THE HOUSE CROSS OF THE MAYO INDIANS OF SONORA, MEXICO

A SYMBOL IN ETHNIC IDENTITY

by

N. Ross Crumrine

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in The University Library to be made available to borrowers under the rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgement of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in their judgement the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: N. Ross Crumrine

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Edward H. Spicer 2/10/62
EDWARD H. SPICER Date
Professor of Anthropology

PREFACE

This study developed from 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, which was especially helpful because much of Mayo ceremonial participation is sex based. Often she would associate with the women's group while I associated with the men's group. 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.

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. I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to these two institutions for making this study possible.

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 am indebted to Charles J. Erasmus for his hospitality, his extremely helpful suggestions concerning the launching of our field project, and an introduction to several of his friends in Navajoe. I wish to express thanks to Muriel T. Painter for the availability of her unpublished materials on Arizona Yaquis and 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.

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 Cahita Indians (1945), describes much of Mayo life in detail. The works of Edward H. Spicer, especially Potam, A Yaqui Village in Sonora (1954) 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 the Navojos area, and Spicer's material is Yaqui rather than Mayo, some differences will be apparent between my account of the Huatabampo area Mayos and the Mayo and Yaqui materials of Beals and Spicer. However, in speaking of the overall pattern of life Mayo and Yaqui cultures and societies have an enormous resemblance to one another from the anthropologist's point of view.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	viii
 I. INTRODUCTION.....	 1
Field Procedure.....	2
Mayo Words.....	3
 II. THE SEARCH FOR CRITERIA OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION.....	 6
The Problem.....	6
Two Other Papers Concerned with Ethnic Identity.....	7
The Specific Problem of Mayo Ethnic Identification.....	11
Physical Type.....	12
Some Specific Items of Material Culture:	
House Type and Dress.....	13
Language.....	17
The Cross as a Symbol of Mayo Ethnic Identity.....	20
 III. KURUSIM AND TEBATPO KURUSIM.....	 22
Types of Kurusim.....	22
The Small Palm Cross.....	22
The Roadside Cross to Mark Place of Sudden Death.....	22
The Church Cross.....	24
The Paskela Ramada Cross.....	25
Pueblo Cross and Division Line Cross.....	26
Cemetery Cross.....	26
Tebatpo Kurus.....	26
Hypothesis.....	31
Areas of Concentration of Tebatpo Kurusim.....	32
Alamos and Upriver Areas.....	36
Navojos Area.....	38
Cohuirimpe, San Pedro, Etchojea Areas.....	40
Huatabampo Area.....	42

IV. SOCIETAL AND WEALTH CORRELATES OF THE TEBATPO KURUS.....	46
Material Wealth and Instances of Tebatpo Kurusim.....	46
Significance of Location of Houses.....	50
Societal Correlates of the Tebatpo Kurus.....	53
Social Participation.....	57
Maye Behavioral Patterns.....	60
Mayes' Identification of Others.....	62
V. THE CULTURAL CORRELATES OF THE TEBATPO KURUS.....	64
The Tebatpo Kurus Linked to Ceremonial Realities.....	67
Waresma.....	67
Santa Kurus Ceremony at Navowaxia.....	75
Espiritu Santu and Santísima Tiniran Ceremonies.....	77
San Juan Ceremonies.....	78
San Ignacio Ceremonies.....	80
Todos Santos Ceremonies.....	80
The Cross as 'Item 'Añai.....	81
The Tebatpo Kurus as an Important Aspect	
in Several Maye Orientations.....	83
The Old People.....	83
Ceremonial Labor.....	84
The Paskola Arts and Pasko-Giving.....	84
Supernatural Power.....	85
The Land and the Cult of the Dead.....	85
VI. CONCLUSION.....	88
NOTES.....	100
REFERENCES CITED.....	106

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. A Comparison of Phonemic Differences Between Some Mayo and Yaqui Words.....	4

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Construction Details of Two Types of Mayo House Cross.....	28
2. Typical Layouts of Church Cross (a), Paskela Ramada Cross (b), and House Crosses (c and d).....	30
3. Mayo River Valley Pueblos Mentioned in Text.....	33
4. The Sacred Ways of Waresma: Jupari Pueblo, 1961.....	70

ABSTRACT

How can a Mayo be recognized? What does being Mayo mean to a Mayo? In seeking answers to these questions, a brief consideration of single Mayo characteristics or items of culture reveals that most of these factors, used as unqualified criteria, do not set Mayes apart from Mexicans. In examining the question of what being a Mayo means to a Mayo, it becomes obvious that even though the Mayes share a characteristic, or the use of an item, with Mexicans, the meaning of the item or characteristic and its integration as a symbol in the Mayo symbol system of ethnic identity is seldom shared in the Mexican meaning and integration.

This realization still does not provide any simple method for the outsider to identify Mayes, 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 Mayo system of ethnic identity. Since many forms of the cross seemed fraught with meaning for Mayes, 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 system of belief and social participation.

The data from a general survey of the river valley are analyzed to show that dense areas of house crosses do in fact correlate with the

presence of Mayo ceremonial centers. Then data on several families are analyzed, demonstrating that the material wealth of the family has little correlation with the existence of a house cross, and conversely that Mayo social participation and cultural behavior correlate with the existence of a house cross. Finally the ceremonial contexts, functions, and linkages of the house cross are examined in order to describe the Mayo meaning of the house cross and its integration in Mayo life.

Through this description the general character of the Mayo ethnic identity system emerges. In the conclusion I suggest that Mayo ethnic identity is an example of a distinct type of symbolic system of ethnic identity. And the ethnic identity systems of several groups, Toba Batak, Mennonite, and Mesquakie, are examined, compared, and contrasted with the Mayo system, resulting in the tentative proposal of several types of ethnic identity systems.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Mayos, or Yoröman, 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 semi-arid, 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 jacal (Spanish: type of wattle-and-daub) houses, and wear sorts of clothes similar to those worn by farmers and farm labor in the Southwestern United States. Some own bicycles and radios and have electricity in their homes. However, none of our friends 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 of our

male Mayo friends could read and write some in both Mayo and Spanish, even though they had not gone to school longer than several months or at the most several years.

Early in the 1600's the Mayes were missionized by members of the Jesuit Order. They remained in the Mayo country until the late 1700's, when they were replaced by the Franciscans. At the present time the Mayes 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 Mayes build and maintain their churches both physically and spiritually.

Field Procedure

In November, 1960 my wife and I took up residence in Navejoa, Sonora, Mexico, where we lived until March, 1961, when we moved to Huatabampo, Sonora. In Navejoa we first made contacts with Mexicans and worked for several months with a Mexican 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 Jupari. 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 Navejoa was too far away for them to travel to visit us there. Also many people expressed the opinion that we should either attend church in the Navojoa area since we lived there or move to the Huatabampo area. So in March, 1961,

we established residence in Huatabampo where we lived until the middle of December, 1961, when 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 Jupari church ceremonies that were open to us, and were often invited to ceremonies at other pueblos near Jupari, some of which we were able to attend.

In order to create more depth in our data we became close friends with a few families. A schedule was set up and each week we visited these families. They helped us with our study of the language and we chatted. None of our friends 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 truck. In the latter months of our field work many of our friends 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. The orthography used for these words very closely approximates 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:

TABLE 1

A COMPARISON OF PHONEMIC DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN SOME MAYO AND YAQUI WORDS

English	Spanish	Mayo	Yaqui
Lent	cuaresma	warésma (<u>also</u> , warehna)	wáéhna (<u>also</u> , waesma)
cross	cruz	kúrus (<u>also</u> , kóru)	kús
member of a Lenten ceremon- ial society	Fariseo	pariséro	fariséo
Mayo word for (or Yaqui word for) person identified as one of their own ethnic group. No precise English or Spanish equivalent.		yeréme	yoéme

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 underlined only the first time it occurs in the text. Mayo words are pluralized by adding -m to words ending in a vowel and -in to words ending in a consonant; for example, kúrus (cross), kurúsín (crosses); séwa (flower), séwam (flowers). There are some exceptions to these general rules, for example, 'alawásín (lowest ranking ceremonial host), 'alawásim (lowest ranking ceremonial hosts).

Also I should like to note that the spelling of the name of the pueblo of Navowaxia (phonemically spelled it would be nabowáksia) is as

it occurs on the Santa Kirus flag of that pueblo's church. I am spelling paskóla (Maye ceremonial dancer) with a k rather than the c of the Hispanic spelling, since I am endeavoring to spell all Maye words I use here phonemically except for place names.

II. 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. Our experience has been, however, that ethnic identification 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 Mexican? 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, just as 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 types of material culture with their countrymen, such as radios and clothes bought in the same stores, and participate in some of the same socio-political activities such as voting and attending social dances. They often share 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 Mayas also. Upon first examination both cultures appear to have very few unique items, one of which in each case is a distinctive though constantly changing language. We found that for Mayas 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 and "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 the sun, to which sacrifices used to be made, is 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 hitelfom (Mayo: shamanlike curers) for the Mayos, side by side with newer 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 Mexican

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 Mexicans. The intent of this paper is to demonstrate that the Mayo house cross (tebátpe kúrus; tebátpe, on the patio, and kúrus, cross) is not only one of the most easily observable symbols of Mayo ethnic identity but also one that is integrated with many other symbols. Thus an understanding of the tebátpe 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: 506-512). Many of the integrative mechanisms producing a tight village unity that he discusses appear also to be operating in the Mayo village of Jupari. 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 Huatabampo, the large town nearby in the lower river valley. As the Philippines 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 Mexicans, but today the feeling of ethnic unity is increasing

among Mayos.

