes a Creole culture of the coast and of the highland at the present day. On the coast, again, it is possible to distinguish local differences between Moche, for example, and Cañete.

Added to these two historical components, the Creole culture since Independence and, particularly during the present century, has received increasing increments in the form of patterns contributed by the cultures of North America and northern Europe—from the mechanical, industrial, empirical, Protestant, democratic, secular phases of Western Civilization—which Spanish culture was incapable of transmitting or which Spanish policy endeavored to bar from the New World.

In Peru at the present time it is probably correct to say that there are two types of cultures, generally speaking: the Republican Native cultures and the Creole cultures. I use the term "Republican Native culture" in the sense in which Kubler speaks of the Republican Quechua.⁶⁵ These cultures, of which the most prominent are those of certain Quechua- and Aymara-speaking groups of the highlands, but which also include various native groups of the Montaña, are not aboriginal as they were before the Conquest. Each has absorbed elements from Western Civilization (if nothing more than dependence on certain types of trade goods, such as factory-made cloth among the Campa of the Montaña, for instance), and the organization of each of these "native" cultures has been affected by the impact of European political and social controls, either directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, the Republican Native cultures are still predominantly indigenous both in content and in

⁶⁵ Kubler (1946); this culture is described by Mishkin (1946).

emphasis. Although there is not space to demonstrate this fact in the present paper, it may be appreciated by consultation of published sources (e. g., Kubler, 1946; Tschopik, 1946; Mishkin, 1946). In Peru it is generally recognized by the public that an individual has ceased to practice a Native culture when he no longer lives in a tribe or communally organized group (ayllu, etc.), no longer wears a "native" costume, and when he no longer speaks some indigenous language either exclusively or as his primary language. These are the generally recognized status marks, although, like all symbols, they suggest rather than describe the differences between the cultures which they represent.

The Creole culture in general (ignoring for the moment its regional and local subtypes) is still in process of consolidation. The society which it serves is a class society and the Creole culture manifests itself in various forms that are related to the various categories of the society, as well as in geographical peculiarities. Thus, many members of the "sophisticated," "cosmopolitan" set in Lima might perhaps at first deny any Creole content in their culture, for much of their prestige depends upon their having assimilated the manners and mode of life of such "cultural centers" as New York or Paris. Yet, it is probable that a careful study would reveal the presence in the higher social strata of certain cultural common denominators of the Creole culture of Peru, and that this will become a matter of local pride. For our hypothesis is that the Creole culture, which may some day justly be called Peruvian culture, is not a servile copying of either foreign or indigenous models, but a new and vigorous expression of national life. This is what is actually meant by the word *Peruanidad*, in addition to its purely nationalistic and political significance. The Peruvian Creole culture is a new synthesis. If it is still in process of integration, it is nevertheless the framework of the future; if it is not yet universal to all citizens of the nation, the chances are that, in one form or another, it will be. It is at least a tenable hypothesis that both the present Republican Native cultures and such importations from abroad as still persist in the country will eventually either be absorbed by the Creole culture or be crowded out of national life.

Moche is merely a case in point. A generation ago it apparently was classifiable as a Native culture, more indigenous than Creole. But by 1944 it had swung over to the other side of the line; it is now more Creole than Native. The same change is

taking place every year—subtly, slowly, almost imperceptibly, to be sure—in scores of Peruvian communities throughout the coast and the Sierra, and even in the *Montaña* (e. g., Tingo María, Pucallpa, Pantoja, etc.).

A number of "movements" have arisen whose object has been to halt this trend of creolization and whose publicity has occasionally confused the foreign observer. Thus, "Indigenismo" believes that the real future of the bulk of Peruvians lies in strengthening and preserving the Republican Native cultures and even in fortifying the indigenous elements thereof. The proponents of *Hispanismo* see the true cultural future of Peru in a return to the fundamentals of classic Spanish culture.⁶⁷ And the partisans of "Modernismo" would do away with indigenous and colonial elements alike, and convert Peru into a Spanish-speaking United States (or a Spanish-speaking version of some European country of their predilection).

It is doubtful that any of these movements will ever completely attain its objective in the sense that any particular set of cultural elements for which the proponents respectively argue will become exclusive in the culture of Peru. But, if they will examine the emerging Creole culture, they will see that something from each of their favorite cultures has been woven into the fabric of Peruvian life.

To turn once again to Moche, it is clear that the Mocheros conform to the common Peruvian definition of a Creole: they have no tribe or organized community, they wear European clothing (except for a few old women), and they speak Spanish exclusively. The style of their clothing and the style of their life may be somewhat "quaint," but they are fundamentally neither aboriginal nor foreign. Yet the indigenous elements, often in modified form, are numerous.

If we attempt to sort out the elements of Moche culture which seem to be derived from indigenous sources, most of those in actual function at the present day appear to be referable to a "Pan-Peruvian" indigenous base rather than specifically to discrete cultures of antiquity known from the chronicles and from archeology. This conclusion must be qualified by the admission that historical and archeological records are too incomplete to permit a more precise tracing of aboriginal antecedents in many cases. Also, we must

⁶⁷ The late Dr. José de la Riva-Agüero was a leading exponent of this point of view in some of his historical writings. See particularly the essays, "En el día de la raza" and "Algunas reflexiones sobre la época española en el Perú" (Riva-Agüero, 1938).

acknowledge the general leveling and diffusing influence of the Inca conquest which rubbed out and blurred numerous items of local origin and which had the effect of transforming many cultural features of formerly restricted distribution into "Pan-Peruvian" or "Inca" elements of culture.

MOCHICA ELEMENTS

We may briefly compare the present culture of Moche with that of the Mochicas as we know it from the archeological record. Certain of the basic ways of life current at the present time were undoubtedly characteristic of Mochica culture as well. It seems to me, however, that this merely shows that certain patterns date back to Mochica times (say 1000 A.D.) in this region. Most of them are general to those parts of the coast where they are environmentally suitable, and it is difficult to prove a persistence to modern Moche of the really distinctive features of Mochica culture, features which would lead us to see Moche as a community more "Mochica" in character than other communities.

Then, as now, irrigated agriculture, on the one hand, and fishing, on the other hand, provided the economic bases of life and presumably formed the central core of interests of the society. Some of the irrigation ditches built by the Mochicas, for example, the Mochica, are still in use. Although in the Moche *campiña* the present water gates and dams are of modern construction, the straight ditches, the system of *pozos*, and the meandering ditches (*surcos de caracol*) of Mochica times are still employed.

How does a modern Mochero resemble, in his mode of life, the ancient Mochica? He lives in a house of adobe with a dirt floor, supported by an unsawed wooden framework similar to Mochica. Although the majority of roofs are now low-sloped, they are still made of mud plastered over a framework of cane and *estera* (p. 37). Pitched roofs occur (pl. 12, *upper (left)*), and the use of an inclined roof of *estera* matting as a sunshade is quite common. Open work in the house walls below the roof (pls. 11, *upper (right)*; 12, *lower (left)*) seems to come down from Mochica times, as well as the half wall and broken wall of plastered adobe (pl. 11, *middle (right)*).

Our Moche friend rarely eats a meal without boiled green corn (*choclo*) and yuca, which were two of the stand-bys of the Mochicas. In his field or garden he cultivates the following plants, which were also cultivated by the Mochicas:⁶⁸ Maize (*Zea mays*),

chirimoyo (*Annona cherimola*), guanábana (*Annona muricata*), palta (*Persea americana*), beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), pallares (*Phaseolus lunatus*), peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), paca or guaba (*Inga feuillei*), yuca (*Manihot utilissima*), cotton (semiwild brown cotton is the only type occurring at present in Moche), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guayaba, red and white (*Psidium guajava*), lúcuma (*Lucuma obovata*), camote or sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*), *aji* pepper (*Capsicum annuum*), small wild tomato which grows half wild around the edges of fields (*Solanum lycopersicum*), potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), although not much cultivated in Moche at present, caigua (*Cyclanthera pedata*), three kinds of pepino (*Solanum muricatum*), zapallo of several varieties (*Cucurbita maxima*), and gourds of various kinds. Coca is not grown here at present, but according to Stiglich,⁶⁹ was so grown in the 1890's, and it is chewed by modern Mocheros occasionally and on special occasions.

Of course, our Moche friend also cultivates a long series of subsequently introduced plants, but those mentioned above have come to him from the Mochicas. He uses a modern broad-bladed iron spade for cultivating his fields, but the technique seems to be the same as that employed by the Mochicas with their narrow-bladed copper and bronze spades or metal-tipped digging sticks. Corn is still hilled up (with the spade) by hand, even by many farmers who own plows and oxen. The hooked knife or "calabazo" (pl. 5, *lower (right)*; 6, *center*) also was possibly a Mochica tool.⁷⁰

Our Mochero usually eats his food and drinks his *chicha* from containers made of gourds in various shapes, and with a whittled spoon of wood. Gourd containers, *chicha*, spoon are all Mochica traits. He usually has a good many items on his menu which the ancient Mochicas never heard of, such as rice, coffee, beef, pork, chicken, but a considerable part of his food was also known to the Mochicas. His wife cooks the food in earthen pots, which, to be sure, are no longer made in Moche, but acquired in the market from other Indian potters; but this appears to be a survival of a Mochica, or at least an Indian, custom, because metal and china vessels could be easily, and just about as cheaply, obtained. She still prepares *aji* and green corn kernels on the *batán* and

⁶⁸ Stiglich, 1922, p. 688: "Desde el año 1891 ha comenzado la prosperidad de este valle donde sólo se cultivaba coca y fruta. La coca siempre es llevada á Trujillo por arrieros."

