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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

It is the second time we can have american anthropological studies published on the pages of Artes Populares, periodical of the Department of Folklore in the ninth volume we published similar studies on anthropology for the first time. This time three colleagues living abroad have sent their papers so that we should include them in this copy. PRISCILLA ERMEL and TONYAN KHALLYHABBY, letter the director of Museo Paulista de Antropologia in Brazil, have sent fieldwork reports and studies on archaeology. SILVIA NAGY's paper is on a folklore topic. Let me inform you that our next volume will be Artes Populares No. 15.

Our workshop started its team-work in 1982. First we had some conferences in Hungarian about different American Indian topics. In 1985 we had an international American Indian conference with European and American participants who also had lectures. All the papers of the conference are to be published next year in English and Spanish. It will be entitled Old and New Identities as it was the theme of the conference, too.

In April '86 european americanists plan to have their Indian Workshop Conference in Budapest. Paralelly we'll also have another conference, the Indian Days.

We gladly inform you that this year a team of the hungarian americanists will have a complex expedition in Latin-America, namely in Mexico. Owing to the interstate treaties between

the two countris we got a scholarship to study the Totonac indian culture. We hope very much that in the 15 th volume we can sum up our fieldwork experiences as well.

This time, as usual you can find fieldwork reports, anthropological studies in the book. The third chapter is of archaeological studies, papers on archaeology, history and ecohistory.

Géza KÉZDI NAGY

L-A Workshop

secreter

Introducción

Publicamos hoy el segundo tomo de estudios de americanística en el terreno de la etnología y las ciencias afines. Es éste un número de la serie "Artes Populares" editada por la cátedra. Como es conocido, el Grupo de Investigaciones Latinoamericanas se presentó por primera vez ante el público internacional en el 9. tomo. Esta vez han sido tres los colegas extranjeros quienes nos enviaron sus trabajos para que sean editados en nuestras páginas. PRISCILLA ERMEL y TONYAN KHALLYHABBY, director del Museo Paulista de Antropología - ambos del Brasil - presentaron informes sobre investigaciones realizadas en el terreno y trabajos de carácter arqueológico. SZILVIA NAGY, E.E.U.U., hizo llegar a nuestra redacción su estudio folclorístico.

Anunciamos desde ya, que el próximo tomo de estudios americanísticos del Grupo de Investigaciones Latinoamericanas será el número 15. de "Artes Populares".

Debemos mencionar, que el Grupo, fundado en 1982, después de varias conferencias indigenistas en idioma húngaro organizó en 1985 su primera conferencia indigenista internacional en la cual participaron indigenistas europeos y americanos junto a los investigadores húngaros. El material completo de esta conferencia será publicado el próximo año en inglés y en español bajo el título "Identidades antiguas y nuevas". También nos ha tocado la suerte de que los americanistas europeos decidieron organizar en Budapest la conferencia

"Indian Workshop" a la cual nos uniremos también nosotros con nuestro programa que durará dos días. Todo esto, de acuerdo con nuestras tradiciones ya que todos los años, en el mes de abril solemos organizar nuestra reunión denominada "Días Indios".

También tenemos el placer de poder anunciar, que por primera vez en la historia de la americanística húngara se logró organizar una expedición compleja a América Latina. El grupo de investigaciones trabajará en México estudiando la cultura de los indios totonacas, con una beca obtenida a base de un acuerdo interestatal. Esperamos, que en uno de los próximos tomos tengamos la oportunidad de informar al público sobre los resultados de dicha expedición. En nuestro presente tomo también hemos dividido el material en tres partes: al lado de los informes sobre la labor realizada en el terreno y los estudios etnológicos son tratados aparte los estudios arqueológicos tanto como los históricos e histórico-ecológicos. Esperamos poder contribuir con este tomo a las investigaciones internacionales de americanística dando a conocer al mismo tiempo los nuevos resultados del trabajo de los investigadores húngaros.

Géza Kézdi Nagy

secretario del Grupo de Investigaciones Latinoamericanas

Bevezetés

Immár a második amerikanisztikai tanulmánykötettel jelentke-
zünk az etnológia, a régészet és társtudományai köréből, az
- Artes Populares tanszéki sorozaton belül. Mint ismeretes a
Latin-Amerika Munkacsoport először a 9. kötetben mutatkozott
be a nemzetközi szakma előtt.

Ezúttal három külföldi kolléga is elküldte munkáját, hogy itt
jelentessük meg. PRISCILLA ERMEL és TONYAN KHALLYHABBY, a
Museo Paulista igazgatója Braziliából terepmunkával illetve
régészeti jellegű irással jelentkeztek. NAGY SZILVIA az
Egyesült Államokból juttatta szerkesztőségünkbe folkloriszti-
kai dolgozatát.

Már most jelezzük előre, hogy a legközelebbi amerikanisz-
tikai tanulmánykötet, melyet a Latin-Amerika Munkacsoport
állít össze az Artes Populares 15. száma lesz.

Meg kell említenünk, hogy az 1982-ben alapított Munkacso-
port több magyar nyelvű indián konferenciát követően 1985-ben
megrendezte első nemzetközi indiánkonferenciáját, melyen több
európai és amerikai indianista vett részt és tartott előadást
a magyar kutatókkal közösen. A konferencia teljes anyagát
angol és spanyol nyelven fogjuk megjelentetni jövőre "Régi és
új identitások" címmel.

Abban a szerencsében is részesültünk, hogy az európai
amerikanisták 1986 áprilisában Budapesten tartják az Indian
Workshop konferenciáját, amelyhez mi is csatlakozunk kétnapos
rendezvényünkkel, hagyományainkhoz hiven, hiszen minden év

áprilisában megrendezzük az Indián Napok elnevezésű konferenciánkat.

Örömmel adhatunk hírt arról is, hogy először sikerült elérni a magyar amerikanisztika történetében egy komplex kutatóexpedíció elindítását Latin-Amerikába. A kutatócsoport, mely államközi egyezmény alapján kapott ösztöndíjat, Mexikóban fog dolgozni, a totonák indián népesség kultúráját vizsgálva. Reméljük egy következő kötetben már erről a terepmunkáról is beszámolhatunk a szakmai közönségnek.

A jelenlegi kötetben ezúttal is éltünk a hármas felosztással, hiszen a terepmunka jelentések és etnológiai tanulmányok mellett külön egységként kezeltük a régészeti munkákat, illetve a történeti és történeti ökológiai dolgozatokat. Reméljük, hogy e szintén három nyelvű kötettel hozzájárulunk a nemzetközi amerikanisztikai kutatásokhoz és egyúttal megismertetjük a magyar kutatás újabb munkásságát is.

Kézdi Nagy Géza

a Latin-Amerika Munkacsoport
titkára

Fieldwork Reports

Ethnological Studies

Luiz BOGLÁR:

DIARIO GUARANI

No número 11 da revista "Arte Populares" publiquei em 1983 um trabalho intitulado: Pesquisa entre os índios Nhandeva /Guarani de São Paulo - relatório preliminar, sumarizando alguns resultados de meus estudos antropológicos efectuados entre 1979 e 1981. - Em janeiro de 1984 voltei ao Brasil para - entre outros projetos - continuar minhas observações entre os Guarani.

A vida na aldeia Boa Vista /Prumirim/ dificilmente poderia ser chamada estável: as constantes mudanças resultam do crescimento da população e da reorganização da economia. Creio que esta situação exige uma documentação mais flexível e permanente, por isso escolhi uma forma de diário para transmitir as informações sobre a vida dos índios. Visto que a aldeia vive sem um controle direto da FUNAI, suponho que mesmo os detalhes desta vida poderão ter uma importância, na elaboração de futuros projetos.

A entidade Ação Guarani Indigenista /AGUI/ recentemente fundada também exigiu uma certa propaganda escrita sobre os eventos, fatos e projetos das aldeias Guarani. Prometi publicar informações sobre Boa Vista /Prumirim/ começando com os acontecimentos que se efetuaram entre fevereiro e junho de 1984. - Depois de minha volta à Europa o "diário Guarani" continuará funcionando: pois a nossa colaboradora brasileira, a etnomusicóloga PRISCILLA BARRAK ERMEL fornecer informações para esta revista.

"DIARIO GUARANI" No. 1.

/janeiro-junho 1984/

Depois de tres anos cheguei novamente ao Brasil. O 12 de fevereiro viajei para a aldeia do Prumirim. A entrada da aldeia, na primeira casa Orlando e sua familia. O encontro com ele é sempre comovente.

O chefe Altino soube da minha vinda: mandei um recado com um conhecido. Entrego alguns presentes, e causa alegria geral a distribuição de exemplares da revista hungara, na qual publiquei uma série de artigos com o titulo "Na terra dos Guarani", com várias fotos /entre elas uma capa com a filha do chefe/. Depois do café oferecido pela sempre cordial esposa, o chefe dá um breve resumo dos acontecimentos dos ultimos tres anos.

A relatorio de Altino é bastante deprimente. Ha tres anos todos pensavamos, que a terra realmente foi dada aos Guarani. Me lembro bem das palavras do proprietário da fazenda, quando em setembro de 1981 pedi permissão dele para poder trabalhar entre os indios:¹

- O sr. pode ir, só não pode fazer uma coisa, mexer na terra, pois a terra é deles, e eles a merecem muito mais que nós...

Segundo Altino a situação se mudou completamente: Lacerda queria de volta a terra, para "fundar uma cidade na região", querendo mesmo expulsar os indios. Vi vários artigos de um jornal de Ubatuba que mencionam estes fatos. Agora es-

tão processando Lacerda, e pediram apoio da FUNAI, e recebem ajuda de um advogado também. /O "novo" tipo de chefe guarani tem que ser um bom manager, negociador.../²

Comentando ainda as novidades, Altino achou que o mais positivo de tudo é o crescimento da aldeia: em 1981 viviam 35 pessoas, hoje 56.³ As pessoas idosas continuam sãs, e só um bebê morreu neste interim. Falando sobre crianças Altino me convidou à voltar o dia 20 de fevereiro, já que vão organizar um "batismo" /mongarai/, pois "temos muitos recém-nascidos sem nome".

Tratando o problema da terra, Altino explicou claramente, que se não legalizam a propriedade da terra, eles não vão poder preparar novas roças, porque as famílias ficaram inseguras, não sabem se a terra /com a colheita/ ficará deles ou não? Como nos dois últimos anos o preço da terra aumentou, é claro que a tentação de um grande lucro é maior que um gesto humanista de uns vinte anos atrás...

x

Voltando à São Paulo me preparei para o famoso mongarai, não só estudando a respectiva literatura, mais também consultando com o professor EGON SCHADEN, grande conhecedor da cultura guarani. Sabíamos já da pesquisa de 1981 que a terra não é só um meio de subsistência para os índios: com a terra e seu cultivo se entrelaçam inúmeras ideias e ritos religiosos.

Segundo a professor SCHADEN /1974, p. 39/ podemos falar sobre uma "religião do milho": "...entre os Kayová e os Nandé-

va do Sul de Mato Grosso, a lavoura ao milho segue, em linhas gerais, o seguinte calendário: em maio, a roçada, de maio a junho, a derrubada da mata virgem; em agosto, a queima; de agosto a outubro, o plantio; de março em diante, a quebra. Isto vale para o milho duro, destinado a venda. O milho mole, saboró, já se colhe desde o principio do ano; esta é a época do mantimento novo." "Na medida em que existe calendário religioso e social, este é do milho. Ha uma concentração social anual por haver apenas uma colheita do milho, que se inicia com a grande festa do nemongaraí ou, como preferem dizer os Kayová, avatí-mongaraí, 'batismo do milho'."4

x

O 19 de fevereiro - na companhia do engenheiro Sándor Enber - viajamos com todo o equipamento tecnico /várias câmeras e gravadores/ para a aldeia, aonde nos esperou uma agitação fóra do comum. Muita gente "estranha", e não só índios, caraibas também passeiam entre as casas - ao lado da casa do chefe montaram várias tendas.

Nós nos alojamos na casa do amigo Marcelino, nhanderu da aldeia.⁵ Logo fomos prevenidos que "algumas" pessoas aqui não querem que participemos do batismo. A noite inteira ouvimos - de uns 200 metros de distancia - diferentes rezas cantadas.⁶

O próximo dia tentamos averiguar o que acontecerá na aldeia nestes dias. Segundo informações do capitão /e de outros membros da aldeia/, organizam o mongaraí cada quatro anos.

Estarão presentes índios de quatro estados /São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná e Rio Grande Do Sul/, representando nove aldeias, assim como Silveira, Jaraguá, Santo Amaro, Rio Branco, Bananal, M'Boi Mirim, Bracuhy, Patrimonio e naturalmente Boa Vista. Calculam com setenta-oitenta patricipantes. Os brancos também podem participar /dez-doze pessoas/, e o líder da série de ritos será o filho do cacique Bento Samuel, Didjokó, de Silveira.

Segundo Altino "fazer filme vae ser dificil, e não sei se vão poder gravar...em todo caso é melhor esperar a chegada de Didjokó." Pois a maioria dos participantes chegava segunda feira, um numero elevado de caraibas, entre eles reconhecidos amigos dos Guarani, a irmã L. e o padre E. Um fato digno de nota é que o pajé Didjokó foi trazido a aldeia no carro do padre E.

Ao anoitecer nós reunimos frente à casa do capitão. Dois homens tocam a musica do tchondaru, um toca rabeca /rave-í/, o outro violão /sémbaraká/. Primeiro entram na roda os jovens, depois os adultos, homens e mulheres. Dançam com as mão atrás das costas, e de véz em quando esbarram levemente no outro, dando risadas. Continuam dançando até tarde da noite. A poeira levantada por seus pés flutua pelo espaço...

No meu diário anotei o seguinte: "Vieram jovens e adultos, índios Guarani de nove aldeias, também alguns que nunca ou raras vezes se encontraram, mesmo assim sabiam o que dançar, sem exclusão...Alguns podem achar elementos gauchos, espanhóis ou portugueses na musica de dança, mas o essencial

é que esta musica é parte integral da cultura guarani..."

O interior da "casa de reunião" foi mudada pelos organizadores do mongarai. Frenta à entrada da choça, uma cruz composta de taquara, decorada com colares de sementes e penas de tucano. Na vara horizontal colocaram velas feitas de cera selvática. Encostados na parede os instrumentos de musica, o violão e os bastões de ritmo /taquapú/. Ao lado da cruz um suporte de taquara com uma cuia para a "agua benta", isto é para a agua de côco. Penduraram no suporte um chocalho /mbaraká/.

As pessoas "estranhas" oferecem os bancos à direita do "altar" /djakwá ?/, em frente tomam lugar os participantes do rito, homens e rapazes. Logo perto da entrada nos cobertores e esteiras estendidas no chão se sentam ou se deitam mulheres e meninas, algumas mães com bebês.

Didjokó fez um breve discurso em guarani e depois em português, esclarecendo: - Nós vamos cantar e dançar juntos, vamos ouvir as rezas, mas hoje não vamos fazer o batismo, só daqui um dia, na próxima madrugada. Vamos amanhecer com o novo nome...

Depois de Didjokó falou aos presentes uma mulher Guarani, que veio da aldeia de Santo Amaro.

O cachimbo, o fumo e a fumaça tem importancia relevante. Dois ou tres cachimbos acesos circulavam entre os indios envolvidos nos preparativos do rito. Alguém pegou o violão, tocando suavemente nas cordas, um indefinido preludio, acompanhamento dos fumadores. Eles com cachimbos na mão, puxavam

a fumaça no "altar", nos apetrechos, na porta, nos orifícios da janela, finalmente na cabeça dos participantes brancos. A fumaça "dá força, e sem o cachimbo e a fumaça não seria possível transmitir a força de Nhanderú." Os fumadores cuspiam no chão, ao lado do "altar", assim "espelindo forças malignas". Repetiram este ato duas-tres vezes.