Sibley also discusses the yearly patron saint fiesta 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 each pueblo with 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 are united, as for example, in the ceremony for Espíritu Santo (Mayo: Holy Spirit) of Etchejoa. In this ceremony are united the ceremonial hosts from Jupari, Navowaxia, Etcherepe, Sebampe, and Etchejoa. Called páskome or pásko personasim 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 giving.¹ The church organizations and congregations are also united through these ceremonies. The ceremony for Santísima Trínitan (Mayo: The Most Holy Trinity) unites not only the paskome groups from Etchejoa with those of Jupari and Navowaxia, but also brings Mayos from the Mayo and Fuerte Rivers 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. Thusly the ceremonies and religious observances unify not only the pueblo and countryside nearby but also unify Yoreman 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 one of the symbols in Mayo ethnic identification everywhere, the tabatpo kurus, which will be shown to function as one of its pervasive symbols.

The Specific Problem of Mayo Ethnic Identification

Upon arrival in Navejoa 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 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 Mayes?" or, "Are you Mayo?" We proceeded to ask our Mexican acquaintances about Mayes and received answers such as, "We here are all Indies Mayes," or, "There is no difference between Mexicans and Mayes; we are all one people," or, "Most people in Navejoa have some Mayo blood and many speak some of the language." It was apparent then that some Mexicans held an ideal pattern consisting in a refusal to admit of any ethnic difference. However, we also heard unguarded remarks by 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 Mexicans as against Indians. Also, it was later discovered that both Mayes and non-Mayes agree that the term indio (Spanish: Indian) is a distasteful word, and that Mayes occasionally use their own

scathing word, yóri, for Mexicans. The Mayos call themselves yoremen, rather than indios, while the Mexicans call themselves gente de razón, (Spanish: people of reason). This indicated that in reality an ethnic distinction is made between Mayos and Mexicans (indio vs. yori; yoreme 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 Mexicans and Mayos; we are all one people," thus refusing to admit openly an ethnic differentiation made by both peoples, and 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 Navojos 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 Mexican neighbors or from 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 Mexican gene pool, but working with a cultural and linguistic bias precluded any study of this nature by us. Also a population 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 inter-

change of personnel between rivers so that many of our Mayo friends were born on the Fuerte River but now live on the Mayo River. And 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 from Northern European ones. Physical appearance is varied, for we knew persons, all deep in Mayo culture and society, some of whom could easily pass for Northern Europeans racially, and others who looked very dark. 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. Often Mayos would call us Yoremam because we could speak some of the language and participated in religious ceremonies regularly. Or often a stranger would inquire whether or not we were Yoremam. 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 Mexicans 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 more carefully test 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, that were supported with wooden corner posts, 'erkoñem (Mayo). When one builds with adobe 'erkoñem are not essential, as with jacal; however they are apparently felt 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 'erkoñem in his house. Also few other linkages to other Yoreme symbolism of ethnic identity could be found so house type and furnishings were given up as central in ethnic identification, though these symbols were referred to in attempts to attain some idea of people's evaluations 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 bérabečam báhi puntára (Mayo: sandals with three points). Some of the old men, a very conservative younger paske persona, and the Jupari image of San Juan (Spanish: Saint John) wear a round-topped straw hat. However, as the San Juan images from Navejoa and Mocúzari, and

the people who dance for San Juan in Navojoa wear the flat-topped straw hat, typical headdress of nearly all the Mayo and Mexican men of the whole river valley, the situation was complicated by these 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 sandals present an interesting problem. Upon first arriving in Navojoa we noticed a man who was identified as a Mayo by others and who spoke some Mayo, working at one of the motels in town and wearing sandals. This then suggested the hypothesis that Mayos could be identified by the expectation of wearing sandals. However, a few days later this same man was seen wearing a new pair of shoes. Later in the field period we were to make friendships with both Mexicans who wore sandals and Mayos who wore shoes when going to town or on other occasions, though most 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 Mexican.

One afternoon in the market a conservative Mayo friend 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 in a rather unkind manner that the other man was wearing yóribocam (Mayo: yóri, derogatory term for non-Mayo; bocam, shoes or footwear). The conservative man went on to explain that the sandals which he himself was wearing were called berabocam 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 it then, is one of the aspects of Mayo ethnic identification. For Mexicans 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 friends responded, "Now you will walk happily on the earth," pointing at my feet. An acquaintance who had changed, she said, from a more Mexican 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 Mexicans are unaware of even though they also wear sandals. Berabočam bahi puntara are part of the complex of symbolism which is Mayo ethnic identity.

First, Mexicans do wear some types of sandals. Secondly sandals have little or no linkage with many other symbols important in Mayo ethnic identity, though they are loosely integrated with ideals of a materially simple life filled with poverty and suffering and with a health orientation. But the sandal symbol cannot be considered one of the most provocative 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 Navejoa 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 Navejoa 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. She 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 Mexican, as for example they were characterized by a great interest in the attainment of material wealth for themselves and their children. Since both these individuals and true Mayos speak to some degree 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 know 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 of the individual in Mayo culture and society. With time another aspect also came clear. Many Mexican Huatabampo storekeepers and the Huatabampo police knew 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 Mexican who has joined the growing evangelists (Spanish: Protestant missionary sects) movement 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 living in the river valley and learning or speaking Mayo. Simply 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 Mexicans 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 deer dance ramada, or when one makes a sacred ritual speech. For Mexicans 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 Mexican society. For Mayos it is primarily a means of obtaining spiritual wealth. It is most often 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 fellowmen, his dead ancestors, his Gods, and a means of enjoying the benefits of the deer and pashola 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 the use of

the symbol of language as in the case of the symbol of sandals. In both cases 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-nees, the Mayo ethnic identity, then, is this unique Mayo "crystallization" which takes shared aspects of both Mexican and Mayo life but creates a definite and unique Mayo symbol and symbol system from them rather than a Mexican 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 results 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 Mexicans, but they are related to the rest of life in a different meaningful way. A Mexican 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 Mexican culture, which may tend to create some confusion due to shared form and perhaps some shared meaning. However the house cross seems to be a non-Mexican trait and thus provides 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 an important position in Mayo ethnic identity.

III. 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 members of the following types: above both Mexican and Mayo house doors; the roadside cross to mark places of sudden death; the church cross called kúrus mayor or kúrus yé'owe (Mayo: great, old, cross); the paskela ramada cross, also called kurus mayor or kurus ye'owe; and the house cross, called tebatpo kurus.

The Small Palm Cross. An example of formal linkage between some Mayo homes and some Mexican 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. Also this cross was 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.

The 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 Mexicans. Also 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, to Mayos.

In a vacant lot in the city of Navejea there stands a small cross. One of our Mexican friends explained it was placed there because a man was shot and killed on that spot. Another cross along a canal was placed there because a girl twelve years old had fallen into the canal and drowned, explained another Mexican friend. On the dam at Mocuzari 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 friend 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 Yoremen had killed each other with machetes. Also the spot where Bachemo, a former Mayo leader, was shot, is marked with a cross and Mayos going through the city of Mechis carry rocks which they place by the cross (Gill 1957: 128, photograph on 129).

Similar to the rocks on Bachemo'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 Mexican cultures.

The Church Cross. Almost every Catholic church in the valley has a large wooden cross, called the *kurus mayor* or *kurus yo'owe* by Yorenem, placed about one hundred feet in front of the main church door, with the exceptions of the churches in the following pueblos: Huatabampo, Bacobampo, the new pueblo of Navojos, La Aduana, Alamos, and Yavares.⁴ (See map, Figure 3.) The Catholic churches lacking a *kurus yo'owe* are all found in the densest areas of Mexican or mixed Mayo-Mexican population. Bacobampo is the center of a rapidly growing agricultural area and the church, we were told by both Mexicans and Mayos, is a Mexican rather than a Mayo one. La Aduana 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. Alamos is close by and for many years was 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 Navojos, a modern city of about 30,000 people, has replaced Alamos as the trade and cultural center on the Mayo River. Huatabampo, a town of about 8,500, 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 Alvarez Obregon, 1910 revolutionary leader and past president of Mexico. There are also several very modern large homes. Then 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 residing priest, as does the church in the new town of Navojos. 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 dense Mayo population areas.

The *kurus yo'owe* is an outstanding feature of many more churches in the Mayo River Valley than not; for example, those at Tepahui, Canea, Tesia, San Ignacio, Old Pueblo of Navejoa, Cohuirimpe, Old Pueblo of San Pedro, Etchejoa, Guaysiacebe, Navovaxia, Jupari, Etcheropo, and many others. (See map, Figure 3.) One church, a new one at Mocuzari, has a stone rather than a wooden *kurus mayer*. Conicarit 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 Mocuzari.

In many of the Mayo pueblos the *kurus yo'owe* and the kampanin (Mayo: bells), which usually stand directly behind the cross, are decorated with 'abase sewam (Mayo: cottonwood flowers literally, but actually this means green leaves of the cottonwood tree) during kenti (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 'abase sewam some linkage between the *kurus yo'owe* and bell complex and the saints must exist in Mayo thought. So the pattern of the cross in Mayo culture begins to reveal itself.