⁷⁰ Several specimens of copper exist in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" which are surely pre-Conquest, but may be Chimu.

⁶⁸ See Larco Hoyle, ms. b, for plants cultivated by Mochicas.

mano (grinding stones) and also uses the mortar and pestle of stone. Although the *batán* is now a simple, flat-topped grinding stone (without the rim of Mochica times), the persistence of the custom is worth noting. Although the common adobe stove is probably a later elaboration, faggots and manure (in Mochica times, presumably llama manure) are still used for fuel in place of newfangled possibilities, such as kerosene. Likewise, the fireplace of three or four stones on the ground is not uncommon (pl. 14, *lower (left)*), although such arrangements were found also in the Sierra.

Fish as a prominent article of diet in Moche seems to be derived from the Mochica ancestors. Although *seviche* (raw fish prepared with lemon or lime juice) in its present form could not have been a Mochica preparation (for lack of limes and lemons), it is entirely probable that raw fish was eaten in some form anciently and that its present prominence is a carry-over. (At present, in the absence of citrus juices, *seviche* is prepared with *chicha* vinegar.) All deep-sea fish seemingly caught by the Mochicas are fished today and eaten. Of special notice is the still prominent use of shrimps and crabs, by no means common to all fish-eating peoples, even on this coast. The practice of sucking the meat out of the shell of the *muy-muy*, or sea shrimp, seems to be illustrated in several Mochica ceramic paintings. Likewise, the use of this shrimp as bait on hooks may well be a Mochica survival.

Although nothing definite is known of the nets used for fishing by the Mochicas, it is probable that the *chinchorro* type of net was used for sea fishing. Something very similar seems to have been used on land for hunting deer, as illustrated in painting on specimen No. 2054 in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera." The use of a globular-shaped gourd as float on the *espindel* (setline) and also as floats on the *chinchorro*, seems to have been a definite Mochica trait (Larco Hoyle, ms. c, ch. 10), likewise the use of large hooks without barbs,⁷¹ although in modern times they are made of iron and imported. The Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" possesses a large collection of Mochica wooden objects very similar to the netting needles now in use, although without the "eye" and "hook."

The eating of lizards and iguanas seems also to have been a Mochica trait (Larco Hoyle, ms. c, ch. 10), as well as the *tatora*-roll trap still used.

The use of gourds (*potos*), not only for drinking and serving *chicha*, but as dishes (*mates*) and bottles, seems to be a well-established Mochica trait. Even younger persons at present claim that the *chicha* tastes better when drunk from a *foto*. The decoration of gourd containers by incisions and fire is practically lost in Moche at present, but is maintained in Monsefú, although new techniques involving acids and inks have also been introduced.

The Mochero prefers to sleep on a mat of *tatora* (*estera*); and he uses mats of *carrizo* (*petates*) for sitting on the dirt floor, as roofing for his arbor and even for the houses, and as temporary partitions. The use of these materials, the techniques of manufacture, and the customary uses of the finished article all go back to the Mochicas.

In the field of dress and ornament the Mochero preserves little from his Mochica ancestors. The preference, often shown and put into practice, for going barefoot may well be a survival from the barefoot Mochica culture. The piercing of women's ears and the wearing of long earrings⁷² were present among the Mochicas, but the earrings themselves show little influence in detail on the designs current in Moche today.

Spinning of cotton and weaving of coarse cotton cloth (*bayeta*) are almost extinct in Moche today, but were fairly common until recently. Older women still spin the yarn of *algodón pardo* (brown cotton) which they work into their hairdress, and one doubtful case of full-scale weaving is reported, although I have not seen the loom. The northern village of Monsefú maintains weaving in a well-developed state. The belt loom and the calabash-whorled spindle could be derived, in form, either from Mochica or Sierra cultures.

The binding of babies' arms to their sides may be a Mochica trait, although in the ancient culture it was combined with a cradle of *carrizo*.⁷³ The scene involving a baby sitting upright on its mother's lap and nursing from her breast hanging over the upper border of her blouse or dress, as illustrated in specimen No. 1054 of the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera," for example, is frequently seen in present-day Moche.

⁷² Illustrated, for example, is specimen No. 30737 in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera"; the piercing of women's ears and the use of earrings were not customary among the Inca, according to Rowe (1946).

⁷³ Actual cradles and clay models (e. g., No. R-4400) of children bound onto cradleboards exist in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera."

⁷¹ A large collection, unnumbered, exists in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera."

Until recently, wooden combs of the Mochica type were in current use in Moche, and the use of cactus spines as thread picks, etc., is still fairly common.

Probably a good many features of modern *curandismo* and *brujería* go back to Mochica times, although later elements have obviously been grafted onto said base. In the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera" is a modeled vase (No. 340) apparently depicting a curandero massaging the body of a child, as in the modern cure of *susto*. The spiny-backed shells (*Spondylus pictorum*) of the mesa de *brujería* are found in large quantities in Mochica deposits. Among other herbs used at the present time, Larco Hoyle has identified in the Mochica culture various varieties of cactus, ashango, maichil, habilla. Doubtless, much of the philosophy of curative magic in Moche comes down from the Mochicas. On the other hand, the Mochica surgical techniques seem to have been lost.

The art of making *tapias* and something very similar to *quincha* walls are also Mochica traits. Panpipes, used infrequently in Moche today, and still occasionally made there, were used also in Mochica times. (Vase No. J-356 in the Museo Arqueológico "Rafael Larco Herrera.")

The considerable art talent (most of it uninstructed) which appears in Moche may possibly be a vague inheritance of the more than ordinary talent so successfully exhibited by the Mochicas, although at the present time the forms and the media have changed completely. Interest in depictions of the human face, however, still survives.

Although it is possible that further investigation of the two cultures would reveal a few further similarities between the ancient Mochicas and the modern Mocheros, the review just made of Mochica survivals in Moche is sufficient to indicate, perhaps, that a considerable part of the cultural equipment and customs of the modern community were at least present in the Mochica culture.

LATER ELEMENTS

But we should not fall into the romantic error of seeing modern Moche as an unmodified survivor of Mochica culture. So far as we can tell, for all its similarities, life in Moche today is very much different from that in the same region under the sway of the Mochicas. A few of the aspects of Mochica life which have disappeared are mentioned below.

The archeological documents speak eloquently of an elaborately developed religion, centering about a supreme deity of feline cast, who appears in various incarnations, according to Larco Hoyle's material. Associated with this was a large amount of material equipment in the form of temples, adoratorios, priestly costumes, and the like. Nothing of this remains today, except possibly certain "primitive" elements in religious thinking and beliefs. All of the old-time religion has been superseded by or absorbed into the local version of Catholicism. The image cult in modern Moche Catholicism may well be supported by an age-old symbolic pattern of reverence for images, but image cults are so common in rural Latin American Catholicism⁷⁴ that the image cult in Moche cannot be regarded as a specific Mochica survival.

Likewise, all formal governmental patterns of Mochica times have disappeared,⁷⁵ and, apparently also, practically all of the social organization, both of graded and kinship types, which, by inference, probably existed formerly. War patterns and artifacts have likewise passed out of the picture. The elaborate and differentiated costumes and headdresses, functionally connected with the religion and the social organization of the Mochicas, have left hardly an echo in Moche. Practically all of the industries and handicrafts of the Mochicas have disappeared, including pottery making, metalworking, weaving (with exception of traces noted above), and wood, stone, and bone working. Burial customs are overlaid with traditions from other cultures. Houses now, in the majority, are Spanish colonial design, despite the Mochica traces noted previously. The llama has disappeared, as well as the use of the tump-line as an aid to human transport. Although the Mochica underlying base is still visible, life has changed in Moche during the last 900 years. And this is as we should expect.

To sum up, Moche still preserves a general orientation of the common man's life and activities, derived possibly from the Mochica civilization. But Moche is not Mochica. It is a composite culture. It is a culture which has passed through numerous periods of change, and one which is undergoing at present probably the heaviest pressure for change in its entire history.

⁷⁴ Little difference is found in Guatemala. See Gillin (Ms.).

⁷⁵ For succinct summaries of Mochica culture, see Larco Hoyle (1946).

TIAHUANACOID AND CHIMU ELEMENTS

It is difficult to place one's finger precisely on elements of contemporary culture which may have been derived from the period of Tiahuanacoid influence revealed in the archeological record. The only trait which stands out clearly is the small balsa, or *caballito del mar*, which, because of its similarity to certain types of reed balsas used on Lake Titicaca, may possibly have been introduced to the coast through Tiahuanaco influence.