Depois de esta "fumigação" a pessoa mais idosa da aldeia se levantou, pegou o violão e deu início à primeira reza, virado o tempo inteiro à direção do altar. A música se acelerou, se levantou um rapaz, pegando a chocalho, para acompanhar o rezador. Lentamente se formava uma fila de rapazes atrás do rezador, que ao ritmo do chocalho se movimentava de um lado ao outro. O coro de moços "respondia" ao rezador. Logo se formava uma segunda fila de mulheres e moças, que batiam o taquapu ritmicamente ao chão, dando um passo para a frente e um para trás.

Toda a multidão cantou, dançou, uma reza seguia a outra. O primeiro rezador cantou seis rezas. Depois de um breve descanso o rito se repetia. Seguindo o excelente músico Mauricio foi a vez de Didjokó, "ele é que sabe mais" dizia um índio. Ele cantou 13 rezas, digno ao prestígio do mestre.

Depois dos três adultos vieram os jovens, rapazes que tiveram uma ocasião para demonstrarem seus conhecimentos, suas capacidades. O mongarai também é uma "escola" das tradições tribais, os jovens participam, aprendem e dão prova do seu talento.

As rezas do primeiro dia duraram até madrugada. O rito se

repetiu na próxima noite, e as tres horas fomos preparados para o batismo. Seguindo as instruções de Didjokó e de sua "assistente" /salvo umas pessoas mais idosas da aldeia/ formamos uma fila: na frente estavam as mulheres com bebés, depois os outros guarani, finalmente os brancos. Ao som da musica caminhavamos na direção da cruz e do suporte da cuia aonde Didjokó e sua assistente estavam parados. Todos que passavam recebiam de Didjokó umas gotas de agua de côco na cabeça e no pescoço, e logo foi proclamado o nome de cada um: Guassú, Verrá etc. /Eu, seguramente o mais alto da aldeia recebi o nome: Mirim.../

A dança continuou até sete horas da manhã...As rezas se repetiram todas as noites, durante seis dias. No fim da semana a maioria dos visitantes viajaram embora. Mas a serie de ritos não terminou: em duas ou tres casas continuavam a cantar, de vez em quando os rezadores cantavam à sós, sem acompanhamento.⁷

A reunião de indios de diferentes aldeias obviamente serviu como uma ocasião para tratar diversos problemas dos Guaraní. Depois do mongarai, sob chefia do habil Altino se reuniram os convidados, em total 23 pessoas, para ouvirem relatórios da situação actual das respectivas aldeias. Todos os relatórios refletiam a preocupação com o futuro dos indios, especialmente com a demarcação das terras, ponto crucial dos conflitos entre indios e neobrasileiros. Falando sobre a própria aldeia Altino explicou aos participantes, que estão processando o ex-proprietário Lacerda, mesmo assim envadiram

a terra, desmatando para construir casas. A reunião rapidamente decidiu de "visitar" os intrusos para proibir a construção ilegal. Alguns foram até Ubatuba, pedir interferência da Polícia Florestal. Os Guarani, temendo uma eventual repressália, decidiram de colocar guardas, uns jovens armados, na entrada da aldeia...

Esta reunião tribal não foi um "simples" mongarai, foi um acontecimento que ajudou a fortalecer os laços tribais, não só com as canções guarani, a participação colectiva no ritual religioso, mais também luta pela terra que unifica os índios.

x

Março

Dia 18 visitei a aldeia do Bananal, já que desde a minha chegada ao Brasil não cumprimentei meu amigo, o cacique Bento Samuel /pae de Didjokó, meu padrinho/. Entreguei uma carta do filho para ele, e também gravei um recado de Bento para o seu filho, já que prometi visitá-lo em Silveira.⁸

Na aldeia Boa Vista Altino explicou: estão indecisos se devem preparar novas plantações ou não? Quem sabe se eles ficarão com a colheita? Como plantaram 2.500 pés de babanas, organizaram fim de março um mutirão para limpar a plantação /vide foto/. Mesmo inseguras do próprio futuro algumas famílias decidem fazer novas roçadas.

Em março aconteceu um outro evento também, de valor ambíguo. Um grupo de cineastas ingleses rodou um filme em Paraty, e mandou contratar índios da aldeia, oferecendo-lhes

25.000 Cruzeiros /na época aproximadamente 17 US \$/ por dia e por pessoa, com a condição de participarem nós. /Não tenho o número exato dos participantes, mas sei que não é por acaso que não foram todos fazer este serviço./

Naturalmente, depois de dez ou quatorze dias de rodagem, alguns voltaram para casa com pequenas fortunas, causando um notável desequilíbrio económico na aldeia. /O que me restou fazer neste caso? Averiguar o senso de economia, o que fazem com o dinheiro aqueles que raras vezes o possuem?/9

x

Consegui participar no tratamento de vários doentes. O nhanderu da aldeias usava sempre diversas "técnicas", não só rezava, mas utilizava a fumaça e várias plantas medicinais. Eu fui também tratado pelo nhanderu Marcelino.¹⁰

x

Abril

Dois acontecimentos importantes: o primeiro é tragico. O cacique Bento Samuel do Bananal foi assassinado por dois brancos. /Sobre sua personalidade e sua morte escrevi para uma revista européia/. O choque foi violento, porque perdemos um grande amigo, e não só um indio foi morto, porém uma aldeia, uma cultura foi atacada traiçoramente.

Semanas depois da morte do cacique me encontrei com os familiares dele na aldeia Boa Vista aonde se refugiaram, pois os assassinos juraram matar outros indios também. E os crimi-

nosos estão soltos...

Nunca esquecerei as miradas alarmadas dos perseguidos. Eles procuraram e encontraram refúgio: agora tem que começar uma nova vida, eles tem que construir casas, preparar roças, ganhar a vida vendendo seus trabalhos na feira de Ubatuba. A aldeia Boa Vista poderá ser o mais importante núcleo Guaraní.

Ideia sugerida pelos índios: mais de vinte representantes de aldeias de São Paulo se reuniram o 14 de abril /com a participação de uma representante da FUNAI, a irmã Luizinha e o Padre Edson etc./ e fundaram uma entidade guarani, o AGUAI /Ação Guarani Indigenista/. Para tratar dos problemas surgidos na aldeia do Bananal já alguns representantes da entidade foram à Brasília para pedir ajuda.

x

Maio

As famílias refugiadas se instalaram na aldeia Boa Vista. Entre os recém-vindos está um filho do cacique Bento Samuel e o conhecido escultor de bonecas de madeira Gino. Com a vinda de novos artesões a produção para a feira de turistas aumentará. Entre outras surge uma questão: será que o mercado de Ubatuba absorverá esta quantidade?

xxx

Notas

- 1/ No meu trabalho mencionado /BOGLÁR, 1983, p. 59/ escrevi assim: "...em Prumirim os Guarani são 'donos' da terra /que receberam em 1967 de um fazendeiro de Ubatuba, quem dizia: '...eles necessitam mais da terra, que nós...'/."
- Segundo um recente estudo sobre os Guarani /LADEIRA, 1984, p. 131/: "As terras desta aldeia estão situadas num vale incrustado nas elevações da Serra do Mar, e totalmente compreendidas no Parque Estadual da Serra do Mar conforme o Decreto n.º 13.313 de 06 de março de 1979."
- 2/ A chefe guarda toda a documentação sobre o assunto numa pasta - pertence cotidiano de um "capitão" moderno. - Na aldeia Bananal, o cacique Bento Samuel, em 1979 também sempre andava com uma pasta...
- 3/ Os habitantes da aldeia /março 1984/:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Altino, mulher, sogra e 5 crianças | 8 pessoas |
| 2. Orlando, " 3 crianças | 5 " |
| 3. Geraldo, " cunhado, 3 crianças | 6 " |
| 4. Nelson, " 6 crianças | 8 " |
| 5. Marcelino, " irmão | 3 " |
| 6. Sr. Zé " filho | 3 " |
| 7. Mauricio, " 2 crianças | 4 " |
| 8. Aparicio, " sogro, 3 crianças | 6 " |
| 9. Dyonisio, " 3 crianças | 5 " |
| 10. Marcelo, mãe, irmão | 3 " |
| 11. Jorge, mulher, 3 crianças | 5 " |
| | <hr/> 56 pessoas |

Com a morte do cacique Bento Samuel várias famílias se refugiaram na aldeia. Não temos ainda dados concretos, quanta famílias ficarão instaladas em Boa Vista.

- 4/ SCHADEN /1974, p. 90/: "Em geral a kunumí-pepy /perfuração do lábio dos meninos/ coincide no respectivo ano com a festa do milho, avatí-mongaraí /colheita cerimonial do primeiro milho/, que se realiza quando o milho está amadurecendo, isto é, de janeiro em adiante."
- 5/ Marcelino, com quem já trabalhei em 1981, com êxito, não esconde sua alegria, e comenta: "...faz tempo que o estou esperando...", e afirma que sonhou com a nossa vinda. Morubitchaba, o irmão de Marcelino nós conta, que quando souberam que iríamos à aldeia, limpou o caminho que leva a sua casa...
- 6/ Uma observação: já que se tratava de uma ocasião religiosa, achei estranho que o nhanderú da aldeia não participou das rezas, e preferiu nossa companhia. Depois ele nós explicou que este tipo de rito "não é o verdadeiro Guarani", e ademais estavam presentes muitos estranhos, caraibas, e por isso preferiu ficar fora /rezou várias vezes em sua casa, mas não participou do rito colectivo/.
- 7/ Segundo SCHADEN /1974, p. 90/ a rezas, ou a a serie de rezas duram meses. O chefe religioso do batismo, Didjokó antes de voltar à sua aldeia, me pediu de levar uma carta ao seu pae, o cacique Bento Samuel. Como Didjokó, não sabe escrever, ele ditou algumas frases de cumprimento ao pae - em português.

8/ Já que se trata de um diário, acho que é inevitável a presença de trechos subjetivos-emocionais. Quando me encontrei com o velho amigo Bento Samuel, ele - igualmente ao Marcelino - me recebeu com as seguintes frases: - Eu sonhei com a Sr. A gente é capaz de fazer isso, e logo depois acrescentou: - Não, isso não é possível...

9/ O que fizeram com o dinheiro os índios: um realizou seu sonho, e comprou uma espingarda; o outro levou toda a família para o Paraná, para visitar relativos; o terceiro comprou um toca-discos /para escutar musica sertaneja/; o quarto colocou uma parte na poupança / o unico Guarani que tem dinheiro guardado/; o quinto /um dos melhores musicos/, comprou um gravador, para poder gravar suas próprias musicas.../Troquei com ele uma fita gravada por ele mesmo: seria um capitulo à parte, estudar as vantagens deste aparelho na cultura guarani/.

Como eu também fiz um filme /"Na terra dos Guarani"/ em 1981, durante minha recente visita aqueles chefes de famílias que participaram do filme pediram por família 100.000 Cruzeiros. Fim de março paguei a eles 400.000 Cruzeiros.

10/ Como já ha meses sentia dor no meu joelho, pedi ao nhande-ru, para me fazer um tratamento. Tive que assegurar, que acredito no sucesso. Depois disso ele preparou uma mistura /banha de tedyú, lagarto, e folhas do ypé-ngwé-poã/, colocou na parte dolorida, fazendo uma forte massagem, que teve que ser repetida durante alguns dias. - Uma das tare-

fas do futuro seria fazer um estudo básico sobre as plantas medicinais usadas pelos Guarani.

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São Paulo, pp. 145-148. 1984.
- 4/ SCHADEN, E.: Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani.
/3.^a Edição/. São Paulo, 1974.

Legenda

/Fotos de L. Boglár/

1. A "casa grande" de Boa Vista, local do "batismo" - fevereiro, 1984.
2. A chefe Altino com esposa, duas filhas e a filha de Maurício.
3. Altino trabalhando com foice no bananal
4. A sogra de Altino com duas netas
5. Duas filhas do chefe Altino
6. Troféus que são utilizados na confecção de colares: rabo de tatú, mandíbula de lagarto, gambá e coatí
7. Colares com mandíbulas de animais caçados recentemente
8. Produtos do artesanato de Boa Vista: colares, "espandinhas", chocalhos e cestos.
9. O nhanderú Marcelino preparando uma maracá /mbaraká/
10. O nhanderu experimentando o novo instrumento de música /que foi elaborada em dez minutos/

1



2





4



5

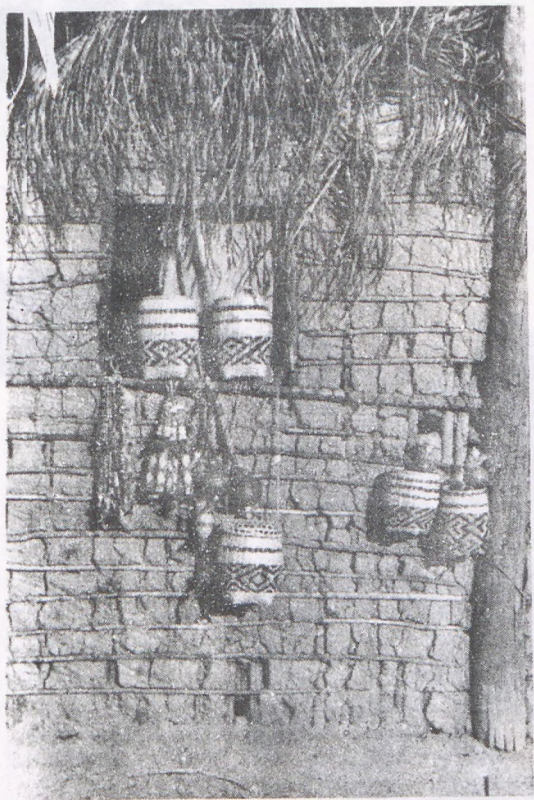


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Annamária LAMMEL:

ESTRUCTURACIÓN CONCÉNTRICA DE LOS CONOCIMIENTOS EN LOS INDIOS TOTONACAS

Aquellos pueblos que fueron víctimas de la colonización española, siendo despojados de sus estratos sociales portadores de la cultura y perdiendo para siempre su organización social vigente hasta entonces, crearon una serie de mecanismos de defensa para salvaguardar su existencia /1/. Los pueblos autárquicos que se quedaron así sin dirección central - aún conociendo la existencia de otros grupos semejantes - se convirtieron al independizarse en un sistema cerrado /2./ preservando el idioma precolombino y la cultura prehispánica, y creando al mismo tiempo un estrato dirigente en condiciones de mantener relaciones con el mundo exterior. Los habitantes de las aldeas diezmadas, que después de muchos siglos han vuelto nuevamente a organizarse en forma autárquica, viven, sin embargo, en poblados quazi-cerrados al mundo exterior y se organizan de acuerdo a las mismas estrategias de antaño. Su objetivo es, como se desprende de su condición de cultivadores de la tierra, no la adaptación al medio social, sino más bien el aislamiento de éste.

El sistema de conocimientos - extraordinariamente vasto en relación a las dimensiones de las comunidades agrícolas - hace posible la supervivencias de las comunidades, y asegura por una parte la comunicación con el exterior, y por otra, la defensa de la integridad de los conocimientos tradicionales. Por cierto, la mayoría de los conocimientos son tesoro común, aunque a la vez surgen también estratos de conocimientos especializados, de los cuales una o varias personas pueden hacerse responsables,

naturalmente, no por el camino de la selección consciente; estos a su vez, se defienden entre si, y sirven, aunque a veces también dañan, a la comunidad.