The Paskola Ramada Cross. Also, besides these 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 mayer*, 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 personasin remove it. During the ceremony for a patron saint the flag of the saint is tied to the ramada cross when a service is not going on which demands the presence of the pasko personasin in the church or in a procession.

Pueblo Cross and Division Line Cross. The pueblos of Jupari and Etchojoa have pueblo crosses where processions from other pueblos are officially met and bid farewell.⁶ The division line between the two areas of Navojoa and Cohuirimpo 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, but our friends seemed to feel this was a bad color for a cemetery cross, the same as red.

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, héapo kúrus (Mayo: cross at the house) or tebatpo kuras (cross in the patio).

In the Mayo River Valley most tebatpo kurasim are of about

the same style. In the Navejoe area one sometimes sees tebatpo kurusim of round unworked members, however farther downstream they are generally made of rectangular timbers about two by four inches in width and vary from one to four feet in height (Figure 1). Some have slightly flaring arms (Figure 1c) and others are straight. In Etchejoe and Navowaxia a second type of house cross (Figure 1e) 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 friends. For one never throws a tebatpo kurus away when it gets old, but simply places a new one behind it. Also a second or a third cross may be set up to protect the old people of the household from falling, we were told.⁸

Apparently some area specialization exists in the form of tebatpo kurusim. For example, on the Lower Fuerte River, in the pueblo of La Florida, the tebatpo kurus takes the form of a sánta kúrus (Maye: holy cross, made of wood, with an arch from arm to arm). A bit farther up the river black tebatpo kurusim are observed and just south of San Miguel some tebatpo kurusim have piles of rocks at the bases as does the San Miguel paskola ramada cross. On the eastern edge of this pueblo some crosses with lathed arms are found. Since, however, no intensive work was done in this area, no Maye 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 side that is always the flowered side and usually

FIGURE 1
CONSTRUCTION DETAILS OF TWO TYPES
OF MAYO HOUSE CROSS

Dotted line at base shows level
of earth in which cross is
planted. Style of base on
cross at right is not known.

it is this side that 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 side that presents the unbroken cross member (Figure 1b). The cross member 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 used in furniture, perhaps because Christ was nailed to the cross, as one of our friends suggested. The pointed bottom of the cross is placed in a small hole in the ground (Figure 1d).

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, "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). All our Mayo friends had small altars with pictures of several santos on the west wall inside their bedrooms. This positioning places the back of the house cross facing the rising sun and the santos on the altar facing the cross and the rising sun.

It is interesting to note that the *tebatpo kuras* is found in the approximate directional relation to the house and house altar as the *kuras ye'owe* is to the church and church altar. Also 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 *kuras ye'owe* placed on the eastern side, facing the church and its altar. The altar is in the west end of the church so that the santos face the

FIGURE 2

TYPICAL LAYOUTS OF CHURCH CROSS (a), PASKOLA RAMADA CROSS (b)
AND HOUSE CROSSES (c and d)

kurus and the rising sun, as do the santos of the house altars (Figure 2c). This is not the case for the Jupari 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 Navowaxia church and paskola ramada directional setup. In all the paskola ramadas 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 ye'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 will 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 presence and use of a tebatpo kurus together form a symbol in the system of Mayo ethnic identity. As data was 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 hypothesis that material wealth affects the existence of a tebatpo kuras, combined with an examination of Mayo and Mexican families to check individual and family social participation, individual attitudes towards having tebatpo kurasim and other attitudes towards Mayos and non-Mayos, all of which is to demonstrate that on the family level having a tebatpo kuras 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 kuras with Mayo ceremonial contexts in order to discover the full meaning for Mayos of this cross.

Areas of Concentration of Tebatpo Kurasim

In the early part of the field work a broad survey knowledge of the river valley was sought (Figure 3). Many pueblos were visited, and after trips the position of each cross seen, especially tebatpo kurasim, 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 Huatabampo 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

FIGURE 3
MAYO RIVER VALLEY PUEBLOS
MENTIONED IN TEXT

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 friends or on ceremonial business, some areas were not visited where more tebatpo kurusim probably exist. In the areas between Tesia, Camoa, Mocuzari, Alamos and La Aduana, no crosses were seen even though the area was visited several times. Very few crosses were seen in the areas between Etchojea, Bacebampo and Guaysiabe and between Etchojea and Bacabachi. This is not because crosses do not exist in large numbers there, but because the areas were spottily visited. The Etchojea area is one of high Mayo concentration and if the hypothesis stated here has any validity, many house crosses must exist in bush villages up and down the river near Etchojea. Besides, all along the 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. This pattern is common near Datil and La Esquina. For this reason it is difficult to give a very accurate estimate of the number of Mayo and Mexican families without simply combing the valley.

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

Three positionings of house crosses were noted: first, a wooden kurus from one to three feet in height on the average, placed in the ground in the house tebat (Mayo: patio); second, a wooden kurus from one 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 casually spot than the others. One wooden cross, about three feet long lay high in a tree in front of the house of one of our friends. Another was noted in a ramada of an acquaintance. Neither of these crosses were placed in the ground during Lent or at any time we were in Navejoa or Huatabampo, and these houses were very carefully checked from time to time. Both families are participating in Mexican rather than Mayo society, though the heads of each of the families has one Mayo parent, and in both cases this parent is still living and visited by this child.

The following churches have a kurus ye'owe and one or more bells mounted on wooden poles or a cement arch in the ground in front of or beside the church: Tepahui, Camoa, Tesia, San Ignacio, Cehuirimpe, San Pedro, Etchejoa, Etcherope and Jupari. There may be others of which I do not have knowledge in the valley. Navewaxia and Sebampo have kurusim but no bells, and the bells at Pueblo Viejo, Navejoa, were placed in a tower on the roof of the church, since, as one of our Mexican friends rationalized, the burros scratched themselves on it, ringing the bells. The removal of the bells from their traditional

spot, along with the placing of permanent benches or pews inside the Pueblo Viejo church, appear to indicate strong Mexican influence. However, the church still retains its *kurus ye'ows*.

House crosses exist on the northern side of the river near Navojos and in the bush barriers of the municipio, such as Chibucu. A real concentration of *tebatpe kurusim* appears as one moves farther down the river below San Ignacio. From this point to the mouth of the river one finds clusters of *tebatpe kurusim* in such places as Cehuirimpo, San Pedro, Etcherope, Sebampo, and Jupari.

Alamos and Upriver Areas. From Tesia 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 in the more traveled areas. The lack of *tebatpe kurusim* in this area, and near Alamos and La Aduana, is perhaps due to certain types of extended culture contact and Mayo cultural loss resulting from this contact. 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).

Tepahui is also in the foothills of the mountains and lies on the old road north from Alamos. 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 ye'ows* and bells also exists in Tepahui, however no *tebatpe kurusim* were seen. Our Mexican informant claimed small ones did exist on some of the houses in the hills. In explaining that Mayo was not spoken there in the

E

9791

1962

23

1964

Spec.

Coll.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA LIBRARY

3 9001 49962 9247

village anymore, he said, "The people are yeris new." In support of this statement he said that the Lenten observances in Tepahui 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 Camoa tebatpo kurusim are not obvious. The early road that linked Alamos to the more northern parts of Mexico went through Camoa, making possible continual Mayo-Mexican contact. In Camoa there is a small church with a kurus yo'owe. Very similar conditions appear to have existed in Tesia. Though the early road did not pass directly through this pueblo the later railroad did. This rail linked Navejoa with Alamos and passed through Tesia until the 1930's when it was removed. In Tesia 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 Tesia and Camoa. Both villages had old schools which in the fall of 1961 were being replaced with new ones. Standing tebatpo kurusim were observed in this area in quantities at Chibucu. Only a mile or two from Tesia, in this pueblo lives a paskola who is one of the finest on the Mayo River. This man and several families living around the area where his home is, have standing tebatpo kurusim. Also, in November, these families erected high tables called tapánkem (Mayo: tables for the dead) where food for the returning dead is placed. The conservativeness of this community is indicated in the presence and use of their house crosses, as will be further explained in following chapters.

A tebatpo kurus was observed in a small rancheria near Tesia, leaning against a semi-wall of a ruined house and facing a house in use. This settlement has a Mexican school and for thirty years has been under a program of intensive culture change directed by two aggressive Mexican school teachers. Even in this community, which has been for so long under the influence of such contact, one cross was observed and more probably exist.

Navojos Area. The relocated pueblo of Navojos, 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 have been observed in the new section of Navojos and only a few permanent ones exist in the old section, near the old church with the kurus yo'ewe. As stated earlier, the church suggests influence from Mexican contact.

Several tebatpo kurusim do exist just north of the river near the old section of Navojos, however, in the barrios of Guaymitas, Chihuahuita and Loma del Refugio, for example. In Guaymitas one very old house cross was noted on the south side of a house. This cross had sunken into the ground so far that the cross member was no more than six inches above the ground. Also, an often decorated cross was observed east of the house of a máestre (Mayo: a yerema lay minister). Two houses were noted in Chihuahuita with permanent house crosses. At least one of the two families are active Mayos, for they participated in Mayo society as pasko personasim. We had no knowledge of the other family.