The culture of the Chimu which dominated the region until well into the 15th century when the Kingdom of the Grand Chimu was conquered by the Inca was apparently in part glossed over by Inca culture and in part absorbed into what is now known as the culture of the Empire. At all events, the present Moche culture shows little exclusive either to the material culture of the Chimu (as revealed in the numerous museum collections and the nearby ruins, such as those of Chanchan) or of the social, political, and religious culture (as described by Calancha (1638) and other chroniclers). Traditions and lore current under the Chimu seem to have persisted into modern times in the region of Lambayeque (Barandarián, n. d.), but nothing significant of this sort remains in Moche.

SIERRA INFLUENCES

Not a few elements of culture in Moche seem to be ultimately derived from the Sierra. Although most of them were probably remolded and worked over by the Inca culture during the all-pervading dominion of the Empire, some of them doubtless antedate the Inca Empire and even the spread of the Quechua language. It is clear from the archeological material that the coastal region was in contact with the Sierra even during Mochica times, and contacts of one sort or another between the two areas have continued to the present. We lack the information to be able to say with certainty in many cases exactly when a given element was introduced from the Sierra to the coast, and therefore shall merely mention a number of traits seemingly originating in the Sierra. Identification of certain traits is admittedly tentative.

The practice of having an assistant to break the clods turned over in plowing suggests the similar practice in the Sierra (even though the plow itself is animal-drawn in Moche), as well as the *minga* system of work sharing. The cloth saddlebag (*alforja*) is probably derived originally from pack bags used with

llamas in the Sierra. Except for maize, the indigenous crops grown in Moche are not those characteristic of the Sierra, because of the environmental factor, but in the diet a few Sierra products, obtained in trade, are eaten when available. *Chicha* is, of course, characteristic of the Sierra, but it was probably also known on the coast during Mochica times, and I have no definite information concerning the region of its origin. Among Sierra food products are "Sierra lentils" (*lentajas de la Sierra*), white potatoes, wheat, chochoca, hams, quinoa, ullucos, guinea pigs. On the whole, however, it does not appear that Sierra elements have entered into either the agriculture or the diet to a large extent. The occasional use of coca is apparently a trait derived ultimately from the Sierra.

In women's costume of the "old" type there are a few suggestions of Sierra influence: the woolen cloth itself is imported from the Sierra or (in former times) woven from imported Sierra wool, and it seems probable that the wrap-around skirt, the rebozo, and the woven belt supporting the skirt are Sierra styles, although their present form was not characteristic in all details of the female costume of the Inca Empire (cf. Rowe, 1946).

The influence of the Quechua language in place and family names is very strong, and seems to have submerged almost completely Mochica or Chimu toponymy and patronymy which may have been present formerly. We have already seen that the word Moche itself may be a corrupted Quechua word. Many Quechua words are in common use, just as they are in the general Spanish of Peru: *huaca*, *chacra*, *minga*, and the like. Place names are divided between Quechua, possible coastal languages, and Spanish. For example, *Güerequeque* (an irrigation ditch) is Quechua, *Sun* and *Choc Choc*, possibly coastal, while *Esperanza*, *Los Muertos*, etc., are Spanish. Nearly 20 percent of the 44 family names studied (p. 102) are definitely Quechua, while one other may be Aymara. In all names, either of places or people, however, Spanish predominates.

The celebration of the child's first haircut and first nail cutting was a standard feature of the Inca culture (Rowe, 1946). In Moche this ceremony has been made into two, they have been robbed of their name-giving function, and the child's uncle has been displaced by a *padrino* as sponsor.

The ultimate sources of the many native elements in *brujería* and magical curing may never be known. It seems not improbable, however, that most of those now identifiable in Moche derive immediately from

the generalized "Inca" culture present in this region at the time of the Spanish Conquest, and several elements seem to have been current in the Sierra during the Empire. The practice of *brujería* itself, both in "good" and "bad" forms, was well established in the Empire. With the exception of articles previously noted as having been used by the Mochicas, the bulk of the curative herbs and objects seems to have been derived from the Sierra. All non-Spanish names for such articles are Quechua, which would possibly indicate that, whatever their ultimate source, they had been taken into the Inca system. Many individual items used are also to be found in Inca practices, e. g., white maize and white maize meal for purifying, numerous herbal remedies and terms, sacred stones from the huacas, etc. Certain forms of sickness seem to have been similarly recognized in the Inca configuration, especially *susto* and *mal aire*.⁷⁶ The concept of soul loss involved in *susto* is probably aboriginal. The practice of evil witchcraft through the employment of homeopathic magic on dolls and images of the victim was current in Europe, but was also definitely practiced among the Inca. The use of amulets for protection against evil influences seems to derive more from the native pattern than from Europe.

Relatively few, if any, specifically identifiable Inca traits are to be found in Moche Catholicism. However, it is probably no accident that the official religion now, as in Inca times, combines worship with features of social relaxation and merrymaking. It appears that about the middle of the 17th century, the church took a more tolerant attitude toward such features as well as to the parallel persistence of "native superstitions," provided they did not violate the doctrinal definition of heresy (Kubler, 1946).

Several remnants of Inca belief seem to survive in the notions of death. For example, the owl was a harbinger of death among the Inca as it is among the Mocheos, and the presence or songs of a number of other birds were regarded as evil omens among the Inca, as in Moche today (Rowe, 1946). The alcoholic and gustatory features of the wake (*velorio*) in Moche remind one of similar practices among the Inca. The wake in the cemetery on the eve of All Souls' Day recalls the interest in the dead manifested in Inca times and nearly coincides with a special ceremony for the dead said by some authori-

ties to have occurred at this time in the Inca calendar. The lazy beliefs in ghosts and spirits of the dead may be influenced by the Inca tradition, or, on the other hand, may also derive from European folk belief.

Many of the "Inca" elements also had their parallels in the Spanish culture of the Conquest, and their presence in Moche may indicate a Creole consolidation of these parallel traits.

EUROPEAN ELEMENTS

A complete recapitulation of the European elements in Moche culture will not be attempted in this place, because a reading of the descriptive material of the text will make these sufficiently clear to the modern reader.

However, one point is to be borne in mind in considering the European components of Creole cultures. These components have come from two European or Western contexts, generally speaking: Spain of the Colonial Period and modern Western Civilization. The first type of European cultural element is usually numerous and has an important influence in the coloration and orientation of Creole culture, especially in its rural or peasant phases. Much of the impression of "quaintness" which a modern North American or North European receives from the Creole culture is, I believe, to be explained by the presence of these Colonial Spanish aspects of behavior and belief, with which such an observer is usually quite unfamiliar.

It must be remembered that the Renaissance and the Enlightenment reached Spain much later than other nations of western Europe, and that their Spanish forms were somewhat attenuated when they finally appeared. The Reformation, of course, made no headway in Spain, and modern mercantilism and capitalism have not become dominant influences in Spanish culture even today. In short, the medieval, feudal, Catholic cast of European culture persisted in Spain during most of the Colonial Period in Peru. Furthermore, the monopolistic and restrictive policy followed by the Crown with respect to the Viceroyalty of Peru prohibited the export to the colony of many of the innovations and "modernisms" which finally did take root in the culture of the "mother country." The result is that for nearly 300 years the emerging Creole cultures of the colonies were on the receiving end of a steady inflow of European culture patterns funneled out of Spain, but the funnel, we might say, was equipped with several strainers which

⁷⁶The belief that sickness is caused by "bad air" was, of course, also present in European culture, and can be traced back at least to the time of the Greeks.

served to select only certain elements for transmission to the New World. Spain itself rejected much of the newly developing modern culture of the rest of western Europe, and its official policy restrained the flow to the colonies. Thus it is that the European elements absorbed into the Creole culture were on the whole more characteristic of 16th century Spain or medieval Europe than of 20th century western Europe and North America. The free chance to borrow from the latter cultural sources came only with Independence after 1821, and, for Peru, has been effective only during the past 30 years or so, at the beginning of which period the opening of the Panama Canal first provided relatively rapid and frequent import of shipments, travelers, mail, and cultural influences in general to Peru from Europe and North America. Succeeding development of air communication and radio reception has placed the Creoles in even closer touch with "modern" European and North American culture, while the development of good highway communications within the country itself has served to diffuse these innovations throughout the Nation.

If we consider those aspects of Moche culture which are derived from European sources, we shall find that they are still dominated and outnumbered by the Spanish culture of the Colonial Period. Let us mention only a few—the ox and the ass, the one-handed plow, domestic and public architecture of the pueblo, the preference for old Spanish weights and measures, the town plan, broad hat, women's modified costume, the Spanish language itself, basic ceremonial kinship system, the basic orientation and most details of Catholicism, practically all of the non-indigenous features of the witchcraft and curing complexes (evil eye, for example), etc. Added to tangible traits of culture is a certain trend toward rustic mysticism and animism—a tendency to believe in supernatural experiences (e.g., those involving pacts with the Devil), to see ghosts and spirits in material things, and to discuss on the basis of unverified premises. These tendencies of thought and attitude were, of course, characteristic in some degree of the aboriginal cultures as well, but they are reinforced by the persistence of the Spanish semimedieval Weltanschauung.

