

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

THE HOUSE CROSS OF THE MAYO INDIANS OF SONORA, MEXICO

A Symbol in Ethnic Identity

N. Ross Crumrine



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PREFACE

This paper is a revision of my master's thesis, University of Arizona, 1962, which is based upon field research done by myself and my wife in Sonora, Mexico, among the Mayo Indians of the lower Mayo River Valley. We worked as a team because much of Mayo ceremonial participation is sex based. In this way we saw many ceremonies from two points of view. Without her constant encouragement and intellectual companionship this study might never have been completed. Also, I wish to thank her for and acknowledge her drawing of the illustrations.

Full-time concentration on our respective problems was made possible through fellowship grants to my wife from the Public Health Service Institutes of Mental Health and the Social Science Research Council.

For his advice and aid I am especially grateful to the chairman of my thesis committee, Edward H. Spicer. And for their careful reading of the manuscript and helpful suggestions I am also grateful to the other members of the committee, Edward P. Dozier and Clara Lee Tanner. I also wish to acknowledge the aid of Raymond H. Thompson and Richard Woodbury. I am indebted to Charles J. Erasmus for his hospitality and his extremely helpful suggestions concerning the launching of our field project. To Muriel T.

Painter I wish to express thanks for the stimulating effects of chats with her.

Most of all, I wish to express our thanks to the people of the Mayo River who spent many hours teaching us Mayo and exchanging visits with us. Place names used in this publication are fictitious in order to protect their privacy.

This study by its very nature could not hope to consider all of Mayo life. If the reader desires a more complete study of other aspects of the culture, Ralph L. Beals' pioneering ethnography, *The Contemporary Culture of the Cáhita Indians* (1945), describes much of Mayo life in detail. The works of Edward H. Spicer, especially *Potam, A Yaqui Village in Sonora* (1945) and *Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona* (1940), analyze the major Yaqui cultural forms and meanings and their integrations in the context of the political, economic, and religious organizations. Inasmuch as the bulk of Beals' material came from an upriver area, and Spicer's material is Yaqui rather than Mayo, some differences will be apparent between my account of the Camalobo-area Mayos and the Mayo and Yaqui materials of Beals and Spicer. However, in speaking of the over-all pattern of life, Mayo and Yaqui cultures and societies have an enormous resemblance to one another from the anthropologist's point of view.

N. Ross Crumrine

Tucson, Arizona
July, 1964

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Mayos, or *Yorémem*, as they call themselves, are Mayo-speaking peoples living in southern Sonora and northern Sinaloa, Mexico, along the lower valleys of the Mayo and Fuerte rivers. The climate in the lower Mayo Valley, where the field work on which this paper is based was done, is hot and arid or semiarid, resulting in vegetation of the thorn-forest type (Gentry 1942: 27) and, farther downstream, of the littoral type (Reyes 1957: 32-36). Mayos grow crops the year around with the aid of irrigation by river water, or seasonally with water from the summer or winter rains—a much less certain water supply.

Some Mayos are members of *ejidos* (Spanish: agrarian groups which hold and farm lands). Many of these as well as most other Mayos work also as farm laborers. Fishing in the Gulf of California is another source of food for many Mayos. Their standard of living is low compared with that of farm laborers of the United States, but it is high when compared with that of Indian communities farther south in Mexico, as Mayos themselves point out. Mayos live in adobe or cane and mud houses, the latter type being referred to throughout this monograph as “jacal.” They wear clothes similar to those worn by farmers and farm laborers in the southwestern United States. Some own bicycles and radios and have electricity in their homes. However, none of the Mayos we knew had running or purified water.

Many Mayo men have been soldiers during some period of their lives and have visited a great deal of Mexico in this way. Most male Mayos can read and write some in both Mayo and Spanish, even though they have not gone to school longer than several months or at the most several years.

Early in the 1600's the Mayos were missionized by members of the Jesuit Order, who remained in the Mayo country until the late 1700's, when they were replaced by the Franciscans. At

the present time the Mayos themselves have strong social control of their religious life. A group of Mayo lay ministers generally handles the religious services, and for the most part the Mayos build and maintain their churches both physically and spiritually.

FIELD PROCEDURE

In November, 1960, my wife and I took up residence in Sialipacu, Sonora, Mexico, where we lived until March, 1961, when we moved to Camalobo, Sonora. In Sialipacu we first made contacts with non-Mayos and worked for several months with a mestizo man who had one Mayo parent. He was employed by us as a guide to the Mayo Valley and on several occasions to the Fuerte Valley.

After surveying the area we elected to work farther down the river. Beginning in January, 1961, each Sunday was spent at the church in Bánari. Fortunately, one of the church officials was willing to spend several hours each Sunday teaching us Mayo. Soon he and other persons wished to visit us at our home; however, they felt Sialipacu was too far away. Also, many people expressed the opinion that we should either attend church in the Sialipacu area since we lived there or move to the Camalobo area. Therefore, in March, 1961, we established residence in Camalobo where we lived until the middle of December, 1961, at which time we returned to Tucson. The field period was broken with four trips to Tucson for library research and discussion with our advisers.

Our procedure was to learn and use the Mayo language and through the learning of the language to learn the culture. We also attended all the Bánari church ceremonies which were open to us, and were often invited to ceremonies at other

pueblos near Bánari, some of which we were able to attend.

In order to create more depth in our data we became close acquaintances with a few families. A calendar was made out and each week we visited these families. They helped us with our study of the language and we chatted. None of our acquaintances were paid. However, according to local custom we always took repayments in other foods of any foods they gave us. We also lent small sums of money and gave rides in our pickup truck. In the latter months of our field work many of our acquaintances were visiting our home regularly to learn English and to chat. In terms of our particular studies we felt this procedure produced satisfactory results.

MAYO WORDS

Several Mayo words have been incorporated into the body of this paper. They may be found in a glossary appendix. In this glossary, Spanish loan words which have taken on distinctly Mayo meanings are listed as Mayo words. The orthography used for these words very closely approxi-

mates that explained for Yaqui in the *Phonology of Arizona Yaqui* (Crumrine 1961).

The Mayo and Yaqui languages are quite similar; however, phonemic and morphemic differences do exist. Some phonemic differences are shown in the following examples:

There are occasional differences in stress and tone in cognate Mayo and Yaqui words, and in words which each language has borrowed from Spanish.

In this paper a Mayo or Spanish word is marked for stress and italicized only the first time it occurs in the text. Mayo words are pluralized by adding *-m* to words ending in a vowel and *-im* to words ending in a consonant; for example, *kúrus* (cross), *kurúsim* (crosses); *séwa* (flower), *séwam* (flowers). There are some exceptions to these general rules, for example, ²*alawásin* (lowest-ranking ceremonial host), ²*alawásim* (lowest-ranking ceremonial hosts).

I am spelling *paskóla* (Mayo ceremonial dancer) with a *k* rather than the *c* of the Hispanic spelling, since I have endeavored to spell phonemically all Mayo words used herein except for place names.

TABLE 1
A COMPARISON OF PHONEMIC DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN SOME MAYO AND YAQUI WORDS

English	Spanish	Mayo	Yaqui
Lent	cuaresma	warésma (also, warehma)	wáéhma (also, waesma)
cross	cruz	kúrus (also, kúru)	kús
member of a Lenten ceremonial society	Fariseo	pariséro	fariséo
Mayo word for (or Yaqui word for) person identified as a member of the Mayo (or Yaqui) ethnic group. No precise English or Spanish equivalent.		yoréme	yoéme

Chapter 2

THE SEARCH FOR CRITERIA OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

THE PROBLEM

Since anthropologists have generally been interested either in preliterate peoples or in small communities as wholes, very little has been written concerning processes of ethnic identification within the ethnic group or others' identification of the group. The first problem facing any anthropologist working in a subculture of the nations of today is the identification of members of the society he plans to study and of individuals who share cultural meanings and symbolic forms. Many acquaintances meaningless in terms of the field project and much lost field time could be avoided if some simple method were at hand to delineate the field of observation. Experience seems to show, however, that ethnic identity as an anthropological problem is more meaningfully thought of as a process of becoming aware of another culture and another symbol system.

By ethnic identification is meant the mechanisms by which individuals recognize members of their own or of another social group, and by which they recognize persons sharing or not sharing a culture and symbol system. In other words, in our specific case, how does a Mayo, or an anthropologist interested in studying Mayo society or culture, recognize a person as Mayo or non-Mayo? Or does any real basis for identification exist? Is it perhaps only a continuum like that from rich to poor, for example, or from country to townspeople?

One aspect of this problem is the overlapping or sharing between societies of some social organizations and cultural beliefs and values. For example, the Northwest Mexican Indians, like United States Indians, are not only members of an indigenous society and participants in its culture, but

they are also citizens of their respective countries. They often speak Spanish or English as well as their indigenous languages, share items of material culture with their countrymen, such as radios and clothes bought in the same stores, and participate in some of the socio-political activities such as voting and attending social dances. Both groups often exhibit similar physical appearances as well.

TWO OTHER PAPERS CONCERNED WITH ETHNIC IDENTITY

To Dorothy Libby in her article, "Three Hundred Years of Chukchi Identity," the Chukchis seemed to be "proud, self-confident people, who felt themselves and their way of living to be different from those of other peoples" (1960: 298). This seemed to us to be true of Mayos also. Upon first examination both cultures appear to have few unique items, one of which in each case is a distinctive though constantly changing language. We found that for Mayos almost all the unique symbols of ethnic identity, which are linked to many aspects of life, are manifest in the Mayo language. If this is also the case for Chukchis then the use of the native language may provide a parallel between the two cases, in the structure of ethnic identity.

Libby mentions that Chukchis still feel a separateness of identity even though their culture is undergoing changes. Economic changes appear to be the most rapid while "in the realm of ideas, attitudes, and beliefs there is less obvious change" (Libby 1960: 299). She states that new ideas have been fitted into a typical Chukchi world view. For example some aspects of the sun, to which sacrifices used to be made, are now likened to Lenin or Stalin.

Mayo culture has undergone and is still undergoing changes, especially in the economic realm at the present time. Many of the new ideas are adapted to fit Mayo world view. At some time after the mission period the sun, which was probably a pre-Spanish deity, became identified with a Catholic Christ. This process of cultural fusion has parallels, then, in both Mayo and Chukchi cultures. Also, relatively old culture patterns still remain in both cultures; for example, the curing of disease by native curers, shamans for the Chukchis and *hitolióm* (Mayo: shamanlike curers) for the Mayos, side by side with modern medical practices.

Libby concludes her article with the idea that "this feeling of ethnic identity was not dependent on any particular manifestation of Chukchi culture, but that in part it was dependent on their own belief in it" (1960: 301).

The belief of a group in the absolute uniqueness of their own symbols representing themselves is definitely an important aspect of a people's thinking about themselves. A study of the implications of Libby's statement in a specific cultural context sheds light on the foundations and structure of such a belief. Only after a minimum of six months of intensive participation in Mayo society and culture were we slowly becoming fully aware of aspects of Mayo culture which had become sacred and ends in themselves, such as using the Mayo language, wearing sandals, being poor, and having a house cross. In many ways the Mayos are not different culturally or socially from their mestizo neighbors, but in the creation of sacred symbols from selected aspects of life and in the unifying of these symbols in a belief in their own ethnic identity they insist they are truly unique and very different, especially from mestizos. The intent of this paper is to demonstrate that the Mayo house cross (*tebatpo kúrus*: *tebatpo*, on the patio, and *kúrus*, cross) is not only one of the most easily observable symbols of Mayo ethnic identity but also one which is integrated with many other symbols. Thus an understanding of the *tebatpo kúrus* leads one deep into the Mayo system of ethnic identity.

Willis Sibley, in the article, "The Maintenance of Unity and Distinctiveness by a Philippine Peasant Village," considers the social aspects in village identity (Sibley 1960: 506-12). Many of the integrative mechanisms producing a tight village unity which he discusses appear also to be operating in the Mayo village of Bánari. The Philippine villagers are rural tenant rice farmers employed by landlords who live in the cities. The Mayos usually either farm ejido land or work as farm laborers for landlords living in Camalobo, the large town nearby in the lower river valley. Like the Filipinos who leave the village first to plant and then to harvest, some Mayos also leave seasonally to fish on the shrimp boats or to pick cotton, chiles, or fruit, sometimes going as far as the United States. However, neither peoples appear to be away long enough to destroy their ideas of ethnic and village identity. At least this is true of the Mayos we knew. In years past a great deal of Mayo village unity may have been lost through many years of war and service in the armies, deportation of many of the men, and infiltration of non-Mayos, but today the feeling of ethnic unity is increasing among many lower-river Mayos.

Sibley also discusses the yearly patron-saint ceremony which he considers another unifying factor, as it also is for Mayos. However, it functions, in addition, on a much wider scale for Mayos. The complex religious observances during Lent and the first of November serve as pueblo- or area-unifying factors. During these times the members of each pueblo—which includes its cemetery, church, and surrounding countryside—are unified in their relation to their own dead and to the death of Christ. During the patron-saint ceremonies many Mayos meet, as for example, in the ceremony for *Espíritu Santo* (Mayo: Holy Spirit) of Arócosi. In this ceremony are united the ceremonial hosts from Bánari, Homecarit, Arócosi, Tosalipacu, and Huícori. Called *páskome* or *pásko pèrsonasim* in Mayo, these hosts donate goods and services, organize the ceremony, and take the responsibility for its actualization, in payment of a promise made to the supernatural whose ceremony they are giv-

ing.¹ The church organizations and congregations are also united through these ceremonies. The ceremony for *Santísima Tríniran* (Mayo: The Most Holy Trinity) unites not only the paskome groups from Arócosi with those of Bánari and Homecarit, but also brings Mayos from the whole Mayo River Valley and the Fuerte River Valley who have promises to attend this ceremony. Special ceremonial exchanges of bread and ceremonial equipment between paskome from different pueblos emphasize unity and assure good heart on the part of the united persons. Thus the ceremonies and religious observances unify not only the pueblos and countryside nearby but also unify Yoremem from both river valleys.

Since the religious life functions also to link Mayo villages with one another, as well as the inhabitants of the village with one another, I have considered Mayo ethnic identity on the supra-village level primarily, and have elected to discuss only one of the symbols in Mayo ethnic identity, the *tebatpo kurus*, which will be shown to function as one of its pervasive symbols.

THE SPECIFIC PROBLEM OF MAYO IDENTIFICATION

Upon arrival in Sialipacu the first and most pressing problem was one of defining a field of observation. Who were Mayos? How could a stranger identify them? And just how could a universe be defined in terms of the Mayo population? These were the questions that immediately became important. Since one of our objectives was to gain an understanding of the Mayo language it was necessary to be able to identify not only a Mayo but a Mayo who spoke the language well.

The first and most obvious method was to ask people, "Who are Mayos?" or, "Are you Mayo?" We proceeded to ask our non-Mayo acquaintances about Mayos and received answers such as, "We here are all *Indios Mayos*," or, "There is no difference between mestizos and Mayos; we are all one people," or, "Most people in Sialipacu have some Mayo blood and many speak some of the language." It was apparent then that some non-Mayos held an ideal pattern consisting in a

refusal to admit of any ethnic difference. However, we also heard unguarded remarks by members of the same group, such as, "I don't want to live like dogs, like Indians," so it was clear that conflicting patterns existed. Statements such as the preceding assume some feelings about ethnic identity for mestizos as against Indians. Also, it was later discovered that both Mayos and non-Mayos agree that the term *Indio* (Spanish: Indian) is a distasteful word, and that Mayos occasionally use their own scathing word, *Yóri*, for mestizos. The Mayos call themselves Yoremem, rather than Indios, while the mestizos call themselves *Gente de Razón* (Spanish: literally, "people of reason"). This indicated that in reality an ethnic distinction is made between Mayos and mestizos (*Indio* vs. *Yori*; Yoremem vs. *Gente de Razon*) by both groups.

It was apparent that Mayo ethnic identity could not be found in an ideal pattern which held, "There is no difference between mestizos and Mayos; we are all one people," thus refusing to admit openly an ethnic differentiation made by both peoples. It was clear also that real patterns must be observed and the mechanisms of Mayo ethnic identification must be abstracted from observable realities.

PHYSICAL TYPE

The remark that "most people in Sialipacu have some Mayo blood" is perhaps true and militates against any ethnic identification based on racial factors. Racially, Mayo individuals are indistinguishable to the eye from their non-Mayo neighbors including Indians originating farther south and now working in the area. Taken as populations, some specific physical traits might be found to distinguish, in statistical terms, a Mayo from a non-Mayo gene pool, but working with a cultural and linguistic bias precluded any study of this nature by us. Also a group of North Americans settled in the 1870's in the Fuerte River Valley (Gill 1957) whose socialistic ideals led them to respect and, in many cases, to become close friends, with Fuerte River Mayos, thus making possible the addition of North American genes to

the Fuerte Mayos' gene pool. In the past there has been a great deal of interchange of personnel between river valleys so that many of our Mayo friends were born on the Fuerte River but now live on the Mayo River. Furthermore, others who live on the Fuerte come to the Mayo for a year or so in order to work off religious promises to *santos* (Spanish: saints) in the Mayo River villages. In fact some people, when asked where they were born, will specify, "Here on the Mayo River. I am truly Mayo River Mayo." Thus it is apparent that Mayos physically consist of genes from not only Iberian, Fuerte River, and Mayo River ancestors, but also perhaps from Northern European stocks.

Physical appearance is varied, for we knew persons, all deeply involved in Mayo culture and society, some of whom could easily pass racially for Northern Europeans, and others who were very dark in complexion. With special measuring instruments and statistical techniques some significant differences might be found. More important for this study is the fact that no correlation between any obvious character such as skin color and ethnic identification was found. Therefore a criterion of ethnic identification based upon observable physical characteristics was meaningless for this study.

SOME SPECIFIC ITEMS OF MATERIAL CULTURE: HOUSE TYPE AND DRESS

As we became familiar with the pueblos up and down the Mayo River it was proposed that some aspect of house type or furnishing might be useful in Mayo identification. However, under closer examination it was found that both non-Mayos and Mayos live in either jacal houses or adobes, have radios, similar types of beds and cots; and other material objects; thus the use of such items as an index of ethnic identification based upon observable physical characteristics of this sort was questionable procedure. When we intensified our contacts with several selected families a list of items of material culture was made in order to test more carefully the hypothesis that material wealth was correlated with having or not

having a house cross. It was also noted that all the Mayos whose homes we visited repeatedly had houses, whether of adobe or jacal, which were supported with wooden corner posts, *'orkónem* (Mayo). When one builds with adobe, *'orkonem* are not essential, as with jacal; however they are apparently regarded by Mayos as necessary roof supports in one case as much as in the other. We never heard a person say that anyone was any more Mayo (Yoreme is also used in this adjectival sense) because he had *'orkonem* in his house. Also few other linkages to other Yoreme symbolism of ethnic identity could be found, so house type and furnishings were concluded to be not central in ethnic identification, though these symbols were referred to in attempts to attain some idea of the wealth of specific families.

The proposition that clothes were a clue to ethnic identity was examined. The only items of Mayo dress that seemed to hold any possibilities for ethnic identification were a round-topped straw hat and sandals called *bérabočam báhi puntára* (Mayo: sandals with three points). Some of the old men, a very conservative younger pasko persona, and the Bánari image of *San Juan* (Spanish: Saint John) wear a round-topped straw hat. However, the San Juan images from Sialipacu and Cucusébora, and the people who dance for San Juan in Sialipacu, wear the flat-topped straw hat, typical headdress of nearly all the men of the whole river valley. The situation was complicated by the following factors: First, the round-topped hat is no longer in widespread use, and secondly, it does not appear to integrate widely with a great number of other aspects of the culture. So nothing more was done with the round-topped hat in terms of describing ethnic identification of Mayos.

The hypothesis that Mayos could be identified by the expectation of wearing sandals was examined, but we soon noticed mestizos who wore sandals and Mayos who wore shoes when going to town or on other occasions, though many Mayos wore sandals on occasions of ceremonial labor. So it was concluded that Mayos tend to wear sandals, but any individual with shoes on might well be either Mayo or mestizo.

One afternoon in the market a conservative Mayo acquaintance happened to see a man wearing shoes. Since he had been giving us Mayo words and expressions for our language study, our friend pointed out to us that the other man was wearing *yóribočam* (Mayo: *yóri*, derogatory term for non-Mayo; *bóčam*, shoes or footwear). The conservative man went on to explain that the sandals which he himself was wearing were called *berabočam bahi puntara* and that they were the proper ones for Mayos to wear. These sandals consist of a leather sole, or a rubber one cut from an old car tire, and are fastened to the foot with strips of leather which are fastened to the sole at three points—hence the Mayo name *bahi puntara*, or three pointed. It is on the pattern of a thong-type sandal with a heel strip. Other types of *berabočam* besides the *bahi puntara* are worn by Mayos.

The wearing of sandals and taking pride in doing so, then, is one of the aspects of Mayo ethnic identification. For mestizos it is simply a cheap footwear when one cannot afford more expensive shoes. But for many Mayos it is more, a symbol of Mayo-ness. Mayos wear sandals not only because they are cheap but because old Mayos wear them and because that is what Mayos should wear. When I took up the habit of wearing sandals several of our acquaintances responded, “Now you will walk happily on the earth,” pointing at my feet. An acquaintance who had changed, she said, from a more mestizo to a more Mayo way of life told us that before she began to wear sandals she had been unhappy and sick all the time, and now, wearing sandals, she is well and happy. These sandals, then, have a very special meaning for Mayos which non-Mayos are unaware of even though they also wear sandals. *Berabočam bahi puntara* are part of the complex of symbolism which is Mayo ethnic identity.