Estos conocimientos no pueden ser calificados homogéneamente /escala de valores, moral, religión, política, conocimientos formulados estéticamente, etc./; más bien la identidad del papel ocupado en el sistema los hace de idéntico valor. En esencia, ésto es lo que define cuales son los elementos cognoscitivos que no forman parte del conjunto de conocimientos comunes de la comunidad.

Durante 1982 realicé una investigación de campo entre los indios totonacas /3./. Los totonacas - habitantes de unas de las regiones petroleras más importantes del país - viven en poblados que se encuentran en distintos niveles de transculturación. El poblado donde llevé a cabo mis observaciones, es un ejido tradicional /4./, debido principalmente a su ubicación geográfica y vías de acceso. Los habitantes de la aldea, que existe desde hace 110 años, viven en la actual sociedad mexicana tal como si desde siglos nada hubiese cambiado /5./. A pesar de que hacen uso de algunas ventajas de la civilización moderna, nada de ésto llega a afectar al sistema cerrado de la cultura espiritual y material de la vida de la comunidad. Al mismo tiempo, la comunidad participa en la vida del mundo exterior, cumple los decretos del gobierno mexicano, también se hallan presentes algunos partidos políticos, a

través de los representantes elegidos localmente. Esta aparente contradicción se resuelve con la especialización de los conocimientos.

Estructuración concéntrica de los conocimientos

Aquellos conocimientos específicos de los habitantes de la aldea que han sido "aceptados" como tal por la comunidad, muestran cierta estructuración concéntrica. Estos círculos - según consideremos determinante el contacto con el mundo exterior o el aislamiento respecto a éste - pueden ocupar un lugar en un anillo exterior o en uno interior. Se pueden señalar claramente tres diferentes círculos de conocimientos:

1. Los conocimientos adquiridos desde el medio exterior, es decir, el círculo de conocimientos que hacen posible la comunicación con el medio exterior.
2. Los conocimientos tradicionales, que refuerzan la coherencia de la comunidad.
3. El círculo de conocimientos de las supersticiones, la magia y las leyendas animistas.

Los poseedores de estos conocimientos se ubican también especialmente de acuerdo a estos círculos concéntricos. En el centro de la comunidad se encuentra una amplia plaza, en cuyo centro se halla a su vez el único pozode la aldea, utilizado, por cierto, colectivamente. La plaza está rodeada por los "edificios públicos": la iglesia de San Miguel

- construida por ellos mismos y según sus propias ideas -, la casa comunal, las tres chozas sin ventanas, hechas de tablas a madera que constituyen la escuela, el almacén, el consultorio médico. En el círculo más próximo a estos edificios se encuentran las chozas de las familias quienes se ocupan del bien público; en los dos círculos siguientes encontramos, en cambio, los moradas de los indios que conservan las tradiciones, pero que no viven ya en el mundo de las oscuras supersticiones, influenciados por supersticiosos miedos y creencias.

1. Los dirigentes de la aldea son elegidos entre los padres de familia más juiciosos y seguros de sí mismos, y entre quienes hablan el castellano en un nivel bastante alto, de modo que puedan representar y solucionar los asuntos de la comunidad. Esta capa dirigente, que mantiene el vínculo con el exterior, transmite en parte la cultura criolla, manteniendo la relación con el centro oficial de ayuda a los grupos étnicos marginales, conserva en parte la verdadera historia de la comunidad, estudia las tareas emprendidas por la aldea, lleva la cuenta de los rendimientos de las cosechas... En una palabra, reúne todos los conocimientos reales necesarios para vivir en la sociedad mexicana que los rodea, conocimientos que hacen posible la defensa de la aldea y aseguran sus derechos: éstos son transmitidos en forma de tradición verbal o son preservados pasivamente en la memoria. El uso de la escritura no se

halla verdaderamente extendido entre ellos; una de las razones de esta situación es que hablan la lengua totónica, pero en la escuela aprenden a escribir en castellano.

El jefe de la alea, el agente municipal, es elegido por votación, de la misma manera que son elegidos los representantes locales de los partidos nacionales. El cargo de agente municipal tiene vigencia de cuatro años. El dirige y mantiene en orden los asuntos de la comunidad, con la ayuda del secretario, juez de la policía local. Al mismo tiempo, el agente municipal no tiene un poder personal, sino que cada ocho días se realizan reuniones comunales, en las cuales se discuten los asuntos pendientes, y en donde sólo los mayores de 15 años pueden participar.

Aparte del agente municipal, que se halla en relación directa con el exterior, hay también otras agrupaciones, sociedades y comisiones que se hacen cargo de diferentes asuntos de la vida de la comunidad. Éstas son: a/ la asociación de Padres de Familia, compuesta de un presidente, un secretario, un tesorero y de un miembro con derecho a voto. Su tarea es la administración de los asuntos escolares.

b/ El Agente Comunal y el Comisario son los responsables de los problemas relacionados con cuestiones prácticas y de la organización del ejido, así como con los asuntos referentes a la tierra comunal.

c/ El Grupo Católico organiza las fiestas religiosas y se ocupa del mantenimiento de la iglesia. Son miembros de esta agrupación el mayordomo, un secretario, un tesorero, y

un miembro masculino con derecho a voto.

d/ La Comisión de Sanidad se ocupa del pequeño consultorio médico ubicado en la aldea, sus miembros son el secretario de la solidaridad social, el vicesecretario y un miembro /masculino/ con derecho a voto.

Aparte de estas agrupaciones que se han convertido ya en instituciones permanentes, se organizan comisiones para cualquier asunto comunal, por ejemplo, hace poco tiempo se organizó la comisión del programa del agua potable.

Los representantes oficiales tienen la obligación de llevar a cabo las disposiciones del exterior, es decir, del gobierno mexicano, quien desea mejorar la situación de los indios pero sin que ello le suponga demasiados gastos. Por este motivo hace uso de las costumbres internas de la comunidad, como, por ejemplo, el trabajo voluntario practicado cada ocho días; ese día los hombres realizan los trabajos previamente acordados en la reunión general: construyen caminos, las escuelas, la iglesia, el consultorio médico, etc. Para ello es preciso que los trabajos sean dirigidos por hombres de pensamiento amplio, "moderno", según el criterio de los dirigentes mestizos del centro local totonaco. Es decir, aquellos hombres que ambicionan convertirse en dirigentes, se esfuerzan por estar al día con los requerimientos del progreso. Por ejemplo, antes de comenzar la reunión general, en la casa comunal de la aldea, ven con entusiasmo el programa de la TV., transmitido desde la centro y luego, quitándole el volumen, celebran la reunión a la luz

del aparato.

Al mismo tiempo, este círculo está consciente de que su existencia se basa en las tradiciones, en el idioma, en los conocimientos tradicionales de los demás miembros de la comunidad, de forma que su aislamiento ampara también los valores tradicionales de ésta. Por este motivo, muchos de ellos usan manifiestamente el traje típico, que por lo demás es usado aproximadamente por el 70 % de la población de la aldea.

Aquellos que poseen conocimientos adquiridos del mundo exterior, reconocen las faltas y carencias de sus conocimientos: "Nosotros como yo digo no todos entendemos castilla. Lo que entendemos hacemos. Lo que no entendemos se queda, verdad. Así nos vamos nosotros."

El conocimiento del castellano, que les asegura el poder en el interior de la aldea, les ofrece, a la vez, defensa frente al mundo exterior en eventuales gestiones o rendimientos de cuentas.

Los jefes de la comunidad recuerdan la historia de la aldea de la siguiente forma:

Los fundadores de la aldea llegaron al territorio actualmente ocupado en 1875; éste era en aquel entonces propiedad del latifundista Pedro Tremari. Los primeros habitantes que llegaron al territorio trabajaban como arrendatarios; después se llegó al acuerdo de fundar un poblado de chozas bajo el nombre de San Miguel Grande. A pesar de pagar por el uso de la tierra, debían trabajar

gratis en la propiedad del latifundista, y vivían practicamente en calidad de esclavos. En 1922, los hijos de los fundadores crearon una organización llamada Comisión de Gestión Agrícola, a través de la cual solicitaron oficialmente tierra. Al año siguiente recibieron 2528 hectáreas de terreno, convirtiéndose en propietarios colectivos de la tierra. La comunidad recibió en 1935 el actual nombre de Plan de Hidalgo. A finales del mismo año, por diferencias de opinión, Plan de Hidalgo se dividió en dos partes: el actual Plan de Hidalgo y Plan de Palmar. En 1938 volvieron a solicitar tierra, de modo que cada poblado llegó a tener separado 1539 hectáreas de tierra. Actualmente, esta tierra es propiedad colectiva de 152 agricultores. /7/.

Aludiendo a los orígenes y tiempos pasados - procedencia de los totonacas, como surgieron las pirámides - se esfuerzan por dar explicaciones realísticas a los hechos: "Antes, como ahora es Papantla habían muchas casas grandes. Grandes casas. Cuando viene el diluvio, venía el agua, así llenó hasta el cielo, viene mucha tierra las casas se quedó abajo, y luego llenó de todas las casas allí, se llenó todo. Y entonces cuando se quitó el agua entonces todo estaba lleno de tierra ya. Cuando pasó el diluvio, entonces vino el agua, entonces llenó la tierra. Ya quedó unos cachitos arriba, entonces empezaron a abrir, y abrir, quitaron tierra, echaron y entonces se quedó como usted dice pirámide. Así pasó. Así dicen, yo creo que así paso." /8/

Las concepciones de este círculo son transmitidas por la religión católica romana. El jefe religioso de la aldea concibe el mundo según las enseñanzas cristianas; simplificando, distingue dos polos opuestos: Dios y demonio. Los seguidores de Dios son hermanos, por lo que deben presentarse ayuda unos a otros y ser buenos. Ellos son los pobres. En el otro polo se encuentran el demonio y los no creyentes, quienes no cumplen los mandamientos de Dios, usan palabras groseras, riñen y matan: ellos son los ricos. /10./ Los jefes totonacas se consideran a si mismos pobres, buenos y seguidores de Dios. Al mismo tiempo, aceptan la ley de la fraternidad todopoderosa:

"Somos hermanos. Tenemos un padre y una madre. No podemos decir es de otra ciudad, no es mi hermano. Si, todos somos hermanos porque tenemos un sólo padre y de una sólo madre. Qué cosa hacemos! Dios ha hecho para vivirmos nosotros, y amar a todos, sea grande, chico, rico, pobre, todo. Aha, si." /10./

Aunque con algunas modificaciones, ponen énfasis en la existencia de un Dios verdadero, cuyo poder se halla presente en todas partes. Se muestran orgullosos de conocer los Diez Mandamientos y acostumbran repetirlos frecuentemente.

De las enseñanzas cristianas hacen suya, en primer lugar, una moral fraternal, de bondad y nobles sentimientos, lo que es familiar al espíritu comunitario de la aldea. Naturalmente ésto no excluye la presencia de conflictos

internos, de eventuales luchas por el poder. El juicio de que los ricos son los servidores del demonio y por lo tanto no son criaturas de Dios - permite mantener una concepción realista de la vida, en la que los conflictos reales también ocupan un lugar destacado.

2. El segundo círculo de conocimientos se encuentra principalmente en "poder" de aquellos totonacas que no ocupan ningún cargo político, pero gozan del aprecio general, en parte debido a su edad, y en parte a sus conocimientos. Al igual que en el círculo anterior, sus integrantes son sólo hombres.

Al parecer, estos hombres renuncian a la actividad política para "hacerse responsables" de la cultura espiritual, para cultivarla y mantenerla bajo su control. A pesar de su apariencia meramente estética, este cúmulo de conocimientos no son en sí mismos un objetivo, las danzas, por ejemplo, son aprendidas y practicadas en favor de la comunidad, /espectáculo, rito de fertilidad/, del mismo modo que los jefes de la aldea desempeñan sus tareas sin recibir por ello salario alguno.

De este círculo proviene la mayor parte de los conocedores de los famosos bailes totonacas, y cada uno de ellos es capaz de evocar en cualquier momento hasta el más mínimo detalle de su propio baile, así como su música y pasos. Estos bailes, presumiblemente de origen precolombino como el "volador" y la "guagua", o de origen europeo como los "negritos" /12./, sólo pueden ser bailados por los que han sido

elegidos, con ocasión de grandes festividades: por ejemplo, en la fiesta religiosa de San Miguel, patrono de la aldea, celebrada el 29 de septiembre de cada año; en la fiesta antes de comenzar los trabajos comunales; también en caso de boda. Sólo los grupos de danza presentan estos bailes - siempre en la misma forma y con la misma coreografía - destinados a aumentar la fertilidad de la tierra. Así es por ejemplo, uno de los bailes más conocidos, el "volador", durante el cual los danzantes trepan a un palo de unos 30 metros de altura. Los participantes van llegando a la plaza al sonido del tambor y de la flauta de caña. Primero, el primer bailarín trepa hasta la punta del palo donde, sobre un pequeño tablado, hace reverencias bailando al sol y a las estrellas, mientras toca el tambor y la flauta. Después, llegan también los demás bailarines, uno tras otro, hasta la punta del palo, desde donde se lanzan al vacío sujetos por un cordel en cada pierna, y giran en grandes círculos colgando de cabeza.

Además del conocimiento de las danzas y de la música, en la memoria de este círculo, viven también los mitos, las leyendas y los cuentos, unos ancestrales, otros tomados de los europeos, y otros nacidos de la mezcla de ambos. Ellos mantienen viva la costumbre de contar cuentos ajena a toda ceremonialidad; el comportamiento de la persona que cuenta y de su público, indica que es una situación que se repite a menudo. Las ocasiones de contar un cuento surgen durante el trabajo mismo; el descanso y la ociosidad son conceptos

desconocidos para ellos. Ésta es la razón por la que los hombres se cuentan unos a otros, mientras remueven la tierra; o el jefe de familia instruye a sus hijos a familia y a los ayudantes en el trabajo, mientras juntos desgranar el maíz. De esta manera, no se pierde el tiempo, no es necesario apresurar la historia que está contando, y un cuento puede así durar varias horas.

Mientras que los jefes de la aldea son capaces de traspasar a otros sus conocimientos en castellano, los mitos, cuentos y leyendas sólo pueden ser dichos en lengua totonaca, idioma en que han sido preservados.

Frente al catolicismo y las explicaciones realísticas de las historias contadas por el primer círculo, las historias de este círculo ofrecen explicaciones entremezcladas de elementos fantásticos en relación a la creación de la tierra. Su mito de la creación ubica la formación de su morada en la tierra y el nacimiento del maíz y de la caña de azúcar en tiempos posteriores al diluvio universal. El creador: Dios con la ayuda de San Miguel. Por cierto, este santo realiza cosas no muy propias de santos, como por ejemplo, da de puntapiés al reverenciado anciano de la aldea, por lo cual se convierte éste en mono. Dios tampoco es idéntico al dios de los cristianos, no es él quien advierte al hombre la cercanía del diluvio, sino un conejo que también le salva la vida, mientras que Dios se presenta indeciso y sin fuerzas.