Although traits of modern culture are being rapidly introduced to the Mocheros, few have yet become integrated parts of their culture. The machine, for example, has not yet become an essential part of their life, even though, in the form of autobuses, it is

regarded as a convenience. The mercantile complex, with bookkeeping, credit, stocks of goods, and all the rest of it, has not yet fastened itself on Moche, despite all the trading activity of the women and the fact that they have become thoroughly familiar with money as a medium of exchange. The constant search for novelty has passed the older Mocheros by. Political democracy, either as a complex of concepts or in practice, is little understood.

However, it seems that the younger generation is responding to the presentation of modern culture. Literacy and the use of the written and printed word should be all but universal within another generation. The motion pictures and the radio are beginning to exert their appeal in their own right and also as purveyors of new ideas and usages. Modern styles in clothing and hats are affected by the younger generation. Factory-made cloth and artifacts of metal and glass are universally accepted. They are organizing cultural and community societies to promote "progress." The church is losing some of its influence over private lives and even the laymen's organizations are declining (*hermandades, mayordomías*). An increasing number of both men and women are seeking advanced education and seeking employment either in the professions or as wage earners. Lima is no longer another world, but an actual city which may be visited in reality and in which one may live and seek a living. Modern political arguments are beginning to interest even middle-aged persons. Modern sports (European football and North American basketball) have already become part of the culture of the younger set. The news of the outside world is followed with interest.

In short, Moche is becoming a part of the modern world, and judging by the progress of events in the past, this is taking place at a fairly rapid rate. Moche is now a rural or peasant exhibit of the Creole culture of Peru, and it demonstrates many features of creolization characteristic of the country as a whole.

Although Moche is broadening its contacts and "modernizing" its interests, I do not anticipate that it will ever become completely "modern" in terms of North American small-town life, barring a radical upset in the processes of cultural change and reintegration. I venture to predict that as the Creole culture approaches greater stability and integration it will still embody recognizable traces of its indigenous and Spanish Colonial ancestors, interwoven, worked over, and intermingled with contributions from abroad. The time is already at hand when it is prac-

tically impossible to take any complex of traits from Moche culture, figuratively nail it to the wall, and label it as an unmodified survival or borrowing from any other culture, indigenous or foreign, ancient or modern. The time is doubtless approaching when most of the foreign and indigenous elements will be so firmly imbedded in the Creole matrix as to resist isolation, even for analytical purposes. Their influence will still be felt, however, and the forms and directions of the Creole culture will remain in their debt.

The *forasteros* who live in Moche at the present

time also practice a variety of the Creole culture, although it might be called a provincial urban variety rather than the rustic type of Moche in all its details. The mutual exclusiveness which exists between *forasteros* and *Mocheros*, as previously shown, is not due to any great cultural gulf which separates them, but rather to economic and social factors which have already been discussed. There is good reason to believe that the two groups will eventually be integrated into one community, although this event may take place on a class basis and with further disruption of Moche patterns.

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GLOSSARY

Since practically all Spanish or other non-English words used in the text are defined or synonymized in English at their respective first appearances, only those words which appear repeatedly or those whose sense in Moche differs from that of standard Spanish dictionaries are included in the following list. The glossary is to be regarded primarily as an aid to the reader, and not as final authority for definitions and other matters of linguistic or semantic interest.

Accequia, an irrigation ditch.
Acomodado (a), well off, well-to-do, financially speaking.
Agua bendita, holy water.
Agua de socorro, holy water used to anoint a child who appears to be about to die without baptism in the church.
Aguardiente, strong liquor, usually made from sugarcane.
Aguja, needle, netting needle for making fish nets.
Ahijado, godchild.
Ají, red and yellow pepper plant and fruit.
Albañil, mason, or adobe layer.
Alcalde, mayor, municipal executive officer.
Alforja, a woven saddlebag or shoulder bag.
Algodón pardo, native brown cotton.
Atarraya, casting net.
Baja policía, garbage collector.

Barranca, ravine or gorge; a section of the Moche countryside.
Barrio, a ward or subdivision of a town; does not exist in Moche.
Barro, bar or club of wood for breaking clods.
Barro de hierro, crow-bar of iron.
Bastón, a roll of material; in Huanchaco, a roll of reeds embodied in the reed raft; scepter of image of San Isidro.
Batán, grinding stone.
Batea, carved one-piece wooden vessel used as a container for liquids, for washing clothes, etc.
Bayeta, coarse-woven cloth.
Bocadita, custom whereby a small morsel of food is passed from mouth to mouth.
Botica, drug store or pharmacy.
Botija, large earthenware container for *chicha*, originally imported from Pisco with native brandy.
Brujería, witchcraft.
Caballito del mar, literally, "little horse of the sea," a small cigar-shaped raft made of a species of reed.
Cabecera, "head," as of a fish net.
Cabo de manila, Manila rope.
Cabresta, colloquial for *cabrestante*, capstan, winch; specifically in Moche, the ropes which are tightened around the boards of the wooden forms in making *tapia*.
Cabruto, young goat, kid.

- Cahuán**, dip net for catching shrimp, crabs, etc.
- Caja**, box or hole; in Huanchaco, the place on the reed raft where the operator sits.
- Cajón**, a large box; the wooden form into which *tapia* walls or fences are molded.
- Calabozo**, heavy knife with hooked blade, for cutting brush and weeds.
- Calcal**, fishing net used with reed raft in Huanchaco.
- Callana**, earthenware cooking pot.
- Camal**, slaughterhouse, place where animals are slaughtered; also gunny sack or any large coarse sack made of any material.
- Camaron**, shrimp.
- Campiña**, irrigated countryside as distinguished from the pueblo or town.
- Caña brava**, cane or reed.
- Caña de azúcar**, sugarcane.
- Caña de Guayaquil**, bamboo.
- Cañan**, small lizard, caught for eating in dried form.
- Cañaso**, beverage made of flavored sugarcane alcohol.
- Carretera**, main highway.
- Carrizo**, stiff reed or cane.
- Casado (a)**, person married by church ceremony.
- Casamiento**, marriage formally sanctified by church ceremony.
- Catastro**, property list or register.
- Catedrático**, university professor on permanent appointment, one who occupies a *cátedra* ("chair") in a university faculty.
- Causa**, form of lunch or light meal.
- Cerro**, mountain; Cerro Blanco, Cerro Cuminero ("White Mountain," "Community Mountain"), near Moche.
- Chacra**, agricultural landholding or small farm.
- Chancaca**, unrefined brown cake sugar.
- Chicha**, native fermented alcoholic beverage.
- Chinchorro**, two-man net for fishing in surf.
- Chochoca**, maize flour.
- Choelo**, green corn on the cob; an ear of green corn.
- Cholo**, mixed-blood inhabitant of Peru.
- Choza**, a rustic house.
- Chuno**, a float made of a globular gourd, used on fish lines, and boat lines.
- Chuño**, sprouted maize kernels.
- Cohete**, rocket, firecracker.
- Cojodito**, small globular gourd for drinking *chicha*.
- Colegio**, high school; in Moche refers also to any school, primary grades included.
- Compadrazgo**, co-godparenthood.
- Compromiso**, commitment.
- Copita**, small liquor glass; by extension, a drink.
- Cosecha**, crop or harvest, also called *siembra*.
- Cuadera**, light rope forming part of the setline for fishing.
- Cuarto**, quarter; a quarter-bottle of pisco brandy.
- Cuerda**, cotton three-ply line with hooks forming part of the setline for fishing.
- Culambra**, colloquial, supernatural snake guardian of a garden.
- Curandero (a)**, magical curer, but not a witch (*brujo*).
- Destajo**, task work, job of work to be done.
- Encomienda**, grant of land and Indians in trust to Spanish colonists.
- Enguayanchar**, to bewitch by love magic.
- Espinel**, setline with hooks for fishing in surf.
- Estera**, mat made of reeds tied together in parallel fashion.
- Estiradura**, inguinal hernia.
- Fanegada**, measure of land area, equal to about 3 hectares, or 7.77 acres.
- Forastero**, a stranger; in Moche, a Peruvian who is not native to Moche or who is not culturally identified with Moche.
- Fulano**, "so-and-so" (anonymous personal name).
- Garúa**, drizzle or mist, characteristic of winter season on Peruvian coast.
- Granja**, a poultry or stock-raising enterprise, small scale.
- Hacha**, single-bladed European-type ax.
- Hacienda**, plantation; influence of *haciendas* on culture and social life of Peruvian coast, on Moche.
- Haciendita**, "small hacienda," a land-holding in the District of Moche.
- Hectarea**, hectare, 2.59 acres.
- Helada**, colloquial, a cold night.
- Hermanidad**, semireligious organization of laymen.
- Horea**, wooden pitchfork.
- Huaca**, Quechua, "holy place"; in Moche, the Moche ruins.
- Huanarpo** (*Matropha macrantha*), an aphrodisiac.
- Huangana**, binding for reed raft.
- Huerta**, garden or orchard; in Moche, usually surrounds dwelling house and contains kitchen vegetables and fruit trees.
- Intencionamiento**, process of asking for a woman's hand in marriage.
- Jora**, mash made from sprouted grains of maize.
- Lancha**, motorboat used in fishing.
- Llano**, plain or flat place.
- Machete**, a one handed knife or cutlass for cutting brush and weeds.
- Madrina**, godmother.
- Malero**, literally, "evildoer," usually applied to an evil witch or practitioner of evil witchcraft.
- Mallero**, wooden block used in making fish nets.
- Mano**, hand; grinding stone held in hand; "hand of bananas"; a procedure employed by the assistants in a curing seance of *brujería*.
- Marinera**, a social dance.
- Mate**, large, shallow, platelike gourd container.
- Mayordomía**, a group of laymen organized to celebrate a saint's day or other religious feast day.
- Médico**, scientific physician.
- Médico boliviano**, itinerant herb peddler.
- Melgar**, plot or subdivision of a field, usually for alfalfa.
- Mesa**, table.
- Mesa de brujería**, sort of altar laid out on the ground used in witchcraft cures; by extension, the seance itself.
- Minga**, a voluntary or semivoluntary work group democratically organized and involving recreational features as well as labor; a mechanism for exchanging labor.
- Mochoeros nelos**, real or true inhabitants of Moche, persons identified with the community of Moche.
- Mondongo**, animal intestines eaten as meat.
- Muy-muy**, sea shrimp.
- Nasa**, conical trap of cane for fishing in streams or irrigation ditches.