In Loma del Refugio 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 Mexican or Mayo one of our Mexican

friends who lives in that area answered very positively that they are Yere-men. Also another family has, high in a tree beside their house, a three and one half feet 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 Yere-me, for the tebatpe kurus is an integral part of participation in the Easter ceremonies. This individual speaks Mayo but married a Mexican woman, now prefers to speak Spanish, participates as far as we know chiefly in Mexican society, and identifies himself as a Mexican.

Thus the areas closest to the city of Navejoa have some families who are identified by others as Mayo, participate in Mayo society, and have tebatpe 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 Pueble Viejo, one of the Mayo lay ministers of the area mentioned that this ceremony was not held anymore, and claimed it was because the Mayo pasko personasim had forgotten about it and did not care to give it anymore. ⁹

After the construction of the railroad and the yards where Navejoa is today the town began to expand and became the center for labor. Thus many people drifted to Navejoa 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 Navejoa now goes farther north.

Also on the main line of the railroad is the pueblo of Bacabachi, located on the highway a few miles south of Navejoa. All three types of tebatpe 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, and which were never seen in use. Bacabachi is a pueblo undergoing definite signs of cultural change. One old Bacabachi woman said sadly that thirty years ago everyone in Bacabachi was a Yorame and now they were all yoris. But only during Lent was a tebatpe kurus 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 one aspect of Mayo identity, at least, is becoming less important to some of the people of Bacabachi. 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 house crosses down for the season.

Cehuirimpo, San Pedro, Etchejoa Areas. Farther downriver the ceremonial centers still appear to be intact. Cehuirimpo has a small Mayo church with several houses with tebatpe kurusim closely surrounding it. Near Cehuirimpo, in Nabelato, is located a family with tebatpe kurusim. The head of the household 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 Pedro are dense areas of tebatpe kurusim with nearly as many if not more than the Jupari area. In the Old Pueblo of San Pedro a house cross was noted at the house of a family

which spoke only Mayo on our visit and which was participating as a household in Mayo ceremonial life. A Mayo church is also found in Old San Pedro, with kurus and bells. Many tebatpe kurusim were also observed in New San Pedro, one family having two small crosses with the smaller, or older, placed just in front of the other.

In the Bacebampo area only one tebatpe kurus 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. The older man of the household expressed a desire to go to the big Yaqui pueblo ceremonies and appeared somewhat homesick for the Yaqui country. His obvious interest was Yaqui rather than Mexican in this respect, and his tebatpe kurus reflected his interests.

Bacebampo, as noted before, has no Mayo church and, we were told, consists largely of Mexicans rather than Mayos. Farther north is found the pueblo of Guaysiacobe, with a Mayo church and clusters of houses with tebatpe kurusim, surrounding the church.

In Etchejea, during the ceremony for the patron saint, Espiritu Santu, several crosses were placed in the town. Just outside of Etchejea three pueblo crosses, showing the boundary, were erected in a field. Here the Etchejea pasko personasim met the downriver pasko personasim who were bringing the images of the Santisima Tinirans from Jupari and Etchoropo 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 tebatpe kurus. The house cross was at the end of six palm

arches through which the procession passed. The Santísima 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 Etchojoa was noted a cross concealed in a ramada. This cross did not come down during Lent. This case is similar to that described for the Mexican with a Mayo history in Loma del Refugio. The head of this Etchojoa family knows the Mayo language, has one Mayo parent, but prefers Spanish and participates in Mexican society, is educating his children to be Mexicans and identifies himself as Mexican.

With its Mayo church, Sebampo 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 Cohuirimpe, San Pedro, and Etchojoa, 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 tebatpe kurusim.

Huatabampo Area: In the vicinity of Huatabampo, including the pueblos of Colonia Union, Etchoropo, Navowaxia, Jupari, Las Parras, and Peze Dulce, by far the largest number of tebatpe kurusim were seen, however the longest and most intensive periods of fieldwork were spent in this area. It is probable that Huatabampo has been a Mexican 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 Huatabampo 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 Huatabampo has had rail and highway connections with Navojoa.

In Huatabampo one finds that many families only place their crosses in their patios 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 Huatabampo 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.

Yavares is a present day port town and is a mixed Mexican-Mayo community. At least two houses with tebatpo kurusim exist on the edge of town. A railroad from Huatabampo used to run to Yavares for salt and fish though 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 as well as rich Mexicans use it as a fishing port. Thus Yavares is a complex port town rather than a conservative Mayo stronghold.

Colonia Union is a comparatively rich farming ejido composed of many Mexican families as well as Mayos and consists of adobe houses rather than jacal for the most part. Also during the period of research electricity was installed in Colonia. Some families have tebatpo kurusim there. It is interesting to note that of the three families

from Colonia which we became well acquainted with through attendance of Friday of Lent processions and other ceremonies, and whom we visited in their homes, all have tebatpe kurusim. When we were inquiring about the locations of a Mayo family in this pueblo, the stranger who was approached, and asked in Mayo, then went to a woman who had a tebatpe kurus and discussed the matter further in Mayo. This exemplifies the pattern that families with tebatpe kurusim were generally found to use the Mayo language. We had also inquired in Mayo at another house, without a tebatpe kurus, and the answer came back in Spanish, "What are you selling?"

The pueblos and surrounding areas of Etcherope, Navowaxia, Jupari, Las Parras, and Pozo Dulce, are dense areas of tebatpe kurusim concentration. Navowaxia'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. Etcherope is a pueblo having Santisima Tiniran as patron, competing with Jupari, also having the Santisima Tiniran. In Etcherope the ceremonies of Santisima Tiniran, of San Francisco, and of Warésma (Mayo: Lent) are celebrated. Around the church in Etcherope are scattered several houses with tebatpe kurusim ranging in size from three feet high to a large one some five feet high. Jupari gives ceremonies for Santisima Tiniran, San Juan, Guadalupe and San Ignacio, and with the paske personasim from Navowaxia's Santa Kurus, performs Warésma ceremonies. In Jupari itself there are, out of about eighty-five houses, some forty-five with tebatpe kurusim and 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 Jupari where the old bridge was, there are several houses with tebatpe 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.¹⁰ Just across and down the river is the home of a man who is both a Mayo and a Mexican in some respects. He had a house cross only for Lent and often attends a ceremony only for a few minutes; however, he prefers to speak Spanish. One Mayo family called him a Yerema, although they hesitated considerably about classifying him thusly. All the families we knew in Jupari, Esquina, and Datil had tebatpe 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 tebatpe 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 tebatpe kurus are positively correlated in terms of social participation and cultural behavior and that wealth does not correlate with the presence of a tebatpe kurus.

IV. SOCIETAL AND WEALTH CORRELATES OF THE TEBATPO KURUS

Material Wealth and Instances of Tebatpo Kurusim

After examining the positioning of tebatpo kurusim in the Maye 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 kurus.

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 the informant 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 reasons behind such an approach and we did not wish to be linked with Mexican merchants, government officials, or any other such group. Also it became apparent that people often exaggerate their wealth when operating in Mexican society and minimize it among Maye friends. Mayos often say, "We are all equally poor," when directly asked about their wealth, 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 misinformation be avoided to the greatest extent 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 later visits. It was our experience that direct questions resulted in either misinformation or no information. Thus the sample sacrifices largeness of size 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 Huatabampo, since this was the area in which we spent most of our time. We attended the Jupari 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 Navejón area and at the ceremony for the Santa Kuras in Navoaxia, 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; 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 tabatpo kuras was observed and 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. Also we 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 Mexican and some Mayo households with the exceptions of the existence or non-existence of a tebatpo kurus and its associated patterns. Dr. Charles Erasmus also concludes, in speaking of the townspeople's lumping of country Mexicans and Mayos, that a real confusion does exist, for the houses and standard of living are often quite indistinguishable (1961: 203). He also states, "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 floor 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 Mexican household in our sample has a small one-room jacal house with no electricity, dirt floor, 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. Both household heads do parttime 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 Mexican families, and demonstrate that visible wealth and earning bases of Mayo families are very similar, if not identical, in many cases, with Mexican. It is the spending patterns which differ importantly. It is also obvious in the example that one of the few important differences which is physically observable between this type of Mayo and Mexican 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. Again wealthwise these Mayos cannot be separated from many Mexican households with the same standard of living. The difference again lies in the visible religious symbols and in the having of a pattern of social participation connected with these symbols. Wealthier Mayos we knew were still social participants in Mayo religious life, and often the strongest ones. 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 Mexican and Mayo households. This is amply demonstrated by the following facts.

First, Mayo and poor Mexican families have about the same material possessions and often have similar occupations. Secondly, no Mexican families appeared often enough at Mayo religious activities, our main

occasions for making new acquaintances, for us to make any Mexican friends in this way. Thirdly, almost all people met at Mayo religious activities often enough to become our friends 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 kuras*. Fourthly, none of our Mexican friends ever elected of their own free will to introduce us to Mayo friends or families, but always took us to visit their Mexican friends; whereas Mayos appeared to visit their own Mayo ceremonial and real kin, thus indicating a Mexican-Mexican and Mayo-Mayo social visiting pattern.

Significance of Location of Houses

Some meaningful ideas may, however, be abstracted solely from the material collected on the wealth and location of the households; first, Mexican 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 Mexican or Mayo ethnic affiliation, for the most part.