En este mundo todo es posible: resucita el coyote y

el hombre muerto, el alma de los hombres se puede robar, se le puede causar mal, el hombre holgazán se convertirá en rico, el diligente se queda sin pan, bajo los árboles se reúnen los demonios, y espíritu del monte decide sobre el destino humano. En este mundo todavía existe un brujo en la aldea, y todavía creen que para el Día de los Muertos el espíritu de los muertos retorna a sus hogares, de modo que le preparan ofrendas: adornos, estrellas hechas de caña, papel chino, frutas, flores, alimentos /maíz, pan blanco, chocolate/, café, aguardiente, a las mujeres cintas bordadas especialmente, a los hombres pañuelos bordados, y también preparan una vasija con agua, de forma que los muertos puedan lavar las manos. Aquí el mundo de las leyendas se encuentran más cerca de la realidad, en este mundo las mujeres preparan tortillas y los hombres van a la milpa, el agua de la vida eterna se encuentra precisamente en el centro de la aldea, de manera que si dan con ella la aldea se salva. En la aldea también creen que los demonios se reúnen en el pueblo, y que algunas personas son capaces - con la ayuda de los demonios de causar daño al espíritu de un tercero y así provocarle la muerte.

De esta manera los conocimientos de este círculo parecen tan ligados a los conocimientos de la realidad, como los de aquellos hombres que reconocen la necesidad de seguir el ritmo del progreso, sólo que a ellos les tocó otra tarea dentro de la "división del trabajo intelectual" de la aldea.

3. El tercer círculo de conocimientos es el de la magia, la brujería, el arte de curar a los enfermos y asistir a las mujeres en el parto. Generalmente, estas prácticas y creencias, encubiertas en un ropaje de catolicismo, cumplen la misma función que los otros dos sistemas de conocimientos descritos anteriormente, aunque en un nivel completamente diferente: a saber, regular la relación del individuo con el universo que lo rodea. Este círculo recibe una forma simbólica en las historias más realistas del segundo círculo de conocimientos.

En este nivel de conocimientos, el mundo exterior no está poblado por la realidad, es decir, el gobierno mexicano, sino por el espíritu de los muertos por la capacidad de transformarse, por el mundo de los maleficios y la forma de defenderse de ellos, por el quehacer dañino o positivo de los demonios y de los espíritus, de un mundo que llevan a cuastast desde hace siglos. Los ritos de este círculo se dirigen a reestablecer y solucionar - por ejemplo, con la muerte del enemigo - las relaciones deterioradas.

Estos conocimientos no son aceptados solamente por aquellas personas que practican la magia y el curanderismo sino también por aquellos para los cuales este mundo es el real, para quienes creen en este segmento de la realidad.

En la búsqueda de las causas de la muerte, de las malas cosechas, de las enfermedades, de los conflictos que surgen constantemente en la convivencia diaria, el catolicismo - comprendido a medias, lejano, aristocrático,

extraño - no es capaz de ofrecer respuestas satisfactorias. Para ésto no es suficiente ni el círculo de conocimientos exterior ni el intermedio. Por esta razón, el curanderismo, la magia y los maleficios sobrevivirán necesariamente mientras que este vacío no sea cubierto. La práctica de la curación y la brujería son los elementos más tradicionales de las creencias. El curanderismo totonaca consta de tres elementos: mágico, religioso y científico.

En la aldea viven dos mujeres curanderas y un hombre hechicero-curandero. Aprenden el oficio: los rezos, las distintas formas de librarse de los malos espíritus, el descubrimiento del maleficio con la ayuda de un huevo que simboliza el cuerpo humano, el uso de las hierbas la quema de hierbas como procedimiento purificador, etc. La curandera realiza la ceremonia en su choza, frente a un altar mucho más ornamentado y más grande que los demás. El hechicero tiene, en cambio, una choza aparte para estas ceremonias. En muchos aspectos ambos utilizan las mismas prácticas mágicas: rezan las oraciones del libro de misa comprado en la feria, cantan himnos religiosos católicos; los instrumentos utilizados en las ceremonias coinciden a veces: vela, cruz, incensario de arcilla /muy frecuentes en los cementerios, botados por todas partes/, huevo, imágenes de santos. Él que visita a la curandera le explica su mal. La mujer quema hierbas, reza, canta, toma un plato que parece ser de piedra, deposita en él 20 o 30 piedrecillas, las riega con agua bendita, alumbra con la llama de la vela. El huevo toma

la forma del cuerpo humano, y muestra con claridad donde está el mal, quien lo provocó. Las principales causas de enfermedad son la maldición, el maleficio, los malos oficios del enemigo, maldición sobre la casa, conflictos entre marido y mujer. El mal debe ser superado, por ejemplo, llevando 20 velas y quemándolas con ello el enfermo se mejorará. Para algunas enfermedades receta hierbas medicinales, o con la ayuda de éstas también hace huir del cuerpo el mal espíritu.

El hechicero cura con los mismos procedimientos, pero también es considerado el causante de la enfermedad, la fuente misma del mal. Este doble conocimiento - curanderismo y maleficio - parece ser de origen precolombino /11/. La choza del hechicero también en la realidad guarda objetos misteriosos; junto al enorme altar se encuentran los instrumentos obligados de la hechiceria, tales como botellas, piedras, bola mágica, ungüentos y hierbas, calaveras en los armarios. Delante del altar se halla una piedra labrada con las figuras del sol, la luna, el angel y el demonio. En esta aldea de costumbres monogámicas, el caso del hechicero que tiene dos esposas, hermanas entre sí, es un caso único. También la disposición del sitio de la casa es diferente al resto, la única forma de llegar al patio interior es pasando a través de una choza, mientras que las demás casas tienen acceso todas desde un patio abierto.

La principal diferencia entre el hechicero y la curandera, es que al hechicero se le puede encargar una enfer-

medad para el enemigo. En este caso el hechicero invierte el orden de la fórmula empleada para curar, y así provoca el efecto contrario. El hechicero es ayudado no por Dios, sino por el demonio. Su principal ayudante es el tecolote, el buho. El hechicero es capaz de transformarse - lo que es una creencia originalmente española -, y convertido en pájaro, por ejemplo, puede cortarles la cabeza a los indios incautos. En los maleficios usa animales muertos, piedras, vidrios. También es importante la baraja, pero bajo el mágico número 7 la santidad del cirio se convierte en el transmisor de la maldad. Y el mágico 7 se repite: 7,17,27; pide una suma de dinero terminada en siete.

El hechicero considera su propia facultad de curanderismo como manifestación de su poder sobre los malos espíritus, y por lo tanto se siente capaz de alejar el mal de los hombres. "La enfermedad - expresa - no es posible curar con medicamentos; mientras los malos espíritus mantienen su poder sobre el cuerpo humano, ninguna medicina tiene efecto".

Aquellos que a través de sus conocimientos se encuentran ligados a este círculo, viven llenos de miedos, y generalmente ésto es tan determinante en sus vidas que el contacto con los otros dos círculos de conocimientos es formal, mecánico. Aunque ésto no ocurre forzosamente siempre. Mientras que los miembros del círculo descrito anteriormente conservan los conocimientos en un sistema estético aparte, los conocimientos de los miembros de los círculos interior

y exterior, se pueden convertir en acción.

Interrelaciones entre los círculos de conocimientos

Lo expresado hasta aquí acerca de los círculos de conocimientos puede ser resumido en el siguiente cuadro:

círculos de conocimientos

	I.	II.	III.
Receptor de los conocimientos	la comunidad, el medio exterior	la comunidad, seres sobrenaturales	la comunidad, los seres sobrenaturales
Forma del traspaso de los conocimientos	actividad política, actividad social	performancia	magia, curanderismo, maleficio.
Idioma de la transmisión	castellano totonaca	totonaca	totonaca
Objetivo del traspaso de conocimientos	Mantenimiento del vínculo con el medio ambiente, defensa frente al medio exterior	Refuerzo de la coherencia del grupo, defensa interna	Solución de conflictos, defensa personal.

La combinación de estos círculos de conocimientos tan

diferentes puede llevarse a cabo en el nivel de la toma de conocimiento, en el nivel de su utilización, en el de su aplicación directa y en el de la defensa.

Los individuos que viven tanto en el círculo exterior como en el interior, encuentran formas directas para la explicación del mundo. Los indios del círculo intermedio, arraigados en sus tradiciones, y al mismo tiempo, simpatizando con la civilización que se les ofrece, no se hallan dispuestos a aceptar la posición ni de uno ni de otro. Su propia explicación del mundo no es universal, ni cotidiana, se hace completa a través de las formas simbólicas.

Es natural, sin embargo, que en este estado de la cultura, como producto del aislamiento, los límites no son marcados: los individuos que se hallan en contacto con el mundo exterior, como producto de la posesión de la cultura mantenida tradicionalmente, a través de su medio /es decir, a través de la lengua totonaca/, no se cierran frente a los conocimientos de otros, no los descalifican categóricamente, solamente, a la luz de los hechos, los consideran obsoletos. No hay conflicto real entre lo racional e irracional, puesto que la religión es también para él obligatoria. El círculo de más afuera, y en parte el círculo intermedio también, toma conocimiento de las realidades del mundo exterior en el nivel del saber cotidiano: mientras que se considera a sí mismo representante de la comunidad, y en última instancia, de la "nación", al mismo tiempo, en el nivel de la gestión diaria, acepta las ventajas ofrecidas por el

mundo mestizo, las incluye entre sus propios conocimientos,
sin buscarles explicación.

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Notas

1. Algunas opiniones de la literatura especializada en torno a esta cuestión: aferramiento sobre todo a las tradiciones /BENEDICT, 1934, pp.57-129/; formación de la conducta pasiva, si no hay otra forma de alcanzar el aislamiento /OSBORNE, 1952, pp. 201-238/; adaptación a una mayor entidad social dada /REDFIELD, 1960, pp.121/.
2. Por sistema cerrado entiendo la categoría de FOSTER /"closed system"/ /FOSTER, 1971, p. 301/
3. En la provincia de Veracruz, distrito de Papantla, en el ejido de Plan de Hidalgo.
4. "En México el sistema del ejido constituye parte institucionalizada de la reforma de la estructura económico-social; responde a una sociedad primitiva altamente estratificada, que permaneció estática; le falta extroversión y agilidad, que son características de las sociedades modernas" NASH, 1970; p. 72-73; la reorganización de los ejidos surgió después de la Revolución Mexicana /1910-1920/.
5. Son muchos los que no comparten esta opinión, entre ellos LEWIS, 1963. Según éste en una sociedad moderna no se puede hablar de grupos sociales aislados. En el caso de Plan de Hidalgo, el México moderno sólo se hace presente de forma muy débil, a través del Centro Totonaca y buena parte de la población de la aldea no sabe lo que es el estado, ni donde viven ellos mismos.

6. Roberto García, el mayordomo de Plan de Hidalgo.
7. Me enteré de esto por el informe entregado por el agente municipal.
8. Roberto García
9. Opinión de Roberto García y los indios reunidos en su choza.
10. Roberto García
11. AMEZQUITA BORJA, 1941; MARTI, 1961; MERIDA, 1934.
CHRISTIENSEN, 1979; SALGADO HERRERA, 1977; SPENCE, 1973.

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Priscilla ERMEL:

MÚSICA: O ECO LOGICO DO SOM

Quando o avião pousou na aldeia e o ruído de seus dois motores parou, silenciou fundo em mim uma sensação de vazio pleno. Primeiro, a ausência dos sons urbanos que nem eu mesma sabia o quanto me invadiam; depois, a percepção de que vidas e mais vidas pulsavam no corpo imenso, sombrio e mágico da floresta... amazônica. A aldeia dos índios Cinta-Larga, não existia; o que meus olhos - acostumados à uma imensidade de estímulos visuais - viam, eram alguns "caboclos" falando uma língua diferente, ininteligível... E então o avião bateu asas em direção à "civilização farwestiana" de Rondônia, e eu me senti só, longe da minha tribo.

Dias depois, escreveria no Diário de Viagem: "aqui na floresta sonho com a cidade; mas quando estou em São Paulo, a floresta é que é a ficção." E era verdade: ali eu vivia a urbanidade transplantada para a aldeia. Cada vez mais transparentes, meus sentimentos e emoções desvairados da paulicéia, vinham à tona, no contato. Os índios rindo muito do meu jeito em andar por dentro da mata, em conversar com os animais e pássaros, em compreender o que tocavam nas flautas, á que eu aprendera rapidamente a técnica dos toques, mas não seus significados - coisa estranha para um Cinta-Larga. Pois que o ato de tocar está plenamente constituído no ato de viver; de sobre-viver: matar o bicho que se come, catar o algodão que se faz em rede; colher a mandioca, o mel, o milho que se come; arrancar da floresta as frágeis tabocas que se tocam. Enfim fazer a música, a beleza que se adorna no íntimo da cultura: mito e história cantados no amor e na guerra. Tecer, com

a música, a energia vital dos diálogos - as mensagens se torcendo como algodão transformado em fio. O sopro no corpo das flautas: a música. O sopro no corpo das gentes: a cura. Os "músicos" e os pajés: o poder do transe e da fé.

Os cantos e os toques das flautas ecoam na acústica da floresta e da cultura. Significam. Preenchem. Na aldeia, todos são músicos: homens, mulheres e crianças. As flautas são o instrumento que a tribo escolheu para se expressar; desde as flautas pan, até as transversais e de palheta. Todas feitas de uma taquara fina e frágil; em estado verde, tenro. Com as transversais - longos bambus, de 1 a 2cm de diâmetro, fechadas nas extremidades, onde são cavados dois bocais-furos - todos se expressam. As frases são construídas a partir dos harmônicos de um som fundamental inaudível. Cada tocador sabe construir seu instrumento, e em geral, o melhor instrumento é o que melhor soa nos lábios de quem o fez. Com eles dizem mensagens sem palavras, mas com um sentido semântico claro para o alguém a que se destina. Já com as outras seis flautas verticais - tocadas por três índios /cada um com um par conso-nante/ - os Cinta-Larga expressam não só seus sentimentos íntimos, mas o de toda a tribo, cantando-tocando seus mitos. São flautas que funcionam com uma palheta interna, também feita de taquara, intensamente pressionada pela coluna de ar do tocador. O resultado sonoro é um "órgão-anasalado" que parece envolver a própria floresta. Em torno dessa música dança a tribo, de braços dados, formando o feixe de uma energia pulsante, una. Pois não se trata de uma estética solista, mas

embrenhou no tempo e que, por compreendê-lo em sua totalidade, fincou suas raízes na terra precisa que lhe serve de fonte e desaguio sonoro. No coração da mata, nas clareiras e nas malocas, os índios concebem, por assim dizer, uma relação objetiva com o som; ie. cada pio de pássaro, cada correr de águas, cada grito, cada tiro, cada enxame de risadas, são realidades de um diálogo, de uma troca de mensagens. Os sons não passam por eles desapercibidos; não invadem seus corpos sem pedir licença.

O som é o líquido amniótico na relação dos índios com a mãe terra. Estar envolto envolvendo. Cercar os animais que os cercam. Enfim, a direção é o círculo. Assim é a música Ginta-Larga: sem desenhos melódicos que busquem um fim de frase. Não existe a coda como a compreendemos e sim um êxtase coletivo que se transforma em gritos e riso e desfaz o canto... Para nós, estranho. Porisso difícil. Porisso o contato de superfície, de extermínio. Pois que o eco lógico do som que deveria soar da nossa /?/ música indígena, não soou. Canta-se no vazio, e no vazio se estabelece o silêncio: - a expressão sonora da ausência. E então a música separa-se do som e surge o ruído. As mensagens ficam opacas. Os músicos separam-se dos homens. A fluidez do rio faz-se represa, e em todas as casas as luzes se acendem! ... e ninguém sabe dizer ao certo de onde veio aquela maravilha. As raízes. A origem.