Novio, fiancé, lover, or suitor.

Ojéo, Moche colloquialism used in place of *mal ojo*, evil eye.

Padrinazgo, godparenthood.

Padrino, godfather.

Palana, shovel or spade; used in agriculture.

Patrón, protector, master; e. g., patron saint, master of a plantation, master of a sailing boat.

Peón, manual laborer or servant, usually an agricultural laborer.

Pescado, fish.

Pescador, fisherman.

Petate, a mat made of flat elements by checkerboard or twill weaving.

Picante, hot seasoning of various types.

Pico, pick-ax, used in agriculture and irrigation.

Pisco, a type of brandy originally made in Pisco, Peru.

Playa, the beach or seashore.

Playero, one who lives on the beach or is identified with that section of the community.

Porongo, long-necked, gourd *chicha* bottle.

Poto, a drinking cup or bowl of gourd.

Poza, puddle, a form of irrigation.

Pozo, water well.

Pueblo, town; the pueblo of Moche.

Quebradura, umbilical hernia in infants.

Quincha, a type of wattle-and-daub wall construction used for houses and fences.

Quirana, binding with which the reeds composing a roll or bundle is bound in the reed raft used for fishing in Huanchaco.

Rastro, garden rake.

Raya, target or mark at which to throw in quoits game.

Rebozo, shawl.

Red, net, for fishing.

Regante, one who irrigates or uses irrigation water.

Remada, outdoor vine arbor.

Revendedoro (a), an individual who makes a business of buying country products and reselling them in the city market.

Saca, sack; in Huanchaco, the crab net or trap.

Sala, sitting room of a house.

Salon, commercial refreshment parlor.

Sancochado (referring to a food preparation), cut up in small pieces and boiled.

Seviche, dish of raw fish prepared in various ways.

Shapingo, familiar spirit, or spiritual messenger and/or servant of an evil *brujo*.

Sorgo, sorghum.

Surco, furrow, types of planting furrows.

Susto, a form of illness believed to be associated with loss of the soul.

Tapia, wall and fence construction of earth laid up in wooden forms.

Tejos, quoits game.

Tienda, retail shop or store.

Tocayo, namesake.

Totora, a wild reed growing in swamps, used for making *estera* mats and fishing rafts (*caballitos del mar*).

Vergüenza, embarrassment or shame.

Vestido, costume, clothing.

Yapa, small good-will extra given by a merchant with a purchase.

Yunta, yoke; by extension, a yoke of oxen.

Yuyu, sea weed, water plant.

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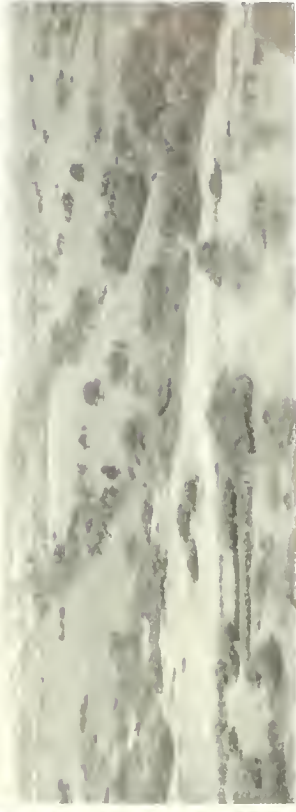
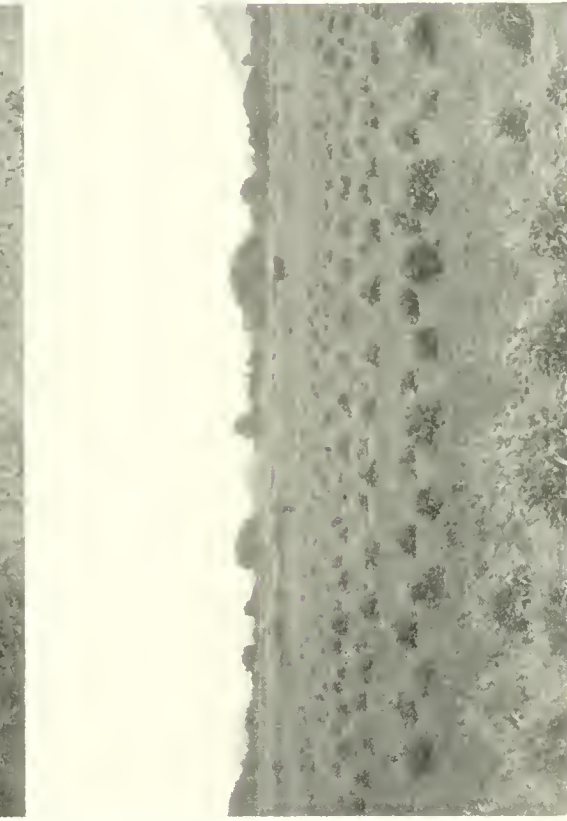


Aerial photograph of Matsuyama, showing the harbor and the town. The dashed line indicates the area shown in Plate 2.





Aerial photograph of the District of Moche, southern part, covering area enclosed by dotted line in plate 1.



THE MOCHE COUNTRY SIDE - CAMPIÑA

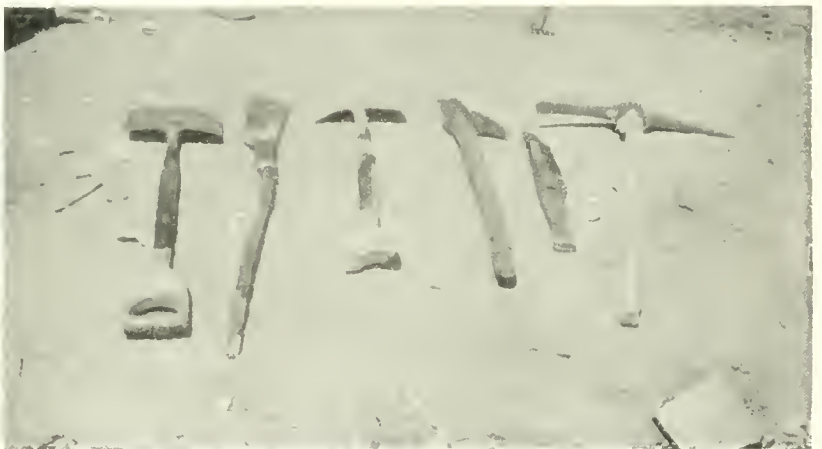
Upper left - Field of alfalfa and sorghum. *Upper right* - The campiña. *Middle left* - Bol. of Man. R. (Bol. de la Universidad de Trujillo).

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MOCHE PHYSICAL TYPES

Upper (left) Mother and daughter, considered "true Moche's." *Upper (center)* Moche's *vera*, full face. *Upper (right)* Same, profile. *Lower (left)* True Moche's type. *Lower (right)* Old man and old woman, "true Moche's" types, man claims to be 89 years old, woman 88 years.



MOCHE PHYSICAL TYPES AND AGRICULTURE

Upper (left): Young woman, mother is "true Moche" (sic), father has Chinese, Neg., Spanish, and Indi in blood. This young lady is mistly considered one of the beauties of the community. *Upper (right)*: Old man, claiming 89 years of age, considered "true Moche" (sic). *Middle (left and center)*: Front and profile view of woman, half Moche, half "serro" blood. *Middle (right)*: A brown-cotton (*arandina parda*) bush. *Lower (left)*: Earth and wood dam for diversion of water in irrigation. *Lower (right)* (left to right): *Palana* (spade), *calabozo*, *palana*, *hacha* (axe), *machete*, *two* (pickaxe).