However, mestizos do wear some types of sandals. And though sandals have little or no linkage with many other symbols important in Mayo ethnic identity, they are loosely integrated with ideals of a materially simple life filled with

poverty and suffering and with a health orientation. Still the sandal symbol cannot be considered one of the most important in Mayo ethnic identity.

LANGUAGE

Since one of the first aims of the general field work of which this study was a part was to obtain an understanding of the Mayo language, the hypothesis that the ability to speak Mayo was an aspect of Mayo identification was suggested.

Upon our arrival in Sialipacu we met a man working in a gas station who said he had spent several years in California. He also claimed to speak Mayo, though, “Now,” he said, “I have forgotten much Mayo, but I spoke well as a young man.” Here then was an individual who claimed to speak Mayo but who had been out of the Mayo society for many years and as far as could be judged had not cared to rejoin that society upon his return to the river valley. Since he spoke Mayo should he be considered a Mayo?

We also met a young man who was a partner in one of the many business enterprises created by the needs of the North American tourist. He spoke English very well and had lived for a period of years in the United States. Then one day he mentioned to us that he could speak Mayo and told us “most people in Sialipacu have some Mayo blood and can speak some of the language.” It is impossible to consider this man a Mayo as he does not participate in Mayo society or hold its major cultural values; however, he speaks some of the language. Our next acquaintances were two rural school teachers who had learned the Mayo language in order to teach their Mayo pupils Spanish. One afternoon one of them gave us a long list of Mayo words. The teacher proudly pointed out that in the community where she teaches nobody spoke Spanish thirty years ago and now very few people speak Mayo at all and only several older people speak it well. These teachers spoke some Mayo, but were definitely not Mayo, for their value systems and aspirations were strongly mestizo, as for example, they were characterized by a great interest in the attainment of material wealth for themselves and their chil-

dren. Since both these individuals and true Mayos speak the same language where does the difference lie, or does a language of which one has some knowledge mean anything?

As we learned more Mayo it became apparent that these individuals' knowledge of the language was very superficial indeed; the young businessman does not even know the complete set of greetings which are so important to conservative Mayos and the school teachers knew little beyond this. With more knowledge of Mayos it became apparent that the degree of proficiency in the Mayo language is indeed related to the depth to which the individual is involved in Mayo culture and society. With time another aspect also became clear. Many mestizo Camalobo storekeepers and the Camalobo police know some of the Mayo language. Sometimes one hears radio advertisements in Mayo, for example a sale of clothes for San Juan's Day. Or one meets a mestizo who has joined the growing *evangelista* (Spanish: Protestant missionary sects) movements and is using his knowledge of Mayo in order to translate the Bible and other religious material. Often one chats with persons from other parts of Mexico who are living in the river valley and learning or speaking Mayo. Simply having a knowledge of the Mayo language does not necessarily mean that the person shares Mayo cultural understandings, or participates in the society in general; however, a preference for speaking Mayo over Spanish does, in all cases observed, indicate persons deep in Mayo culture and society.

The important aspect for ethnic identification is what the Mayo language means to the individual speaking it. As has been noted, the Mayo language may be used by non-Mayos for different cultural or idiosyncratic reasons such as teaching, individual intellectual satisfactions, or for business activities, but when a Mayo uses the language it is, among other things, a symbol of his Mayo-ness of which he is proud. Thus for Mayos the language has come to be a symbol in the system of Mayo ethnic identity. It is a sacred language which is used in the deerdance ramada, or when one makes a sacred ritual speech. For

mestizos the language means a method of pursuing their own types of goals or needs; that is, usually, the acquisition of material items and the gaining of wealth and social position in mestizo society. For Mayos it is primarily a means of obtaining spiritual wealth. In addition to a mere means of communication it is a sacred language, a symbol in and of itself, and thus a means not only of ethnic identification but also a means by which a relationship is set up between man and his fellow men, his dead ancestors, his gods, and a means of enjoying the benefits of the deer and paskola arts.²

First, the language is a complex variable, being both a symbol in and of itself and a carrier for nearly all if not all Mayo symbols. Secondly, the meaning of the language to the individual speaker, which would have to be the basis of language as a criterion of ethnic identification, would be a vast and procedurally complex thing to observe. Thus further hypotheses concerning ethnic identification were sought.

Much the same sort of process is taking place in both the above cases of the Mayo language and the sandals. In each, an aspect of everyday life has been remade into a sacred symbol of ethnic identity and has been linked into a whole, a Mayo "crystallization, from the amorphous realm of feeling, of forms that are significant or symbolic" (Read 1955: 18). The Mayo-ness, the Mayo ethnic identity, then, is this unique Mayo "crystallization" which takes shared aspects of both mestizo and Mayo life but creates a definite and unique Mayo symbol and symbol system from them rather than a mestizo symbol and symbol system.

THE CROSS AS A SYMBOL OF MAYO ETHNIC IDENTITY

In trying to formulate the symbolic basis of Mayo ethnic identity, the search for a usable central concept resulted in these findings. First, such symbols as being poor, living in a jacal house, wearing sandals, and speaking Mayo, are shared to some extent by both Mayos and mestizos, but they are related to the rest of life in a different

meaningful way. A mestizo is poor because he is saving for the future or because he cannot help himself, not because he desires to be. But a Mayo is poor, he says, because good people are poor, thus he is a little ashamed of having too many material goods. This is part of the Mayo concept of the world as a place of suffering and poverty, which is expressed in many ceremonies, particularly those of the cold, dry, dusty season of Lent, in which the suffering and crucifixion of Christ are reenacted.

Secondly, the cross appeared to be just the form and symbol for which we were seeking. It has material forms and thus is easily observable. Crosses exist in both Mayo and non-Mayo culture, which may tend to create some confusion due to shared form and perhaps some shared

meaning. However, the house cross seemed to be a non-mestizo trait and thus provided physical evidence of Mayo ethnic identification. Spicer found the house cross to be one of the meaningful physical indications in ethnic identification of Pascua, Tucson, Yaquis. "Only a keen observer might note that the houses here are different from those closer to the center of the city in that they are more consistently surrounded by fences and that nearly everyone has a yard in which is to be seen a rough wooden cross a few paces from the house" (1940: 1).

This particular type of cross, among Mayos, as among Yaquis,³ has deep meanings and wide integration with other Mayo symbols, and thus holds an important position in Mayo ethnic identity.

Chapter 3

KURUSIM AND TEBATPO KURUSIM

TYPES OF KURUSIM

As we explored the Mayo River Valley we found that the kurus, as a physical reality, has indeed a wide distribution. Most of the crosses seen were of the following types: the palm cross above both mestizo and Mayo house doors; the roadside cross to mark places of sudden death; the church cross called *kúrus mayór* or *kúrus yó'owe* (Mayo: great, old, cross); the paskola ramada cross, also called kurus mayor or kurus yó'owe; the pueblo cross and division-line cross; the cemetery cross; and the house cross, called tebatpo kurus.

Small Palm Cross. An example of formal linkage between some Mayo homes and some mestizo homes is a small palm cross made of strips of palm leaf and placed above the door of the house. If the house has more than one sleeping room there may be a small cross over the door into each room. This cross was also observed tied to the roof-supporting posts in some Mayo houses. The cross is about four inches tall and is tied together with a strip of palm leaf. No other information was obtained concerning this cross. In Pascua, Tucson, on Palm Sunday I have observed Yaquis making crosses from palm leaves. It is possible that the small palm crosses seen in the Mayo River Valley homes are similar to these Tucson, Yaqui palm crosses in meaning and function.

Roadside Cross to Mark Place of Sudden Death. Many crosses are seen simply along the highway or in the towns along roads. These crosses are placed on or beside a pile of stones and in all cases known mark the location of a violent death. They illustrate the sharing of form and some meaning between Mayos and mestizos.

Some of the state highway departments of the United States place a white cross at the side of the highway where a person has been killed; the meaning of these crosses—to drive carefully—is probably quite different, however, from the Mayo meaning.

In a vacant lot in the city of Sialipacu there stands a small cross. One of our mestizo friends explained it was placed there because a man was shot and killed on that spot. Another cross by a canal was placed there because a girl twelve years old had fallen into the canal and drowned, another mestizo acquaintance explained. On the dam at Cucusébora there is a cross of this type marking the point where someone was killed. This type of cross also carries some of the same meaning for Mayos. A few days after a small Mayo child was killed on the highway a cross was placed to mark the spot. One afternoon a Mayo acquaintance of ours explained to his wife in our presence that two crosses placed together beside the road on which we were traveling marked the spot where two Yoremem had killed each other with machetes. The spot where Bachomo, a former Mayo leader, was shot, is marked with a cross and Mayos going through the city of Mochis carry rocks which they place by the cross (Gill 1957: 128, photograph on 129).

In a similar fashion to the rocks on Bachomo's grave, the other sacred areas are often decorated with flowers and one often sees small cans in front of the crosses; these cans were used to hold flowers which have disappeared. In some instances people have been observed decorating the crosses. These crosses provide a formal linkage, and some shared meaning, between Mayo and mestizo cultures.

Church Cross. Almost every Catholic church in the valley has a large wooden cross, called the *kurus mayor* or *kurus yo'owe* by Yoremem, placed about one hundred feet in front of the main church door, with the exceptions of the churches in the following pueblos: Camalobo, Sanabampo, the new pueblo of Sialipacu, Las Sierritas, Hermosa, and Tosaicuchu.⁴ (See map, Figure 3.) The Catholic churches lacking a *kurus yo'owe* are all found in the densest areas of non-Mayo or mixed Mayo-mestizo population. Sanabampo is the center of a rapidly-growing agricultural area and the church, we were told by both mestizos and Mayos, is a mestizo rather than a Mayo one. Las Sierritas was settled in the colonial period as a Spanish silver mining town and after a period of abandonment the town was resettled and the mines reopened. Hermosa, which is close by, was for many years the colonial capital of the area and on the main north-south road from El Fuerte to the Yaqui River Valley (Fleury 1864). Today the highway has been moved and Sialipacu, a modern city of about 30,000 people, has replaced Hermosa as the trade and cultural center on the Mayo River. Camalobo, a town of about 10,000, is found near the mouth of the Mayo River. It has a very small and very wealthy upper class as exhibited by several large old-style houses, one of which belonged to Alvaro Obregón, 1910 revolutionary leader and past president of Mexico. There are also several very modern large homes. However, the vast remainder of housing in the town is a collection of very small adobe or jacal structures. The church, which is quite new, has a resident priest, as does the church in the new town of Sialipacu. These churches do not have a *kurus yo'owe* of the Mayo type. Later in this analysis it will be shown that the *kurus yo'owe* is a functional and meaningful part of many if not all Mayo church ceremonies. Thus the churches lacking them are neither Mayo nor are they found, for the most part, in areas of dense Mayo population.

The *kurus yo'owe* is an outstanding feature of many more churches in the Mayo River Valley

than not: for example, those at Júyamisi, Bajeye, Tecu, San Rafael, Old Pueblo of Sialipacu, Caccacú, Old Pueblo of San Pablo, Arócosi, Bajitetam, Homecarit, Bánari, Huícori, and many others. (See map, Figure 3.) One church, a new one at Cucusébora, has a stone rather than a wooden *kurus mayor*. Baambepsuc was the original mission pueblo in this area, but with its flooding by the new Mayo River dam, the saints and religious center were moved to Cucusébora.

In many of the Mayo pueblos the *kurus yo'owe* and the *kampánim* (Mayo: bells), which usually stand directly behind the cross, are decorated with *'abaso séwam* (Mayo: Green leaves of the cottonwood tree) during *kónti* (Mayo: a regular Sunday ceremony, in the sense used here). This is one indication of the ceremonial importance of church crosses. Since the saints inside the church are also decorated with *'abaso sewam*, some linkage between the *kurus yo'owe* and bell complex and the saints must exist in Mayo thought. Thus the pattern of the cross in Mayo culture begins to reveal itself.

Paskola Ramada Cross. In addition to those crosses already mentioned, one notices a ramada near the Mayo church which may or may not have a cross beside it at the time.⁵ Also called *kurus yo'owe* or *kurus mayor*, it stands beside this ramada in which the deer and paskolas dance. Many ramadas have the cross only when a ceremony is in progress and at the end of the ceremony the *pasko personasim* remove it. During the ceremony for a patron saint the saint's flag, which is carried by the *pasko personasim*, is tied to the cross when a service is not going on which demands the presence of the *pasko personasim* and flag in the church or in a procession.

Pueblo Cross and Division-Line Cross. The pueblos of Bánari and Arócosi have pueblo crosses where processions from other pueblos are officially met and bid farewell.⁶ The division line between the two areas of Sialipacu and Caccacú is marked by a large wooden cross dated 1728. This date apparently had been changed from 1778. Also, a complex of three crosses marks the division where the fresh water of the

Mayo River meets the salt water of the Gulf of California. These crosses are only a few examples of a class of crosses, boundary crosses.

Cemetery Crosses. The *Campo Santo* (Spanish: cemetery) is also full of little colored wooden grave crosses and has one large central *kúrus del perdón* (Mayo: cross of pardon). The small individual crosses may be replaced or repainted each November and the old ones burned. The crosses are painted blue, gray, green, white, or black. Some are even orange or red, but our acquaintances seemed to feel these were bad colors for cemetery crosses.

Tebatpo Kurus. As one becomes better acquainted with the river valley he begins to notice one or more wooden crosses located in the patio in front of some of the houses. This cross or complex of crosses is called by Mayos, *hóapo kúrus* (Mayo: cross at the house) or *tebatpo kúrus* (cross in the patio).

In the Mayo River Valley most *tebatpo kuru-sim* are of about the same style. In the Sialipacu area one sometimes sees *tebatpo kuru-sim* of round unworked members; however, farther downstream they are generally made of rectangular timbers about two by four inches in width and varying from two to four feet in height (Figure 1). Some have slightly flaring arms (Figure 1a) and others are straight. In Arócosi and Homecarit a second type of house cross (Figure 1b) was observed. These interesting crosses, of single-piece construction, were observed, in both locations, placed beside a cross of the first type.⁷ All are unpainted.

Families have one, two, or even three *kurusim* in their house patios, the extra crosses depending upon the age of the first and second, according to some of our acquaintances. For one never throws a *tebatpo kuru-sim* away when it gets old, but simply places a new one behind it. We were also told that a second or third cross may be set up to protect the old people of the household from falling.⁸

Apparently some area specialization exists in the form of *tebatpo kuru-sim*. For example, on the Lower Fuerte River, in the pueblo of Rosales, the *tebatpo kuru-sim* takes the form of a *sánta kúrus*

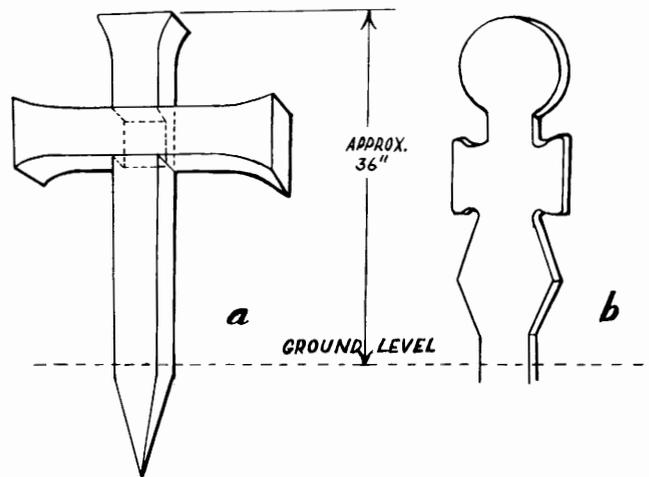


Figure 1. *Two Kinds of Mayo House Cross.* a, the typical kind of house cross; b, an unusual kind of house cross only found beside one of type a.

(Mayo: holy cross, made of wood, with a palm arch from arm to arm). A bit farther up the river black *tebatpo kuru-sim* are observed and just south of Veracruz some *tebatpo kuru-sim* have piles of rocks at the bases as does the Veracruz *paskola ramada* cross. On the eastern edge of this pueblo some crosses with lathed arms are found. Since, however, we did no intensive work in this area, no Mayo explanation for these differences in forms was discovered.

After some observation it was noted that a *kurus* has a front and a back side or one that is always the flowered side and usually faces all action centered about or upon the cross. A notch is cut from the inner face of each member for fitting the members together. The flowered side, or face, is the one that presents the unbroken cross member (Figure 1a). This latter is sometimes fastened into the notch either with a wooden pin or metal bolt, or may even be tied in place. A metal nail is never used nor are nails

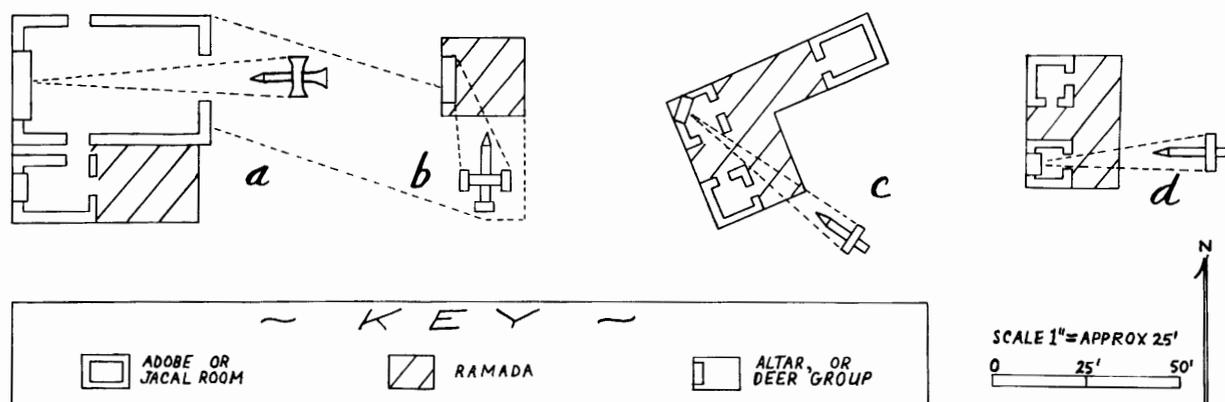


Figure 2. Typical Placements of the Church Cross, Paskola Ramada Cross, and House cross in Relation to the Church, Paskola Ramada, and Mayo Home. a, the church and church cross; b, the paskola ramada and cross; c and d, the Mayo home and house cross.

used in furniture, perhaps, as one of our acquaintances suggested, because Christ was nailed to the cross. The pointed bottom of the cross is placed in a small hole in the ground (Figure 1a).

Spatially the house cross is most frequently located to the south or the east of the house door and faces the door and the altar, which is on the west wall of the house (Figure 2c, d). Among Yaquis, Spicer has noted that "every Yaqui household has one such cross, usually to the east and some thirty paces from the house; it may be from three or four to six or seven feet high" (1958: 435).⁹ All our Mayo acquaintances had small altars with pictures of several santos on the west wall inside their bedrooms. This positioning places the face of the house cross facing the setting sun and the santos on the altar facing the cross and the rising sun.

It is interesting to note that the tebatpo kurus is found in the approximate directional relation to the house and house altar as the kurus yo'owe is to the church and church altar. The same relationship is found for the paskola ramada and the positioning of the performing deer singers, who face the rising sun, like the santos on the altar (Figure 2). Many of the Mayo churches face east, with the kurus yo'owe placed on the eastern side, facing the church and its altar. In other words, the altar is in the west end of the church so that

the santos face the kurus and the rising sun, as do the santos of the house altars (Figure 2c and 2d). This is not the case for the Bánari church which was built in 1937; however, the old church that it replaced seems to have had the eastern orientation. Figure 2 represents an ideal type which is exemplified in the Homecarit church and paskola ramada directional setup. In all the paskola ramadas which we observed, the deer singers were seated in the western end of the ramada so they sing to the direction of the rising sun, and the ramada kurus yo'owe was positioned to the southeast of where they sat.

Thus we see that the house cross, the church cross, and the paskola ramada cross share form, and perhaps elements of meaning, in terms of directional relationship to santos or deer singers. Later we shall show that these types of kurusim share function and meaning.

HYPOTHESIS

The preceding facts form the background for the presentation of a hypothesis. My research was directed to gathering facts to illuminate or modify the hypothesis that the tebatpo kurus constitutes a symbol in the system of Mayo ethnic identity. As data were gathered concerning the house cross and crosses in general, several lines of analysis came to mind:

1) A discussion of areas where tebatpo kurusim

stood all year, or were erected only at Lent or for a funeral, compared with areas where few or no house crosses were observed at any time, to show how the distribution of tebatpo kurusim might correlate with other factors;

2) A thorough examination of the material items of several families to test the assumption that material wealth affects the existence of a tebatpo kurus, combined with an examination of Mayo and mestizo families to check individual and family social participation, individual attitudes towards having tebatpo kurusim, and other attitudes towards Mayos and non-Mayos, all in order to examine the assumptions that on the family level having a tebatpo kurus is associated with being *pobre* (poor in material goods), participation in Mayo society, and identification as Mayo by other Mayos;

3) A study of the linkage of the tebatpo kurus with Mayo ceremonial contexts in order to discover the meaning for Mayos of this cross.