O domínio urbano, industrial, "moderno" do homem sobre a natureza, fez com que perdéssemos a memória, o fio da história. Não que isso fosse natural; nós é que nos naturaliza-

mos brasileiros! Cabe agora reconstituirmos a consciência de que somos colonizadores colonizados: migrantes de nós mesmos! E recuperar esse jeito inteiro de compreender o ciclo da vida: - o algodão semente, fruto branco, desfiado, torcido, tecido, deitado na rede... E fazer o percurso da volta que é ida nos caminhos emaranhados dos sons da mata e da metrópole; seja a música ou o barulho; o ruído ou o murmúrio. Carece nos impressionarmos com as nossas próprias vidas para então compreendermos com afeto e respeito as outras que nos fizeram assim como somos...

"... e os índios apontaram o céu. Sorrindo. Eu não ouvia o que "viam". Logo depois pousava o aviãozinho bimotor. E os Cinta-Larga, na clareira do dia, pressentiram que em breve eu bateria asas em direção à minha, nossa, tribo."

NOTA

Não há textos que dêem referências consistentes sobre os Cinta-Larga. No entanto, no início de 1985, será publicado o trabalho de pesquisa da prof. dout. CARMEN JUNQUEIRA, e também estará à disposição na PUC-SP, minha tese de mestrado sobre a música desta tribo.

LEGENDA

1. Alguns índios da tribo dos Cinta-Larga na porta da maloca /grandes casas onde vivem vários núcleos familiares.
2. Jovem caçador
3. Índia fiando algodão
4. Crianças brincando na beira do rio
5. Tocador de flauta /vertical, com palheta/



2



3





4



5



Szilvia NAGY:

LA CANCIÓN FOLKLÓRICA ANDINA EN LA ACTUALIDAD

La canción folklórica de los Andes ya sea en quechua o en español constituye un nexo del pueblo con su pasado cultural y a la vez es el modo de participación en la creación folklórica del presente.

Es sabido que toda canción que nace en los labios del pueblo es sencilla y directa, pero no por eso deja de ser poética. Su círculo de temas es relativamente reducido, ya que interpreta los problemas y sentimientos de gente que lleva una vida sumamente dura y llana, por consiguiente las vivencias positivas o negativas son clara y sencillamente expresadas.

Cabalmente creemos que por esta razón son tan palpables las canciones nacidas entre el pueblo, porque lo que expresan son sentimientos y problemas básicos de la vida humana y como tales, en diferentes maneras nos tocan a todos. Su protagonista o sujeto, así como el proceso de la creación, no es individual sino colectivo, expresando algo esencialmente común. Es casi una banalidad citar los temas preferidos, como el amor, la soledad, los sentimientos religiosos, etc., que son captados por gran número de gente que se identifica con el intérprete de la canción y al mismo tiempo con el pueblo del cual nació la misma. La identificación inconsciente crea el vínculo psicológico entre el intérprete y el oyente.

El hombre campesino, que por razones tradicionales y sociológicas es el casi exclusivo creador de las canciones folklóricas, vive en una simbiosis muy profunda con la naturaleza, la cual le sirve como elemento de comparación, de

punto de referencia, de la que extrae materiales y recursos literarios. Es muy frecuente hallar metáforas, cuya referencia es un fenómeno de la naturaleza.

Surge la pregunta: ¿Por qué hablar de música andina, si todo lo que se ha dicho atañe a cualquier tipo de música folklórica? La canción folklórica andina tiene por peculiaridad el nutrirse de dos fuentes. Una de ellas es la música autóctona incaica y la otra la de la cultura hispánica. Resulta una fusión extraordinaria de estas dos expresiones culturales tan diferentes, casi antagónicas, gracias a la excelente capacidad de asimilación por parte de la cultura incaica, que representa, en ese caso, el substrato cultural. La adaptación de muchos instrumentos de música, tonos y pasos de danza dan por resultado un folklore muy lleno de color. Subsisten en la música los valores claves a los que respondía su existencia e identidad desde el Incanato, cuya firmeza permitía absorber ingentes contribuciones españolas /como en la religión, vestimenta, instrumentos, cultivos y fiestas/, reelaborándolas en el cauce propio, tradicional.

Hay algunos historiadores y ensayistas que recurren frecuentemente a la comparación del indígena de los tiempos del Incanato y de la actualidad, llegando a la dudosa conclusión de que hay una "obvia degeneración" que se observa en el indígena actual.

Inteligente y capaz en otros tiempos, se habría hecho incapaz hasta de razonar...¹

Contraponemos a esta posición la del eminente historiador, JORGE BASADRE:

Un pueblo, que como el indígena, pese a todas sus dificultades, se expresa y sigue expresándose en el arte, no es un pueblo perdido.²

Algunas artes, como la danza y la música posthispánicas, son más ricas y vastas que la danza y música antigua porque asimilaron y transformaron excelentes instrumentos, incluso más perfectos que los antiguos, usados hoy con un sentido estético muy certero. Lo desarrollado del instintivo sentido estético del indígena bien se muestra en la mezcla de los dos idiomas: el quechua y el español. Cuando oímos una canción básicamente en quechua que sin embargo contiene una que otra palabra en español, nos podemos convencer de que las palabras en español se emplean muy certeramente y en ningún momento quiebran el valor estético del texto. Podemos observar este fenómeno en el ejemplo que sigue:

Uqun tamyay kumurkani
 yachay tamyay kumurkani
 isquay lucero ñawiykitaki
rosas pallchichka simiykitaki.

Estoy mojándome en la lluvia
 tú sabes que estoy en la lluvia
 dos luceros son tus ojitos
 Rosas en flor tu boquita.³

Estos términos castellanos puros que el indio emplea con desconcertante acierto estético están allí, en el fondo del contexto quechua, morfológicamente intactos, pero transformados a la semántica quechua. Estas palabras conservan sus elementos y virtudes formando parte de otra función, de otro universo. Es un caso ejemplar del fenómeno que los antropólogos denominan: integración y retraducción. El quechua atrapa el término castellano, lo incorpora y lo diluye hasta que se pierde la noción objetiva de la procedencia del término en la conciencia de quien lo emplea.

Por fin, después de cuatrocientos años, otros pueblos comienzan a reconocer esta música y parece que mencionadas canciones servirán de punto de identificación de los pueblos andinos ante el mundo.

No se trata sólo de los millones de discos vendidos, de las fervorosas multitudes en los coliseos, de su acogida en los medios masivos de comunicación o los recientes éxitos internacionales de esta música, sino también del hecho que ella ha rescatado, divulgado, incluso impuesto una sensibilidad que el país oficial hizo grandes esfuerzos por suprimir.⁴

Dicha música ha sobrevivido vigorosamente, pese a los numerosos esfuerzos que se hicieron para distorsionarla, tanto por quienes reconocieron en ella un "valor netamente antropológico" como por los que trataron de comercializarla en forma falsa. Nos referimos a la popularidad que había alcanzado en

sus tiempos Yma Sumaj, especialmente fuera del Perú, que era su país natal. Yma Sumaj se llamaba Emperatriz Chavarri y nació en un barrio de Lima. Fue descubierta por MOISÉS VIVANCO quien finalmente le puso el nombre de la hija de Ollanta, protagonista de un drama histórico escrito originalmente en quechua situado en tiempos del Inca Pachacutec. De esta manera trató de darle a la cantante el "trasfondo indígena" haciendo de ella un mito comercial. JOSÉ MARIA ARGUEDAS opina de ella:

Lo que hace Yma Sumaj no es, por supuesto "estilización" de la música india: es deformación pura.

Emperatriz Chavarri hace de la canción india un simple espectáculo. Los agudos que lanza en forma totalmente libre, sin relación alguna con el género de la música que canta y sin que estén inspirados por ningún sentido interpretativo u otro concepto musical íntimo, convierten a los cantos indios en piezas sin filiación folklórica posible y sin valor musical propio.⁵

Debemos aclarar la vasta diferencia que existe entre la música folklórica y la música popular. La música folklórica es completamente pura y autóctona, sin que nadie se interese por ella. Nace como una expresión ingenua del pueblo, como satisfacción del deseo humano de expresarse en alguna forma. La música folklórica alcanza un valor estético muy especial, que parcialmente se debe a su pureza moral y ética, ya que

los valores que representa dan por resultado su originalidad. La música popular, sin embargo, es una forma comercializada de la música folklórica que satisface las necesidades estéticas de una capa social semi-culta. El criterio primario de la música popular no es la originalidad sino la comercialización. Se da el fenómeno de que no es la expresión artística que la que conquista a las personas tienen la sensibilidad y percepción para valorizarla, sino que se acomoda en todo para satisfacer las expectativas del público. Desde este punto de vista también podemos afirmar que la música popular sirve para la diversión de las masas, y que su criterio estético no nace en el proceso de la creación, sino que es definido deliberadamente por las masas y el comercialismo. La música popular deja de ser el resultado de la creación común, pues en la mayoría de los casos tiene autor, aunque la canción pase a la conciencia del público, muchas veces anónimamente. En cuanto al valor estético, la canción popular es una llana imitación de la letra o melodía folklórica, sin la espontaneidad y firmeza de los valores representados en ella. No obstante, la mayoría de los aficionados a la música popular no podrían establecer una diferencia clara entre la música popular y la folklórica.

En casos menos frecuentes la misma canción folklórica alcanza un ímpetu popular ante el aprecio del público. Esto es lo que sucedió en los años sesenta-setenta en el Perú. En estos años se realizaba una tarea social: el rescate folklórico de todo tipo de arte en función de una mejor identi-

cación nacional. Surgieron, uno tras otro, genuinos intérpretes de la música autóctona en todas las regiones. En el Perú, el guitarrista ayacuchano: Raúl García Zárate, el charanguista Jaime Guardia, más Jacinto Pebe y Luis Acuña. /Los tres últimos formaron el grupo "La lira paucina"./ También se debe de recordar a Ernesto Sánchez Fajardo, conocido bajo el nombre de "El jilguero del Huascarán", a Juan Aguilar, como "El gavilán negro" y, finalmente a Alberto Gil Mallma, o "El picaflor de los Andes". El hecho de escoger estos nombres que son plantas o aves típicas de los Andes, refleja un salto cualitativo en la conciencia de los intérpretes del folklore. Ya existe un orgullo establecido en ellos y de esta manera se identifican con el ambiente natural de la música que interpretan.

En Bolivia se conocen muchos menos cantantes, pues el proceso de reconocimiento de la cultura vernacular aún no se había realizado allí debido a circunstancias políticas. Sin embargo, entre los bolivianos también podemos mencionar algunos nombres de los folkloristas más conocidos, como Benjo Cruz, Gladys Moreno, Ernesto Cavour, Yayo Joffre, Julio Godoy y un europeo, el suizo Gilbert Favre, "El Gringo", que es conocido como uno de los mejores quenistas de Bolivia, país donde actualmente reside. /Además él es una figura muy interesante de la música andina, pues había vivido muchos años en Chile también, donde fue conocido con el sobrenombre "Run-run" y de quién escribió Violeta Parra, poco antes de su muerte, una de sus canciones más conocidas: "Run-run se fue

pa'l norte"/.

Coincide con el proceso de rescate cultural otro fenómeno de sumo interés: el surgimiento de la llamada "nueva canción". El término nació en Chile pero el fenómeno surgió poco a poco en varios países. Con base en melodías vernaculares se creó un nuevo estilo con instrumentos tradicionales, pero empleando nuevas letras, respetando la forma y la manera de expresión autóctonas. Las letras contienen crítica social, descripción de la injusticia, a veces, hasta llegar al contenido abiertamente revolucionario. Es curioso, que precisamente en los países andinos más llenos de tradición como Perú, Bolivia o Ecuador, se haya atrasado el proceso de la "nueva canción". Probablemente este atraso sea por falta de conciencia social, pues la música netamente indígena no llega más allá del lamento.

Como decíamos, la "nueva canción" se inició en Chile, mucho antes de que Salvador Allende llegara al poder, pero en aquella época recibió un empuje especial y sigue floreciendo en el presente entre los miles de chilenos que viven en exilio. Los representantes más importantes de la "nueva canción" son: la eminente poetisa, guitarrista, cantante y folklorista ya difunta, Violeta Parra y sus hijos, Angel e Isabel Parra, quienes siguen la tradición y se conocen hoy como cantantes y compositores. También se debe mencionar a Víctor Jara, asesinado casi inmediatamente después del golpe militar en 1973. Víctor Jara nos dejó numerosas interpretaciones de la música folklórica de su pueblo, además de sus

composiciones. En cuanto a los conjuntos musicales que se dedican a tocar música folklórica y la "nueva canción", y se conocen tanto en su país de origen como en el extranjero, podemos mencionar a Quilapayún, Inti Illimani, Aparcoa, Los Jaivas, Illapu, Víctor Jara, Araucana y Lonquimay, como los más importantes.

Sin embargo, no es Chile el único país donde se observa el fenómeno de la "nueva canción". En Argentina el mismo tipo de música se alimenta de otras fuentes, que son las décimas de las poesía gauchesca, que refleja claramente la sabiduría y percepción de los gauchos, que viven en los llanos en profunda soledad, de la cual se nutre lo hondo de su mentalidad. Uno de los más respetados es el cantante, compositor y poeta: Atahualpa Yupanqui, que representa una especie de transición entre el canto tradicional y la "nueva canción". Es de mencionar a Jorge Cafrune, a José Larralde y Mercedes Sosa, como los sobresalientes. Es curioso que todos ellos son oriundos de Jujuy, una región nortena de Argentina al pie de los Andes. Será así, porque allá sobreviven aún con mucho más intensidad las tradiciones y leyendas gauchescas, mezclándose generosamente con las tradiciones y leyendas indígenas del sur de Bolivia.

En resumidas cuentas la "nueva canción" al mismo tiempo que cultiva las tradiciones musicales más puras /la mayoría de los cantantes son al mismo tiempos colectores de música folklórica/ y las trasmite hacia un público más y más amplio, convierten la canción - mediante sus letras - en un arma ideo-

lógico. Las letras nuevas de las canciones tradicionales sirven para concientizar al pueblo. No son frases rimbombantes sino que brotan con la misma sencillez y espontaneidad que las letras originales, pues los autores respetan el lenguaje claro, sencillo y poético del pueblo.

La canción de ese tipo puede convertirse en mensajero de ideas sociales o políticas por la dulzura de la melodía que se difunde con facilidad. Sobre todo si se emplean melodías ya conocidas, como en muchos casos. En un principio la gente comienza a tararearlas sin darse cuenta, pero pronto llega el momento del "reconocimiento" y "confrontamiento" de las letras de la canción. También opinamos que algo que está basado en tan larga tradición lírica es apto para llegar a la conciencia del pueblo andino, en su mayoría indios que viven en profunda ignorancia. No creemos que esa ignorancia se pueda combatir con discursos de tipo educativo, porque dudamos que estos penetren en una mentalidad cerrada durante siglos y siglos. La canción tiene a su favor lo conocido, familiar y dulce de la melodía.

Existen buenos intentos en los países andinos hacia la creación de ese tipo de canciones, como el grupo "Jatari" en Ecuador /cuyo nombre significa "rebelión" en quechua/ o el grupo "Cochabamba" o "Los Jairas" en Bolivia. Es curioso que en el Perú formen una minoría los grupos musicales frente a los cantantes individuales.

Por lo dicho podemos ver que hay una clara tendencia a que la canción folklórica adquiera un nuevo horizonte. Cada

vez más en las nuevas letras están presentes la injusticia, la opresión y otros problemas que aquejan y al mismo tiempo representan al pueblo. Es decir, que a pesar del cambio de la letra, la canción folklórica sigue siendo propiedad del pueblo y agudamente se distingue de la música "criolla" que es la música popular de la región andina.