Difference in settlement pattern for Mayos and Mexicans appeared particularly in small villages, such as Etcherope and Jupari, and in larger towns such as Huatabampo. Mexican 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 placing 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.¹¹

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 *tebatpe kirusim* in Jupari and Etcherope are found clustered around the Mayo church-cemetery sacred area, and the Mayo houses in Huatabampo with *tebatpe kirusim* during Lent are found either near the cemetery or at the edges of town nearest Jupari and Etcherope. In these communities the Mexican households are found in the commercial center of town and around the schools.¹²

The second idea abstracted from our sample of households is that a family's material wealth depends more on the community in which they live than upon their self-identification as Mayo or Mexican. Huatabampo, Colonia Union, and Jupari together show not only the range of wealth types, but also the range of observed *tebatpe kirus* positional types. In Huatabampo our Mayo friends 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.¹³ The *tebatpe kirus* 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 Huatabampo, since definite sanctions have been brought to bear against the pasko (Mayo: a word referring to the *paskela* and deer dance and song aspects of a ceremony) type of Mayo house ceremonies in the town.¹⁴

In Jupari the standard of living is similar to that of Mayos in Huatabampo. Out of some forty-five houses which have tebatpo kurusim all but four or five are jacal houses without electricity, and with 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 Mexican section, and has two adobe rooms, a jacal kitchen, electricity and a radio. This latter household, which is in the Mexican 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 Colonia the Mayos and Mexicans are both rich, relative to the standards of Jupari Mayos and Mexicans. Colonia 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 Mexican households of Colonia Union, with the exception of the presence of the tebatpe kurus.

In conclusion, then, ethnic distinctions between poor Mexicans and Mayos cannot be based on standard of living, and though settlement patterns are helpful in some communities they are not foolproof. Also 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 Mexican, but depends, at least partially, upon the community of which the household is a part. Poorer Mayo and Mexican people tend to live in Jupari, for example, and richer in Colonia Union.

Societal Correlates of the Tebatpe Kurus

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

is that the latter includes families whose heads admit having had at least one Mayo parent and hold some Mayo beliefs. The Mayo division includes families which participate socially in Mayo society, are proud of speaking Mayo at home and church, behave as Mayos and are identified by other Mayos as Yoremam. Also a distinction based more on attitudes toward material wealth and attitudes of advancement in the economic realm was discovered and Mayos were 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 Mexican, appeared again and again as an ideal pattern but we had no acquaintances who were members of this category. When asked, our friends would say that people in Huatabampo did not have tebatpo kurusim because "they are Mayos turned Mexican." After getting to know several of these Huatabampo families we found that they more or less clearly identified themselves as either Mayo or as Mexican, 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 Mexicans with Mayo ancestry of our acquaintance had considered themselves Mexican for twenty or thirty years apparently, and were obviously strongly Mexican by this time, or wished to appear so. They also had Mexican spouses.

The first two groups, Mexicans, and Mexicans with Mayo ancestry, are well typified by the four families in these categories 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 patterns discovered in these four cases all patterns found were checked in all the other Mexican families of this social stratum which we encountered with any degree of regularity, such as our neighbors and landlady, and so on.

Of the nine Maye families we knew best, the five progressive ones and three of the conservative ones were met either at the Jupari or Navewaxia churches while they were doing Maye ceremonial labor, and the remaining conservative was met in the course of our inquiring about a Maye 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 Maye 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 Mexican group. This then was checked with all the Mexican families or individuals we had encountered and was found to be true for the great majority. Also it was noted that most often when a crisis or family argument occurred among our Mexican neighbors the guilty party had not been aggressive enough in a business deal and had been cheated. Also this tendency was noted in the Mexicans with Maye ancestry. When the Maye groups were examined this tendency was quite reversed. Mayes generally prefer to be polite and get cheated, rather than to get in an argument. Mayes show very little confidence in themselves as actors in the business

world of the Mexicans, 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 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 often 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 *tebatpe kurusin* do not tend to be aggressive in the business world of Mexicans, for example, since non-aggressiveness in this context is a trait of the group in which nine out of nine cases have house crosses.

This then was the method selected for the analysis of the thirteen families. One of the important reasons for this selection was to destroy the specific identity of any particular family. None of the similarities are specific to any family but are general to the group as a whole. In no case will I be discussing a specific family but rather an ideal family generalized from the real families we know. The generalizations have a basis in reality but are not reality in themselves.

In the following section the theme that will be developed is one of contrasts between Mexican 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 Mexicans participate in Mexican social life. Accomplishing this will be demonstrating the positive correlation of the tebatpe kurus with Mayo social participation and Mayo behavioral patterns for Mayo families as against Mexican families in this total sample.

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 Mexican-Mexican exchange. When one is visiting friends of a Mexican family the family tends to be Mexican 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; especially, if he is the parent of a member of the household, is this individual 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 looked upon as great assets to the family, and are strongly linked with the tebatpe kurus. This loss of respect, of Mexican 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 Mexican, for Mayos generally visit Mayo compadres and kin. Some of the progressive Mayos have taken Mexican compadres, so some visiting must also take place between Mexicans and Mayos; though we never observed an exchange of whole families in home visits we often saw Mayo and Mexican men drinking together. One day we took one of our Mayo families and drove to the port of Yavaros, where a few Mayos live. And 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 Mexican social participation might be summarized in one word, baile (Spanish: dance). The Mexican family looks forward to, buys for, attends and relishes the dance. It is the main type of social event and accompanies most Mexican weddings and fiestas. On our trips to a larger city nearby our Mexican friends 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 Mexican friends how beautiful the Easter fiesta at one of the beaches was. Expecting a Mayo type of ceremony we were interested to learn later that it would be a baile. The dance is similarly important for Mexicans with Mayo ancestry. Both groups plan ahead for months for social dances, especially at weddings.¹⁵

Progressive Mayos also enjoy dances, attend and give them. All Mayo dances we attended included an altar with a saint and a maestro who prays in connection with the event. Many of the most conservative Mayos feel that Mexican secular type dances are bad,

especially when attended to the detriment of obligated participation in a traditional ceremony going on simultaneously.

Very seldom do members of Mexican families, even Mexicans with Mayo ancestry, attend Mayo ceremonies and when they do it is solely as observers or vendors. All the Mayo families we were acquainted with were constant participants, on the other hand, 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 personasin and in former years we know for certain that 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 attended 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 personasin; parisérom (Mayo: Lenten male ceremonial society, also called hurásim, Judases); matachínim (Mayo: dance society whose male members dance for most ceremonial occasions except during Lent, and whose female members 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 kobanárím (Mayo: church officials or pueblo officials).

So it is not difficult to see the difference in social participation between Mayos and Mexicans which correlates in all cases with the existence of a tebatpe kurus.

Mayo Behavioral Patterns. The high value for the use of the Mayo language is characteristic of all nine 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 Mexicans and Mexicans with Mayo ancestry definitely prefer Spanish and consider it their native language. The former group, Mexicans, considers the speaking of Mayo very quaint and terribly funny. Other members of the Mexican 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 Mexican. Thus families with tebatpe 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. ¹⁶

In the Mayo conservative group a patterned fear of strangers was noted, which is manifest in the childrens' 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 Mexican groups these fears are not manifest usually. Nevertheless spitting can be stimulated in Mexicans 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 Mexicans and Mexicans 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 Mexican 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 hours of work into it. This is in contrast to the Mexican 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 Mexican culture as it is found in Northwest rural Mexico. The Mexican 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 they do not have an old person. During Lent it is an old man who is run the Way of the Cross, like Christ. The Mexican emphasis on money and the Mayo distrust of it is partially explained when the two time orientations are realized. For Mexicans 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 pueble ceremony at which were hundreds of vendors 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). Also the fear of strangers might be interpreted in terms of fear of change and absence of interest in the future as such. Families with tebatpe 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 Mexican with Mayo ancestry definitely identifies families with house crosses as Mayo, and when questioned confirmed, "All Yoremas have a tebatpe kurus and Mexicans don't." One Mayo friend identifies the having of a tebatpe kurus with being poor and with Mayo-ness. When asked about a certain family in Huatabampo who appears to be Mayo but to have no cross, he answered, "Yes, they are Mayos and they have a tebatpe 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 Huatabampo don't have house crosses, "I should think not, they are Mayos turned Mexican."

And a third Maye answered when asked why people living in Huatabampo had no house crosses for the most part, "Mexicans live there."

"Are people who have no tebatpo kurus sometimes Yoremam?"

"No, they are not Yoremam if they don't have a tebatpo kurus. At times like Lent they come down to guard and then go back up. People without crosses are Mexicans 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 Maye friends consider other families non-Maye if they do not have a tebatpo kurus.

Maye social participation, cultural behavior patterns, and identification of other Mayes, all positively correlate with the existence of a tebatpo kurus and its culturally patterned use.

V. 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 meaning of the tebatpo kurus and of the linkage of this cross to Mayo ceremonies and orientations. Persons who share their understandings of tebatpo kurus meaning and symbol linkage are identified ethnically as Mayos.