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION OF TEBATPO KURUSIM

In the early part of the field work a broad survey knowledge of the river valley was sought (Figures 3 and 4). Many pueblos were visited, and after trips the position of each cross seen, especially tebatpo kurusim, was noted in the log. Since many pueblos were visited only once or at most several times and many crosses are not placed in plain view, there must be many more house crosses in existence than were observed. With the exception of our visits in the Camalobo area, which were more thorough, these survey visits were conducted in a more or less uniform manner, either alone or with one and the same informant. No attempt was made to "find" crosses; however, when one was seen a mental note was made of its location, and it was entered in the log that evening. Through the informality of this survey it was hoped that similar chances to see and note crosses would exist for most areas of the river valley, thus yielding a meaningful sample without resorting to more detailed counting methods which might be looked upon as

strange by local residents while at the same time becoming very time-consuming.

Even though we covered most of the Mayo River Valley in the course of the survey, or later when visiting acquaintances or on ceremonial business, some areas were not visited where more tebatpo kurusim probably exist. In the areas between Tecu, Bajeye, Cucuséborá, Hermosa, and Las Sierritas, no crosses were seen even though the area was visited several times. Very few crosses were seen in the areas between Arócosi, Sanabampo, and Bajitetam. This is not because crosses do not exist in large numbers there, but because the areas were spottily visited. The Arócosi area is said to be one of high Mayo concentration and if the hypothesis stated here has any validity, many house crosses should exist in bush villages up and down the river near Arócosi. Besides, in the river valley many families live outside of the villages, in groups of two or three houses, at the edges of their fields. Many of these families also have tebatpo kurusim. For example, this pattern is common near Las Palmas and Los Azules. For this reason it is difficult to give a very accurate estimate of the number of Mayo and mestizo families without simply combing the valley.

Another factor qualifies the data. Since the survey was conducted before the busy ceremonial Lenten season, some tebatpo kurusim which were erected for Lent were not observed except in the Camalobo area and in neighboring pueblos, in Sialipacu and some surrounding pueblos, and along the highways between.

Three positionings of house crosses were noted: first, a wooden kurus from two to four feet in height on the average, placed in the ground in the house *tébat* (Mayo: patio); second, a wooden kurus from two to three feet in height placed in the ground in the tebat only during the season of Lent and then either completely removed or concealed in a bush later; and third, a wooden kurus about three feet high concealed in a bush or hung against a post in a ramada the year around. Few of the third category were seen. Of course they are less easy to spot than the others.

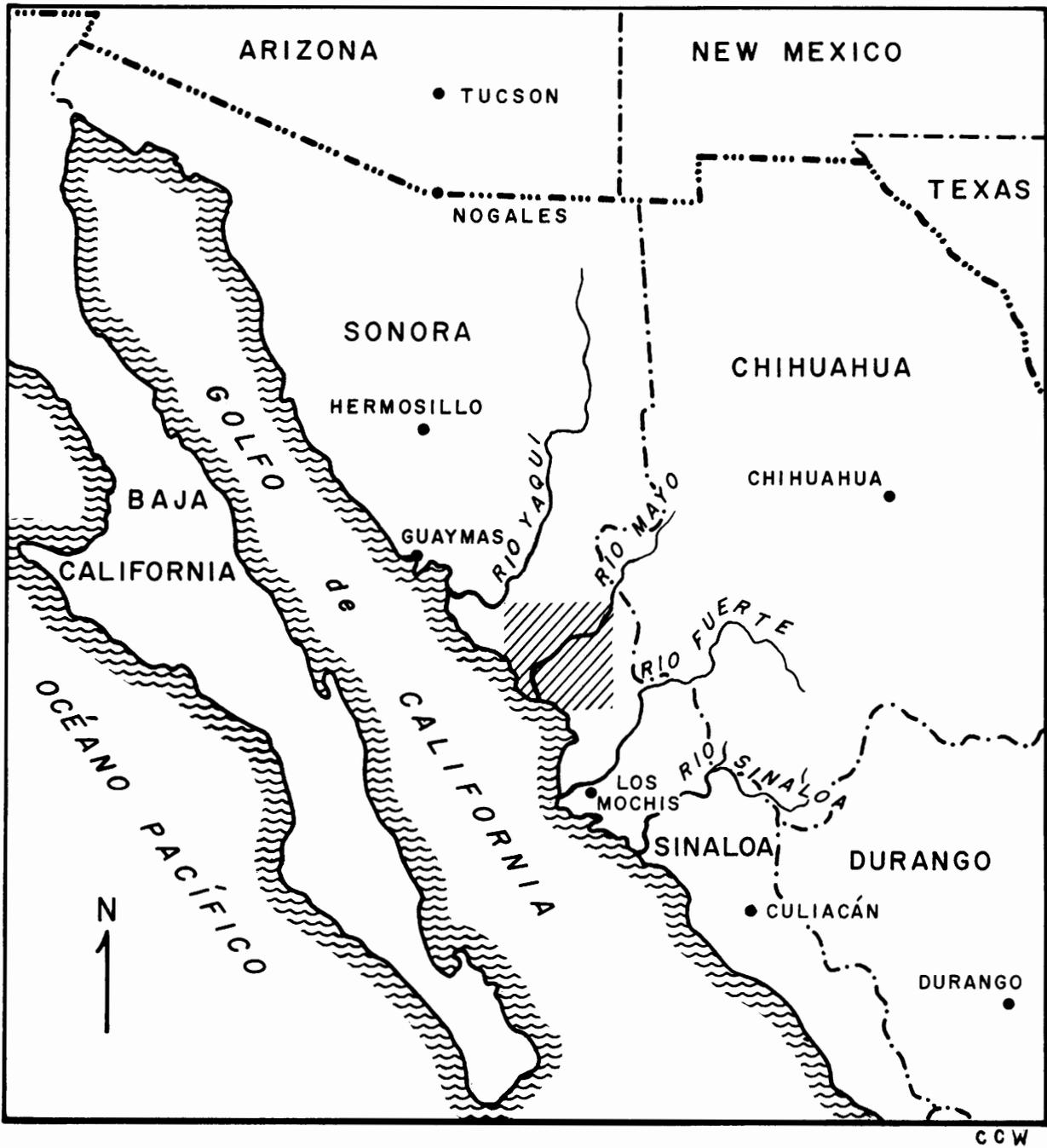


Figure 3. Map of Northwest Mexico.

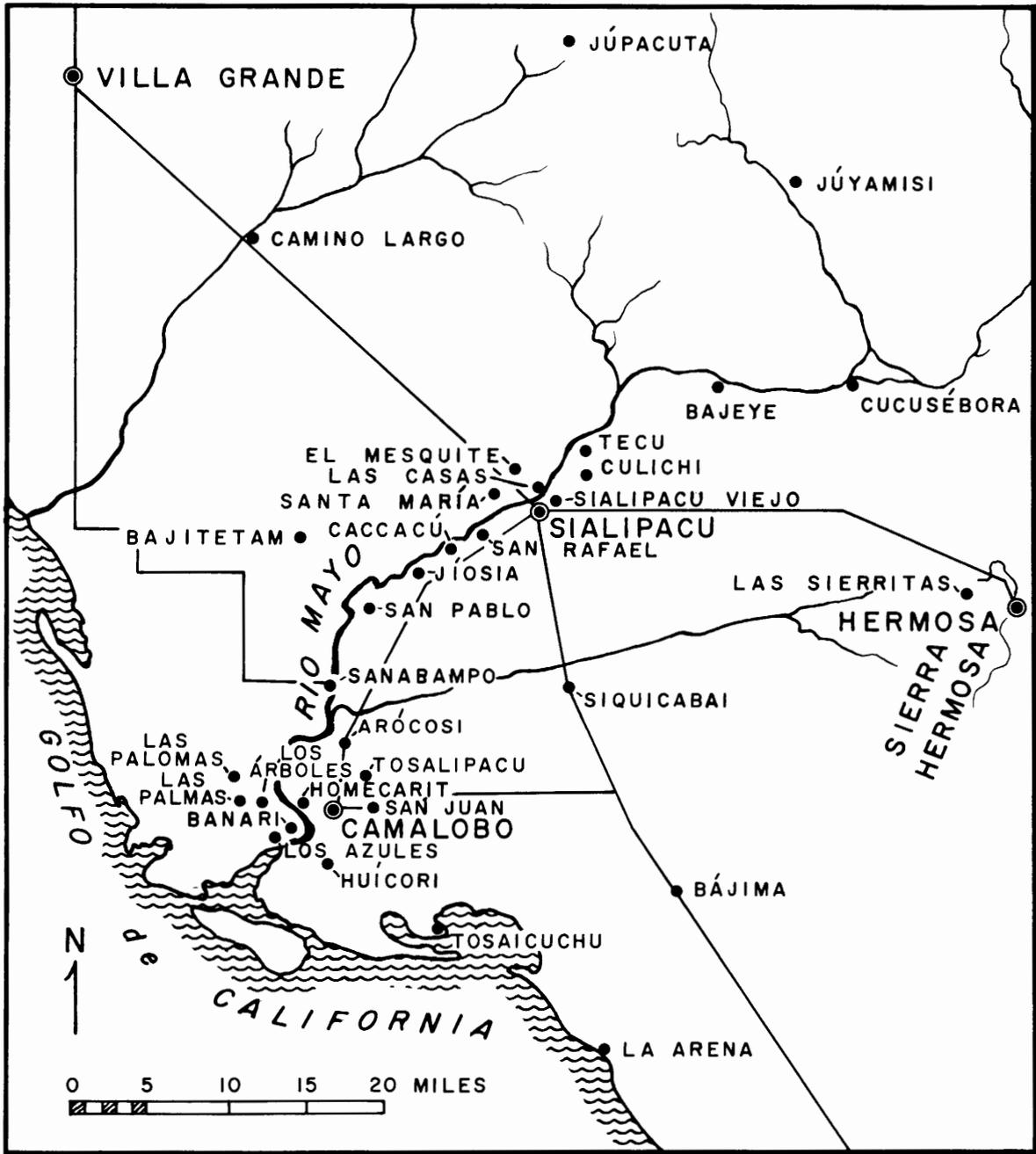


Figure 4. Map of Some Mayo River Valley Pueblos.

One wooden cross, about three feet long, lay high in a tree in front of the house of one of our acquaintances. Another was noted in a ramada of a second acquaintance. Neither of these crosses was placed in the ground during Lent or at any time we were in Sialipacu or Camalobo, and these houses were very carefully checked from time to time. Both families are participating in mestizo rather than Mayo society, though the head of each of the families has one Mayo parent, and in both cases his parent is still alive, is not living with the family, and is visited by him.

The following churches have a *kurus yo'owe* and one or more bells mounted on wooden poles or a cement arch in the ground in front of or beside the church: Júyamisi, Bajeye, Tecu, San Rafael, Caccacú, San Pablo, Arócosi, Huícori, and Bánari. Also, there are others in the valley of which I do not have knowledge. Homecarit and Tosalipacu have *kurusim* but no bells, while the bells at Pueblo Viejo, Sialipacu, were placed in a tower on the roof of the church, since, as one of our mestizo acquaintances rationalized, the burros scratched themselves on them, ringing the bells. The removal of the bells from their traditional spot, along with the placing of semipermanent benches or pews inside the Pueblo Viejo church, appear to indicate strong non-Mayo influence. However, the church still retains its *kurus yo'owe*.

House crosses exist on the northern side of the river near Sialipacu and in the bush barrios of the municipio, such as Culichi. A real concentration of *tebatpo kurusim* appears as one moves farther down the river below San Rafael. From this point to the mouth of the river one finds clusters of *tebatpo kurusim* in such places as Caccacú, San Pablo, Huícori, Tosalipacu, and Bánari.

Hermosa and Upriver Areas. From Tecu up the river no crosses were observed even though several trips were made through this area. It is probable that they are to be found here in isolated settlements, though they are not seen on the main trails and roads. The lack of *tebatpo kurusim* in this area, as well as near Hermosa and Las Sieritas, is perhaps due to certain types of extended

culture contact and Mayo cultural loss resulting from this contact. However, periodic censuses show that this area has long been one of sparse Mayo concentration relative to the lower area of the river valley, and that the Spanish were much more numerous up the river (Acosta 1949: 100).

Júyamisi is also in the foothills of the mountains and lies on the old road north from Hermosa. An old school in colonial-style architecture located in the center of the village indicates a relatively long and intense period of contact. A church with a *kurus yo'owe* and bells also exists in Júyamisi; however, no *tebatpo kurusim* were seen. Our mestizo informant claimed small ones did exist on some of the houses in the hills. In explaining that the native language was not spoken there in the village anymore, he said, "The people are Yoris now." In support of this statement he said that the Lenten observances in Júyamisi have been shortened to only one or two days of ceremony, on the Saturday of Glory and Easter Sunday. (In the lower valley, ceremonies continue, off and on, for seven weeks.)

Moving on down the river to Bajeye, *tebatpo kurusim* are not obvious. The early road that linked Hermosa to the more northern parts of Mexico went through Bajeye, making possible continual Mayo-mestizo contact. In Bajeye there is a small church with a *kurus yo'owe*. Very similar conditions appear to have existed in Tecu. Though the early road did not pass directly through this pueblo the later railroad did. It linked Sialipacu with Hermosa and passed through Tecu until the 1930's when it was removed. In Tecu there is also a church with a *kurus yo'owe* and bell. This appears to be an area of considerable Mayo population and it is reported that Lenten ceremonies take place in both Tecu and Bajeye. Both villages had old rural federal schools which in 1961 were being replaced with new ones. However in a small rancheria, which has been under the influence of a rural school for many years, located near Tecu, one cross was observed and more probably exist. Also, standing *tebatpo kurusim* were observed in this area in quantities at Culichi. Also in this area live several *paskolam*

who are some of the finest on the Mayo River. Their houses which we observed had standing *tebatpo kurusim*. Furthermore, in November, these families erected high tables called *tapánkóm* (Mayo: tables for the dead) where food for the returning dead is placed. Thus the conservatism of this community may be indicated by the presence and use of their house crosses.

Sialipacu Area. The relocated pueblo of Sialipacu, on the hill, is a young town first settled around 1914 after a great flood which drove the people out of the older, lower part of the city. No *tebatpo kurusim* were observed in the new section of Sialipacu and only a few permanent ones exist in the old section, not far from the old church with the *kurusyo*. As stated earlier, the church shows extensive influence from mestizo contact.

Tebatpo kurusim do exist just north of the river near the old section of Sialipacu, however, in the barrios of Las Casas, Santa María, and near El Mesquite, for example. The members of several of these families with crosses are active Mayos, for they participated in Mayo society as *pasko personasim*. We had no knowledge of the other families.

Near El Mesquite one house was noted as having a decorated cross tied to a post in a ramada which is to the south of the house. When asked if these people were mestizo or Mayo one of our mestizo acquaintances who lives in that area answered very positively that they are Yoreme. Also another family has, high in a tree beside the house, a three-and-one-half-foot cross. This cross did not come down for Lent, however. The head of the household appears to feel that he has a cross and it does not have to be in the ground. This, as we shall demonstrate, is not the case for a Yoreme, for the *tebatpo kurusim* is an integral part of participation in the Easter ceremonies. This individual speaks Mayo but married a mestizo woman, now prefers to speak Spanish, participates as far as we know chiefly in mestizo society, and identifies himself as a mestizo.

After the construction of the railroad and the yards where Sialipacu is today the town began to

expand and became the center for labor. Thus many people drifted to Sialipacu from all of Mexico and it began to be a more important source of culture contact for the Mayo River Valley. In the last few years the railroad switch has been moved north to Empalme and much of the labor that used to gather in Sialipacu now goes farther north.

Thus the areas closest to the city of Sialipacu have some families who are identified by others as Mayo, participate in Mayo society, and have *tebatpo kurusim*; however, the area appears to have undergone intensive cultural contact of different types, and some Mayo cultural loss. For example, concerning the ceremony of the Holy Cross in Pueblo Viejo, Sialipacu, one of the Mayo lay ministers of the area mentioned that this ceremony was not held anymore, claiming it was because the Mayo *pasko personasim* had forgotten about it and did not care to give it anymore.¹⁰

Also on the main line of the railroad is the pueblo of Siquicabai, located on the highway a few miles south of Sialipacu. All three types of *tebatpo kurusim* are to be found here: crosses in the ground all year; crosses in the ground only at Easter; and smaller crosses placed on fences, in bushes, or trees, which were never seen in use. Siquicabai is a pueblo undergoing definite signs of cultural change. One old Siquicabai woman said sadly that thirty years ago everyone in Siquicabai was a Yoreme and now they were all Yoris. But only during Lent was a *tebatpo kurusim* placed in the *tebat* of the house where she herself lived. Thus it appears that through temporary or hidden crosses one can see evidence of the fact that at least one aspect of Mayo identity is becoming less important to some of the people of Siquicabai. Only a few miles into the bush west of the highway near the pueblo are other settlements where permanent house crosses may be found. During Lent, Mayo friends reported, many families in these settlements had placed previously-concealed house crosses in their patios for the season.

Caccacú, San Pablo, Arócosi Areas. Farther downriver the ceremonial centers still appear to

be intact. Caccacú has a small Mayo church with several houses with tebatpo kurusim closely surrounding it. Near Caccacú is located a family with tebatpo kurusim. The head of the household, who refused to speak any language but Mayo when we visited, was participating in Mayo society as a ceremonial performer at Lent and as a pasko persona.

Both Old and New San Pablo are dense areas of tebatpo kurusim with nearly as many if not more than the Bánari area. In the Old Pueblo of San Pablo a house cross was noted at the house of a family whose members spoke only Mayo on our visit and were participating as a household in Mayo ceremonial life. A Mayo church is also found in Old San Pablo, with kurus and bells. Many tebatpo kurusim were also observed in New San Pablo, one family having two small crosses with the smaller, or older, placed just in front of the other.

In the Sanabampo area only one tebatpo kurusim was observed, that of a family living several miles north of town in the country. This was at the home of a family of Yaqui fireworks makers. During our visit to pick up some fireworks for a ceremony, only Mayo or Yaqui was spoken.

Sanabampo, as noted before, has no Mayo church and, we were told, consists largely of mestizos rather than Mayos. Farther north is found the pueblo of Bajitetam, with a Mayo church and clusters of houses with tebatpo kurusim, surrounding the church.

In Arócosi, during the ceremony for the patron saint, Espiritu Santu, several crosses were placed in the town. Just outside of Arócosi three pueblo crosses, delineating the boundary, were erected in a field. Here the Arócosi pasko personasim met the down-river pasko personasim who were bringing the images of the Santísima Tinirans from Bánari and Huícori churches. The procession moved on into the town, resting the saints at a point where two crosses, one of each type shown in Figure 1, had been placed, and then moved on to a house with a large tebatpo kurusim. The house cross was at the end of arches through which the procession passed. The San-

tísima Tinirans then rested at the house before continuing to the church. Several days later it was noted that the crosses, except for the three marking the pueblo boundary, had been removed and were leaning against the wall of a house nearby, not even the same house where they were used.

Also in Arócosi we noted a cross concealed in a ramada. This cross did not come down during Lent. This case is similar to that described for the mestizo with a Mayo history in El Mesquite. The head of this Arócosi family knows the Mayo language, has one Mayo parent, but prefers Spanish and participates in mestizo society, is educating his children to be non-Mayo, and identifies himself as mestizo.

With its Mayo church, Tosalipacu and its surrounding pueblitos form a ceremonial subcenter, having groups of house crosses, especially close to the church itself.

The ceremonial centers, such as those of Caccacú, San Pablo, and Arócosi, which celebrate the seven weeks of Lent and the local saints' days, are areas of strong Mayo ceremonial participation. They are also among the areas of highest concentration of tebatpo kurusim.

Camalobo Area. In the vicinity of Camalobo, including the pueblos of San Juan, Huícori, Homecarit, Bánari, Los Arboles, and Las Palomas, by far the largest number of tebatpo kurusim were seen; however, the longest and most intensive periods of fieldwork were spent in this area. It is probable that Camalobo has been a non-Mayo culture center, relatively speaking, for many years. One old Mayo cowboy said he could remember when it was simply a few Mayo houses. At the time of the 1910 revolution Camalobo had a garrison of forty men well-armed and supplied under the orders of the municipal president (Obregon 1960: 5). For the last several years Camalobo has had rail and highway connections with Sialipacu.

In Camalobo one finds that many families place their crosses in their patios only during Lent or for funerals. At other times the cross is concealed in a bush or placed at the side of the house,

or somewhere out of sight. One man who has lived in Camalobo nearly all his life, having been born there, participates every year as a ceremonial performer in the Easter ceremonies among other ceremonial duties. This man is certainly a Mayo in terms of social participation and definitely has a house cross, but we knew him a long time before we spotted his house cross. It is tied in a bush.

Tosaicuchu is a present-day port town and is a mixed mestizo-Mayo community. At least two houses with tebatpo kurusim exist on the edge of town. A railroad from Camalobo used to run to Tosaicuchu for salt and fish but it was removed a few years ago, and nothing but the railroad bed remains today. Large fishing boats as well as smaller ones are seen in the harbor and many North Americans and rich Mexicans use it as a fishing port. Thus Tosaicuchu is a complex port town rather than a conservative Mayo stronghold.

San Juan is a comparatively rich farming ejido composed of many mestizo families as well as Mayos, and consists of adobe houses rather than jacal for the most part. Electricity has been installed in San Juan. Some families have tebatpo kurusim there. It is interesting to note that of the three families from San Juan with which we became well acquainted through attendance at Friday of Lent processions and other ceremonies, and whom we visited in their homes, all have tebatpo kurusim. When we were inquiring about the locations of a Mayo family in this pueblo, the stranger whom we approached and questioned in Mayo then went to a woman who had a tebatpo kurus and discussed the matter further in Mayo. This exemplifies the pattern that families with tebatpo kurusim were generally found to use the Mayo language. We had also inquired in Mayo at another house, without a tebatpo kurus, and the answer came back in Spanish, "What are you selling?"