Además el surgimiento de grupos y cantantes que transmiten la música autóctona con letras modificadas no obsta para que la música netamente folklórica siga desarrollándose, al contrario, creemos que el mismo interés por ella, por rescatar y coleccionar estos valores da ímpetu a la producción folklórica, ya que la música folklórica recobraría su prestigio ante el mundo. Los miembros de los grupos que difunden la música folklórica, hacen un trabajo muy valioso con ello y con la recolección de las canciones, salvándolas del olvido y propiciando la identificación cultural de los pueblos andinos.

APUNTES

- 1/ El Perú de tres razas, antología. A cargo de los antropólogos: FUENZALIDA, F. MAYER, E. WOLLMAR. /Ed: Nueva York: Instituto de las Naciones Unidas para formación profesional e investigaciones., 1974./, p. 17.
- 2/ JORGE BASADRE, Promesa de la vida peruana. /Ed. Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1958/, p.42.
- 3/ La canción está tomada de la Colección de canciones de la región de Ayacucho de Jaime Guardia. /Lima: Instituto de Cultura, n. d./ La traducción del quechua al español es hecha por SILVIA NAGY.
- 4/ JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS, "La canción popular" /La Prensa, Buenos Aires, 18.08.1940./
- 5/ JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS, "Sobre Yma Sumaj, en defensa del folklore musical andino." /La Prensa, Lima, 19.09.1944./

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Irma AGÜERO:

AN ESSAY ON THE CULTURAL CHARACTER OF CUBA

"... the American continent is a special example of the separation of ethnic groups and cultures..."

Roger BASTIDE

So far, the evaluation of Cuban culture has taken two different - temporally also separable - forms. The first is the division of cultures into "inferior" and "superior" ones, which is characteristic of the colonial age. The other approach first appeared in the 20th century. It was ORTIZ who, calling it "transculturation", first examined the process in the course of which a homogenous national culture has come to light. For the introduction of the term "transculturation" he gave reasons in the foreword of his book "Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azucar" /1940/:

"The word "transculturation" has been chosen to express all those infinitely varied phenomena which derive from the very complicated transformation of cultures retraceable in Cuba, and without the knowledge of which it is impossible to understand either the evolution of the Cuban people together with its economic, and institutional /legal, ethical, religious, artistic, linguistic, psychologic as well as sexual/ relations, or any other aspects of their life.

The real history of Cuba is the history of her interweaving cultural relations, beginning with the cultural

contact between prehistoric and neolithic Indians. The neolithic Indians later on disappeared, having been unable to adapt to the arriving Castilean culture.

This was followed by the transculturation of an endless influx of white immigrants. The immigrants were mainly Spaniards arriving from different cultures, who - as was often said at the time - had been torn away from Iberian society and were transplanted to a new world, which, both in view of its nature and its inhabitants, was completely new for them, and where they had to adjust to a new cultural syncretism. At the same time, there took place the transculturation of a continuously arriving multitude of different Negro species, each having different cultures, and coming from every part of the coastal territories of Africa; from Senegal, Guinea and Congo /all situated along the Atlantic/, as well as from eastern Mozambique. These people were all uprooted from their original social environment. Together with their destroyed cultures, and under the pressure of the ruling cultures, they were crushed, as is sugar-cane when squeezed among the rammers of a cane-press. There was also an endless influx of other migrant cultures, arriving in sporadic waves or continuous currents, producing effects upon each other. The immigrants were of very different origins; continental Indians, Jews, Lusitanians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and North Americans, as well as yellow-skinned Mongoloids from Macao, Canton and other territories of the

past Celestial Empire. Each immigrant, uprooted from his motherland, lived in the twofoldness of dissidence and re-adaptation, deculturation or exculturation or inculturation, i.e. - as a final result of the synthesis - they lived in transculturation."

Without denying the historical importance of ORTIZ's discovery, the essence of his definition, or the past scientific exactness of it, and without querying the fact of mulattization, I think it is time to work out a new and higherlevel synthesis of the question.

I would like to start with the fact that, in spite of colonial oppression, the integrating influence of capitalism, or the generally admitted and really successful /perhaps the most successful/ cultural revolution of Cuba, the African cultures have not only survived, but, in a sense, have lately undergone a renaissance. So the cultural development has different directions, and its evaluation demands a multi-dimensional, interdisciplinary approach.

If we want to describe those religious communities of Cuba which have an African origin, and which have already been syncretized with Catholicism, we have to take into consideration that they have undergone a twofold change. They can only be understood on the basis of their similarities and differences in conformity with their original forms.

Let us examine, for example, the Santeria, a Cuban religious group which originates from Yoruba. First, i will deal briefly with some of its main characteristics.

In Nigeria, the land of the Yoruba people, the basis of the social structure is a settlement based on kinship. People live in close economic and social collectivity, on which a close polytheistic religious structure is based. This, at the same time, determines ideology, ethics, and a complex philosophical system. The hierarchy of the social establishment is isolated from the religious one. Nevertheless, it is the common faith which, beside the common economic interest, is the main source of social stability.

In Cuba, the structure of a Santoria-community is very similar to that of a Nigerian Yoruba clan. But here, it is not a social, but solely a religious organization. People get into such communities not by way of birth or marriage, but by initiation ceremonies. This is the reason why, in Cuba, initiation is the most important element of the religious life. Its main characteristic is that during the ceremony the initiated is reborn in a double sense. On the one hand, we can speak about a symbolic and classic rebirth for a new life, which is a consequence of any initiation. On the other hand, the rebirth is functional, because from that time on, the initiated belongs to a particular religious group - to the Casa de Santo - and this is very similar to the ties with which a new-born or a young wife is connected to the branch.

According to BASCOM, the structure of the Yoruba society is such; "The members of the clan are looked upon

as 'the children of the house' /om ilé/ and the men are even distinguished from the others as they are called 'the sons of the house' /omo ibinrin ilé/. Each member of the clan, both men and women, are considered to be relatives /ebi ibatan/... Finally, in many colonies /compound/ there live a great number of strangers /alejo/ who have no family relations with the others, and perhaps arrived there from another town. Some of them are allowed to settle down or to marry and start a family. The male descendants are then allowed to stay there within the settlement. They belong to the "people of the house" /ara ilé/ but they are not relatives."

Now let us examine the structure of the Cuban Casa de Santo:

At the very bottom of the social ladder are the believers who, perhaps, have the attributes or the chains of this or that saint, but who are still not initiated, and, perhaps, never will be. Their status corresponds to the Yoruban "people of the house". The newly-initiated have a higher rank. They are called iyabos irrespective of their sex. This is what BASCOM writes about their Yoruba equivalents: "A man calls any of his women just simply as his wife /iya/. Sometimes, the woman whom he married earlier he calls "elder wife" /iyale/ while the others are the "younger" ones /iyawo/ "

In Cuba the word "iyabo" is used in a wider sense. In

Nigeria, from among strangers only wives are received into a family. In Cuba everybody can join the Casa de Santo, independently of his or her sex, age, relations, social or racial status. That is why there is not any contradiction in the use of the word "iyabo", which means, practically, "recruit". In different scientific works one can often find an incorrect interpretation of this notion. This is in connection with the mistake authors often make in regarding the Afro-American religious initiation as a simple symbolic marriage with a god, thus failing to take into consideration the qualitative changes which in the New World - or at least in Cuba - have taken place.

The babalocha /priest/ and the iyalocha /priestess/ play a prominent role in the life of the community. They are initiated much earlier, and they also must overcome different additional rites. They can practice magic, found a new Casa de Santo, and make "diloggun" prophesy with the help of 18 snails.

At the top of the pyramid are the babalowo-s. They must be men, and only they are allowed to prophesy with the help of the so-called Ifa-slab. The Ifa-slab is the means of a very complicated profesying system, which the babalowo has to study for ages before he can use it.

It is obvious that the condition of the existence of these religious groups in Cuba is very different from its original /Nigerian/ form. These communities do not depend on

the living condition of a given town or region; they are not economic groups; they are not kept together by a common ancestor - because there is not any; they are not based on the order of kinship. They do not have their own social hierarchy, and social position is not connected with status within such a community. Moreover, there is neither a direct nor an indirect social force requiring people to belong to one of these communities.

Today's religious groups, which are observable even to an outsider, usually exist on the peripheries, mainly because the density of population is greatest there, and life goes on openly. It is also very important that anyone may join the community voluntarily, independently of his or her ethnic origin. Usually, the aim of joining is to satisfy a spiritual or intellectual need. This expresses a duplicity of consciousness, but people can perfectly live with it.

The question may arise now as to what kinds of spiritual or communal needs turn people towards these religious groups.

Presently, though, it seems much more important to reveal the main characteristics of the internal structure of these communities, their organization, and their relations of interest, as well as the main features of their "increasing reproduction".

Every Casa de Santo is based on the knowledge and the authority of a priest or priestess /babalocha or iyalocha,

santero or santera, padrino or madrina/. A santero or a santera has to undergo a training of several years once it becomes certain to everyone /mainly to the family and to the members of the Casa de Santo which provides spiritual and physical protection /that he or she has a supernatural talent, /i.e. is chosen by the saints/. The training is also helped by written materials, the so-called "Libretas de Santeria", which is either written by hand or typewritten, and is usually replicated. It contains different magic recipes, a Yoruba dictionary, the description of diloggun-prophecy, etc. The time of initiation is determined by the initiator, who is a santero or a padrino. One year after the initiation the santero has the right to organize a new Casa de Santo. The relation among the santeros is neither hierarchic nor optional; according to the religious precepts, the santero has to honour his initiator as well as the other padrinos, who have been ordained before him.

In connection with their everyday lives and their relations of interest I would like to underline the importance of certain features. The Casa de Santo has no permanent members. The "congregation" takes part in common rites only two or three times a year. Such occasions are the anniversary of a Santero's initiation, the day of the Santero's patron saint, or the day of any other saint who plays an important role in the life of the community. So the members of the group are not in close relationship with each other,

but they can individually establish an intimate contact with their Padrino or Santero. The frequency of their meetings depends on the needs of the given person. As far as I know people rely on this relation in almost every kind of conflict; when they want to cure different diseases, when they would like to read the future /or to turn it for the better/, when they wish to expel the influence of different bewitchings and misfortune, or when they need advice to hoodoo the enemy.

These services are made for certain consideration. There is a conventional tariff system which can be overpaid if the "customer" can afford it. /On the other hand, the Santero feels himself bound to help without compensation if those who apply to him are in very bad financial situation, even if he formerly did not have any contact with them./ A great number of the applied medical treatments and service instructions have very ancient origins and forms. Some examples include the use of different medical herbs, the use of magic plants, the offertories of animals, and the transmission of different godly attributes. In certain cases - by the commands of gods or saints - a given moral, sanitary or financial problem can be solved only by the help of an initiation rite.

On the basis of what has been said we can conclude that these personal and intimate human relations satisfy certain needs, which, in spite of all the radical changes,

still exist in today's Cuba.

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Archeological Studies

János GYARMATI:

IRRIGACIÓN O APROVECHAMIENTO DEL AGUA

UTILIZACIÓN DE LOS RECURSOS DE AGUA EN EL TERRITORIO DE LA CIVILIZACIÓN MAYA

En las investigaciones de la formación de las civilizaciones arcaicas, los especialistas han dado particular importancia a la investigación de la irrigación, como factor básico en la formación del estado. La irrigación ha sido interpretada y entendida como obra comunitaria, cuya construcción y organización requiere de una dirección, de la cual surgirían los organismos de poder sobre la sociedad. Este poder, luego convertido en estructura estatal dominaria, por así decir, la sociedad entera.

Desde este aspecto, los investigadores han examinado detalladamente las civilizaciones arcaicas surgidas en regiones desérticas o semidesérticas como Egipto, Mesopotamia o el antiguo Perú. En cuanto a la Civilización Maya los investigadores no acertaban a comprender cabalmente el nivel alcanzado, ya que en su sociedad estratificada no era verificable la base económica, conocida en otras civilizaciones. /Véase por ejemplo J.H. STEWARD, 1960/¹.

Karl WITTFOGEL /1960, p.46./ denominó a las civilizaciones antiguas mencionadas con el término de "hidraulic society", y al mismo tiempo consideró a la Civilización Maya como sociedad hidráulica marginal! Angel PALERM /1955, p. 31/ expresó lo siguiente en torno a esta cuestión:

"Only irrigation is capable of supporting truly large dense populations. Irrigation is the original cause of advanced political organization. The inhabitants of the Maya Lowlands never practiced irrigation there-

fore, they were unable to develop an authentic civilization"².

De todo lo expresado se deduce que la irrigación ha sido considerado la única forma posible del aprovechamiento de los recursos del agua con fines agrícolas, y a su vez el único factor que pudo haber generado un aparato burocrático de poder. De igual modo, según esta posición, automáticamente no pueden ser consideradas como "authentic civilizations" las sociedades que no contaron con dichos sistemas de irrigación.

Los resultados de las nuevas investigaciones hacen posible e incluso necesaria la revisión de las tesis anteriores, en especial, en lo referente a la Civilización Maya.

En este ensayo desearía llamar la atención, en torno al hecho de que no sólo la agricultura basada en el sistema de irrigación pudo haber sostenido una sociedad urbana, sino que además el aprovechamiento del agua pudo implicar diversas actividades. Las formas diversas de la economía del agua -- entre otros factores -- podían contribuir a la formación de la Civilización Maya.

La península de Petén-Yucatán, de acuerdo al índice de pluviosidad, puede dividirse en dos regiones marcadamente diferenciadas. La línea divisoria entre las dos sería una línea imaginaria que uniría el río Champoton con la isla de Cozumel. En dirección Sur éstos índices están sobre los 1.000 mm. de pluviosidad anual, aumentando conforme nos

internamos por el Sur /por ejemplo, en los alrededores de Tikal hay más de 2.000 mm./ año /T.P. CULBERT - P.C. MAGERS - M.L. SPENCER, 1978, p.161/. Sin embargo, de la línea mencionada hacia el Norte el índice de pluviosidad anual se encuentra bajo los 1.000 mm., y en ocasiones ni siquiera alcanza los 500 mm. /Progreso: 470 mm./

De estos hechos puede deducirse que en ambas regiones han debido crearse necesariamente distintas formas del aprovechamiento del agua. En el Sur y en el Centro de la Península - según las investigaciones más actuales - el procedimiento de cultivo intensivo más extendido era el cultivo tipo "ridged" o de "raised fields". Este procedimiento consiste en formar en terrenos pantanosos marismas, bajos y superficies de cultivo, levantando lotes de tierra por sobre el nivel del manto freático. El suelo aprovechable así obtenido tendría un estrato en la superficie lo suficientemente fértil y oxigenado. Este procedimiento pudo haber permitido hasta dos cosechas al año, de forma tal, que los canales alrededor de las superficies de cultivo desviaban el agua sobrante en épocas de lluvia, y al mismo tiempo podían proporcionar suficiente humedad a la tierra fértil en épocas de sequía. Como ya señalé, años antes del descubrimiento de este procedimiento, Angel PALERM y Eric WOLF /1957, p. 28/ planteaban y la posible existencia de un sistema semejante al de la chinampa en Mexico Central. Dicha hipótesis fue confirmada después por D.E. PULESTON y O.S. PULESTON, cuando en una publicación

aparecida en 1971 se mencionaban por primera vez "ridged fields" en la zona de los ríos Candelaria y Usumacinta /1971, p. 3334/³. Ellos todavía no reconocían la importancia teórica de los datos proporcionados, al suponer que el cultivo de los terrenos anegadizos había sido simplemente el punto de partida en la conquista de los bosques y la evolución hacia la vida urbana. A mi parecer, no toman en cuenta que este tipo de cultivo significaba un procedimiento más eficaz que el posterior cultivo tipo "swidden". En la década de los 70, se descubrieron una serie de estos terrenos bajos y de riberas de ríos.