Every instance of shared Mayo type behavior is not conclusive evidence of ethnic identity, for Mexicans sometimes promise to walk in certain Mayo processions or attend certain saints' ceremonies. Some sharing of even religious behavior between Mayos and Mexicans is observed. For example we met a young Mexican woman who had been promised to serve during Warasma, Lenten, ceremonies as an image bearer. She knew no Mayo words and had no idea of the Mayo meanings of the ceremony. The only knowledge she had was her mother had promised her when she had become ill from a fall and she had to serve. Mexicans and Mayos share the same church in some places, and in Jupari for example, masses of Mexicans appear in Jupari 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 Mexicans 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 symbolisms. What the tebatpe kuras 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 Yorema ethnic group.

This section is a description of the tebatpe kuras as a symbol in Yorema 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 tebatpe kuras 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" and in this participation create a Mayo religion, and possibly an incipient philosophy and science, although the religious symbolism is the primary interest here.

This section is an attempt to analyze the tebatpe kuras as a participant symbol in the Mayo "symbolic discourse" of religion. In order to examine the distribution of the tebatpe kuras in this discourse two steps were taken. First the associations of the tebatpe kuras with definite ceremonial situations was summarized. The mention of tebatpe kuras produces, in Mayo, talk about certain definite realities. Secondly the tebatpe kuras was examined as an aspect in Mayo orientations. The mention of the word to a friend during a chat seldom produced any

self-conscious information about the cross itself, however it would 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 kuras could be discovered, if the person chose to say anything at all. In actuality probing for information about the tebatpo kuras would sometimes stimulate the person to begin talking about Waresma and the running of the 'é'ola (Maye: 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 kuras the day of the Santa Kuras or red flowers for the day of San Juan, whose flowers are red. By applying these methods a number of socio-cultural realities such as Waresma, Santa Kuras, San Juan, San Ignacio, and Todes Santos ceremonies, were discovered to be systematically linked to the tebatpo kuras. Since many crosses are linked with religious ceremonies where they are called 'Item 'Akai (Maye: 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 kuras make it part of many Maye orientations. The function of the house cross will be discussed in relation to the orientations and interests of the old people, ceremonial labor, paskela 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 will describe 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 Mexicans with Mayo ancestry, brings several kinds of response connected with Lent: "The cross guards the house. During Waresma the tebatpo kurusim in Huatabampo 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 Jupari 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 Navejoa 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 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 baptised. Sunday morning Christ comes to meet Mary and they return to the church, thus ending Waresma.

The first kalbarie (Mayo: way of the cross), is set up the First Friday of Waresma and each of the six Fridays in the morning the bé'e (Mayo: path or road) is swept by the pasko personasim. This dusty kalbarie 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, kalbarie.¹⁸

The tebatpo kurus 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 kurus is marched around during a house ceremony in a pattern similar to that in which are the crosses of the first way of the cross during the first six Fridays of Lent.

The tebatpo kurus and the crosses of the first kalbarie are

called by the same term, 'Itom'Adai. On the sixth Friday the crosses of the first way, and the next week, the old man and the tebatpe kurusim, appear with a green ring around their heads, or top arms, and all are pulled up or knocked down, including the old man. When the tebatpe kurusim 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 kalbarie crosses are prayed before, as is the church cross, the paskela ramada cross, and the tebatpe kurusim in the past. The house crosses are probably still prayed before by many Mayes, though this was not observed, except in the case of paskelas at a house pasko.

Each of the six Friday processions is a little different. However, a summary of actions toward the kalbarie 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 paskela 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 Yapaiyekam (Maye: masked members of the pariserem) 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 Yapaiyekam stop at the first cross of kalbarie and each in his turn backs up to the cross and pretends to defecate on it, thus showing their respect for the crosses.

Late in the afternoon the procession begins to form. Soon

FIGURE 4

THE SACRED WAYS OF WAKESMA
JUPARI PUEBLO, 1961

three 'alawasim 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 'alawasin stays with the cross, guarding it from the Ćapaiyekam 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 Ćapaiyekam that come too close. The other two 'alawasim 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 'alawasim 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 'alawasin, reaches and marches around kalbario, the fourteenth station, the second and third 'alawasim being joined by the 'alawasin or 'alawasim who arrived before they. Finally when the procession is one cross away from the last station all three 'alawasim are guarding at the last station, one at each cross of the three crosses at the station. When the procession moves to this kalbario these three 'alawasim 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 actions 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 person-
asim 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 Maríam
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, almost at the moment of sunset.

This method of addressing the crosses links to a more complex
way of surrounding the tebatpe 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 procesion or último kónti (Mayo:

last surrounding). After the service at the last station the pasko personasin pulled up the crosses of this first way of the cross. During this time we noticed that the tebatpe kurusim as well as the three crosses of the first kalbarie had small circles of green leaves and flowers on them. We also noticed that when the 'e'ola came Monday of Holy Week, in the custody of the pariserem, collecting gifts for the coming paske, he was wearing a crown of green leaves. This then, represented a formal linkage between the first kalbarie, the 'e'ola, and the tebatpe kurus.

At that time we asked one of our friends who is a parisero, while at home, why his tebatpe kurus had flowers and greens on it. And he answered, pointing to his cross, "That is the old man, 'Itom'Añai. It is because the pariserem now have the old man and he has green leaves around his head. When they throw down the 'e'ola we all everywhere throw down all the tebatpe kurusim."

The knocking down of the old man and of the tebatpe kurusim appears to participate in 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 where we were spending the night said, "'Itom'Añai has arisen!"

On Thursday of Holy Week in the late afternoon the 'e'ola was knocked down. Eight crosses, or the second kalbarie, 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 4). After

the old man was taken to the larger bower in front of the church one of the Pilatam (Mayo: head in command of the pariserom), came and made a ritual speech asking for the 'o'ela. The procession formed with the 'o'ela in the center flanked by a line of Pilatam and Čapaiyekam. His madrinas (Spanish: female ceremonial sponsors, or godmothers) had held of the long rope around his waist and more Čapaiyekam had the end of the rope. Between each cross the Čapaiyekam jerked on the rope and ran at the 'o'ela, trying to knock him down. The madrinaz protected the old man by holding slack in the rope and by beating off the Čapaiyekam with long switches of cane. At each cross the Čapaiyekam let go of the rope and the old man knelt inside the bower with his back to the cross. The 'o'ela was never actually knocked down for the madrinaz protected him. And as the procession returned to the church, it was said that the 'o'ela had now been knocked down nevertheless.

Early Friday morning the pariserom ran to all the houses knocking down each tebatpe kurus, the church cross, and the Santa Kurus inside the church. Each house cross was laid face up with the pointed longer 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 tebatpe kurus, with sides of the square being parallel with the house, and it was told us, representing a tomb. The bowers of the way where the 'o'ela ran also represent tombs and the rope around his waist represents the wikosa (Mayo: belt) by which he is lowered into the grave. Our friend also told us that at the time of a death or the ceremony one

year after a death one tebatpo kurus is used with four palm branches arched over the cross, being tied together forming an arch on each side of the house cross. The tebatpo kurus is not knocked down for a funeral, however, he says. This funeral decoration is also considered a tomb and thus links the second kalbarie, 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 paskela 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 principle in still another context. As the opposite ends of the sacred way in repeated contexts, the paskela ramada kurus yo'owe, the church kurus yo'owe, and the tebatpo kurus of the house are linked.

Santa Kurus Ceremony at Navovaxia. On May 3, many of the tebatpo kurusim are decorated with white flowers linking them to the Navovaxia Santa Kurus, composed of white flowers, and to its ceremony, which was observed on May 2 and 3, 1961, at Navovaxia. On May 2 the sacred way from the church to the paskela ramada was swept, the paskela ramada cross was put up, and the colored streamers were placed along the sides

of the way. In the evening two large fireworks are blessed and set off. The next day, May 3, the new pasko personasin for the coming ceremonial year were placed in office and the affair ended with a procession of the Santa Kuras around the church.

In September there is a second ceremony for the Santa Kuras flag. On September 4 in Navonuxia the Santa Kuras 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 Kuras and the Virgin of Guadalupe was performed, surrounding the church.

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

Also, the complex by which the pasko personasin 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 personasin lined up beside the cross, the

'alawasim in one line and the others in another. One parina or kiperes (Mayo: pasko personasin of higher rank than 'alawasim, and with different functions from the latter and from each other) 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 personasin took the flag and walked around the cross in a clockwise direction. At this same time the mp'ore (Mayo: man who directs, or leads, the pasko personasin in the performance of rituals), playing a drum, led one 'alawasim 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 personasin 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 tabatpe kurus and the paskola ramada kurus yo'owe. Also this complex is performed inside the church each Sunday as part of the regular Sunday service, thus linking the tabatpe kurus, the church altar, and the four corners of the church ground with the house tebat.

Espiritu Santu and Santisima Tiniran Ceremonies. The ceremonies of these two patron saints of Etchejea and Jupari-Etcheropo respectively, took up most of the month of May, 1961. First Espiritu Santu is welcomed in Etchejea as was the Santa Kurus in Navewaxia and there follows nine days of prayer. While the nine days of prayer are in progress the Santisima Tiniran is welcomed in Jupari and Etcheropo and

nine days of prayer begins in these two pueblos. Then the Santisima Tiniran image is carried to Etchojea for the Espiritu Santu pasko the first week-end and the next week-end the Espiritu Santu image is carried to Jupari for the Santisima Tiniran pasko.