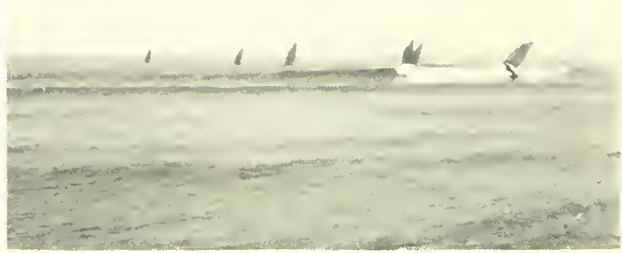
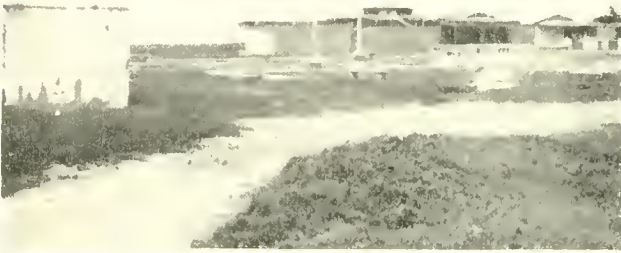
MOCHE AGRICULTURE

Upper (left) Husking corn. Upper (right) Cultivation with spade. Center (left to right) *Galajaca*, *harba*, *haca* (fork), *machete*, *rastra* (rake), *barro de acer* (iron bar), two spades on ground. Lower (left) Plowing. Lower (right) Six arrows in hand, cloths hung on lumber poles moved by wind.



DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

Upper (left) Animals at pasture - Upper right Feeding pasture - Lower (left and right) The Chiriqui and Kari Pastures



FISHING IMPLEMENTS AND CRAFT. MOCHE AND HUANCHACO.

Upper (left) to lower (right) Huanchaco. Upper (right) - Chunchos on net hung up to dry; round object in center is gourd float (chuno). Moche. Middle (left) - Fishing boat (chunchu) on beach, Moche. Middle (right) - Fishing fleet putting to sea, Huanchaco. Lower (left) - Crab trap (aca) used with caballitos del mar, Huanchaco. Lower (right) - People in doorway of simple building, Moche.



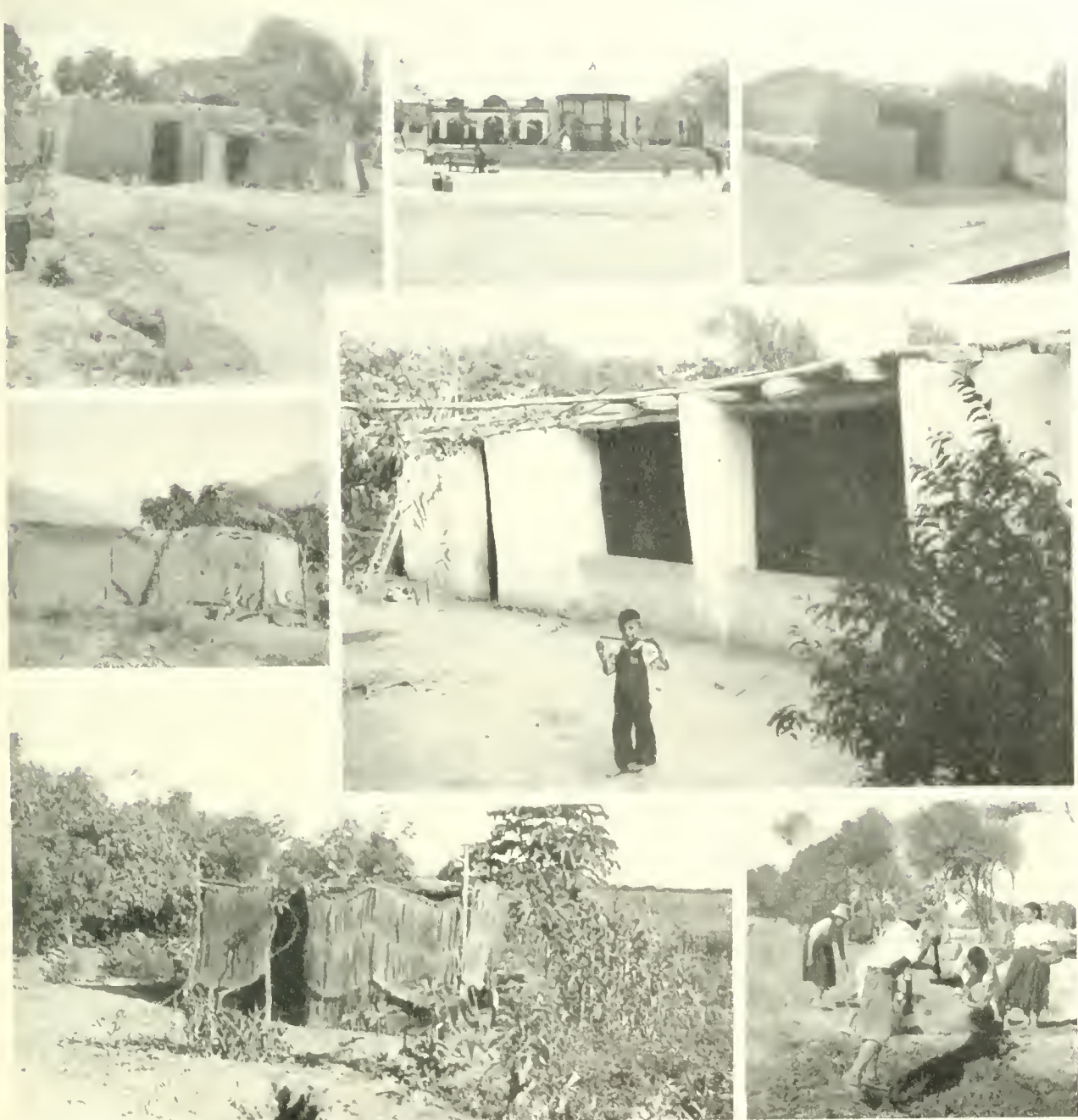
HUANCHACO FISHING.

Upper (left) Caballitos and boats on the beach. *Upper (right)* Left, Felipe Carrara, chief pilot of the fishing fleet, right, Luis Segura, chief of the port and first sergeant of fishermen. *Middle (left)* Caballito del mar loaded with three crab traps; owner, with paddle of split bamboo, is ready to set forth, beach is at low tide. *Middle (right)* A fisherman's house. *Lower (left)* Preparing to launch a caballito del mar. *Lower (right)* Part of the fishing fleet, motorboats in foreground, sailboats in background.



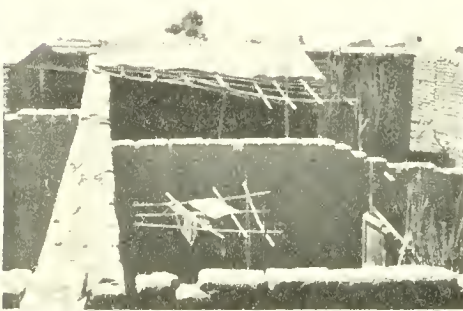
THE TOWN OF MOCHE

Fig. 1. The square in the town of Moches with fountain in foreground. Fig. 2. The street leading to the square. Fig. 3. The street leading to the square.



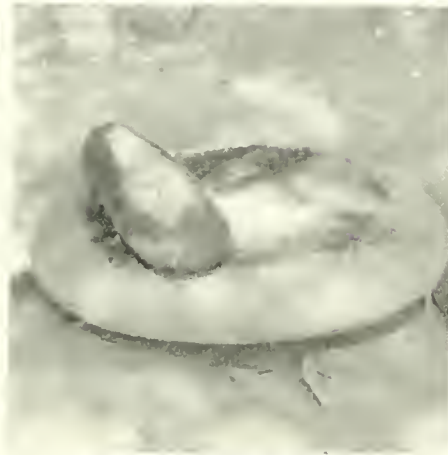
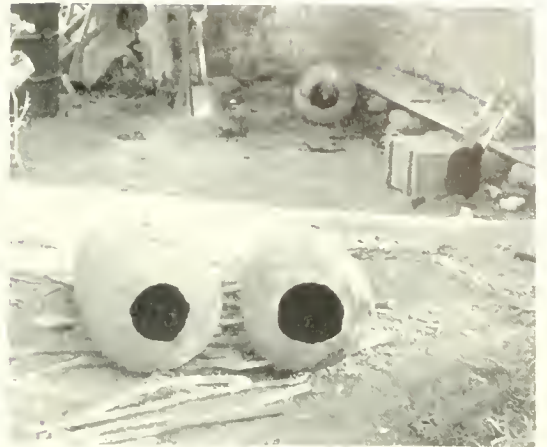
HOUSE CONSTRUCTION IN MOCHE.