Examinando la localización de esta forma de cultivo, la vemos situada en aquellas partes de la Península donde hay permanentemente poca agua y principalmente donde existen aguas estancadas. Según informes actuales el terreno cultivado con esta sistema de drenaje, en Petén, alcanzaba una extensión de 1.250-2.500 km² /B.L. TURNER II - P.D. HARRISON, 1981 p. 1458/. B.L. TURNER II /1978, p. 178/ menciona terrenos "ridged" en el valle de los ríos Usumacinta y Pasión. También se descubrió otro centro de este tipo de cultivo en el extremo de la Península, en las llanuras bajas de los ríos Hondo, Belize y New, en donde existen numerosos terrenos pantanosos /B.L. TURNER II 1978, p. 172/. Otros cultivos menores fueron descubiertos en el curso superior del río New, en los alrededores de Barber Creek. Investigaciones más exhaustivas y completas se han realizado a lo largo de este mismo río, en las cercanías del pantano Pulltrouser,

ubicado a 5-10 kms. de su desembocadura, en un poblado cercano a Kokeal. La cerámica más antigua encontrada en tierra fértil y en el estrato de relleno, data de los 1.000 --400 años antes de nuestra era, y la más tardía a los 600-850 años después de nuestra era. Su datación presenta ciertos problemas ya que existe la posibilidad de que el material cerámico encontrado se haya mezclado durante las labores de preparación de la superficie.

En Belize Norte, la extensión total de los "ridged fields" se estima en 32 km². Se supone que en Quintana Roo Sur, el terreno ocupado por los "ridged fields" es considerablemente mayor. En la zona de Nicolás Bravo, estos alcanzan los 400 kms². /B.L. TURNER II - P.D. HARRISON 1981, p.399-402/. También se han ubicado canales en algunos puntos de la región sur de la Península. Estos canales no serían para el riego sino eran canales de drenaje. La datación de unos de estos canales es también discutible. Así como los canales de 1 y 2 kms. de longitud del curso de los ríos Candelaria y San Pedro, mencionados por A.H. SIEMENS y D.E. PULESTON /1972 p. 235/ son considerados por L.C. MILLET como construcciones del siglo pasado.⁴

En el río New de Belize del Norte han sido identificados dos canales de mayor longitud que conectaban las tierras "ridged" del pantano Pulltrouser con el río. La función de estos canales de 6 y 8 mts. de ancho, presumiblemente era la del transporte y regulación del nivel del agua en torno a la superficie de la tierra cultivable /B.L. TURNER II - P.D.

HARRISON 1981 p. 402/.

El sistema hidráulico descubierto en Edzna, en la zona más seca de toda la Península, también parece haber cubierto tareas de irrigación.⁵ En esta zona el índice de pluviosidad anual es relativamente alto, pero regularmente el agua de las aguadas -- usadas como estanques -- se agota para marzo. La época de lluvias comienza sólo en mayo. Por este motivo se presume que fueron construidos canales de distintas dimensiones y dispuestos en forma de abánico, en las parcelas que rodeaban la ciudad. Quizás se trataba de recoger y conservar el agua para la plantación del maíz que tenía lugar entre abril y mayo. Estos canales son extraordinariamente anchos, de forma que también pudieron ser utilizados como estanques, no obstante que también se han construido depósitos que ayudaban a aumentar la provisión de agua /R. MATHENEY 1978 p. 203/. En la región de Puuc se han encontrado distintas cisternas /por ejemplo la de Labna de 30 cm³./, que sirven como estanques, al mismo tiempo que las plataformas de muchas de las casas, recubiertas de piedras /E.B. KURJACK - T.S. GARZA - J. LUCAS 1977 p. 39/. En su opinión en la zona Norte de la Península tienen que haber existido además otros sistemas de irrigación, ya que si comparamos la temperatura de la región con los índices de pluviosidad /bajo 1.000 mm./, tenemos que las posibilidades de la agricultura de temporal deben haber sido bastante limitadas. En consecuencia, considero posible que se descubran nuevos canales de riego y estanques,

en el futuro.

Los cenotes también jugaron un importante papel en el aprovechamiento de las aguas del Yucatán del Norte, al igual que los servicios prestados por pozos excavados.⁶ En la cercanías de Puerto Felipe Carillo, en Chichén Itza y Dzibilnecac se han encontrado unos cuantos de estos pozos /R.T. MATHENEY, 1978, H.O. WAGNER, 1969/.

Las citadas formas de aprovechamiento de los recursos del agua proporcionan argumentos suficientes para afirmar que éstos no sólo se limitaban a la irrigación para asegurar el agua de los cultivos de temporal, sino que existían otras formas del aprovechamiento del agua, y en la sociedad maya, de acuerdo a su nivel tecnológico alcanzado, se desarrollaron y se solucionaron de forma plena las tareas del aprovechamiento del agua indispensable para la creación y mantenimiento de una agricultura intensiva. Así el término "hidraulic society" -- anteriormente reservado al cultivo basado en la irrigación -- podemos hacerlo extensivo a la Civilización Maya.

Un posible objeto de examen futuro, sería establecer en qué medida pueden estar relacionados estas formas de aprovechamiento del agua con el surgimiento del Estado o la sociedad de nivel urbano en la Península del Yucatán.

Notas

1. La reimpresión de la edición de 1955.
2. Debo señalar, sin embargo, que fue precisamente PALERM quien -- en su ensayo escrito con E. WOLF -- dos años más tarde, postuló como hipótesis la existencia de una forma de cultivo semejante a la chinampa en territorio maya.
3. La literatura especializada, en general, no ha tomado en consideración esta publicación, citando sólo el artículo publicado en 1972.
4. Información personal de E.B. KURJACK.
5. Aunque según E.B. KURJACK éstos también habían sido canales de desvío de aguas.
6. La confirmación de su relación con la agricultura requeriría investigaciones in loco.

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Zoltán PAULINYI:

ON THE HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND
OF TEOTIHUACAN ART

In this brief paper I intend to examine the style of Teotihuacan art and its social context with a historical method. Such a sociological approach to the art of Teotihuacan may seem impossible at first, for its civilization lacks a history based on written sources. In my opinion, however, that consideration can be shown not to be as -- overwhelming as it seems. While this lack does certainly cause serious difficulties, we can turn to modern archaeological research methods as, for instance, the examination of changes in the settlement system and structure. They -- enable us to reconstruct the essential internal interrelationships within the history of Teotihuacan. On the other hand, the objection is certainly justified as far as archaeological research does not provide sources of the same value. What is meant here by "reconstruction of essential internal interrelationships" is the interpretation of archaeological data, which of course is a less firm basis for a research -- than the analysis of written sources. Furthermore, in this way we can make inferences only about overall processes. -- Thus, we can rely on archaeology but we must bear in mind its limits in the work we carry on. Because of the lacunae in our view of Teotihuacan, its style cannot, I believe, be studied entirely. In this work I shall try to find out the reasons behind the general formal characteristics of Teotihuacan style. Even in this case, the final sketch can only be considered as a hypothesis to work with rather than as a series of accurate established

conclusions.

The classical era of Teotihuacan comprises its zenith and its nadir. In terms of the archaeological chronology of the — city, that means the Miccaotli, Tlamimilolpa, Xolapalan and Metepec phases. The art and architecture of Teotihuacan reached its full development by then, and withdrew in the first half — of the era. Most of the relics of this style date back to the times after the Miccaotli phase; the formal characteristics of that style can be summed up as follows¹:

1. The artist of Teotihuacan approaches his task in a way that can be described — using E. PASZTORY's words — as "rational analysis". The artist has a predilection for square, geometric shapes. each particular work displaying a unity made up from — clear distinct elements, that in the extreme cases form a reticular order. He seeks symmetry, strict order and lucid arrangement.

2. The motifs he makes use of appear in a standardized — way, even in different contexts. The wall-paintings of one and the same locality display uniform shapes, being rather common the repetition of ornamental elements without any variation at all.

This keenness for the standard, for stylized and geometrical transformation in fine arts is not isolated. The Teotihuacan of the Tlamimilolpa and Xolapalan eras, being the biggest city in contemporary Mesoamerica with its population of about — 100 000 inhabitants, had a reticular settlement

pattern, too², a street being characterized by right angles and a standard kind of dwelling houses, the apartment compound. The upper class lived in luxurious houses and the lower classes in these poor apartment compounds which became, soon after their emergence, the sole type of dwelling place not only in the city but in the surrounding villages as well.³ As the architectural aspect and the - city structure of Teotihuacan - which show an obvious analogy with its art style - clearly are historical products, they can provide a link between style and history, and cast light on the peculiar processes that characterized Teotihuacan history and its art or, to be more precise, on the formal aspect of its art. What historical factors can explain this situation?

As we know, the first city states in the Valley of Mexico came into being in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The cities of Cuicuilco and Teotihuacan seem to have been the leading powers of the valley at that time. At least half the population lived in the cities, being probably settled around them the villages. Thus, that era anticipated the significant change that took place between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st A.D.: during that time all major localities except for Teotihuacan itself disappeared, as - the great growing city absorbed most of the valley population. - Most probably, Teotihuacan conquered the neighbour minor states - and settled its own inhabitants there.⁴ Strange as it might seem, it is quite natural to think that radical transformation of the settlement pattern is a sign of other changes of the same

importance, as those peoples were parted from their land, their original political structure vanished, and they themselves became eventually parts of the bigger political unit designed by the Teotihuacan rulers, which was at first a single big locality. The new state and city, Teotihuacan, had to be planned and organized, being presumably both of them aspects of one and the same task. During the period of the great settlements, the major part of the - city population lived in separated blocks, which later developed into an urban structure⁵ consisting of five-seven big "districts". As far as we know, this transformation took place mainly in the Tlamimilolpa phase. The apartment compound, the standard type - of dwelling house which was shared by several families, also appeared in the beginning of that phase. Behind the transformation there is, in my opinion, most probably a new organizational unit. It is also possible that the "districts", that displayed a chessboard pattern of apartment compounds, were not mere accidental - gatherings of houses but social units, that is to say, the - co-kingdoms that composed Teotihuacan, as I have tried to point out elsewhere.⁶

No doubt, the result of such a settlement was in many respects a city that no longer was devoted to the individual, but - that on the contrary was a kind of artificial creation, the image of a world organized by the Teotihuacan rulers, a new order - that had never existed before, a social order closely associated with its urban network, with those separate sections drawn with such a great care and strictness, but

which showed and made conspicuous itself by that clear partition: the city provided the -- framework of the organizing efforts of its creators. If we turn to the literature about the relation between art style and history we can, I believe, risk the hypothesis that the analytic, geometrical tendency and standardized nature of that style can, in the last analysis, be explained by the organization process of the classical era society and by the visual form that process -- assumed. Through their experience of this process, it is probable that the generations of artists and/or the ruling class - those giving the "orders to create" - in those centuries became sensitive to the stylized way of representation that imposed an order on the world, but in fact an entire alien order to the own world.

Or, rather, it is because of that experience that they felt a need for it, to begin with. As we do not have any specific - information about the relationships between the artists and -- "those giving the orders", we are not able to say anything about the gap between the endeavours of the former and the demands of the latter. It is beyond any doubt, however, that the artist was working in dependence. It is also clear that the best art of the era, the one which laid down the stylistic norm, can be related with the dwelling houses owned by the upper classes and with the temples. Furthermore, if we recall the evident fact - that its liturgical character is due to that class ruling in a theocratic way, it seems plausible to suppose that their

demands influenced the development of the formal characteristics of the art style to a great extent. If that is the case, then the style that arranges reality into square elements in a reticule of - horizontal and vertical lines discloses a basic feature of the - relation between the higher classes and the world, an attitude - of rational organization and planning.

NOTES

1. In the formal characterization of style I am grounding on E. PASZTORY's study, in which he compares Teotihuacan art with that of - the contemporary Mesoamerican civilizations: "Artistic Traditions of the Middle Classic Period", in Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400-700, E. PASZTORY editor, New York, Columbia University Press, 1978, pp. 108-143. On the recurring shapes of the wall-paintings, vid. A.G. MILLER, The Mural Painting of Teotihuacan, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington D.C., 1973, pp. 46-51.
2. In PASZTORY's account the city structure of Teotihuacan is not - necessarily the cause of the strict, geometric style, but both - may have been the expression of some special ideology. Op. cit., foot-note, 11.
3. The apartment compound is discussed in detail in R. MILLON, "Social Relations in Ancient Teotihuacan", in E.R. WOLF /ed./, The Valley of Mexico, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1976, pp. 215-226.
4. Vid. E.R. WOLF /ed./, op. cit., and the respective studies and chapters in W.T. SANDERS, R.S. SANTLEY and J.F. PARSONS, The Basin of Mexico, New York, Academic Press, 1979. On the early gathering of the villages, cf. T.K. EARLE, "A Nearest-neighbour Analysis of Two Formative Settlement Systems", in The Early Mesoamerican Village /K.V. FLANNERY Ed./, New York, Academic Press, 1976, pp. 206-212.

5. G. COWGILL, "Quantitative Studies of Urbanization at Teotihuacan", in N. HAMMOND /ed./, Mesoamerican Archaeology, London, Duckworth, pp. 388-394.
6. Zoltán PAULINYI, "Capitals in Pre-Aztec Mexico", in Acta Orient. Hung., Tomus XXXV /1981/, Fasc. 2-3, pp. 315-350.

Helena HORTA:

SOBRE LA DOMESTICACIÓN DE LOS AUQUÉNIDOS EN LOS ANDES DEL SUR

La domesticación de los auquénidos parece haberse dado inmersa en la línea misma de desarrollo de los pueblos andinos que desde tiempos ancestrales /10.000 años a.NE. con Gatchi I/ practicaban la caza de estos animales. Por el momento es imposible establecer el milenio exacto en el cual se produjo el traspaso de la caza dirigida al amansamiento de algunos ejemplares, para terminar criando a los más jóvenes. Para BÖKÖNYI /1978:59/ la caza dirigida es "la forma de caza especializada en el exterminio de un animal específico, la que presumiblemente habría conducido a la domesticación de la especie....La caza es convenientemente regulada, en primer lugar con la muerte de los ejemplares machos. Más adelante intentan ya ponerle atajo a las migraciones de las manadas, pero sin llegar a obligarlos abandonar su habitat natural. Es entonces cuando presumiblemente comienzan a apresar y domesticar los ejemplares jóvenes.

En el caso de los auquénidos andinos, al comienzo se practicó la caza indiscriminada de guanacos, que habitando la región andina, se encontraban desde Ecuador hasta el sur de Chile. El guanaco debe haber sido la caza predilecta de los cazadores paleolíticos; a pesar de ésto su caza dirigida no condujo finalmente a la domesticación de la especie. Si nos basamos en la definición del término domesticación que plantea BÖKÖNYI /1978:17/: "...el hombre apresa y amansa ciertos ejemplares de algunas especies que cuentan con características psicológicas especiales, los arranca de su habitat natural y de su comunidad reproductiva, para mantenerlos bajo su control

y criarlos de modo que obtenga utilidad de ellos; por su parte les asegura alimentación y defensa frente a otras especies", vemos que ninguna de estas condiciones se cumplió en el caso de la vicuña y el guanaco, y a la llegada de los españoles, sólo la llama y la alpaca se hallaban domesticadas, el guanaco y la vicuña eran aún especies salvajes /LATCHAM: 1922/.