The pueblos and surrounding areas of Huícori, Homecarit, Bánari, Los Arboles, and Las Palomas, are dense areas of tebatpo kurusim con-

centration. Homecarit's church has a Santa Kurus image and is the location of two traditional Mayo ceremonies for the Santa Kurus, one May 1 to 3 and the other September 4 to 14. Huícori is a pueblo having Santísima Tiniran as patron, competing with Bánari, also having the Santísima Tiniran. In Huícori the ceremonies of Santísima Tiniran, of San Francisco, and of *Warésma* (Mayo: Lent) are celebrated. Around the church in Huícori are scattered several houses with tebatpo kurusim ranging in size from three feet high to a large one some five feet high. Bánari gives ceremonies for Santísima Tiniran, San Juan, Guadalupe, and San Ignacio, and with the pasko personasim from Homecarit's Santa Kurus, performs Waresma ceremonies. In Bánari itself there are, out of about eighty-five houses, some forty-five with tebatpo kurusim. Of this number at least two families have double kurusim and at least one family has triple kurusim, which is the highest concentration of house crosses observed in a village either in the Mayo River Valley or in the Fuerte River Valley. Near Bánari where the old bridge was, there are several houses with tebatpo kurusim. These houses are located on the high north bank of the river near the sacred Mayo area which is marked with a large cross under a huge tree.¹¹ All the families we knew in Bánari, Los Azules, and Las Palomas had tebatpo kurusim and participated in Mayo society, though there are also non-Mayos resident in all these settlements.

In this chapter, evidence has been presented to demonstrate that all up and down the river a high density of tebatpo kurusim correlates with Mayo social participation and with the distribution of ceremonial centers. In the following chapter the families that we knew best will be carefully analyzed in order to examine on the family level the hypothesis that Mayo ethnic identity and having a tebatpo kurus are positively correlated in terms of social participation and cultural behavior and that wealth does not correlate with the presence of a tebatpo kurus.

Chapter 4

SOCIETAL AND WEALTH CORRELATES OF THE TEBATPO KURUS

MATERIAL WEALTH AND INSTANCES OF TEBATPO KURUSIM

After examining the positioning of tebatpo kurusim in the Mayo Valley and realizing that only certain houses have a cross of this type, one begins to examine other aspects of life which may be shown to be in a relationship with the existence of the house cross. A preliminary hypothesis was formed that wealth, as measured by the house and material items owned by a family, was related to having a tebatpo kuras.

A list of material items was made out and twenty-three households were observed during visits. At no time were individuals asked about ownership of items unobserved but the item was simply left blank until it was either observed or its absence was definitely noted or until someone in the family volunteered information on the subject. A more direct survey technique was not employed for several reasons. First, this sort of technique, we feared, might leave us open to suspicion. People tend to question the reason behind such an approach and we did not want Mayos to mistake us for representatives of merchants, government officials, or any other such group. Also it became apparent that people often exaggerate their wealth when operating in mestizo society and minimize it among Mayo friends. When directly asked about their wealth Mayos often say, "We are all equally poor," which has a great deal of truth in it. Since the number of families we could afford to study intensively was to be comparatively small it was necessary that the information be as reliable as possible. After several chats in the household one often found that it was possible to nearly complete the schedule without having asked any direct questions. The blanks remaining could then be filled in after later visits.

Thus a large sample is sacrificed for thoroughness and rapport.

The majority of the households are taken from the *municipio* (Spanish: administrative unit more or less similar to a county) of Camalobo, since this was the area in which we spent most of our time. We attended the Bánari church and eventually learned where some of the people who were receptive to us lived. These people, plus several others whom we met in the Sialipacu area and at the ceremony for the Santa Kuras in Homecarit, constituted the families we became intimately acquainted with through visits and common ceremonial participation.

The schedule included a list of the following items: adobe house or jacal; three adobe rooms or fewer; electric lights or none; "store bought" corn meal or metate-ground; radio or none; shoes or sandals; more beds or more cots; painted furniture or not painted; Mayo blankets or other; well or tap water close to house or canal water; own land the house is on or do not own it; bicycle or none; house altar or none; crops raised; cows or none; goats or none; sheep or none; pigs or none; horses or none; sewing machine or none; number of working adults in household; number of dependents; proximity to a church-cemetery area or proximity to a municipal center; and the tebatpo kuras was noted as either absent, in the ground, in a tree or ramada or fence, leaning to the side of the house or in a bush, and/or standing only during Lenten season. We also noted if and when the house cross was decorated, and with what type and color of flowers or decoration. When the households were tabulated and compared, it was discovered that no differences could be found between some mestizo and some Mayo households with the exceptions of the existence

or non-existence of a *tebatpo kurus* and its associated patterns. In speaking of the townspeople's lumping of country mestizos and Mayos, Charles Erasmus also concludes that a real confusion does exist, for the houses and standard of living are often quite indistinguishable (1961: 203). He also states that "most housing in the country villages as well as much of the third-class housing in town is simple cornerpost construction with adobe or mud-and-wattle walls and dirt floors and earth roof, and costs less than two thousand pesos or under a hundred and sixty dollars" (1961: 206-207).

Our sample consists almost entirely of members of this group. For example, a typical mestizo household in our sample has a small one-room jacal house with no electricity, dirt floor, and water supply from an open irrigation canal. A comparable Mayo household owns a jacal house, has no electricity, a canal water supply, uses metate-ground corn meal, and owns no animals except chickens. The poverty of both houses is almost identical, but the Mayo house is marked by a *tebatpo kurus* which is often decorated and cared for. The heads of these two households do part-time labor and work small ejido parcels. The summer of 1961 the Mayo household produced four hectares, or less than ten acres, of cotton, the money earned going to pay debts, buy new clothes, and to give and attend religious ceremonies.

These cases are typical of many Mayo and mestizo families, and demonstrate that visible wealth and earning bases of Mayo families are very similar, if not identical, in many cases, with those of non-Mayos. It is the spending patterns which differ importantly. It is also obvious in the example that one of the few important physically observable differences between this type of Mayo and mestizo family is the existence of a house cross and the patterns associated with it. Attendance at and participation, often through spending, in Mayo religious services and at Mayo ceremonies is considered as the most diagnostic type of Mayo social participation.

Other Mayo households have more material

objects; for example, two and three rooms, adobe house construction, bicycles, sewing machines, and electricity. On the basis of wealth these Mayos cannot be separated from a majority of local mestizo households. The difference again lies in the visible religious symbols and in the pattern of social participation connected with those symbols. Wealthier Mayos we knew were still strong, and often the strongest, social participants in Mayo religious life. Thus a combined consideration of wealth, social participation, and family standard attitudes toward self-identity seemed to be more reasonable than a single discussion of wealth in mestizo and Mayo households. This is amply demonstrated by the following facts.

First, Mayo and poor non-Mayo families have about the same material possessions and often have similar occupations. Secondly, no mestizo families appeared often enough at Mayo religious activities, our main occasions for making new acquaintances, for us to make any mestizo acquaintances in this way. Thirdly, almost all people met at Mayo religious activities often enough to become our acquaintances turned out to be able to speak Mayo well, to be strong in Mayo social participation, to identify themselves as Mayo, and to have a *tebatpo kurus*. Fourthly, none of our mestizo acquaintances ever elected of their own free will to introduce us to Mayo friends or families, but always took us to visit their mestizo friends, whereas Mayos visited their own Mayo ceremonial and real kin, thus indicating a mestizo-mestizo and Mayo-Mayo social visiting pattern.

SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCATION OF HOUSES

Some meaningful ideas may, however, be abstracted solely from the material collected about the wealth and location of the households; first, mestizo and Mayo settlement patterns vary in some locales, and secondly, a difference in wealth correlates with the area in which one lives rather than with mestizo or Mayo ethnic affiliation, for the most part.

Difference in settlement pattern for Mayos and mestizos appeared particularly in small villages, such as Huícori and Bánari, and in larger towns such as Camalobo. Non-Mayo housing is found around the business and school areas set up in square blocks with the houses facing the streets. Mayo settlement pattern at first appears haphazard. However, after careful examination, several general rules may be abstracted: first, the facing of houses east, south, or southeast is very common in the villages; secondly, the positioning of Mayo housing in the town is similarly patterned. As has been noted before, this puts the house altar in a certain definite relationship to the house cross.

The positioning of Mayo households in conservative villages is governed by the general rule that the houses cluster around the Mayo church and cemetery, or around the edges of larger towns where there is no Mayo church. For example, most all the houses with tebatpo kurusim in Bánari and Huícori are found clustered around the Mayo church-cemetery sacred area, and the Mayo houses in Camalobo with tebatpo kurusim during Lent are found either near the cemetery or at the edges of town nearest Bánari and Huícori. In these communities the mestizo households are found in the commercial center of town and around the schools.

Spicer mentions this same contrast of settlement patterns for Sonoran Yaqui communities (1961: 71-72):

It was obvious, however, that . . . two different settlement patterns were competing. The old plan of fenced households irregularly clustered in the vicinity of a church was in part realized, but at the same time portions of the communities were laid out in a grid plan with houses flush with the streets and patios behind. The fact was that most of the Yaqui communities had two civic centers, one the church and the headquarters of the civil governors and the other the Mexican army headquarters, a federal rural school, small stores, bakeries, and perhaps a pool hall. Around the latter, houses were placed in the Mexican way, around the church in the older Yaqui way (1961: 71).

The second idea abstracted from our sample

of households is that a family's material wealth depends more on the community in which the family lives than upon its self-identification as Mayo or non-Mayo. Camalobo, San Juan, and Bánari together show not only the range of wealth types, but also the range of observed tebatpo kurus positional types. In Camalobo, our Mayo acquaintances in the sample were indeed poor, having only jacal houses, with no electricity, no radio, water carried from a public spigot or from canals, a bed, and one or two handmade chairs.¹² The tebatpo kurus was either disguised in a bush or completely hidden from view except during Lent, when it became quite obvious. This is perhaps a result of fear or social pressure in Camalobo, since definite sanctions have been brought to bear against the *pasko* (Mayo: a word referring to the paskola and deer dance and song aspects of a ceremony) type of Mayo house ceremonies in the town.¹³

In Bánari the standard of living is similar to that of Mayos in Camalobo. Out of some forty-five houses which have tebatpo kurusim, all but four or five are jacal houses without electricity, and all have a water supply from a canal or shallow well. Of the several of these which are adobe, one has a single adobe room with no electricity and no chairs, only benches, and one of the others is across town from the church in the mestizo section, and has two adobe rooms, a jacal kitchen, electricity, and a radio. This latter household, which is in the mestizo section of town and quite isolated positionally from other Mayo houses, has for many years lacked old people and is not one of the conservative households; however, the social participation of this family is definitely Mayo. Most of these forty-five households permit their tebatpo kurusim to remain up the year around and many decorate them for the day of the Santa Kurus, May 3. In San Juan the Mayos and mestizos are both rich, relative to the standards of Bánari Mayos and mestizos. San Juan has very few jacal houses, the majority being two or three rooms in adobe construction. During our field-research period, electricity was installed in the community and even before this the sample

of households there included possessors of battery radios. In addition, well water is sold throughout the community or people carry drinking water from wells and not from irrigation canals. For an example of a house in this pueblo, a representative one includes two separate adobe rooms and an adobe kitchen connected by spacious ramadas, a radio, three beds, four chairs (two of which are rocking chairs), an unpadded divan, two bicycles, and a sewing machine, and the family was looking forward to electricity and hoping for piped water in their pueblo. They had, however, three hard-working men. On the whole there was no way to distinguish, by standard of living, Mayo households such as this one from mestizo households of San Juan, with the exception of the presence of the *tebatpo kurus*.

In conclusion, then, ethnic distinctions between poor mestizos and Mayos cannot be based on standard of living, and though settlement patterns are helpful in some communities they are not foolproof. Moreover, Mayos from different villages or towns, although their social participation as Mayos is fairly equal, have different standards of living, though they do not generally admit it. Thus wealth apparently does not show whether the household is Mayo or poor mestizo, but depends, at least partially, upon the community of which the household is a part. Poorer Mayo and mestizo people tend to live in Bánari, for example, and richer in San Juan, because there are more opportunities for becoming richer in San Juan.

SOCIETAL CORRELATES OF THE *TEBATPO KURUS*

Fourteen of the mestizo and Mayo families whom we knew best and whom we visited or who visited us most often were selected and divided into three groups: mestizo, mestizo with Mayo ancestry, and Mayo. The families were classified on the basis of social participation and cultural behaviors. The mestizo division includes families who participate socially in mestizo society, consider Spanish rather than Mayo their language, and are relatively more future-oriented. The mestizo-with-Mayo-ancestry division includes families who participate socially in mestizo society,

consider Spanish rather than Mayo their language, and hold non-Mayo rather than Mayo identification for themselves. The difference between these two mestizo groups is that the latter includes families whose heads admit having had at least one Mayo parent and who hold some Mayo beliefs. The Mayo division includes families who participate socially in Mayo society, are proud of speaking Mayo at home and at church, behave as Mayos, and are identified by other Mayos as *Yoremem*. Furthermore, a distinction based more on attitudes toward material wealth and attitudes of advancement in the economic realm was discovered in the Mayo division and it was subdivided by families into two groups on this criterion alone: progressive and conservative. It must be emphasized that the way in which this term is used implies no more than an attitude toward wealth.

A fourth group, Mayos just turned mestizo, appeared again and again as an ideal pattern but we had no acquaintances who were members of this category. When asked, our acquaintances would say that people in Camalobo did not have *tebatpo kurusim* because "they are *Yoremes* turned *Yori*." After getting to know several of these Camalobo families, we found that they more or less clearly identified themselves as either Mayo or as non-Mayo and that those who identified themselves as Mayos participated in ceremonies and had concealed crosses which would be placed in the *tebat* during Lent. The mestizos with Mayo ancestry of our acquaintance had considered themselves non-Mayo for twenty or thirty years and were obviously strongly mestizo by this time, or wished to appear so. They also had mestizo spouses.

The first two groups – mestizos, and mestizos with Mayo ancestry – are well typified by the four families in these categories whom we got to know well. One of the families in each group was met through a letter of introduction, and the other two were met in the ordinary course of the everyday business world. None were met, needless to say, at ceremonies. In order to increase the probability of the group universality of pat-

terns discovered in these four cases, all patterns found were checked in all the other mestizo families of this social stratum whom we encountered with any degree of regularity, such as our neighbors and landlady, and so on.

Of the nine Mayo families we knew best, the five progressive ones and three of the conservative ones were met either at the Bánari or Home-carit churches while they were doing Mayo ceremonial labor, and the remaining conservative one was met in the course of our inquiring about a Mayo religious ceremony in which he was serving. The similarities found in this group were also checked, in order to increase the probability of universality, with all other Mayo families we encountered.

The families in each division were studied intensively and compared in quest of group patterns. Internal patterns were discovered and then group patterns were contrasted with one another. For example, the tendency toward aggressiveness was noted in the mestizo group. This then was checked with all the mestizo families or individuals we had encountered and was found to be true for the great majority. Moreover, it was noted that most often when a crisis or family argument occurred among our mestizo neighbors the guilty party had not been aggressive enough in a business deal and had been cheated. This tendency was also noted in the mestizo-with-Mayo-ancestry group. When the Mayo groups were examined this tendency was quite reversed. Mayos generally prefer to be polite and get cheated, rather than to get in an argument. They show very little confidence in themselves as actors in the business world of the mestizo, with an occasional notable exception, and generally are very gentle. A Mayo person among his own group of friends and compadres may be very aggressive, but in a subtle way, not ordering, but suggesting with firm words, backed up by sanctions of duty and tradition. When this abstraction was checked with all the Mayo families and individuals we knew, it was found to be generally true. The quiet-voiced man in the market, confused in his attempt to subtly handle Mexican currency and

sometimes pushed aside by others, very often turns out to be Mayo.

Thus, as patterns were abstracted and the three groups seemed clearly distinguishable, they were compared with one another, and the differences between groups were assumed to constitute a basis of ethnic difference. For this specific study it means that people with tebatpo kurusim do not tend to be aggressive in the business world of mestizos, for example, since nonaggressiveness in this context is a trait of the group in which nine out of nine cases have house crosses.

In the following section the theme which will be developed is one of contrasts between mestizo and Mayo families in terms of social participation and behavioral patterns. It will be shown that the Mayo families do in fact participate in Mayo religious life and behaviorally identify themselves as Mayos, whereas the mestizos participate in mestizo social life. Accomplishing this will be demonstrating the positive correlation of the tebatpo kurus with Mayo social participation and Mayo behavioral patterns.

Social Participation. In examining the social participation of the three groups, certain differences are noted.

As mentioned earlier the visiting pattern is one of Mayo-Mayo and mestizo-mestizo exchange. When one is visiting friends of a mestizo family the host family tends to be mestizo even in an area of high Mayo population. Mayo ancestors or an ancestor may even be concealed, or if the ancestor is still living, may be visited by only one member of the family who is closest kin to him; if he is the parent of a member of the household, this individual is especially likely to visit him. But the rest of the family may very likely never go along. On the other hand, parents of Mayo households often live with their sons and daughters, as is the ideal pattern, and are greatly respected. As we shall demonstrate in the last section of this study, the old people are regarded as great assets to the family, and are strongly linked with the tebatpo kurus. This loss of respect, of mestizo families for their old people, or perhaps more accurately speaking, their loss of interest in them,

is perhaps linked with a growing future orientation of urban Mexican society which is filtering into the rural areas and smaller towns.

The Mayo visiting pattern appears to be as ethnically oriented as does the mestizo, for Mayos generally visit Mayo compadres and kin. Some of the progressive Mayos have taken mestizo compadres, so some visiting must also take place between mestizos and Mayos; though we never observed an exchange of whole families in home visits we often saw Mayo and mestizo men drinking together. One day we took one of our Mayo families and drove to the port of La Arena, where a few Mayos live. Though this family is very progressive in many ways, two of the four families we visited had obvious tebatpo kurusim and during each of the visits only Mayo was spoken.

A great majority of mestizo social participation might be summarized in one word, *baile* (Spanish: dance). The mestizo family looks forward to, buys for, attends, and relishes the dance. It is the main type of social event and accompanies most mestizo weddings and fiestas. On our trips to a larger city nearby our mestizo acquaintances asked if it would be possible for us to bring a fancy pair of dress gloves for the daughters of the house to wear to a dance. We were told by other mestizo acquaintances how beautiful the Easter fiesta at one of the beaches was. Expecting a Mayo type of ceremony we were interested to learn later it would be a baile. The dance is similarly important for mestizos with Mayo ancestry. Both groups plan ahead for months for social dances, especially at weddings.¹⁴

Progressive Mayos also enjoy dances, attending and giving them. All Mayo dances we attended included an altar with a saint and a maestro who prays in connection with the event. But many of the most conservative Mayos feel that mestizo secular-type dances are bad, especially when attended to the detriment of obligated participation in a traditional ceremony occurring simultaneously.

Very seldom do members of mestizo families, even mestizos with Mayo ancestry, attend Mayo

ceremonies and when they do it is solely as observers or vendors. On the other hand, all the Mayo families we were acquainted with were constant participants in Mayo ceremonialism. Of the nine Mayo families particularly referred to here, all regularly attended the Friday processions of Lent, Holy Week, and the pasko on Saturday of Glory and Easter Sunday, and members of at least five of these families were central participants. In former years members of all the families have been important participants. In 1961 seven of the nine families had members who were pasko personasim and we know for certain that in former years at least eight of the nine families have occupied this status. Probably all have done so, but our data for members of the ninth family is not adequate on this point. All the families constantly attend patron-saints' ceremonies and home ceremonies both in the Mayo River Valley and in the Fuerte River Valley. Some members of all nine households belonged to Mayo ceremonial organizations during the year of 1961, as pasko personasim; *parisérom* (Mayo: Lenten male ceremonial society members, also called *hurásim*, Judases); *matačínim* (Mayo: dance society members, both males who dance for most ceremonial occasions except during Lent, and females who dance simultaneously with the male segment of the society for the ceremonies of the Santísima Tiniran and Espiritu Santu in the spring); *báhi Maríam* (Mayo: women and children having certain roles in the Lenten ceremonies); or as *kobanarom* (Mayo: church officials or pueblo officials).

Mayo Behavioral Patterns. The high value placed on the use of the Mayo language is characteristic of all nine Mayo families; however, three household heads of the progressive group do not speak flawless Mayo. In these three households Mayo is definitely preferred by other members who speak it excellently. In the four conservative households Mayo is definitely preferred; in one of these we never heard one word of Spanish, and in two the Spanish, when heard, is substandard. The mestizos and mestizos with Mayo ancestry definitely prefer Spanish and consider it their native language. The former group,

mestizos, considers the speaking of Mayo very quaint and terribly funny. Members of the mestizo-with-Mayo-ancestry group have a real fellowship with the language and enjoy speaking it when it is not to the detriment of their identification as non-Mayo. Thus families with tebatpo kurusim prefer to speak Mayo; however, the progressive ones are in some cases equally at home in Spanish, especially some of the younger members of the households.¹⁵

In the Mayo conservative group a patterned fear of strangers was noted, which is manifest in the children's having fear fits, and the adults' smoking with the left hand, spitting, and refusing to face or sit with their left sides exposed to the stranger. In the progressive Mayo group parents would proudly say, "Look at that child of mine, he isn't afraid of strangers." In the two mestizo groups these fears are not usually manifest. Nevertheless, spitting can be stimulated in mestizos with Mayo ancestry if, during social interaction with a Mayo, the Mayo constantly spits.