Upper (left). House with walls of tapia. *Upper (center).* The plaza, from the northwest corner. Directly behind the bandstand is the former Merced (now convento); to the left is the government building with the entrance to the girls' school and the Municipalidad on one side with the Gobernación on the other side. To the left of the government building is the public market. *Upper (right).* House with three types of wall construction; lower part of side wall to left is tapia, upper part is quincha, and front wall is mud plastered adobe of "cut out" construction. *Middle (left).* House with two types of wall construction, main room at right is of tapia, kitchen to left is of quincha. *Middle (right).* Plastered adobe house. *Lower (left).* Dwelling with walls of totora. *Lower (right).* Tapia making: a woman shoveling moistened earth into sack, woman stands by with gourd of chicha for workers.



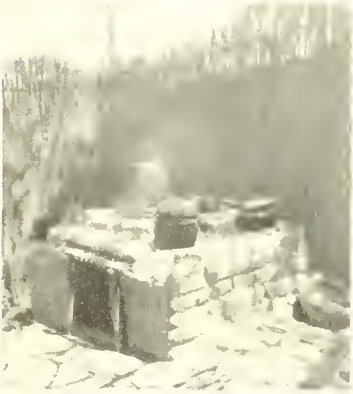
HOUSE CONSTRUCTION IN MOCHE

FIGURE 1. A. Front view of wall with double-plastered (out and window) in adobe. (Upper right) House entirely of *quancha*. (Middle right) Back end view of picture showing a square window with a door and other features mentioned in text. (Middle center) Typical door. The house rented by the author for interview purposes. (Lower center) House under construction, showing adobe wall. Note "saw-tooth" top of French plastered wall, suggestive of Mochica construction. (Lower left) Section of wall showing double-plastered adobe wall. Note upright of sawed lumber. (Lower right) Roof construction, inside view, showing rafters, canes and thatch. (Lower center) Roof construction, inside view, showing rafters, canes and thatch.



FOOD PREPARATION AND UTENSILS

Upper (left) Typical outdoor arbor or ramada, used as dining room. Upper (right) B staves for chicha. Middle (left) Water storage jar, and tin can used as ladle. Middle (center) Grinding stones. Middle (right) Earthenware pitcher of the type frequently used in Moche houses, purchased in outside markets. Lower (left) Wooden tub and cooking pot. Lower (right) Woman heating wash water on outdoor fire. To her left are two gourd mates, used as wash tubs, in front of her is a metal milk can.



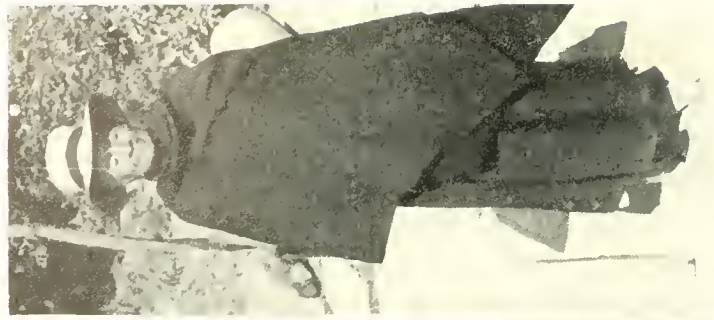
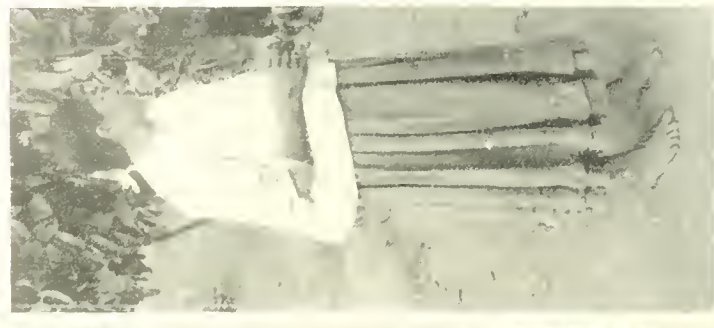
EATING AND DRINKING.

Upper (left). The open kitchen. The large brick structure is the oven for bread and other baked goods. (Upper right). A sign of business, indicating that fresh *chicha* is available. The sign is made of white paper, a green leaf is attached indicating that *cacha* is also available. Middle (left). Open kitchen. Lower (left). A group of people. Lower (center). A housewife. Lower (right). A cup of *cacha* or flay red cane juice.



MOCHE CLOTHING

Upper (left) Toddler's costume, skirt only. Upper (right) Costume of 4-year-old child. Lower (left) Woman's "old costume" (Mochero) and small brother. Lower (right) Woman's "old costume" with reboso shawl.



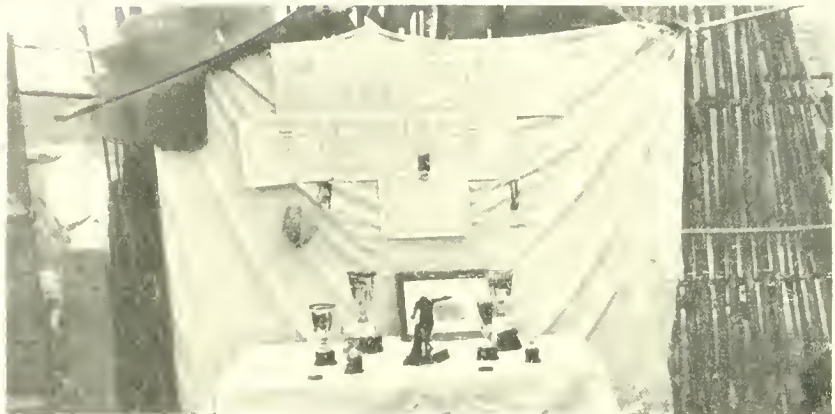
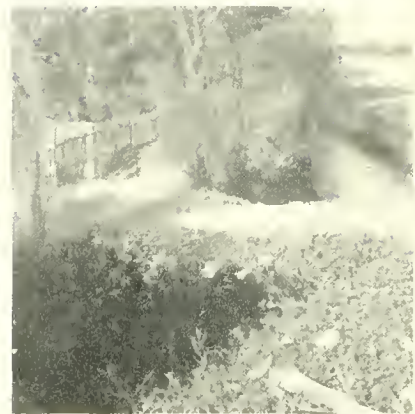
MOCHE CLOTHING

Upper (left) Woman's costume; woman farthest to left wears "cotton-dress costume"; next three wear "modified costume"; two women to extreme right are in "modified costume." Upper (right) Woman's handless, ends of braids banded and wrapped together with brown cotton yarn. Lower (left) The influence of modern modes on the younger generation. A youth group of pure Mocheans, all working to go to school in Trujillo. Lower (center) Woman's "modified costume." Lower (right) Woman's "cold costume" with *rebano* and hat.



MANUFACTURES BASKET MAKING, WEAVING AND ROCKET MAKING

Upper (left) Basket making—splitting and scraping *arriazo* strips with knife. *Upper (right)* and *Middle (left)* Basket making. *Middle (right)* Grinding powder for rockets. *Lower (left)* Young woman weaving in Moñsefu, using type of loom said to have been employed in Moche until recently. *Lower (right)*—A whirling rocket mechanism.



ROADS AND TRAILS, RECREATIONS

Upper left. Entrance to the forest, leading to the *campina*. Note the *tapia* fences made with peaked tops, so that they cannot be used as footpaths. Upper right. A dirt road leading to a hill. Middle left. Foot path, animal lane graded up with *tapia* walls. Middle right. Trophies and diplomas of the *Atletico Club*. Lower left. Huge det and drum player with "American Indian" headdress, motor singlet, motorcycle goggles in procession of *Atletico Club*. Lower right. Tapia fence, the bus's head. Lower right. Fruit stand in the public market.



PAINTINGS BY PEDRO AZABACHE

Upper: Scene on the River (from *Osas*). Lower: A group of women (Property of Dr. Miguel Capriles). *Lower*: Tambora (Campe amechimochi) (Museum of the Central University of Peru). A group of women (Property of C. L. S. D. Southwell).



PAINTINGS BY PEDRO AZABACHE

Upper (left) "Pescadores frente al Mar" (Fishermen at the Seaside). A painting of Huichilo. (Property of Sr. Enrique Dimmer) Elgueta. *Upper (right)* "La Comadre Manonca." A painting of a Moche type. (Property of Sr. Mercedes Gallagher de Parks) *Lower (left)* "La Minga (The Minga)." A painting of Moche life. (Property of Sr. Luis Benito Mujica) *Lower (right)* "Callejón de Moche" (Little Street of Moche). A painting of Moche life. (Property of Sr. Carlos Blondet G.)