The tebatpo kurus is a functioning part of these ceremonies. When the Santisima Tiniran image is carried into Etchojea 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 personasin conclude this chapter of ritual with an exercise and tie the flags of the Navevaxia Santa Kurus and the Jupari and Etcherepo Santisima Tinirans to the tebatpo kurus. The Etchojea area pasko personasin 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 personasin involved this time, each with their own flag. Each in his turn must twice complete the complexes of marching and flag-waving.

In Jupari this same pattern reoccurs when the visiting Espiritu Santu image is taken to a home where it is placed on a home altar and the pasko personasin do the exercise around the tebatpo kurus. This home is linked to the church by a 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 Jupari ceremony for San Juan there was a house pasko at which an image (not Jupari's) of San Juan attended. Then on June 23, 1961, the ceremony for San Juan was held in Jupari. Early in the morning the Jupari 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 Santisima 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 paskolan and deer dancer arrived. After praying at the altar they went to the tebatpo kurus where a piece of glowing weed had been placed. An'alawasin took some firecrackers and made the sign of the cross in front of the two paskolan and gave all the paskolan 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 paskolan 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 ye'ewa at the paskola ramada just before the paskolan

and deer dancer began to dance for a patron saint's ceremony, thus linking the tebatpe kurus and the paskela cross. Also during the night a lit candle was placed in front of the tebatpe kurus, as is done in front of the paskela ramada cross, providing another linkage between these two types of crosses.

San Ignacio Ceremonies. The tebatpe kurus also appears to be linked through the old people to the San Ignacio ceremonies; for after being questioned about the tebatpe kurus one of our friends said, "The old people, oh yes! I wanted to tell you about San Ignacio Day when the pasko personasin bathes 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.

Todes Santos Ceremonies. On the first of November some Mayo families construct a table called tapanke for their dead. It is made of four posts with V-shaped tops into which is laid cross members. The table part is formed of pieces of carrizo, a native cane (Spicer 1940, Plate 12). The tapanke is high, about eye level to a small person. The tebatpe 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 friends invited us to go to the cemetery with them. They removed the flowers, food, and wreaths from the tapanke 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, and we noticed that many of the children's grave crosses seemed to be blue whereas those of the adults of this very Mayo family seemed to all be white. Another Mayo friend 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 maestro came and prayed for the dead of the families, one by one, and he was given some of the food and some money for his services, as was the woman who sang in connection with his praying. We returned home.

The tebatpo kurus was linked to the cemetery crosses through being associated with the food, candles, flowers and water offered to the dead.

The Cross as 'Item'Añai. 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. 'Item'Añai 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 pashola ramada cross. A Navejoa 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 tebatpe 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 paskelam and the deer dancer pray at the paskela ramada cross and the maestro holds a short service there when the paskelam and deer dancer return from a procession to the ramada. Thus the tebatpe kurus is linked through the term 'Item 'Acai, which is used in the speeches given there, and through the activity of praying to it, to the church cross, paskela 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 one will see a Mayo man quite drunk standing in front of the kurus ye'owe, confessing to it most pitifully. Mayo children have to confess to the tebatpe kurus when they have been naughty. One of our friends told us when Mayo children had been bad repeatedly they were never beaten but were counseled with good words and made to kneel on garbanzes in front of the tebatpe kurus.

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

This description and analysis represents a fraction of the mental

connections and formal linkages of the tebatpe kurus to Mayo ceremonial realities. Some of the main ceremonial complexes of the Huatabampo area Mayos have been shown to connect mentally or link formally with the tebatpe kurus, and these relationships have been examined. Finally the house cross as 'Item 'Añai to be prayed to and confessed to has been shown to link it to many of the male saints of the church as well as to the church and paskola ramada crosses.

The Tebatpe Kurus as an Important Aspect in Several Mayo Orientations

Through the analysis of the formal linkages and thought connections of the tebatpe kurus to ceremonial contexts it became apparent that it also is an important aspect in several Mayo orientations. Because the Mayo culture is so similar to the Yaqui the reader may wish to refer to a discussion of Yaqui orientations by Spicer in Petam: A Yaqui Village in Sonora (1954). 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 introduced.

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 it appears 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 tebatpe 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 tebatpe 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 Maye 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 pariserom for three or six years or are promised as members of the mata^xini dance society and young women may be promised to dance mata^xini for the ceremonies of Espiritu Santu and Santisima Tiniran. The tebatpe kurus is an aspect of this ceremonial labor for one makes a munda (Maye: 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 tebatpe kurusim on Good Friday morning is some of the ceremonial labor of the pariserom. The house owner leaves a small gift to be used to support the paske Saturday and Easter Sunday. The replacement of the tebatpe kurus early the next morning is the concern of the household or of the pariserom, depending on the case.

The Paskela Arts and Pasko-Giving. The Mayes enjoy very much the dancing and joking of the paskela and some plan to attend the first night of a pasko in order to watch the paskelam before the large crowds of later nights form. As shown earlier in this study the ceremony of the shooting of the firecrackers by the paskelam and the praying by the

paskela ramada cross link the tebatpe kurus with some of the paskela activities.

Many families, because of sickness or death, promise to give home ceremonies. The paskelan generally dance at these paskom. As we have shown, the tebatpe 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 tebatpe kurus fits in here by functioning to guard the family from harm, perhaps from witchcraft, though no one in specific told us this. It guards against dangerous, or potentially dangerous, powers loose at Lent. In denying that the housea 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 tebatpe 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 Mayos because his dead are buried there, for one of 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 solar (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 ye'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 represents 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 Mayas in the land and the cult of the dead.

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

VI. CONCLUSION

This study began with the practical question, how can an outsider recognize a person as Mayo? In order to analyze the above question another question came to mind, what does being Mayo mean to a Mayo? In seeking answers to these questions, a brief consideration of single Mayo characteristics or items of culture reveals that most of these factors, used as unqualified criteria, do not set Mayos apart from Mexicans. Many scholars have pointed out that items shared by two groups in contact will not provide a basis for distinguishing the groups. Eric Wolf, in the following quotation about the Indian in Mexico, has summarized the problem (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, huarachas, 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 monolinguals 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 Mexicans the meaning of the item and its integration as a symbol in the Mayo symbol system of ethnic identity is seldom shared in the Mexican 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 Mexican, exist for many shared traits. Thus one aspect of Mayo-ness 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 Mexican's wearing sandals. This may help to partially explain 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 some of the particular manifestations of their culture are significant in a distinctive Mayo, or Chukchi, system of meanings. For the Mayos their culture is unique and different from not only the Mexican culture, or cultures, but also from the Yaqui culture and from other Indian cultures.

This realization still does not provide any simple method for

the outsider to identify Mayes, 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 Mayo system of ethnic identity. Since many forms of the cross seemed fraught with meaning for Mayes, 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 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 we knew well were analyzed showing that the material wealth of the family has very little correlation with the existence of a *tebatpe kurus* and conversely showing 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 we noted earlier, Sibley states that the fiesta for the patron saint of the Philippine village is a mechanism aiding in the maintenance of village identity (1960: 508). This is true for Mayes 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 *paske personasin* at

Jupari 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 tebatpe kurusim pulled up and layed 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 tebatpe kurusim the day of the Santa Kurus. During a ceremony at Jupari around the church, at the paskola ramada, and at the cooking ramadas Mayos hear mostly Mayo spoken and see only sandals worn by other Mayos. Thus the ceremony as a socio-cultural reality affirms the symbolic system 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, and many Mexicans live in quite comparable circumstances. However, in terms of a symbolic system of ethnic identity or of a ceremonial system, there is a break between Mayos and Mexicans. This is not to say that there are not people who are more Mayo or less Mayo, more Mexican or less Mexican. It appears that there are two continua, one from deeply Mayo to Mayo with some Mexican characteristics, and another from deeply Mexican to Mexican with some Mayo characteristics. The Mayo-Mexican and Mexican-Mayo ends are the most difficult to analyze for traits are often shared between these groups. Persons in these areas may switch from one to the other, going in either direction during different period of their lives, making the situation additionally complex for the analyst.

I have not attempted to plot the complete system of Mayo ethnic identity. This would require long and intimate study and would take a student into realms of Mayo culture such as curing and witchcraft, among others. Also a complete study of the nature of the integration of the full set of symbols in the ethnic identity system might reveal the mechanisms of integration more fully than I have been able to do in this paper. I have also made little attempt to examine fully the local Mexican symbolic system of ethnic identity. When the Mexican system is analyzed it will then be possible to compare and contrast the Mayo and Mexican systems more fully and more accurately.

Another problem which could be profitably studied in the Mayo River Valley is that of intergroup problems and the reduction of social conflict between ethnic groups. The material derived from the comparison suggested in the preceding paragraph might prove useful in a study of this nature. Robin 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 that have already been set up. He also suggests possibilities for research, analyzes research approaches and techniques, and includes an extensive bibliography.

The question of different types of ethnic identity should also prove to be a fruitful study. The Mayo type of symbolic system of ethnic identity is found in a culture which is very tightly integrated. Would ethnic identity rely upon some different type of system in a less tightly integrated culture? Do conditions of contact affect the type of system of ethnic identity that a group creates?

Other Mexican Indian cultures appear to have much in common with Mayo culture so that a hypothetical Latin American 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 Quetzaltenango, 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 Quetzaltenango 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 in 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 interethnic relations. Specific conditions of contact may then alter ethnic identity; for example, Mayes 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.