A great difference with regard to the goal of education of children exists between the Mayo and the other two groups. The families of mestizos and mestizos with Mayo ancestry are oriented around the school education of their children so that the children will be able to "get ahead." The parents were very proud to mention that their children want to learn how to read, to learn English in particular. Mayos also want their children to learn how to read, to show that they have "good heads" and are intelligent. But this does not mean they want them to learn mestizo culture or to get ahead by making a lot of money and keeping it for themselves. In some Mayo families the children are expected to speak Mayo at home though they learn to read Spanish at school. In others some children are spoken to in Spanish and are said not to be able to speak Mayo. However, they are still expected to act like Mayos, and to know their ceremonial roles when participating in ceremonies. The mature Mayos were the ones who came to us sincerely wanting to learn English, and really often putting genuine effort into it. This is in contrast to the mestizo parents who were

generally not interested in learning English themselves, but wanted their children to speak it.

There is a degree of difference in the time orientation of Mayo and mestizo culture as it is found in rural Northwest Mexico. The mestizo family there is working for a better life for tomorrow, working for their children, for the youth so the next generation will have something. All the Mayo families that we knew were not particularly or certainly not chiefly concerned with these matters. For them the greatest saint or the most respected person is generally the oldest. A family is truly poor if it does not have an old person. During Lent it is an old man who is run the Way of the Cross, like Christ. The mestizo emphasis on money and the Mayo distrust of it is partially explained when the two time orientations are realized. For mestizos money is the road to a bright future. For Mayos a great deal of money simply means the possessor has in all probability sold himself to the Devil or at least been in league with dark powers. As one of the families put it, in referring to a large pueblo ceremony at which hundreds of mestizo vendors were in the churchyard, "Much money fell within the four corners of that holy church ground, and it will not come out right for those who sold there. That is the place to give" (i.e., not to sell). The fear of strangers also might be interpreted in terms of fear of change and absence of orientation to the future as such. Families with tebatpo kurusim, then, speak Mayo, have patterned fear of strangers, want their children to learn Mayo and only enough Spanish to get along, and are not future-oriented—in other words, they are Mayos.

Mayos' Identification of Others. One mestizo with Mayo ancestry definitely identifies families with house crosses as Mayo, and when questioned, confirmed that "all Yoremes have a tebatpo kurus and Yoris don't." One Mayo acquaintance identifies the having of a tebatpo kurus with being poor and with Mayo-ness. When asked about a certain family in Camalobo who appears to be Mayo but to have no cross, he answered, "Yes, they are Mayos and they have a tebatpo kurus. It is up in a ramada and at Lent

it will come down to guard the house.” Another friend answered when asked why people in Camalobo don’t have house crosses, “I should think not; they are Yoremes turned Yori.” And a third Mayo answered when asked why people living in Camalobo for the most part had no house crosses, “Yoris live there.”

“Are people who have no tebatpo kuras sometimes Yoremem?”

“No, they are not Yoremem if they don’t have a tebatpo kuras. At times like Lent they come down to guard and then go back up. People with-

out crosses are Yoris or evangelistas. The people on both sides of my house don’t have crosses and they are evangelistas. They say they don’t die but that isn’t true, for I saw one die. It is just a belief.” Thus our Mayo acquaintances consider other families non-Mayo if they do not have a tebatpo kuras.

This section then constitutes a proof that Mayo social participation, cultural behavior patterns, and identification of other Mayos all positively correlate with the existence of a tebatpo kuras and its culturally-patterned use.

Chapter 5

THE CULTURAL CORRELATES OF THE TEBATPO KURUS

The tebatpo kurus in its cultural context refers to the cross as a symbol in Mayo thought, a symbol with a body of definite meaning for Mayos. This section will be an analysis of the Mayo ceremonies and orientations. Persons who share understandings of the meanings of the tebatpo kurus and of its symbol linkage are identified ethnically as Mayos.

Every instance of shared Mayo-type behavior is not conclusive evidence of ethnic identity, for mestizos sometimes promise to walk in certain Mayo processions or attend certain saints' ceremonies. Some sharing of even religious behavior between Mayos and mestizos is observed. For example, we met a young mestizo woman who had been promised to serve as an image bearer during Lenten ceremonies. She knew no Mayo words and had no idea of the Mayo meanings of the ceremony. The only knowledge she had was that her mother had promised her when she became ill from a fall and she had to serve. Mestizos and Mayos share the same church in some places, and in Bánari, for example, masses of mestizos appear on Good Friday to light candles and walk in the procession. They say one will be cured or a wish will be granted if one carries a lighted candle in the procession that night. All participating mestizos do not, however, share the Mayo symbolism and beliefs about it.

An understanding of Mayo ethnic identification must therefore be based in an understanding of Mayo beliefs and symbols. What the tebatpo kurus provides for ethnic identification is a handy physical indication that some influential member of the household identifies himself and can positively be identified as a member of the Mayo or Yoreme ethnic group.

This section is a description of the tebatpo kurus as a symbol in Yoreme thinking. Read has said (1955: 18):

The artistic activity might therefore be described as a crystallization, from the amorphous realm of feeling, of forms that are significant or symbolic. On the basis of this activity a "symbolic discourse" becomes possible, and religion, philosophy and science follow as consequent modes of thought.

We are not here concerned with artistic activity as the crystallizing agent of Mayo "symbolic discourse," but with the tebatpo kurus as a symbol or sub-symbol of Mayo "symbolic discourse." Our studies have developed Read's idea and show that forms or symbols do participate in a distinctively Mayo "symbolic discourse" or symbol-system—a system of ethnic identity—and in this participation create a Mayo religion, and possibly an incipient philosophy and science, although the religious symbolism is the primary interest here.

There follows here an attempt to analyze the tebatpo kurus as a participant symbol in the Mayo "symbolic discourse" or symbol system of religion. In order to examine the distribution of the tebatpo kurus in this discourse two steps were taken. First, the associations of the tebatpo kurus with definite ceremonial situations were summarized. The mention of tebatpo kurus produces, in Mayo, talk about certain definite realities. Secondly, the tebatpo kurus was examined as an aspect in Mayo orientations. The mention of the word to an acquaintance during a chat seldom produced any self-conscious information about the cross itself; it would, however, produce a situation in which the chain of thoughts produced by the word might be partially examined. In this

way the linkage of other concepts to the tebatpo kurus could be discovered, if the person chose to say anything at all. In actuality, probing for information about the tebatpo kurus would sometimes stimulate the person to begin talking about Waresma and the running of the *'óola* (Mayo: old man), for example, or the ceremony on the day of San Ignacio, or crosses in the cemetery and funeral services. This thought association was then combined with formal linkages such as placing white flowers on the tebatpo kurus the day of the Santa Kurus, or red flowers for the day of San Juan. By applying these methods a number of socio-cultural realities such as Waresma, Santa Kurus, San Juan, San Ignacio, and Todos Santos ceremonies were discovered to be systematically linked to the tebatpo kurus. Since many crosses are linked with religious ceremonies where they are called *'Ítom 'Áçai* (Mayo: Our Father, also referring to Christ, to the Santísima Tiniran, and in general to the male santos), and many house crosses are sometimes called by the same term, house crosses are thereby linked to all these ceremonies in a consistent and patterned manner.

Secondly, the formal and functional linkages of the tebatpo kurus make it part of many Mayo orientations. The function of the house cross will be discussed in relation to the orientations and interests of the old people, ceremonial labor, paskola arts, supernatural power, the land, and the cult of the dead.

THE TEBATPO KURUS LINKED TO CEREMONIAL REALITIES

When a Mayo sees a tebatpo kurus or it is mentioned, what meanings does it have for him? What thoughts come to his mind? Some of the associations the house cross brings to his mind are activities such as the procession of the visiting saint around the cross during a house ceremony, or the knocking down of the cross during Holy Week. Other associations with ceremonials were observed as formal linkages. This section describes some ceremonies and the linkages of tebatpo kurusim to them.

Waresma. The formal linkage between the tebatpo kurus and the Waresma ceremonies is very strong, perhaps the strongest linkage of this cross to any Mayo ceremonial complex. Mention of the tebatpo kurus to many Mayos, and even to some mestizos with Mayo ancestry, brings several kinds of response connected with Lent: One says, "The cross guards the house. During Waresma the tebatpo kurusim in Camalobo come down from ramadas to guard the houses, and then go back up." Another says, "Crosses are to be decorated for saints' days or at Waresma." And still another points out, "They knock down the tebatpo kurus during Waresma."

The Lenten season at Bánari involves seven weeks of complex Mayo ceremonial labor. In rough outline it is similar to the Yaqui Easter ceremony as described by Spicer (1940, 1945), and Painter (1950, 1960), and to the Sialipacu-area ceremonies as described by Beals (1945), though there are important differences from all these descriptions.

The first six weeks may be summarized as including some six processions, taking place each Friday afternoon, and ending just as the sun sets. Holy Week climaxes the ceremonials of the season. Early in the week an old man is captured by the pariserom and is taken from house to house to collect gifts for the coming ceremony. On Wednesday evening a service is conducted in the church and on Thursday afternoon the old man is run around the church by the pariserom. From early Friday morning at about four o'clock until Saturday morning about four the tebatpo kurusim, the church cross, and the Santa Kurus inside the church are all knocked down. Friday afternoon Christ is crucified symbolically. Two processions take place that evening, the first with Christ in the bier and later when Christ and Mary meet. At about four in the morning on Saturday Christ arises, the crosses are set up, and the pasko begins. Saturday morning the pariserom remove their masks and become men again when they are baptized. Sunday morning Christ comes to meet Mary and they return to the church, thus ending Waresma.

The first *kalbário* (Mayo: way of the cross) is set up the First Friday of Waresma and each of the six Fridays in the morning the *bóo* (Mayo: path or road) is swept by the *pasko* personasim. This dusty *kalbario* consists of thirteen single crosses going toward the river in more or less a straight line, with three crosses at the fourteenth position, which is called, also, *kalbario*.¹⁶

The *tebatpo kuras* has several definite linkages to these weeks of intense ceremonialism. It is formally and functionally related to the house patio as are the way crosses to the way of the cross. The *tebatpo kuras* is marched around during a house ceremony in a pattern similar to that which involves the crosses of the first way of the cross during the first six Fridays of Lent.

The *tebatpo kuras* and the crosses of the first *kalbario* are called by the same term, *ʼItom ʼAčai*. On the sixth Friday the crosses of the first way, and the next week, the old man and the *tebatpo kurasim*, appear with a green ring—in the case of the old man around his head, and in the case of the cross on the top arms. All are pulled up or knocked down, including the old man. When the *tebatpo kurasim* are down the green bower over them represents a tomb, as does the green bower over the crosses of the second way of the cross, described below in connection with the activities of Thursday of Holy Week.

All the *kalbario* crosses are prayed before, as is the church cross, the *paskola ramada* cross, and as were the *tebatpo kurasim* in the past. The house crosses are probably still prayed before by many Mayos, though this was not observed, except in the case of the *paskolas* at a house *pasko*.

Each of the six Friday processions is a little different; however, a summary of actions toward the *kalbario* crosses may be made. First, as mentioned earlier, the way is swept every Friday morning before its use, just as is the church and its patio each Sunday, the *paskola ramada* before the dancing begins there, and the house patio each morning. Then the three crosses at the fourteenth station are decorated. Early in the afternoon the *čapakobam* (Mayo: masked members of the *pariserom*) begin to form, run around the church,

and then sit down beside the church to rest and relax. Often during the running around the church a line of *čapakobam* stops at the first cross of *kalbario* and each in his turn backs up to the cross and pretends to defecate on it, thus showing his respect for the crosses.

Late in the afternoon the procession begins to form. Soon three *ʼalawasim* leave the church ahead of the rest of the procession and proceed to the first *kalbario* cross (station number one), addressing the cross by walking around it two or three times in a counter-clockwise direction. One *ʼalawasin* stays with the cross, guarding it from the *čapakobam* by placing on it the butt end of a short lance with a metal tip and with ribbons on the stick part—his insignia of office—and holding in his right hand a long switch with which he strikes any *čapakobam* that come too close. The other two *ʼalawasim* continue to the second cross (station number two) around which they march. One guards this cross and the third goes on to the third cross (station number three) which he circles and then guards. When the procession leaves the church the *ʼalawasim* march around their respective crosses three times in a counter-clockwise direction, and continue greeting and guarding each station cross in the same way, until the procession is four crosses away from the three grouped at the last station. As the procession moves closer the second, and then the third *ʼalawasin*, reaches and marches around *kalbario*, the fourteenth station, joining the *ʼalawasin* or *ʼalawasim* who arrived before they did. Finally, when the procession is one cross away from the last station, all three *ʼalawasim* are guarding the last station, one at each cross of the three crosses at the station. When the procession moves to this *kalbario* these three *ʼalawasim* march around the three crosses two or three times and then return to the church.

During this time the procession itself has been going through rituals at each of the crosses. As the procession approached the first cross a *pasko* persona set down a mat in front of the cross on which the flowers were placed. Also at this time the rest of the *pasko* personasim were

marching around the cross three times. Then the pasko personasim stepped to the side, crossed themselves, and knelt. The images carried in the procession were placed with their backs to the cross and a short service was held by the church group and Bahi Mariam and these pasko personasim. When the church group service was over, the pasko personasim again marched around the cross three times, the little children threw flowers, and the procession continued on to the next cross where the same pattern of marching took place.

When the service was over at the cross just before the last kalbario, everyone ran as fast as he could to this last station, the men and women of the pueblo going around the three crosses in a counter-clockwise direction, the same direction as the *'alawasim*, and the images and church group going in the opposite direction on the inside of the circle. This surrounding of kalbario is called *kónti*, and each Friday ceremony is called by the same general term. A long service was held at the three crosses, then the procession, having marched around kalbario, returned to the church, stopping for several short services along the way, one of which was at the pueblo boundary cross, at the moment of sunset.

This method of addressing the crosses links to a more complex way of surrounding the tebatpo kurus at a house ceremony and at the paskola ramada cross on a saint's day ceremony, described below in connection with the Santa Kurus ceremony.

The sixth Friday is the last procession or *'último kónti* (Mayo: last surrounding). After the service at the last station the pasko personasim pulled up the crosses of this first way of the cross. During this time we noticed that the tebatpo kurusim as well as the three crosses of the first kalbario had small circles of green leaves and flowers on them. We also noticed that when the *'o'ola* came Monday of Holy Week in the custody of the pariserom, collecting gifts for the coming pasko, he was wearing a crown of green leaves. This then, represented a formal linkage between the first kalbario, the *'o'ola*, and the tebatpo kurus.

At that time we asked one of our acquaint-

ances who was a parisero why his tebatpo kurus had flowers and greens on it. And he answered, pointing to his cross, "That is the old man, *'Itom 'Ačai*. It is because the pariserom now have the old man and he has green leaves around his head. When they throw down the *'o'ola* we all everywhere throw down all the tebatpo kurusim."

The knocking down of the old man and of the tebatpo kurusim appears to be part of the same symbolic act, though the two events are not perfectly simultaneous. The crosses are replaced the morning after Good Friday when Christ arises. At this time, one of the members of the family in whose home we were spending the night said, "*'Itom 'Ačai* has arisen!"

On Thursday of Holy Week in the late afternoon the *'o'ola* was knocked down in the following ceremony. Eight crosses, or the second kalbario, were erected around the church, with three long branches stuck in the ground and forming a bower over each of the crosses. Also a cross with a larger bower over it was located in front of the church (Figure 5). After the old man was taken to the larger bower in front of the church, one of the *Pilátom* (Mayo: the heads in command of the pariserom) came and made a ritual speech in Mayo asking for the *'o'ola*. The procession formed with the *'o'ola* in the center flanked by a line of *Pilátom* and *čapakobam*. His *bátoayem* (Mayo: female ceremonial sponsors, or godmothers) had hold of the long rope around his waist and more *čapakobam* had the end of the rope. Between each cross the *čapakobam* jerked on the rope and ran at the *'o'ola*, trying to knock him down. The *batoayem* protected the old man by holding slack in the rope and by beating off the *čapakobam* with long switches of cane. At each cross the *čapakobam* let go of the rope and the old man knelt inside the bower with his back to the cross. The *'o'ola* was never actually knocked down for his godmothers protected him. Nevertheless, as the procession returned to the church, it was said that the *'o'ola* had now been knocked down.

Early Friday morning the pariserom ran to all the houses, knocking down each tebatpo kurus,

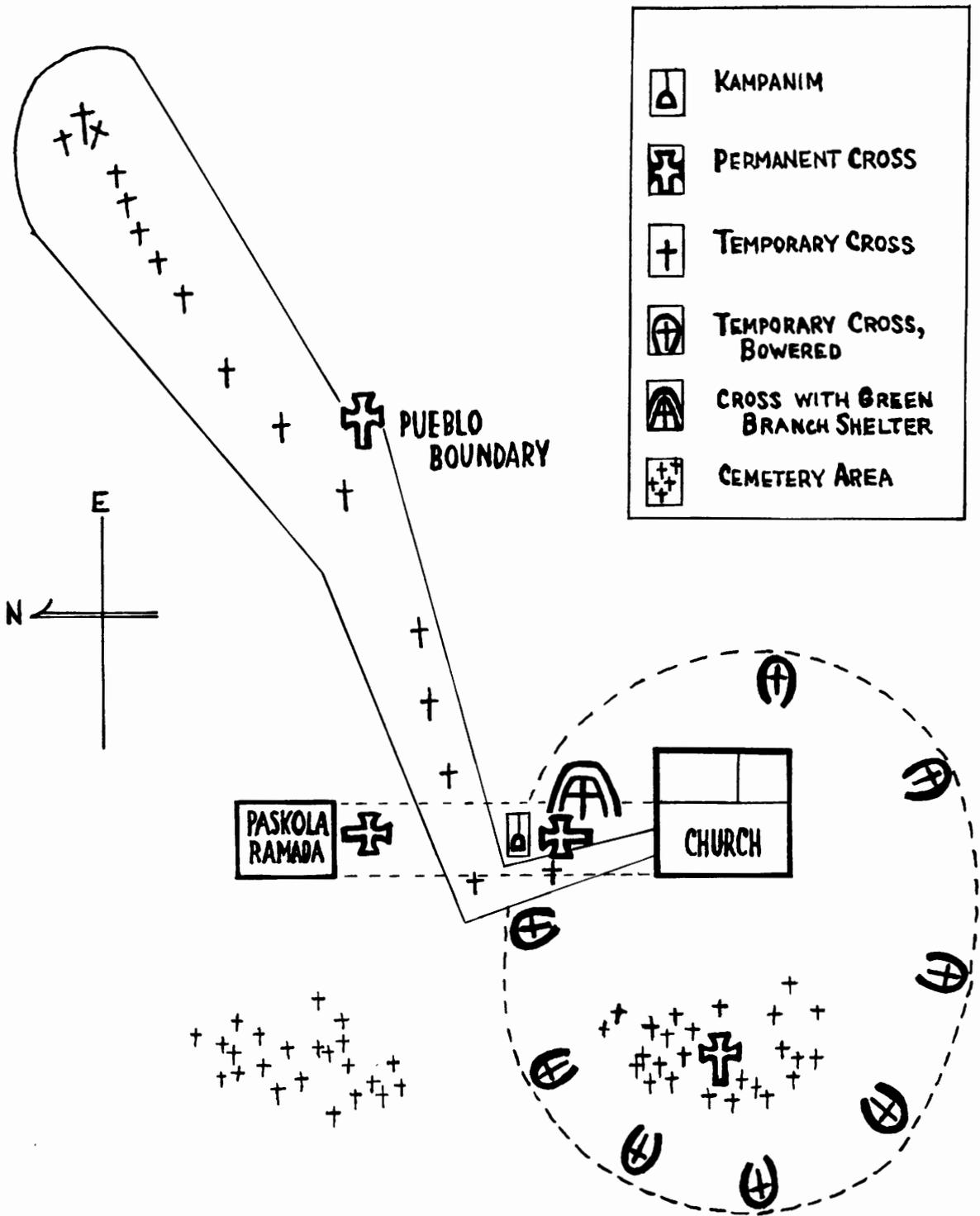


Figure 5. *The Sacred Ways of Waresma: Bánari Pueblo, 1961.*

the church cross, and the Santa Kurus inside the church. Each house cross was laid face up with the pointed end toward the house, on a wooden box which was placed over the hole where the end of the cross had been planted. There were four large branches of *hú'upa* (Mayo: mesquite tree) stuck in each of the four corners of a square area and tied together in pairs, forming two arches over the *tebatpo kurus*, with sides of the square being parallel with the house. This complex is said to represent a tomb, as do the bowers of the way where the 'o'ola ran. The rope around his waist represents the *bwá'e wikósa* (Mayo: belt) by which he is lowered into the grave. Our acquaintance also told us that at the time of a death or at the ceremony one year after a death one *tebatpo kurus* is used with four palm branches arched over the cross, being tied together to form an arch on each side of the house cross. The *tebatpo kurus* is not knocked down for a funeral, however, he said. This funeral decoration is also considered a tomb and thus links the second *kalbario*, or way of the cross around the church, and the running of the old man, to the *tebatpo kurus* and the home aspect of the funeral ceremony.