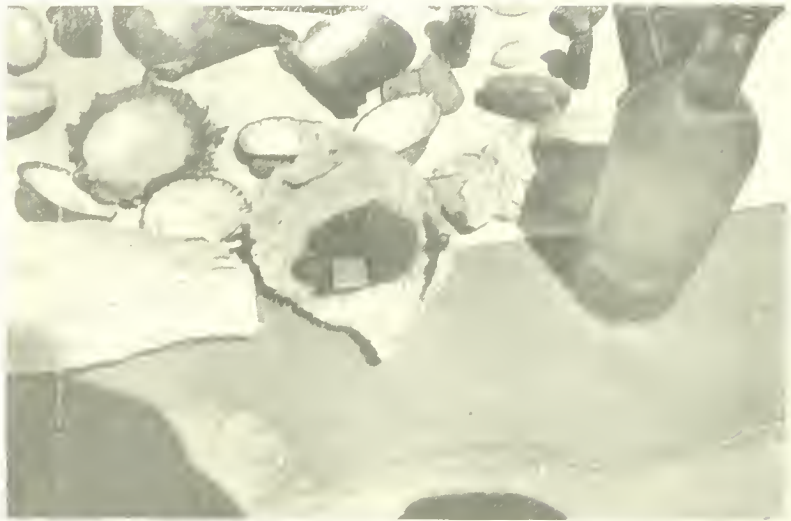


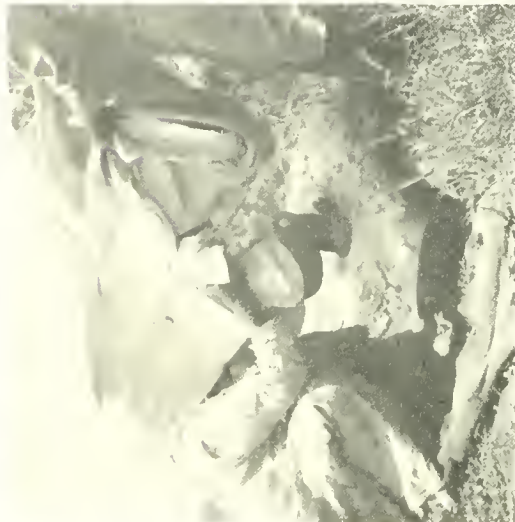
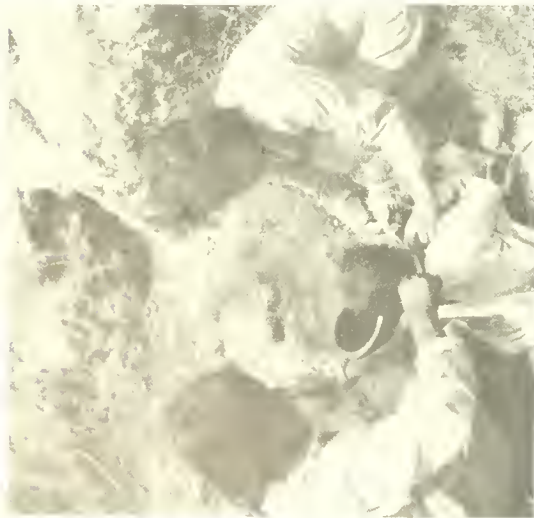
FIGURE 1. THE WORK OF BROTHAS AND SOTOGUERE

PLATE 22
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CURE OF ADULT SUSTO

Upper (left) Patient stays in shelter, while *Craniera* prepares to kill a fly. Upper (right) *Craniera* is dipping herbs in water. Lower (left) *Craniera* prepares shelter, standing for patient, house, mustered with water of *Mulda* (center) Patient has entered shelter and disrobed except for his shirt and has put double *caspi* on his neck, from *Mulda* (right) *Craniera* is beginning massage of head, spreading *Mulda* (center) *Craniera* massaging patient's body with herbs in water. Lower (left) *Mulda* (center) *Craniera* massaging patient's legs and feet. Lower (right) Dipped in blanket, patient stands over pan of hot coals to be smoked by the use of *San Mery*. Lower (center) Patient, wrapped in blanket inside shelter, to left, while *Craniera* with garment in hand calls spirit. Patient will be out to sweat overnight. Lower (right) *Craniera* brings herbs and incense used in cure.



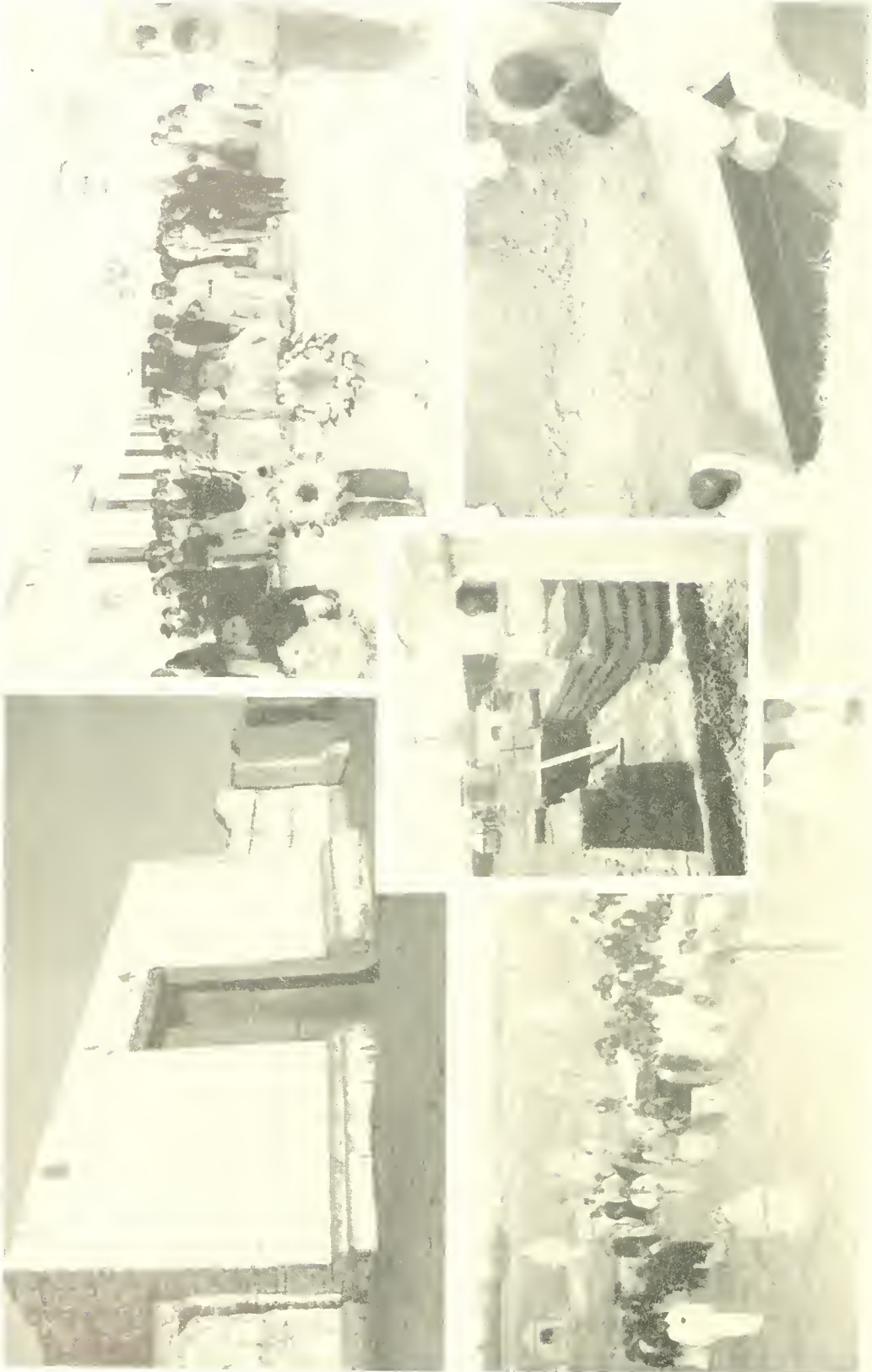
CURE OF SUSTO IN CHILD

Upper (left): *Carandera* and mother hang double *C. apurimaco* about child's neck; mother has one of the sacks in her right hand. The sacks have previously been filled with herbs moistened with "waters" of *Carandera* as in adult cure. Upper (center): *Carandera* begins massage of child's head. Pot in foreground contains mixed herbs and waters of *Carandera* and frying pan contains hot oils. Upper (right): *Carandera* massages child's body. Lower (left): *Carandera* massages child's abdomen. Lower (center): Child is smoked in incense of San Mateo. Lower (right): *Carandera* burns herbs and incense prior to burying them.



RELIGION AND CRISIS OBSERVANCES

Upper (left) The church of Santa Lucia de Manabo. Upper (right) Interior of the church with main altar. Middle (center) Haircutting ceremony for male child, madrina cutting first lock. Middle (right) Amas carrying children to church for baptism. Lower (left) A macorlona rearranging the clothing and ornaments of an image during a pause in the parade through the streets. Lower (right) Tombs.



DEATH OBSERVANCES

Upper left Entrance to the cemetery at Mexico, the Camp of Saints. *Upper right* Procession through the streets. *Center* A new adobe tomb, partly finished. *Lower left* In the cemetery. *Lower right* Coffin is lowered into the grave.

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