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 concept of adat (the "custom," kinship and ceremonial duties as perceived by Toba Batak individuals) (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 Huatabampo Mayes; however, the distance is much shorter from Huatabampo to Jupari than from the Indonesian village to the city. Some Huatabampo Mayes go to Jupari, 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 was

devised. 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. Perhaps all these cases could be considered members of one type of ethnic identity system with several sub-types, Latin American, Asian, and European.

Other types of systems of ethnic identity also exist, for example, the ethnic groups Warner and Srole describe in the third volume of The Yankee City Series, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (1945) and the United States Indian ethnic group described by Lisa Peattie in "Being a Mesquakie Indian" (N.D.). Warner and Srole 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 as much by the out-group as by the in-group. Some 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.

It may be of importance to note that Mesquakie culture was integrated a bit differently than the Mayo, Mennonite, and Toba Batak cultures. Some of Mesquakie ethnic identity, Indian-ness, seems 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 complete case, for many Mesquakies still speak their native language and retain some of the old culture. Peattie says concerning the Mesquakies' wearing of feather headdresses and standing beside tipis in order to create a

show for the Anglo-Americans, 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 a Mesquakie system of ethnic identity. This process in the Mesquakie ethnic identity system is also taking place with respect to symbols and religious complexes of 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 include these aspects. All three groups, Mennonites, Mayos, and Mesquakies, have a common interest in their rights as ethnic groups, 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 Menninites 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. On account 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 Mexicans. Also for the Mesquakies the land is sacred 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; although Mayos are aware of the pattern they expect it of Mexicans, 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, perhaps.

The same sort of difference in integration patterns may be pointed up in other examples. A flag similar to the Mexican flag is used as decoration at some Mayo ceremonies, but the flag has a Mayo meaning rather than a Mexican 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 Mexican 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. The flag has been integrated into Mesquakie

ceremonialism and carries a distinctly Mesquakie meaning. Also it integrates Mesquakie 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 distinctly Mayo meanings and sets Mayo ethnic identity apart from the rest of the world. Similarly Mesquakie type of integration links symbols in a distinctly 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 summary, Mayo ethnic identity is based on symbols uniquely integrated. One of these symbols is the house cross and its associated patterns. In describing Mayo ethnic identity, this symbol was first observed in its aspects of physical reality and then it was 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 a member of a type of symbolic system of ethnic identity. The ethnic identity systems of several groups, Toba Batak, Mennonite, Mesquakie, and "Yankee City" were examined, compared, and contrasted with the Mayo system, resulting in the tentative proposing of types of systems, a Mayo, Toba Batak, Mennonite type, a "Yankee City" minority

type, and a third type represented by the Mesquakie, which should perhaps be called an inter-system type. The criterion of cultural integration within the ethnic identity system and between systems in contact was suggested as a typological basis. Many of the symbols in the Mayo type of system are integrated relatively more within the system itself; whereas, in the Mesquakie type of 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. It should be emphasized that this distinction between the types of ethnic identity systems is not absolute. Perhaps it would be more meaningful to think of the systems of ethnic identity as distributed along a continuum based upon the degree of inter-system and intra-system integration.

NOTES

¹ Paskoma, or pasko personasin, (Mayo), is translated fiesteres in Spanish. Spicer elected to use the term fiesteres most frequently in Potam: A Yaqui Village in Sonora (1954: 72-77). The Mayo fiesteres, or paskoma, have very similar overall community functions 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.

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

³ For 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).

⁴ Spicer 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).

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

⁶ Spicer 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).

⁷ Beale 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).

⁸ The *kurus ye'owe* of the church in San Ignacio 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.

⁹ The full impact of the Mayo verb képtia, 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.

¹⁰ Here, near the cross, the Jupari image of San Juan is baptized in the river each year. Also, at this spot, the Santísima Tiniran pasko personasim meet the procession from Etchejoa, bringing

the patron of Etchojoa to Jupari for the Santísima Tiníran ceremonies; and later in the year, the Jupari pasko personasin again meet a procession from Navowaxia by this cross, this one bringing the image of Guadalupe to the ceremony for the new flag of the Santísima Tiníran, and visiting Guadalupe in Jupari.

¹¹ The Tarahumara Indians, who live east of the Mayos, also have sacred paties with crosses placed on the eastern edge of the patio (Bennett 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 Jupari was noted to have their cross placed on the north side of the house. No meaning was obtained for this placement, but my 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.

¹² Spicer mentions this same contrast of settlement patterns for Sonoran Yaqui communities (1961: 71-2):

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).

13 This type of bed is distinctive to Mayos in this area and deserves a description. It is composed of a simple wooden frame criss-crossed 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 belts or nails, but with a square tongue on one member fitted into a square hole about in the center end of the other member.

14 Pasko 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.

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

16 Mayo monolingualism occurs among young people, although some 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.

¹⁷ Spicer 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 Petam, Sonora, where Yaquis apply the term hus (Yaqui: cross) most frequently to the houseyard and altar crosses, but also call both crosses "Itom Ae, Our Mother" (1958: 436). 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'Aye (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 'A'ai. It is possible that the type of house cross shown in Figure 1e 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 'A'ai." For Mayos the Holy Cross is also 'Itom 'A'ai, 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 long-standing difference between Yaqui and Mayo belief systems or whether it represents a late Mayo change or a late Yaqui change.

18

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

REFERENCES CITED

ACOSTA, ROBERTO

- 1941 Apuntes Historicos Sonerenses: La Conquista Temporal y Espiritual del Yaqui and del Mayo. México, Imprenta Aldina.

BEALS, RALPH L.

- 1945 The Contemporary Culture of the Cahita Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 142.

BENNETT, WENDEL C. and ROBERT M. ZINGG

- 1935 The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico. University of Chicago Press.

BRUNER, EDWARD M.

- 1961 Urbanization and Ethnic Identity in North Sumatra. American Anthropologist 63: 508-21.

COLBY, BENJAMIN N. and PIERRE VAN DEN BERGHE

- 1961 Ethnic Relations in Southeastern Mexico. American Anthropologist 63: 772-92.

CRUMRINE, LYNNE S.

- 1961 The Phenology of Arizona Yaqui, with Texts. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, Number 5. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

ERASMUS, CHARLES J.

- 1961 Man Takes Control, Cultural Development and American Aid. University of Minnesota Press.

FLEURY, GEORGE

- 1864 Nuevo Mapa de los Estados de Sonora, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Durango, y Territorio de la Baja California. San Francisco, A. Genseul.

FRANCIS, E.K.

- 1947 The Nature of the Ethnic Group. The American Journal of Sociology 52: 393-400.
- 1948 The Russian Mennonites: From Religious to Ethnic Group. The American Journal of Sociology 54: 101-7.
- 1951 Minority Groups—A Revision of Concepts. The British Journal of Sociology 11: 219-30.
- 1955 In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba. Glencoe, The Free Press.

GENTRY, HOWARD SCOTT

- 1942 Rio Mayo Plants: A Study of the Flora and Vegetation of the Valley of the Rio Mayo, Sonora. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 527.

GILL, MARIO

- 1957 La Conquista Del Valle Del Fuerte. México, ITM., S.A.

LIBBY, DOROTHY

- 1960 Three Hundred Years of Chukchi Ethnic Identity. In Men and Cultures, edited by Anthony Wallace, pp. 298-304. University of Pennsylvania Press.

OBREGON, ALVARO

- 1961 Ocho Mil Kilometros en Campaña. México, Fondo de Cultural Económica.

PRINTER, MURIEL THAYER

- 1950 The Yaqui Easter Ceremony at Pascua. Tucson Chamber of Commerce.
- 1960 Easter at Pascua Village. University of Arizona Press.

PEATTIE, LISA

- N.D. "Being a Mesquakie Indian". MS, mimeographed, University of Chicago.

PLANCARTE, FRANCISCO M.

- 1954 El Problema Tarahumara. Memorias Del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, Volumen 5. México, Ediciones Del Instituto Nacional Indigenista.

READ, HERBERT

- 1955 Icon and Idea. Harvard University Press.

REYES, JOSÉ SOSA

- 1957 Aspectos Fisicos. In Proyecto De Programa De Gobierno Del Estado De Sonora, pp. 29-39. México, Impresiones Modernas, S.A.

SIBLEY, WILLIS E.

- 1960 The Maintenance of Unity and Distinctiveness by a Philippine Village. In Men and Cultures, edited by Anthony Wallace, pp. 506-12. University of Pennsylvania Press.

SPICER, EDWARD H.

- 1940 Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona. University of Chicago Press.
 1943 Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation. American Anthropologist 45: 410-26.
 1945 Potam, A Yaqui Village in Sonora. American Anthropological Association, Memoir Number 77.
 1958 Social Structure and Cultural Process in Yaqui Religious Acculturation. American Anthropologist 60: 433-41.
 1961 Yaqui. In Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change, edited by E.H. Spicer, pp. 7-93. University of Chicago Press.

WARNER, W. LLOYD and LEO SROLE

- 1945 The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. Yale University Press.

WILLIAMS JR., ROBIN M.

- 1947 The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations. Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 57. New York.

WOLF, ERIC

- 1960 The Indian in Mexican Society. Alpha Kappa Delta: A Sociological Journal, Special Issue The Social Anthropology of Middle America, Vol. XXX, Winter, Number 1, pp. 3-6. Published by the United Chapters of the Alpha Kappa Delta National Sociological Honor Society.