Early Saturday morning this second way of the cross was removed. Then early Sunday morning the third sacred way was swept and lined with green tree leaves. The church cross and the *paskola ramada* cross and the green leaves marked this sacred area in which Mary and the risen Christ met. In the discussion of the *Santisima Tiniran* ceremony a similar sacred way will be described from the house where the image of *Espiritu Santu* was resting, to the church. The decorated *tebatpo kurus* of the house, the church cross, and the colored streamers along the sides, marking this sacred way in which the images of *Santisima Tiniran* and *Espiritu Santu* met, illustrate the sacred-area principle in still another context. At the opposite ends of these sacred ways, the *paskola ramada kurus yo'owe*, the church *kurus yo'owe*, and the *tebatpo kurus* of the house are linked.

Santa Kurus Ceremony at Homecarit. On May 3, many of the *tebatpo kurusim* are decor-

ated with white flowers linking them to the *Homecarit Santa Kurus*, composed of white flowers, and to its ceremony, which was observed on May 2 and 3, 1961, at *Homecarit*. On May 2 the sacred way from the church to the *paskola ramada* was swept, the *paskola ramada* cross was put up, and the colored streamers were placed along the sides of the way. In the evening two large fireworks were blessed and set off. The next day, May 3, the new *pasko personasim* for the coming ceremonial year were placed in office and the affair ended with a procession of the *Santa Kurus* around the church.

In September there is a second ceremony for the *Santa Kurus* flag. On September 4 in *Homecarit* the *Santa Kurus* is welcomed, and then there are nine days of morning prayers. On September 12 the sacred way was swept and the *paskola ramada* cross was erected. Then in the evening the *paskolas* and deer danced for a little while. The next day in the evening a large fireworks was blessed and set off. The ceremony ended on September 14, when the new flag came and was duly prayed over and danced to, and a procession of the *Santa Kurus* and the *Virgin of Guadalupe* was performed, surrounding the church.

Besides the formal linkage between the *tebatpo kurus* of white flower decoration, and the sweeping of the way and the sweeping of the house patio, other linkages were observed. Both the *Santa Kurus* and many of the *tebatpo kurusim* are at times called by the same term, 'Itom'Ačai.¹⁷ When the *paskolas* are dancing and no ceremony is taking place in the church the *Santa Kurus* flag is tied to the *paskola ramada* cross. The cross is said to guard the flag as the *tebatpo kurus* is said to guard the household.

Also, the complex by which the *pasko personasim* address the *paskola ramada* cross was observed. When a procession or the setting off of large fireworks was over, the *paskolas* danced back to the *ramada*. At the *ramada* cross the *paskolas* prayed and the *maestro* read a short service. Then the *pasko personasim* lined up beside the cross, the 'alawasim in one line and

the others in another. One *parína* (Mayo: ceremonial host of higher rank than 'alawasin or 'alperes) or 'álpes (Mayo: ceremonial host of higher rank than 'alawasim and lower rank than parina; all three types of ceremonial hosts have different functions) knelt and another waved the large Santa Kurus flag nine times in front of the kneeling man. Then the flag-waver knelt and waved the flag once more while kneeling, crossing himself with the flag in his hand. Then two higher-ranking pasko personasim took the flag and walked around the cross in a clockwise direction. At this same time the *mó'oro* (Mayo: one who directs, or leads, the pasko personasim in the performance of rituals), playing a drum, led one 'alawasin around the cross in a counter-clockwise direction. This complex was gone through until all the 'alawasim followed the drummer around and until all the other pasko personasim waved the flag and knelt. Then the complete complex was repeated a second time and afterwards the flag was tied to the cross. As will be noted later this same surrounding is done at a house ceremony around the house cross, thus linking the tebatpo kurus and the paskola ramada kurus yo'owe. This complex is also performed inside the church each Sunday as part of the regular Sunday service, thus linking the tebatpo kurus, the church altar, and the four corners of the church ground with the house tebat.

Espiritu Santu and Santísima Tiniran Ceremonies. The ceremonies of these two patron saints of Arócosi and Bánari and Huícori, took up most of the month of May, 1961. First *Espiritu Santu* is welcomed in Arócosi as was the Santa Kurus in Homecarit, and nine days of prayer follow. While these nine days are in progress, the Santísima Tiniran is welcomed in Bánari and Huícori and nine days of prayer begin in these two pueblos. Then the Santísima Tiniran images are carried to Arócosi for the *Espiritu Santu* pasko the first weekend, and the next weekend the *Espiritu Santu* image is carried to Bánari for the Santísima Tiniran pasko.

The tebatpo kurus is a functioning part of these ceremonies. When the Santísima Tiniran

image is carried into Arócosi it is taken to a house to rest. The house is decorated and has a tebatpo kurus. After the images are placed on the altar the pasko personasim conclude this chapter of ritual with a flag-waving exercise and tie the flags of the Homecarit Santa Kurus and the Bánari and Huícori Santísima Tinirans to the tebatpo kurus. The Arócosi area pasko personasim return with their three flags to the church. This surrounding with the flags is long and quite complex considering that there are six different sets of pasko personasim involved this time, each with their own flag. Each in his turn must twice complete the complexes of marching and flag-waving.

In Bánari this same pattern recurs when the visiting *Espiritu Santu* image is taken to a home, where it is placed on a home altar and the pasko personasim do the exercise around the tebatpo kurus. This home is linked to the church by a sacred way lined with colored paper streamers.

San Juan Ceremonies. The tebatpo kurusim are linked in at least two ways with San Juan ceremonies: first, through the use of red flowers, and second, through the attendance of the image of San Juan at house ceremonies. Several weeks before the Bánari ceremony for San Juan there was a house pasko at which an image of San Juan (not Bánari's) attended. Then on June 23, 1961, the ceremony for San Juan was held in Bánari. Early in the morning the Bánari image was carried to the river just below the tree with the cross under it, was baptized, and then returned to the church.

The main linkage of the tebatpo kurus to this part of the San Juan ceremonies is through red flowers which belong to San Juan. At this time people make promises to San Juan to decorate their tebatpo kurusim with red flowers.

A house pasko at which San Juan attended was observed. The tebatpo kurus of the house, however, was decorated with large white flowers, indicating that the ceremony which was going on simultaneously with the pueblo ceremony of the Santísima Tiniran, was not, perhaps, entirely in honor of San Juan. Early in the evening the image of San Juan was carried to the house. The head

woman of the household went to the tebatpo kurus to welcome San Juan. The image bearers marched around the tebatpo kurus three times and the head woman of the household took San Juan in her arms and carried him to the altar. Later in the evening the paskolam and deer dancer arrived. After praying at the altar they went to the tebatpo kurus where a piece of glowing wood had been placed. An 'alawasin took some firecrackers and made the sign of the cross in front of the two paskolam and gave all the paskolam and the deer dancer some of the firecrackers. Then the 'alawasin picked up the sticks with coals on one end, which had been placed just in front of the tebatpo kurus, and made the sign of the cross with them in front of the paskolam and deer dancer. They went off to shoot the firecrackers and then returned to the house ramada and began to dance.

This same complex of activities may be observed beside the kurus yo'owe at the paskola ramada just before the paskolam and deer dancer begin to dance for a patron saint's ceremony, thus linking the tebatpo kurus and the paskola cross. Also during the night a lighted candle was placed in front of the tebatpo kurus, as is done in front of the paskola ramada cross, providing another linkage between these two types of crosses.

San Ignacio Ceremonies. The tebatpo kurus also appears to be linked through the old people to the San Ignacio ceremonies; for, after being questioned about the tebatpo kurus, one of our acquaintances said, "The old people, oh yes! I wanted to tell you about San Ignacio Day when the pasko personasim bathe the feet of several old people." The discussion of the house cross brought to his mind the old people and the washing of their feet during this ceremony.

Todos Santos Ceremonies. On the first of November some Mayo families construct a table called tapanko for their dead. It is made of four Y-shaped posts into which are laid cross members. The table part is formed of pieces of carrizo, a native cane (Spicer 1940, Plate 12). The tapanko is high, about eye level to a small person. The tebatpo kurus is placed on a box so that

its cross member is about at the table level. Then water, food, and flowers for the dead are placed on the table and wreaths are placed on the four posts. Some of our acquaintances invited us to go to the cemetery with them. They removed the flowers, food, and wreaths from the tapanko and we drove to the cemetery, arriving just at dusk. Many people had taken earth and water and made a paste which they had smoothed over the individual graves, making a smooth mound. They took the wreaths and placed them over the wooden grave crosses. Many of the crosses were freshly painted. We noticed in this Mayo family plot that many of the children's grave crosses seemed to be blue whereas those of the adults all seemed to be white. Another Mayo acquaintance told us that as far as he knew there was no color symbolism connected with grave crosses, except that he felt a color such as red or orange would be a very bad color for grave crosses.

Then in the graveyard ceremony, they took the food which had been on the tapanko, and placed it on the graves, took candles and placed them all around the base of the grave, and poured water on the grave. Soon a *Máestro* (Mayo: a Yoreme lay minister) came and prayed for the dead of the family, each by name. He was given some of the food and some money for his services, as was the woman who sang in connection with his praying. After this, the family whom we were accompanying returned home.

Thus, in this ceremony the tebatpo kurus is linked to the cemetery crosses through the association with the food, candles, flowers, and water offered to the dead.

The Cross as 'Itom 'Ačai. As Our Father, to be prayed to and to be confessed to, the tebatpo kurus links to most of the crosses used in Mayo ceremonialism. 'Itom 'Ačai is the term of address applied to many of the tebatpo kurusim, the crosses of the kalbario which runs toward the river, the images of the Crucifixion, the Santa Kurus, as well as to most of the male images of the church.

Praying to the tebatpo kurus also links it to

all the images, the church cross, and the paskola ramada cross. A Sialipacu maestro told us that the whole family used to pray in Mayo by the tebatpo kurus. He added that in the past it used to rain a great deal but now it rains only very little because Mayos have given up praying to the tebatpo kurusim.

When Mayos come to the church they first go to the church cross to pray and then continue on into the church. As has been noted, the paskolam and the deer dancer pray at the paskola ramada cross and the maestro holds a short service there when the paskolam and deer dancer return from a procession to the ramada. Thus the tebatpo kurus is linked through the term *'Itom 'Ačai*, which is used in the speeches given there, and through the activity of praying to it, to the church cross, paskola ramada cross and to the saints, and it is apparently thought of in much the same terms as a house or church saint.

One often confesses to the cross. Often at ceremonies a Mayo man can be seen standing in front of the kurus yo'owe, confessing to it at great length. Mayo children have to confess to the tebatpo kurus when they have been naughty. One of our friends told us that when Mayo children had been bad repeatedly they were never beaten but were counseled with good words and made to kneel on garbanzos in front of the tebatpo kurus.

On Sundays the church cross and bells as well as the church saints are decorated with *'abaso sewam*, and the pasko personasim perform the flag ritual in front of the church altar as they do in front of the tebatpo kurus at a house ceremony. Thus it seems that the tebatpo kurus and the church kurus yo'owe are closely linked with the saints, or are saints in their own right.

This description and analysis represent a fraction of the mental connections and formal linkages of the tebatpo kurus to Mayo ceremonial realities. Some of the main ceremonial complexes of the Camalobo area Mayos have been shown to connect mentally or link formally with the tebatpo kurus, and these relationships have been examined. Finally, the house cross as *'Itom 'Ačai* to be prayed to and confessed to has been shown to

be linked to many of the male saints of the church as well as to the church and paskola ramada crosses.

THE TEBATPO KURUS AS AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF SEVERAL MAYO ORIENTATIONS

Through the analysis of the formal linkages and thought connections of the tebatpo kurus to ceremonial contexts, it became apparent that it also is an important aspect in several Mayo orientations. Because Mayo culture is so similar to Yaqui, the reader may wish to refer to a discussion of Yaqui orientations by Spicer in *Potam: A Yaqui Village in Sonora* (1945). I have neither treated all the orientations he describes, though I believe them all to be very important to Mayos, nor have I limited my discussion to the ones he introduces.

The Old People. In Mayo society the old people are highly respected, and so much time goes into talking about them and performing rituals concerned with them, that they appear to be a great interest, if not an orientation. One of the first questions Mayos ask is, "Do you have parents?" If one has parents he is indeed rich, and if a household lacks old people it is very poor. As we have seen, the tebatpo kurus is linked with the old people. When a cross gets old it is not thrown away but is respected and a new one is placed behind it. Or when the members of a household get old, a second or third cross may be placed in the patio in order to guard the old people and keep them from falling. Also during Waresma the tebatpo kurus represents the old man and when the old man is knocked down the crosses are afterward also knocked down.

Ceremonial Labor. As can be seen from an examination of the last section, a great deal of Mayo time is spent in ceremonial labor. If a person is sick he may promise himself, or if a child is sick the family may promise him or her to do ceremonial labor of some type. For example, many young men are promised as members of the

matačini dance society and young women may be promised to dance matačini for the ceremonies of Espiritu Santu and Santísima Tiniran. The tebatpo kurus is an aspect of this ceremonial labor, for one makes a *mánda* (Mayo: obligatory contract with a saint) to decorate his cross for a certain occasion. One also may promise to decorate the church cross, thus providing another linkage for our study between the house cross and the church cross.

The tumbling of the tebatpo kurusim on Good Friday morning is part of the ceremonial labor of the pariserom. The house owner leaves a small gift to be used to support the pasko Saturday and Easter Sunday. The replacement of the tebatpo kurus early the next morning is the concern of the household or of the pariserom, depending on the case.

The Paskola Arts and Pasko-Giving. The Mayos enjoy very much the dancing and joking of the paskolam and some plan to attend the first night of a pasko in order to watch them before the large crowds of later nights form. As shown earlier, the ceremony of the shooting of the fire-crackers by the paskolam and the praying beside the paskola ramada cross link the tebatpo kurus with some of the paskola activities.

Many families, because of sickness or death, promise to give home ceremonies. The paskolam generally dance at these paskom. As we have shown, the tebatpo kurus plays an important part in these ceremonies, being either the spot where the visiting saint is welcomed by the family or the symbolic tomb of the dead member of the family.

Supernatural Power. It is very difficult to collect information on the beliefs and practices concerned with witchcraft and native doctors. It is known, however, that Mayos do believe in witchcraft and that healers of diseases believed to be caused by witches do a good business. The tebatpo kurus fits in here by functioning to guard the family from harm, perhaps also from witchcraft, though no one told us this specifically. It guards against dangerous, or potentially dangerous, powers loose at Lent. In denying that the

house cross protected in a specific way from witches, one man said that it protects just as I cared for and protected my truck. It is perhaps somewhat like life insurance in the United States, where people seem to believe that by paying money, one of the supreme American values, an individual can prolong life or at least miss the sting of death. The Mayos, lacking faith in money, place a tebatpo kurus in front of their houses for protection from dangerous power or powers and to keep their precious old people from falling.

The Land and the Cult of the Dead. Another Mayo orientation or at least a great interest is the land. While chatting with a Mayo the mention of or interest in the land often produces a strong emotional reaction on his part. The land is sacred to the Mayo because his dead are buried there—among many reasons—and he fears it may be taken from him.

The house cross is important in the orientations or interests of the land and the cult of the dead. It is placed in a Mayo's own patio and marks his *solár* (Mayo: the ancestral land upon which a Mayo's house is located). A conservative Mayo will not leave the solar where his dead ancestors lived. In explanation of a refusal to move Mayos often say, "I have dead here." They add no more, apparently feeling that anything more would be self-obvious. Thus we see that for Mayos the house cross marks the solar where the dead lived and with which they are still associated.

Crosses also mark graves in the cemetery and other sacred areas involving the dead; for example, crosses at kalbario symbolically mark the place where Christ died. The kurus yo'owe of the church is placed in the sacred church patio, and the pueblo cross marks the boundary of the pueblo. Thus many types of crosses are linked to the land through being placed in the ground at particularly sacred spots.

The house cross also is important in the cult of the dead. A Mayo especially needs a tebatpo kurus twice a year, during Lent, when Christ is symbolically killed, and in November when the dead return, as well as any time a member of his

family should die. The tebatpo kurus and its green bower represent the tomb of Christ or of the dead family member.

In November the tebatpo kurus is placed at one side of the tapanko upon which the food, water, and flowers for the dead are placed. In these ways the house cross plays an important

part in the orientations or interests of the Mayos in the land and the cult of the dead.

This analysis could be carried on almost indefinitely; however, the preceding discussion seems sufficient to demonstrate that the house cross plays a central part in Mayo ceremonialism and orientations.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION: SYSTEMS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

This study began with the practical question: How can an outsider recognize a person as Mayo? In the analysis of this question another question came to mind: What does being Mayo mean to a Mayo? In seeking answers to these questions, a brief consideration of items of Mayo culture reveals that most such features used as unqualified criteria do not set Mayos apart from non-Mayos. Many scholars have pointed out that items shared by two groups in contact cannot provide a basis for distinguishing the groups. Edward Dozier (1951, 1954) discusses, as important aspects of this problem, socio-cultural mechanisms such as language, mythology, ceremonies, gossip, and ridicule, which aid in maintaining the ethnic identity of the Hopi-Tewas of Arizona as a distinct group from the Hopis among whom they live. Eric Wolf, in the following quotation about the Indians in Mexico, has summarized an aspect of the problem in Mexico (1960: 3):

How the Indian part of Mexican society is distinguished from its wider matrix has great consequences for most sociological analyses of Mexico. Many investigators begin with a list of traits which are supposed to characterize the Indian. Yet upon examination these traits prove unsatisfactory. Racial characteristics are unsatisfactory because many non-Indians exhibit the physical features defined as "Indian," while some people who are clearly Indian in way of life are racially Caucasoid. Characterization by culture traits derived from the pre-Hispanic past is unsatisfactory because many pre-Hispanic traits such as tortillas, metates, huaraches, sarapes, occur in both Indian and non-Indian communities, and numerous clearly post-Hispanic traits such as saints' images are used in an Indian cultural context with no feeling of alienation or strangeness.

Even characterization of the Indian sector of Mexican society by language proves inadequate. There are Spanish-speaking mono-linguals who

identify themselves as Indians and are so identified by others; for example, in the Valley of Atlixco near the city of Puebla.

In a similar vein, E. K. Francis states, "Thus the decisive point is not what typical qualities are common to a group but that they are shared with no other group within reach; that is to say, they function primarily as a device through which, in the process of pigeonholing, one category, or rather the individuals in one category, can be distinguished from those in another category" (1951: 228).

When we turn to the question of what being a Mayo means to a Mayo, it becomes obvious that even though the Mayos share the use of an item with mestizos the meaning of the item and its integration as a symbol in the Mayo system of ethnic identity is seldom shared in the mestizo meaning and integration. Therefore, in seeking an answer for the second question, in attempting to see Mayo ethnic identity from the Mayo point of view, we discovered that two realms of meaning, Mayo and mestizo, exist for many shared traits. Thus one aspect of Mayoness is the Mayo meaning of shared traits and the integration of these traits as symbols in the Mayo system of ethnic identity. In understanding this Mayo system one understands the difference, for example, in a Mayo's wearing sandals and a mestizo's wearing sandals. This may help to explain partially Libby's idea that "this feeling of ethnic identity was not dependent on any particular manifestation of Chukchi culture, but that in part it was dependent on their own belief in it" (1960: 301). The Mayos, and perhaps the Chukchis, feel that some of the particular manifestations of their culture are significant in a distinctive Mayo, or Chukchi, system of mean-

ings. For the Mayos their culture is unique and different not only from mestizo culture, or cultures, but also from Yaqui culture and from other Indian cultures.

This realization still does not provide any simple method for the outsider to identify Mayos, but it does show that any single item or group of items, in order to be useful in a study of ethnic identification, must be meaningful in terms of the total system of ethnic identity. Since many forms of the cross seemed fraught with meaning for Mayos, instances of it in the lives of the people of the Mayo River Valley were carefully observed and catalogued into classes. Through this examination it was indicated that the house cross was a unique Mayo manifestation, when accompanied by a certain system of beliefs and social participations.

The data from a general survey of the river valley were first analyzed to see if dense areas of house crosses correlated with the presence of Mayo ceremonial centers, which was in fact shown to be the case. Next the families whom we knew well were analyzed; this analysis revealed that the material wealth of the family has very little correlation with the existence of a tebatpo kurus and, conversely, showed that Mayo social participation and cultural behavior correlate with the existence of a house cross in the ground of the patio. And finally, the ceremonial contexts, functions, and linkages of the house cross were discussed in order to attain some idea of the Mayo meaning of the house cross and of its integration in Mayo life.

As noted earlier, Sibley states that the ceremony for the patron saint of the Philippine village is a mechanism aiding in the maintenance of village identity (1960: 508). This is true for Mayos also. In addition to maintaining village identity, Mayo patron-saint ceremonies also reinforce Mayo tribal identity. For example, individuals from the Fuerte River Valley were known to be pasko personasim at Bánari in 1961. In the realization of the ceremony Mayos see instances of the symbols of the Mayo symbolic system of ethnic identity. All up and down the river valley they

see their tebatpo kurusim pulled up and laid in "tombs" of bowers when Christ is symbolically crucified, see the same type of bower made over the house crosses when a member of their family has died, and see white flowers on the tebatpo kurusim the day of the Santa Kurus. During a ceremony at Bánari around the church, at the paskola ramada, and at the cooking ramadas, Mayos hear mostly Mayo spoken and see other Mayos wearing only sandals, not shoes. Thus the ceremony as a socio-cultural reality reaffirms the symbolic system of ethnic identity.

THE HOGAN

In order to consider the question of uniqueness or universality of symbols functioning in a symbol system of ethnic identity, it seems productive to examine a second culture and society with reference to this idea. The *Diné* (Navajo: the people), or Navajos, live in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico in the deserts and mountains of this area. The Navajos rely upon livestock—sheep, goats, horses, and cattle—herding for their living; however, they also do some farming in the areas where this is possible. Both Navajos and Mayos also supplement their income with work as laborers; Navajos work for the United States government, and the Mayos work as farm laborers. Mayos live in adobe or jacal houses, whereas Navajos often live in *hogans* (Navajo: house or home) constructed of wooden posts covered with branches and earth. Both groups (except Navajo females) wear clothes similar to those worn by farmers and farm laborers in the southwestern United States. Some Navajos own trucks and cars; however, many members of both groups do not have running water in their homes. Navajo religion incorporates a great deal of home ceremony in which ceremonial specialists lead ritual action within the family's hogan or within a large hogan nearby.

In this paper we have considered the Mayo house cross as a Mayo symbol of ethnic identity which is easily observable and is integrated with many other symbols. Now we will attempt to

show that the hogan of the Navajo functions as a symbol in the Navajo system of ethnic identity in much the same way as does the house cross in the Mayo system. This does not imply that there is any historical connection between these two groups, Mayos and Navajos; however, neither does it imply that there was never any diffusion of ideas or traits. Rather, the question we are concerned with is the functional parallels of the two symbols, the house cross and the hogan, in the respective systems of ethnic identity.

Paralleling the word Yoreme is the Navajo term of ethnic identity, Diné, which Navajos use when they speak of themselves as a group. Kluckhohn (1951: XV) says, "This term is a constant reminder that the Navahos still constitute a society in which each individual has a strong sense of belonging with the others who speak the same language and, by the same token, a strong sense of difference and isolation from the rest of humanity." The terms Diné and Yoreme function in similar manners, both delineating and naming the in-group. To Mayos and Navajos the terms are much more than a name, for Diné and Yoreme are symbols of the group and of all it means to be a member of that group.

As we noted for Mayos, Kluckhohn says that for Navajos there is by no means a single Navajo physical type. Even some Navajos who had a known Anglo-American father think of themselves and are apparently identified by other Navajos as Diné. Skin color also ranges from fairly light to dark. Thus, for Navajos physical features do not constitute an absolute criterion of ethnic identification. However, it appears that for Anglo-Americans ethnic identification of Navajos is more deeply based on supposed racial characteristics than identification of Mayos is for Mexicans. Anglo-Americans seem to link a dark skin color with Indian-ness whereas Mexicans link a low standard of living and a lack of desire to get ahead with Indian-ness. But for both groups, Navajo and Mayo, other criteria than physical or racial ones are the basis of in-group identification.

Navajo items of material culture are more use-

ful in ethnic identification than are Mayo items. The hogan is a nearly unique Navajo house type, in the area of Navajo population, which makes it possible to identify people living in a hogan as Navajos. Also, and more importantly for this study, the hogan has ceremonial uses and mythical bases which make it meaningful both as a criterion of ethnic identification and as a symbol in the Navajo symbol system of ethnic identity. The clothing worn is much less uniquely Navajo than is the hogan. The men wear clothing similar to typical farm laborers and carry blankets during cold weather. The Navajo woman's dress with the long, fluted calico skirts and bright calico or velveteen blouses is more uniquely Navajo and might be used as a partial criterion of identification. However, since I am not aware of any linkages of this Navajo clothing to other symbols of Navajo ethnic identity, clothing will not be examined to any greater extent.

In both cases, Mayo and Navajo, during the last hundred years acceptance of material items has proceeded faster than acceptance of new beliefs, religious ceremonies, and values. Because of this situation, many items of material culture are shared by Mayos and mestizos, and by Navajos and Anglo-Americans, and thus do not provide a usable criterion for ethnic identification.

The hogan with the beliefs associated with it, however, appears to be a type of material item which is uniquely Navajo. The structures of the Navajo may be divided into five types: winter hogans, summer shelters, sweat houses, modern houses, and the hogan of the Yeibichai dance, although Navajos recognize only two distinct classes, the summer place and the winter place. Thus, for Navajos the hogan, the ceremonial hogan, the sweat house, and modern houses belong to one class and are linked, and summer housing belongs to another class. Cosmos Mindeleff in *Navaho Houses* (1898) completely describes the construction of these types of structures so I will only summarize the parallels between the hogan and the other types of structures.

The hogan, even though it is not decorated and appears plain, is considered beautiful by Na-

vajos and is built carefully and according to the old pattern. The hogan is beautiful “to the extent that it is well constructed and to the degree that it adheres to the ancient model” (Mindeleff 1898: 488). In constructing a hogan three ten-to-twelve-foot-long-timbers are laid with their butt ends pointing exactly east for they will be the door which must open to the east. A circle is marked and the ground is smoothed and leveled. The north and south timbers are placed first with their forked ends locking. Then the forked end of the west timber is fitted in, and the two doorway timbers are set up resting on the forked apex. Each timber has its Navajo name, being called south,

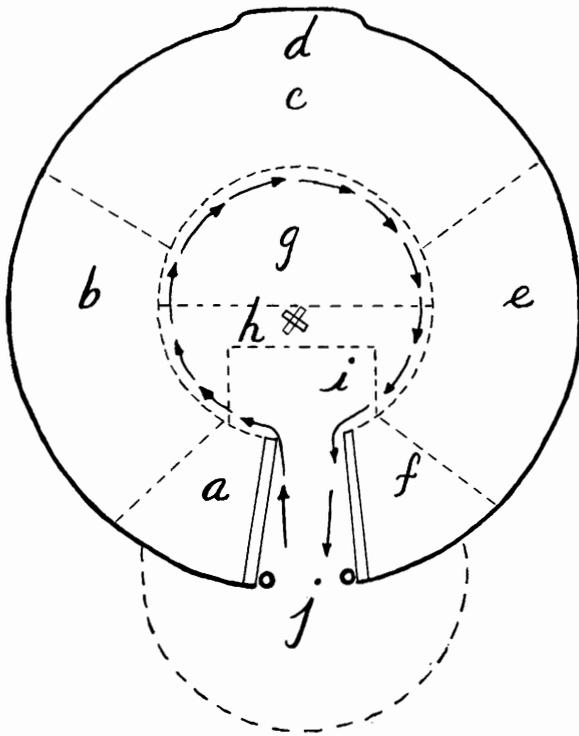


Figure 6. *A Navajo Hogan*. The arrow marks the direction of the sacred path or direction; a, within the small corner in the east; b, within the corner in the south; c, within the corner in the west; d, mask recess; e, within the corner in the north; f, within the small corner in the north; g, center of the hogan; h, fireplace; i, *qonicqu* area (meaning unknown); j, without or area in front of the entrance. Modified after Mindeleff (1898: 514).

west, north, and doorway timbers. Then the sides are fitted with small timbers and the doorway is set up. Lastly, small sticks and cedar bark with earth on top fill the gaps between the timbers and side small timbers. There is a recess on the western side of the hogan for masks and for the curer to place his masks and fetishes (see Figure 6).

According to Mindeleff, the summer hut appears to be a simpler version of the hogan made with smaller forked branches and with twigs placed on top for a roof. These huts often open towards the east but do not have to, depending upon the individual case.

The sweat house has many formal linkages to the hogan and in fact Mindeleff says that the sweat houses are “miniature models, as it were, of the hogans” (1898: 499). They are constructed of the three forked sticks, with the same Navajo name as the hogan timbers, and two sticks for the door which always faces east. The roof is made of sticks, bark, and earth as is the hogan. During some curing ceremonies four of the sweat houses are set around the main hogan at the four cardinal points and on four successive mornings, just at dawn, beginning with the east and using one each morning, a bath is taken by the patient.

If the hogan is not large enough for an elaborate ceremony, a larger one is constructed on much the same pattern as the smaller hogan. Mindeleff says, “The procedure is much the same as that employed in building the regular hogan, but larger timbers are required” (1898: 510). This large hogan has many of the formal features in common with the smaller hogan such as a mask recess. Thus it forms a variant of the same type in Navajo thinking.

The hogan or house in which the Navajos live thus represents a class of small hogan, ceremonial hogan, or large hogan, and sweat house contrasted to another class of housing, the summer house, which is less permanent and may or may not face east.

In addition to a unique form, the hogan has unique Navajo meanings, the beliefs in which are felt by Navajos to be part of being Navajo. The hogan is the everyday home of many Navajos,

and represents a successful adjustment, in terms of living quarters, to a sometimes difficult environment. Since the hogan is an easily constructed house it functions well in a more or less semi-nomadic culture. Daily activities take place in and around the hogan such as praying, eating, sweeping, and cleaning the hogan.

In a study of Fruitland Navajo housing, Marc-Adélar Tremblay, John Collier, Jr., and Tom T. Sansaki (1954) demonstrate that the hogan is associated with conservative Navajo life and that as individuals acculturate they construct non-hogan houses. Tremblay's hypothesis is that "architectural shifts in housing reflect, to varying degrees, some economic, social and religious changes" (1954: 189). In order to test this hypothesis three steps were taken. First, house types which range from conservative (hogan, pole and daub, and log cabin) to acculturated (stone, frame, adobe, and brick houses) were set up. Second, variables which were called factor-indicators (age, occupation, wealth, education, veteran status, language skills, means of transportation, and date of house construction) and which were thought to be associated with shifts from traditional to acculturated ways of life were collected concerning seventy-two Fruitland Navajo families. And third, an examination of the relationship between the houses of the seventy-two families and the factor-indicators was made. In the study, these relationships are stated in terms of significance at certain percent-levels of confidence using the chi-square test.

They find the following relationships: There is an association between age and dwelling types with older family heads tending to live in conservative housing. More acculturated houses have been built since World War II than before that time. The association between occupations or wealth and house types is not significant. "Thus neither occupation nor wealth (although the latter is close) shows a significant relationship to house type" (Tremblay 1954: 210). "The interesting fact is that some wealthy Navahos live in hogans while some poor Navahos live in frame houses" (Tremblay 1954: 211). Navajos edu-

cated in United States schools tend to live in acculturated houses. With one exception, family heads who were in the last war live in acculturated housing. The relationship between English-language skills or speakers of English and the house type is significant at the one percent level of confidence, with English speakers living in acculturated houses and Navajo speakers living in conservative houses. And lastly, a close association between acculturated housing and modern means of transportation was found.

The group concludes, "This study indicates that there are significant relationships between acculturated dwellings and the younger-age group, high degree of education, English language skills, and modern means of transportation. Occupation and degree of wealth do not appear to be significantly associated with degree of acculturation" (Tremblay 1954: 217-218). For our study of the hogan as a symbol in the Navajo system of ethnic identity, this demonstrates that there is a positive correlation between being deeply Navajo and living in a hogan, or conversely, between living in acculturated housing and not being Navajo. Also this study shows, as was the case for Mayos, that relative wealth seems to have little association with house type and ethnic identity in general.

The hogan is considered as the house or home given to the Navajos by the gods. It is the house "we have always had" (Mindeleff 1898: 498).

After mankind had ascended through the three underworlds by means of the magic reed to the present or fourth world, the God of Dawn, the benevolent nature god of the south and east, imparted to each group of mankind an appropriate architecture—to the tribes of the plains, skin lodges; to the Pueblos, stone houses; and to the Navajo, huts of wood and earth and summer shelters. (Mindeleff 1898: 488-89).

Thus we see that the Navajo consider the hogan as meant for them and differentiated from the houses given even to other Indians.

The hogan also is linked to rites of passage, bad times, illness, and death. When an individual dies he is removed from the hogan through a hole

made in the north side of the house and often the hogan is burned. From this time on all materials from the destroyed house are taboo to all Navajos. Today with modern expensive housing a dying person will often be removed from the house before death so it will not have to be destroyed. If bad times come or if bad things happen a family will feel that an evil spell haunts a vicinity and they will move to a new hogan. Or a ceremony may be performed in the old hogan to bless the family. Illness provides another set of conditions when the hogan is linked to ceremonial behavior. "Ordinarily the chant is conducted in the hogan of the patient" (Franciscan Fathers 1910: 380). According to the Franciscan Fathers' Navajo dictionary, there were five poles of the mythical conical hogan, white shell, turquoise, abalone, red stone, and obsidian. The interspaces were lined with four shelves of white shell, four of turquoise, four of abalone, and four of obsidian. The floor was laid with a rug of obsidian, abalone, turquoise, and white shell each spread over the other. And the door was a quadruple curtain of dawn, sky-blue, evening twilight, and darkness. According to the Franciscan dictionary, since in modern houses these details cannot be supplied, the ceremony must be held in a distinctively Navajo hogan. Thus the hogan is linked with both everyday living and with rites of passage.

Another ceremonial complex distinctly associated with the hogan is its dedication or blessing. After the house is constructed the woman sweeps it out and builds a fire in its proper place. Then the head of the household is given a basket of white cornmeal. He follows the ceremonial circuit and rubs corn meal on the house timbers beginning with the south door timber. Next, with a sweeping motion of his hand, he sprinkles corn meal around the outer circumference of the floor in a left to right direction (as the sun travels) and he says a prayer. After this he throws some meal into the fire and gives another prayer, tosses a handful up through the smoke hole and prays again, and lastly throws several handfuls out the doorway and gives a last prayer. The woman then throws several handfuls of meal on the fire and

prays. Now all the helpers gather inside the hogan and eat and sleep.

Soon a second ceremony must be given in the new house or bad dreams will plague the family and evil influence from the north will cause bad things. A singer is invited and people come to eat and talk. Then the singer sings to the east, south, west, and north (see Mindeleff 1898: 507-508 for the texts). According to Mindeleff, a supernatural is associated with each of the directions and the songs are sung to him or her. Other songs are sung by all the men in the hogan. The singing is timed so that the last song is completed just as the dawn appears. The house is now blessed and the visitors return to their homes. Thus we see that the hogan is complexly integrated into uniquely Navajo life and Navajo ceremonialism.

Tremblay (1954) also considers the ceremonies and beliefs concerning the hogan in terms of the change in Navajo housing. He notes that in Fruitland all hogan, and most other Navajo house doors face east. People who live in hogans have performed the blessing ritual in their hogans whereas individuals living in acculturated housing generally have not. "Most of the people who live in hogans or hogan-like structures usually tear down their houses when an individual dies within, whereas many of the Navahos living in more acculturated dwellings do not believe in this religious practice" (Tremblay 1954: 215-16). And lastly it is noted that many Navajos believe that only hogans are useful for curing ceremonies. Tremblay concludes, "Hogan builders are conservative people who are little affected by the impact of technological, economic, religious and social change" (1954: 217). "It seems also indicated that degrees of secularization are also closely associated with changes in housing designs and mobility toward non-Navaho values" (Tremblay 1954: 219). It may be concluded then that people who are becoming less Navajo in terms of wider scale and loss of Navajo belief, values, and ceremonial participation are at the same time moving out of the hogan.

In order to consider further the hogan in Navajo ceremonialism the Origin Legend of the

Navajo Eagle Chant (Newcomb 1940) will be analyzed in terms of the hogan and formal linkages of the hogan to the four colors, directions, and the ceremonial circuit.

Two sisters, Whiteshell Woman and Turquoise Woman, after some adventures in travel were invited by a young man—really Monster Slayer—whom they met to join him at his house. This house was white at the east, blue at the south, yellow at the west, and variegated at the north. Monster Slayer brought a large white-shell bowl from the blue room for Whiteshell Woman to grind corn in and a turquoise bowl from the yellow room for the other woman. He then asked the girls to bring in a bundle and move it toward the center of the room from the east, from the south, from the west, from the north, and from above. In this ritual there is a linkage through the ceremonial circuit of the bundle and the timbers of the hogan. The man then brought four flutes, white, blue, yellow, and black. He told the girls to step over the bundle from the east to west as he played the white flute and then to complete the circuit as he played the other flutes. Then the girls ground corn as he played the white, blue, yellow, and black flutes.

Soon two other girls came and ground corn. They took Monster Slayer away with them to live with their people, the Cornsmut People. Monster Slayer killed their father and then brought him back to life by placing the old man's head to the north and standing to the east of him and singing the songs of the Eagle Chant. Then Monster Slayer made four marks around the old man to the east, south, west, north and the old man was cured. Here is a linkage between curing ritual and the hogan as seen in the ceremonial circuit which is the same as in the house-blessing ceremony.

Monster Slayer then lived near the old man, living each day in houses built around the village—white house to the east, blue house to the south, yellow house to the west, and black house to the north. Each day he was forbidden to hunt in a

certain area and each day he went there and overcame the danger, defeating to the east an eagle, to the south bird monsters, to the west a snake, and to the north a bear.

Then the old man tried to poison Monster Slayer, putting poison on the west side of his bowl since Monster Slayer sat facing the east. But he knew of the poison and turned the bowl. Next the old man placed poison on the edge and he ate out of the middle. The third day he ate no poisoned food but only the unpoisoned soup and the fourth day he fasted as all the food and soup was poisoned.

Now the old man gave up and showed him the eagle ceremony. First one digs a pit, lines it with daylight, darkness, yellow evening light, blue-that-rises-from-the-east-at-sunset, and places a mat on top so that he can reach up and grab the legs of an eagle. These linings of the pit all link to the linings in the hogan.

Monster Slayer then returned to Earth People and built the first hogan like the ones used in the Night Chant. Dove Man, a neighbor, sang five songs as the poles were being placed, two songs as the upper layer of small brush and earth was placed on the roof, two songs as the floor was smoothed and cleaned, a song as a fire was built, and one final song as Monster Slayer and the women moved in their bedding. The next day two gods came and said, "This is truly a holy place" (Newcomb 1940: 71). Each of the gods sang a song of blessing for the house and the people. Then Monster Slayer held the Eagle Chant. Afterwards they moved all over the Navajo country building hogans in which to celebrate the chant. The myth then begins to reveal some of the complex integration and meaning of Navajo ceremonialism and the position of the hogan in this ceremonialism.

This analysis of the function of the hogan as a symbol in Navajo ethnic identity is sufficient to show that the house cross of the Mayos is not a unique case but that the Navajo system of ethnic identity also consists of symbols such as the hogan integrated in a unique Navajo way.

SOME SUGGESTED TYPES OF SYSTEMS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

I should like to return to the idea, which was suggested early in this paper, that Mayo ethnic identity is perhaps no more than simply the poor end of a continuum from wealth to poverty. Mayos are, in fact, all relatively poor. But since many mestizos live in quite comparable circumstances it is not accurate to consider wealth the basis of the Mayo-mestizo ethnic distinction. In terms of a symbolic system of ethnic identity or of a ceremonial system, there is an immense gap between Mayos and mestizos. As we have demonstrated, it is a gap based upon lack of shared cultural beliefs and social participation rather than on economic factors. It appears that there are two continua, one from deeply Mayo to Mayo with some mestizo characteristics, and another from deeply mestizo to mestizo with some Mayo characteristics. The Mayo-mestizo and mestizo-Mayo ends are the most difficult to analyze for traits are often shared between these groups. Persons in these areas may switch from one continuum to the other, going in either direction during different periods of their lives, making the situation additionally complex for the analyst. Also there are a few bicultural individuals who are able to act very mestizo in a mestizo social situation and very Mayo in a Mayo social situation.

It appears from the Mayo and Navajo data that ethnic identity is a matter of sharing both beliefs and social participation with the members of a certain group. The more numerous the beliefs shared and the more time spent in interaction with the group the more intense the individual's ethnic identity will be. Of course, this is a general statement since some individuals tend to react against the group. This intensification of identity can be seen in the development of individuals both in our society and in Mayo society. With the primary group, the family and local area, a young person shares many of his beliefs and spends much of his social interaction time; thus the individual develops an intense identification with the family and the local area in which he

lives. A Mayo learns his culture by attending and participating in ceremonies and by listening to older people talk. When a Mayo goes to school or joins the Mexican army, or the young person in our society goes to school and later college, he or she is faced with new beliefs and new interaction groups. As the person learns and thus begins to share the beliefs and interaction patterns of the new group, he has a secondary identification whose intensity relates to the degree he has learned the secondary beliefs and to the amount of time he spends in interaction with members of this group. If one of the symbols of this secondary group is the national state, the individual, to the extent that he identifies with this entity, becomes a Mexican or a United States citizen. A young Mayo man in going away to join the army and interacting with mestizos may begin to identify himself as a mestizo and as a Mexican. The intensity of this identification depends, among other things, upon the amount of time spent away from Mayo culture and society and upon the unity of the primary enculturating group. In a mixed Mayo-mestizo family generally the primary identification would not be as intense as in a Mayo or mestizo family. The intensity of the secondary identification may be so great that the young man never returns to Mayo society and culture, or the young person never returns to live in his home town after going to college, or weak enough so the person desires to return and live with the primary group. Thus we see that as a person takes on new statuses he develops new identification patterns. When the identification patterns conflict as in the example of primary and secondary identification, he tends to accept the more or most intense one. Identification intensity varies with the number, importance, and consistency of shared beliefs and the amount of time spent in social interaction with members of the group with whom the person identifies.

To turn to the question of different types of ethnic identity, it might be suggested that the Mayo type of symbolic system of ethnic identity is found in a culture which is ceremonially tightly integrated. Would ethnic identity rely upon some

different type of system in a less tightly integrated culture? Do conditions of culture contact affect the type of system of ethnic identity that a group creates? These questions would imply as the basis of a typology a dual criterion, degree and consistency of shared cultural beliefs, and degree of social participation in the ethnic group. In a dual system such as this, four types of ethnic identity, with, of course, a range of variations or subtypes within each type, could exist. These four types would be differentiated as follows:

1. High sharing of cultural beliefs, high social participation;
2. High sharing of cultural beliefs, low social participation;
3. Low sharing of cultural beliefs, high social participation;
4. Low sharing of cultural beliefs, low social participation.

The last type is not found in reality for without either patterns of shared culture or patterns of social interaction the group does not exist. When a group has become this type, it has lost its ethnic identity. The other types, I feel, do exist; for example, the Mayos, Navajos, Toba Bataks, Mennonites, and Mesquakies as examples of the first type; the Indians in Quezaltenango, Guatemala, as examples of the second; and many minority groups in the United States exemplifying the third type. The contact situation then could be seen as one of the independent variables which modifies the four ideal types. It must be emphasized that each member of one of these types is a unique historical creation and that for this reason no member should be considered an ideal type but only as an example from which the type may be abstracted. The typology then provides nothing more than a scheme for the ordering of data as well as suggestions for future research.

The first type—high sharing of cultural beliefs, high social participation—will be considered here in some detail. Edward Bruner analyzes urbanization and ethnic identity in North Sumatra and gives the reader a picture of the Toba Batak culture which is highly integrated around the con-

cept of *adat* (the “custom,” kinship and ceremonial duties as perceived by Toba Batak individuals; Brewer 1961: 508-20). It appears that a symbol system of ethnic identity has been maintained between the original village and its members in the city. This is also somewhat the case for Camalobo Mayos; however, the distance is much shorter from Camalobo to Bánari than from the Indonesian village to the city. Some Camalobo Mayos go to Bánari, where they have *compadres*, for ceremonial performances.

The Mennonite communities studied by E. K. Francis (1947, 1948 and 1955) have parallels to Mayo and Toba Batak communities. In the past all three societies created a distinctive socio-political system which was tightly integrated with a religious system. Aspects of the culture were made sacred and a symbol system of ethnic identity evolved. As the contact situation changed, for example as Mexico, Canada, and Indonesia took over much of the political control of ethnic groups in their territories, blocks of the cultures were modified. But the concept of ethnic identity remained in the small groups. All these cases then could be considered members of one type of ethnic identity system with several sub-types, Mayo, Toba Batak, and Mennonite.

Mesquakie culture is another example of this type; however, it may be important to note that the Mesquakie system of ethnic identity is integrated somewhat differently than the Mayo, Mennonite, and Toba Batak systems. Some of the symbols of Mesquakie ethnic identity seem to be patterned after and to conform with, in some respects, the out-group's image of Indian-ness. This certainly is far from the full case, for many Mesquakies still speak their native language and retain some of the old culture. Peattie, in “Being a Mesquakie Indian” (n.d.), says concerning the Mesquakies' wearing of feather headdresses and standing beside tipis in order to create a show for the Anglo-Americans that they play the part so well they are beginning to believe that these items are truly from their past. Thus a concept of Indian-ness on the part of the out-group is being integrated into Mesquakie system

of ethnic identity. This process in the Mesquakie ethnic identity system is also taking place with respect to symbols and religious complexes originating in other Indian tribes. For example, the Drum Society, according to Peattie a pan-Indian religious concept, was accepted by some of the Mesquakie years ago. The original vision of the drums came to a Mesquakie man. This man and his grandson, the group's later leader, were men who were proud of the Indian religion and the "Indian Way." They then integrated this out-group Indian concept into Mesquakie culture and it took on Mesquakie meanings. In these ways both Anglo-American and other Indian tribes' concepts have been integrated into a Mesquakie system of ethnic identity.

Francis mentions several aspects of the Mennonite social system of 1870 which set it off as an ethnic group (1948: 105). It is interesting that both the Mayo and Mesquakie systems share these aspects with the Mennonite. All three groups have a common interest in their rights as ethnic groups in relation to a dominant society, a homogeneous community, institutionalized social behavior, a consistent culture pattern, a tendency toward ethnic group endogamy, and a folk dialect or distinctive language. Thus the Mesquakies, as well as the Mayos and Mennonites are an ethnic group with their own system of ethnic identity.

Some differences do seem to exist between the Mesquakie symbol system of ethnic identity and the Mayo type of system. These differences appear to concern the integration of the system itself. The Mayos live on the land that their parents and ancestors lived upon, whereas the Mesquakies have relatively recently purchased the land upon which they live. Because of this historical difference, the symbol of the land has a much different meaning and integration in the Mayo and the Mesquakie ethnic identification systems. For the Mayos it has a traditional Mayo meaning which is not shared with mestizos. For the Mesquakies the land is sacred also and its being communally held is a symbol of the Mesquakie as a group against all other groups. But they also realize that the land can be bought and sold in a much

more real sense than Mayos do; Mayos are aware of the pattern but they expect it of mestizos, not of themselves. This concept of the Mesquakies of themselves as landowners is a concept more in line with that of the larger society with which they are in contact.

The same sort of difference in integration patterns may be pointed out in other examples. A flag—red, white and green—similar to the Mexican flag is used as decoration at some Mayo ceremonies, but the flag has a Mayo meaning, rather than a mestizo one, for most participants. The flag as a symbol is integrated within Mayo culture, rather than integrating Mayo culture with other Mexican Indian cultures or with mestizo culture. The United States flag has an important part as the United States flag in the Indian ceremony of the drums. According to Mesquakie myth the flag was first planted on the dance grounds by United States soldiers. When this took place the Indians knew that they and the Anglo-Americans would be friends for to Mesquakies the act meant both that the Anglos needed the Mesquakies to dance and maintain the religious aspects of the world and that the Mesquakies needed to live in peace with the Anglo-Americans. The flag then has been integrated into Mesquakie ceremonialism and carries a distinctively Mesquakie meaning. Also it integrates Mesquakies with other Indians and symbolizes a link of friendship between Anglo-Americans and Indians. Thus some difference in types of integration in Mayo and Mesquakie symbol systems of ethnic identity does exist. The Mayo type of integration links many symbols with distinctively Mayo meanings and sets Mayo ethnic identity apart from the rest of the world. Similarly, the Mesquakie type of integration links symbols in a distinctively Mesquakie meaning system and sets Mesquakies apart from the rest of the world. On the other hand, the Mesquakie type of integration also links Mesquakie symbols with other Indian cultures of the United States and with Anglo-American culture.

In terms of social integration many other Mexican Indian cultures appear to have much

in common with Mayo culture so that a hypothetical Mayo type of ethnic identity system might be formulated. For example, the conditions of ethnic group contact described by Colby and van den Berghe for the Zinacantan Indians and San Cristobal ladinos in the highlands of Chiapas (1961) are quite similar to Mayo River Valley conditions. Concerning race, they find the same conditions as we have described for Mayos, stating that (1961: 774) "racialism . . . is either completely absent, or present in such an attenuated form as to be unrecognizable. The distinction between ladinos and Indians is cultural rather than racial." They also find kinds of horizontal structure of social relations and mechanisms of authority similar to those which exist for Mayos, explaining as follows (1961: 774):

While ladino culture is vertically structured and stresses competition and command-and-obey relations, Indian culture is basically horizontal. In spite of the importance of age and of rigid etiquette based on relative age of the participants, Indian culture deemphasizes social hierarchy. Authority is exercised through persuasion and influence rather than through commands.

Colby and van den Berghe point out that San Cristobal Indians differ from Indians in Quezaltenango, Guatemala, in that the latter have become stratified into socio-economic classes. Mayos share the trait of non-stratification of this type with the Indians of San Cristobal. Colby and van den Berghe attribute this difference to the fact that in San Cristobal the Indians may "pass into the ladino group upon acquiring ladino culture and language, whereas in Quezaltenango they rarely do so" (1961: 787). Their hypothesis for explaining this refusal of the ladino group to admit Indians is the lack of Guatemalan governmental intervention, until 1944, in favor of Indians. On the other hand, since the Mexican Revolution of 1910 through 1917, the Mexican government has introduced reforms in favor of Indians. If this hypothesis is correct, then barring any other variables, government intervention may provide a partial explanation of Mayo Valley and Chiapas Highland parallels in inter-

ethnic relations. Specific conditions of contact may then alter ethnic identity as may cultural beliefs: for example, Mayos believe that farming and working as peons is the proper Mayo way to earn a living. However, in Quezaltenango Indians are not only farmers or peons but may become bank clerks and mechanics while still being identified as and identifying themselves as Indians.

The Indians in Quezaltenango provide an example of a second type of ethnic-identity system—high sharing of cultural beliefs, low social participation in the group—which is set off from the Mayo type in that the former have become stratified into socio-economic classes. An examination of other examples of the Quezaltenango type might provide other than historical explanations of this stratified type of ethnic-identity system.

A third type of ethnic identification system—low sharing of cultural beliefs, high social participation—also exists; for example, as represented in the ethnic groups Warner and Srole describe in the third volume of *The Yankee City Series, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (1945). They discuss minority groups created in a New England city by immigrants coming to the United States as individuals rather than as a group, as did the Mennonites. The ethnic identity of these groups was then created by social interaction between members of the minority, a minority created by the out-group. Some of these groups do not share a great deal of culture, but share other attributes such as racial characteristics and thus are lumped together by the out-group. The Albany (Georgia) Movement (summer 1962) in the South of the United States is an example of this type of ethnic group. In this movement individuals who were forced to interact are creating new shared cultural beliefs and a system of ethnic identity.

In summary, Mayo ethnic identity is based on a symbol system uniquely integrated and learned by Mayos through observing and participating in ceremonies and listening to older persons talking. One of these symbols is the house cross and

its associated patterns. In describing Mayo ethnic identity, this symbol was first observed in its concrete occurrences in the Mayo River Valley. It was then correlated with Mayo social participation and cultural behavior. Finally, its distribution in Mayo ceremonial and belief systems was analyzed. Through the consideration of the house cross as a symbol in the Mayo ethnic-identity system we became acquainted with one ethnic-identity system.

The suggestion was then introduced that Mayo ethnic identity was an example of a type of symbolic system of ethnic identity. The ethnic-identity systems of several groups, Navajo, Toba Batak, Mennonite, and Mesquakie were examined, compared, and contrasted, which resulted in the tentative proposal of a type marked by high sharing of cultural beliefs and high social participation in the group. The criterion of cultural integration within the ethnic-identity system and between systems in contact was suggested as an interesting difference between the Mayo and Mesquakie systems. Many of the symbols in the Mayo type of system are integrated relatively more within the system itself, whereas in the Mesquakie system the symbols are integrated both within the system and function also as

mechanisms for the integration of the system with out-group systems of ethnic identity. In the examination of Quezaltenango Indians and Yankee City minorities, two other types of ethnic identification systems were abstracted, marked by high sharing of cultural beliefs, low social participation with the group for Quezaltenango Indians and low sharing of cultural beliefs, high social participation within the groups for Yankee City minority groups. In other words the degree of stratification into socio-economic classes and the degree of ethnic group cultural unity, by which is meant the sharing of cultural forms and meaning within the ethnic group, provided the criteria for distinguishing the three types with the following members, Quezaltenango Indians stratified into socio-economic classes; Yankee City minorities; and Mayos, Navajos, Toba Bataks, Mennonites, and Mesquakies as members of the last type. Also the basis of ethnic identity in the individual life was discussed and its intensity was shown to be related to the same factors used to distinguish the types of ethnic identification systems; number, importance, and consistency of shared cultural beliefs and time spent in in-group social participation.

APPENDIX I: NOTES

¹Paskome, or pasko personasim (Mayo), is translated “fiesteros” in Spanish. Spicer elected to use the term fiesteros most frequently in *Potam: A Yaqui Village in Sonora* (1954: 72-77). The Mayo fiesteros, or paskome, have over-all community functions very similar to their counterparts in Potam, with respect to participation in funerals, and at certain seasons of the year, in their respective patron saints’ ceremonies, as well as home ceremonies of various kinds and regular Sunday konti.

²The deer and paskola arts of the Mayos are similar to those of the Yaquis (Spicer 1940: 173-203).

³For Tucson, Arizona, Yaquis, Spicer has pointed out that the house cross links with many other aspects of Yaqui life, such as the enculturation of children (1940: 88), ceremonial sponsorship (1940: 96-97), and household ceremonies (1940: 183, 191, 225).

⁴Spicer also mentions the church cross as a feature of Yaqui churches in Tucson, Arizona (1940: 225), in Potam, Sonora (1954: 80), and of Yaqui churches in general (1958: 435).

⁵Yaqui paskola ramadas also have this type of cross (Spicer 1940: 225).

⁶Spicer mentions boundary crosses which mark the Potam, Sonora, territory. “On this road, some five miles east of the village, there are three large wooden crosses which are believed to be located in a spot where Jesuit priests first placed three similar crosses. They are regarded as marking the eastern boundary of Potam territory. Along the same road about a mile on the other side of the village there are three other crosses marking the western boundary” (1954: 12).

⁷Beals mentions another possible variation in type of the house cross which we did not observe. “The one cross I saw which was of undoubted antiquity, said to be from 75 to 100 years old, was nearly 9 feet high with some scrollwork ornamentation carved on it (pl. 6, fig. 1)” (1945: 19-20).

⁸The *kurus yo’owe* of the church in San Rafael is double. A new cross stands just behind the old one. This church has old walls and the second cross, we were told, was placed to keep the walls from falling.

⁹The Tarahumara Indians, who live east of the Mayos, also have sacred patios with crosses placed on the eastern edge of the patio (Bennet 1935: 269-70; Plancarte 1954: 49-50). Both Bennett and Plancarte give similar meanings for the four directions associated with the patio. East is the direction of the gate on the other side of which Christ was born, or through which he entered the world. West is the direction of death. South is the direction of the Virgin of Guadalupe or some other saint. North is the direction of the governors and officials. One Mayo family in Bánari was noted to have their cross placed on the north side of the house. No meaning was obtained for this placement, but an interesting hypothesis is that the position of the cross may have indicated certain socio-political participations of family members. Plancarte also notes that some families do not have crosses in their patio all year but only place them there at the time of a ceremony (1954: 49). So it is possible that not leaving one’s *tebatpo kurus* up all year is an old Mayo pattern also, and is not an indication of cultural loss on the part of the Mayo family which places their cross in their patio only during Lent or at the time of a house ceremony.

¹⁰The full impact of the Mayo verb *kóptia*, translated here as “to forget,” is not carried in the English. The Mayo is a stronger word than the English, having connotations of a dangerous condition of disrespect with regard to ceremonial obligations, especially to the dead, perhaps.

¹¹Here, near the cross, the Bánari image of San Juan is baptized in the river each year. Also, at this spot, the Santísima Tiniran pasko personasim meet the procession from Arócosi, bringing the patron of Arócosi to Bánari for the Santísima Tiniran ceremonies; and later in the year, the Bánari pasko personasim again meet a procession from Homecarit by this cross, this one bringing the image of Guadalupe to the ceremony for the new flag of the Santísima Tiniran, and for the visiting Guadalupe in Bánari.

¹²This type of bed is distinctive and deserves a description. It is composed of a simple wooden frame crisscrossed with strips of hide over which a cane mat is thrown, in place of slats and mattress. The

frame is fastened together, not with metal bolts or nails, but with a square tongue on one member fitted into a square hole about in the center end of the other member.

¹³Pasko is a Mayo term which might be translated “fiesta” in Spanish and English. For Mayos the pasko is part of many ceremonies; however, it does not include the nine days of prayer before a saint’s day or other aspects of a complete Mayo ceremony. I have hesitated to use either term for a total Mayo ceremony even though parts of many ceremonies could adequately be described by the terms. Also, secular connotations of the Spanish term, fiesta, have led me to avoid using it.

¹⁴For more information on Mexican dances in the area see Erasmus’ book, *Man Takes Control* (1961: 243-44).

¹⁴Mayo monolingualism occurs among some young people, although others speak Spanish more of the time than do their parents. In a few families we knew, the young people and children were monolingual in Mayo, and in others the children spoke Mayo well even though their parents were bilingual. In still others, children spoke only Spanish.

¹⁶In Roman Catholic churches throughout the world the way of the cross is performed during Lent.

¹⁷Spicer finds that for Tucson, Arizona, Yaquis, the household cross as well as the Holy Cross may be called “Our Mother” (Yaqui: ‘Itom ‘Ae). This term “is applied to wooden crosses about which ceremonies center in front of the church or household, to elaborately flowered crosses honored on the third of May, to images of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and to various other manifestations of the Virgin.” He also finds this to be true in Potam, Sonora, where Yaquis apply the term *kus* (Yaqui: cross) most frequently to the houseyard and altar crosses, but also call both crosses “Itom Ae, ‘Our Mother” (1958: 536). Spicer also relates the Yaqui myth “in which it is told that Mary—Our Mother—turned herself into the tree which was made into the cross on which Jesus was crucified, so that he was held protectively in her arms during his last agony” (1958: 436). This term, [’]*Itom* [’]*Áye* (Mayo: Our Mother), may be used by Mayos for the house cross at times, but I do not know of any single case. When asked, Mayos say the house cross is [’]*Itom* [’]*Ačai*. It is possible that the type of house cross shown in Figure 1b is identified with [’]*Itom* [’]*Aye*; however, no Mayo ever identified it as such in my presence. I have seen dressed crosses in the Mayo country, but they appeared to be dressed as males rather than females, and when prayed to they were addressed as [’]*Itom* [’]*Ačai*.” For Mayos the Holy Cross is also [’]*Itom* [’]*Ačai*, according to most of the people we knew. Only on one occasion did we hear people talk about the Holy Cross in connection with [’]*Itom* [’]*Aye*, and this was at the September ceremony of the Santa Kurus. An old man said, “You have just seen the ceremony of Our Mother.” Acquaintances of ours knew the Yaqui myth, but none would admit it was Mayo, or discuss it further. It may be conjectured as to whether this difference in emphasis on the terms applied to the various forms of the cross represents a basic and longstanding difference between Yaqui and Mayo belief systems or whether it represents a late Mayo change or a late Yaqui change.

¹⁸Robin Williams in his monograph *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations* (1947) discusses the programs and studies concerned with this problem area that have already been set up. He also suggests possibilities for research, analyzes research approaches and techniques, and includes an extensive bibliography.

APPENDIX II: GLOSSARY OF MAYO WORDS

- ʼábaso séwam.* Green leaves of the cottonwood tree.
- ʼalawásin.* Lowest ranking ceremonial host (see *pasko personasim*).
- ʼalperes.* Ceremonial host of higher rank than *ʼalawasin* and lower rank than *parina* (see *pasko personasim*).
- báhi Mariám.* Women and children having certain roles in the Lenten ceremonies.
- bátoyem.* Female ceremonial sponsors or godmothers.
- bérabočam báhi puntára.* Sandals with three points.
- bó o.* Path or road.
- cámpo sánto.* Cemetery.
- čápakobam.* Masked members of the *pariserom*.
- Espíritu Sántu.* The Holy Spirit.
- hitolíom.* Shamanlike curers.
- hóapo kúrus.* House cross.
- hú upa.* Mesquite tree.
- ʼÍtom ʼÁcai.* Our Father, also referring to Christ, to the Santísima Tiniran, in general to the male santos, and to most crosses.
- ʼÍtom ʼÁye.* Our Mother, the Virgin Mary and all female saints.
- kalbário.* The Way of the Cross.
- kampánim.* Bells.
- kobanárom.* Church or pueblo officials.
- kónti.* A regular Sunday service at the church, the service of the Way of the Cross each Friday of Lent except Good Friday, and other services involving processions surrounding the church.
- kóptia.* To forget, having connotations of a dangerous condition of disrespect with regard to ceremonial obligations.
- kúrus.* Cross.
- kúrus del perdón.* Cross of pardon.
- kúrus mayór* or *kúrus yó owe.* Great, old cross.
- máestro.* A yoreme lay minister.
- mánda.* Obligatory contract with a saint.
- matačínim.* Dance society members, both males who dance for most ceremonial occasions except during Lent and females who dance simultaneously with the male segment of the society for the ceremonies of the Santísima Tiniran and Espiritu Santu in the spring.
- mó oro.* Man who directs, or leads the ceremonial hosts in the performance of rituals.
- ʼó ola.* Old man.
- ʼorkónem.* Log corner posts which support the house roof.
- parína.* Ceremonial host of higher rank than *ʼalawasin* or *ʼalperes* (see *pasko personasim*).
- parisérom.* Lenten male ceremonial society members, also called *hurásim*, Judases.
- pásko.* Refers particularly to the *paskola* and deer dance and song aspects of a Mayo ceremony.
- paskóla.* Ceremonial dancer.
- páskome.* Ceremonial hosts (see *pasko personasim*).

pásko pèrsonasim. Ceremonial hosts who donate goods and services, organize the ceremony, and take the responsibility for its actualization in payment of a promise made to the supernatural whose ceremony they are giving.

Pilátom. The head officials of the pariserom.

Sánta Kúrus. Holy Cross, generally made of wood, often with flowers or a palm arch from arm to arm.

Santísima Tíñiran. The Most Holy Trinity.

San Juan. Saint John.

sánto. Saint, a sacred image usually in the form of a statue or picture.

séwa. Flower.

solár. The ancestral land upon which a Mayo's house is located.

tapánkóm. Tables for the dead with food and flowers placed on them.

tébat. Patio.

tebátpo kúrus. House cross.

último kónti. Last Friday procession before Good Friday.

Warésma. Lent.

wikósa. Belt.

Yoréme. No precise English equivalent, means a person identified as a member of the Mayo ethnic group, either refers specifically to a Mayo or in a general sense to any Indian either of Mexico or the United States.

Yóri. Uncomplimentary name for a Spanish speaker, usually one who was once identified as Mayo.

yóribočam. Shoes.

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