Lamentablemente, hasta el presente no se han realizado análisis especializados de los restos óseos encontrados en tumbas y yacimientos. Nada podemos asegurar con propiedad acerca de cuales pueden haber sido las especies originales, y cuales las derivadas de éstas /LATCHAM supone que la llama y la alpaca serían derivados de la vicuña y el guanaco/. Lo que si se sabe hasta el momento es que "restos de tipos intermedios entre los auquénidos fósiles y los actuales no se han descubierto" /LATCHAM:1922/. En cuento a restos fósiles, existe el hallazgo de un esqueleto /mina Santa Rosa, Bolivia/ que constituye un tipo intermedio entre el camello y la llama /Macrauchenia Boliviensis/, y la denominación de Macrauchenia Patachonica de Darwin /1884/ para un esqueleto fósil de Puerto San Julián, Patagonia. Este es un punto de la discusión que sólo podrá ser dilucidado cuando se cuente con informaciones precisas acerca de la mutaciones eventuales ocurridas en las especies que presumiblemente habrían sido domesticadas /mutaciones características según BÖKÖNYI son: disminución del tamaño del cuerpo, acortamiento del cráneo, desaparición de cuernos, alteraciones en el tamaño de los huesos y en la com-

posición de la sangre, etc./

El guanaco posee un vello lanoso de 6 a 8 cms. de largo, de color rojo pardo. Del conjunto de auquénidos es el más hurano; en época de celo es agresivo, escupe y combate ferozmente por la hembra. Trepa con facilidad cerros escarpados. Es frecuente su aparejamiento con las alpacas, consiguiéndose entre ellos un híbrido llamado paco-guanaco./1/

La vicuña es de talla más pequeña y pezuñas más débiles, su pelaje es más fino y liviano. Los incas regularizaban su caza cada dos años, puesto que era considerada patrimonio del Inca y se la utilizaba en los ritos de culto al sol.

La alpaca tiene una lana más larga, gruesa y tupida. No se han encontrado especies salvajes de ella, por lo que Latham suponíala descendiente de la vicuña. Rara vez es utilizada como bestia de carga.

La llama es la especie de mayor utilidad: se la usa como bestia de carga, se hace uso de su carne y lana, y su estiércol es abono y combustible. Al igual que los otros auquénidos puede soportar largo tiempo sin beber, incluso es capaz de beber el agua de los salares. Solamente los machos son cargados, desde los 2 hasta los 12 años, soportando cargas de no más de 50 Kgs. Las hembras son reservadas para tareas de reproducción y producción de lana. Tanto la llama como la alpaca necesitan de la intervención humana para llevar a cabo la copulación, ya que el macho posee el miembro encorvado y la hembra, por su parte, cuenta con una vagina muy estrecha. Este fenómeno indica que la domesticación de estas

dos especies es de gran antigüedad, puesto que la sostenida intervención del hombre condujo probablemente a esta deformación. Esta situación de clara dependencia a la ayuda exterior presenta una analogía correspondiente en el mundo vegetal: algunas plantas económicas ya no son capaces de reproducirse solas a través de sus propias semillas, sino sólo por los esquejes enterrados por el hombre en la tierra.

Las crónicas de la época entregan numerosos datos sobre la selección, cría y domesticación de los auquénidos por parte de los incas. GARCILASO DE LA VEGA /1608/ expresa lo siguiente:

"En mis tiempos había en aquella ciudad /Cuzco, H.H./ para este acarreto, recuas de seiscientas, de a ochocientas, de a mil y más cabezas de aquel ganado /llama, H.H./...El peso que lleva es de tres a cuatro arrobas; las jornadas que caminan son de a tres leguas, porque no es ganado de mucho trabajo...Para que no lleguen a cansarse llevan en las recuas cuarenta o cincuenta carneros vacíos, y en sintiendo enflaquecer alguno con la carga, se la quitan luego y la pasan a otro, antes de que se eche; porque, en echándose, no hay otro remedio sino matarlo... La carne de este ganado mayor es la mejor de cuantas hoy se comen en el mundo...Con ser las recuas tan grandes como se ha dicho y los caminos tan largos, no hacen costa alguna a sus dueños, ni en la comida ni en

la posada ni en el herraje...ni otra cosa alguna de tantas como los arrieros han menester para sus bestias. En llegando a la dormida, los descargan y los echan al campo, donde pacen la yerba que hallan ...De la leche del un ganado ni del otro no se aprovechaban los indios, ni para hacer queso ni para comerla fresca; verdad es que la leche que tienen es poca, no más de la que han menester para criar a sus hijos /Cap.XVI/"

"Los Incas Reyes del Perú, entre otras muchas grandezas reales que tuvieron, fue una de ellas hacer a sus tiempos una cacería solemne, que en su lengua-je llaman chacu, que quiere decir atajar, porque atajaban la caza...Mandaba /el Inca.H.H./ que saliesen veinte o treinta mil indios...los que eran menester para el espacio de tierra que habían de atajar...tomaban los ríos, arroyos o quebradas que estaban señaladas por términos y padrones de la tierra que cazaban aquel año...iban dando voces y ojeando cuantos animales topaban por delante, y ya sabían donde habían de ir a parar y juntarse las dos mangas de gente para abrazar el cerco que llevaban hecho y acorralar el ganado que habían recogido...llegados allí, apretaban la caza con tres o cuatro paredes de indios, hasta llegar a tomar el ganado a manos...Las hembras...soltaban luego, porque no tenían lana que les quitar: las muy viejas,

que ya no eran para criar, mataban. También soltaban los machos que les parecían necesarios para padres... todos los demás mataban, y repartían la carne a la gente común; también soltaban los huancos y vicuñas, luego que las habían trasquilado ...Estas cacerías se hacían en cada distrito de cuatro en cuatro años..../Los Incas.H.H./ decían que se había de tratar al ganado bravo de manera que fuese tan de provecho como el manso.../Cap. VI/."

Esta práctica de la caza por cerco deber ser de gran antigüedad, como procedimiento que antecedió a la domesticación de los auquénidos; su posible continuación debe haber sido la captura de animales y su mantención en corrales para consumo inmediato, sin plantearse aún su reproducción futura. Es probable que más tarde, junto con la irrupción del cultivo del maíz y el traspaso a la forma de vida asentada entorno a tierras cultivables, haya sido más cómodo domesticar algunas especies de auquénidos, como la llama y la alpaca, que pudiesen ser mantenidas en tierras bajas, extrayéndolas de su habitat original /Andes/. Más tarde, los españoles con su caza indiscriminada obligaron a estos animales a refugiarse de nuevo en las alturas. /2/

BÖKÖNYI /1978:55-57/ expresa:"El cultivo de plantas económicas requiere asentamiento en un lugar estable, al menos de una parte de la comunidad de cazadores...La otra parte, en

cambio, pudo seguir cazando, lo que debe haber exigido emigraciones temporales de acuerdo a los movimientos de las manadas. Es muy probable, que a la larga, estas migraciones se hayan limitado a establecer un campamento de verano y otro de invierno. En un plazo de tiempo muy corto sin embargo, descendió de tal manera el número de los animales, que se vieron en la necesidad de buscar nuevas fuentes de proteínas animales, situación que se vió solucionada con la domesticación de las especies...El principal objetivo de la domesticación es, por lo tanto, que el hombre consiga independizarse de la suerte del resultado de la caza, que por aquel tiempo, con la disminución de los ejemplares en estado salvaje, empezó a ser cada vez más inestable, y al mismo tiempo, almacene - a falta de métodos de conservación de la carne adecuados - carne viva en forma de animales domésticos".

El tratamiento de los animales en estado salvaje por parte de los incas nos demuestra que la práctica de la caza dirigida y controlada, es decir, la caza de sólo los ejemplares muchos adultos, no era desconocida, pudiéndose haber practicado desde tiempos muy lejanos. Asentamientos del cercano Oriente nos indican la existencia de la caza dirigida, la que en algunos casos, se da en forma paralela con la domesticación. En el poblado precerámico de Asiab /Irán occidental/, el 82 % de los restos óseos corresponden a chivos adultos; también se encontraron aquí las primeras huellas indiscutibles de la domesticación de la cabra: sus cuernos son de tamaño reducido, apenas emergentes. El cultivo de plantas /trigo, cebada, lente-

jas, etc./ de estos asentamientos esta directamente ligado a la domesticación temprana, lo que permite suponer que quizás se haya dado un aumento demográfico provocado por la mayor productividad de las plantas económicas, lo que a su vez habría ocasionado la necesidad de asegurar a través de la domesticación una mayor cantidad de carne para la creciente población.

En lo que respecta al neolítico andino espera aún dilucidación el punto de en que medida podemos hablar de desarrollo paralelo entre el inicio del cultivo de plantas y la domesticación de los auquénidos, o si más bien debemos suponer que fue la caza dirigida y controlada la que condujo a la domesticación, en forma independiente del desarrollo que iba alcanzando el cultivo de plantas /maíz, cucurbitáceas/.

NOTAS

1. El guanaco o huanaco fue el primer auquénido visto por los españoles en Magallanes, Puerto San Julián /1520/, definiéndolo como "camellos sin comba".
2. Antes de la llegada de los españoles habian enormes rebaños de auquénidos, pero su numero disminuyó notablemente al convertirse en alimento de la soldada/véase LATCHAM: "La agricultura precolombina en Chile y los países vecinos, 1936/, además epidemias de tina y "carrachi" /especie de sífilis epidérmica que azotó entre 1544 y 1645/ provocaron casi la extinción de la especie. Por otra parte, una razón más de la despiadada caza que se les dió a los auquénidos, fue la búsqueda de la piedra bezoar considerada por los españoles como antidoto contra enfermedades malignas, que se encuentra supuestamente en el estómago de algunos cuadrupedos.

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Tonyan KHALLYHABBY:

ARTE RUPESTRE BRASILEIRA

A arte, expressão cultural humana, resulta da necessidade de manifestação física das percepções sensoriais das realidades física e metafísica. O conteúdo formal depende das circunstâncias temporais do meio-ambiente, ao mesmo tempo que, sujeito à evolução de temas e técnicas, inferidos por estilo próprio, sugere alteração contínua.

Assim, sabemos que o Homem, a mais de dois milhões de anos, domina a forma como instrumento utilitário de comunicação sócio-político-religiosa, capaz de representar a sua imaginação direta com a Natureza que o cerca. Da necessidade atávica de sobreviver e perpetuar a espécie, na sua evolução histórica, criou instrumentos de caça e pesca, armas de defesa pessoal e utensílios domésticos; desenvolveu técnicas de construção de abrigos periódicos e, no auge de sua tentativa de integração plena com o meio-ambiente, criou objetos de adorno e símbolos que lhe conferiam ligação direta com os animais que desejavam utilizar, caçar, imitar ou cultuar durante os seus rituais festivos ou fúnebres. Essas ligações não significavam que o Homem acedia à condição de ser mais fraco, mas sim à de ser tornar invencível pela adição das forças da Natureza à sua própria.

É evidente que o momento artístico, involuntário, limitou-se ao átimo de criação; a seguir, a reprodução dos objetos, situa o Homem no plano artesanal. A partir daí, desenvolveu técnicas de execução que o fez criar os mais diversos instrumentos de ampliação dos seus poderes.

Naturalmente, praticou a modelagem em argilas variadas,

esculturas por lascamento, picoteamento e alisamento, e a arte de gravar e pintar sobre elementos perecíveis e rochosos.

A arte rupestre manifestou-se através de elementos gráficos, hoje pouco conhecidos no seu sentido, pois expressam idéias de sociedades primitivas. Ao lado duma representação figurativa naturalista, tendo como tema principal os animais, desenvolveu-se uma arte não-figurativa nascida, quer da estilização duma forma natural, quer do desejo da experimentação de técnicas que permitiam reproduzir, sinteticamente, as suas idéias. No caso de símbolo convencional, a idéia transformada em sinal, tem por objetivo ser entendido por certo número de indivíduos; mas, se esse sinal busca expressão introvertida, não visa mais do que satisfação própria experiencial do seu produtor. Porém, temos que considerar uma alternativa, ainda que vacilante: a simples projeção decorativa de suas idéias em analogias formais, sem inferições conceituais desta ou daquela espécie.

Não podemos incorrer no erro da analogia sistemática, isto é, querer comparar inscrições de diversos países, cujo desenvolvimento histórico não é compatível com o brasileiro. Falharíamos ao querer, por exemplo, realçar as semelhanças entre as figuras da Gruta de Singapura, na Índia, com as da Itacoatiara de Ingá /Paraíba/, no Brasil.

Embora concordemos que por representações esquematizadas, o Homem chega a inculcar idéias interpretáveis pela sua gente, isto, também, não é suficiente para admitirmos, como o

tentam alguns autores, que seja a tentativa dum sistema de escrita baseado em pictogramas, isto é, exemplificando, como nos tempos atuais, na nossa cultura, as placas sinalizadoras do trânsito, transmitem idéias interpretativas com facilidade convencional, porém, não têm a estrutura duma linguagem social sistemática. Através de tribos remanescentes, sabe-se que alguns símbolos encontrados em painéis de pinturas rupestres, têm significado semelhante ao das placas de trânsito, isto é, expressam, não um significado único, introvertido, mas sim uma idéia contextual, tal como, melhor dizendo, a idéia de Deus, para nós. Em diversos casos constatamos a presença de figurações antropomórficas, não só em painéis, assim como em troncos de árvores vivas e, ocasionalmente, desenhadas no solo, que representam Mamaés, seres sobrenaturais relacionados com a Natureza e, às vezes, com alguma categoria da vida social. Tal é a infinidade de Mamaés, que tudo, além de animais, plantas, estrelas, pode ter um Mamaé; até um instrumento utilitário tal como a pá de virar beiju /bolo de massa de tapioca ou mandioca/ pode ter um. Entre os waurás, encontramos um ente ao qual denominam Apasa, e entre os Meinacos, ambos de cultura xingwana, verificamos a presença dum ser ao qual chamam Papanheem.

Outros símbolos, tais como os de significação astronômica, também podem ser interpretados de maneira duvidosa, pois além da inferição astral propriamente dita, podem ter significado puramente religioso, isto é, sem técnicas de astronomia, visto que é conhecido o fato de diversas tribos adora-

rem o Sol, a Lua, etc., como entes sobrenaturais. Pelo alto respeito demonstrado pelos indígenas que se deparam com painéis gravados ou pintados, temos a nítida impressão de que essas inscrições têm um íntimo sentido religioso, visto a alusão deles a deuses e ao Grande Espírito /Tupã/, que teriam realizado as inscrições.

Em conjunto, todas as figurações que ocorrem em elementos rochosos, em todo o Brasil, representam grupos complexos, onde cada grupo contém uma certa classe de representações, o que demonstra desigualdades, não só de intenção e objetivo, mas ainda de autoria e cronologia.

O parco conhecimento sobre arte parietal, gerou as mais variadas teorias sobre as suas prováveis mensagens. A mais defendida delas é a que confere às gravuras e pinturas, contextos mágico-religiosos. Outra teoria, diria que não seriam mais do que o retrato do seu cotidiano, com as cenas de caça, dança, etc.

Hoje, é mais plausível unificarmos as duas teorias, visto que, na maioria das gravuras e pinturas analisadas, verificam-se elementos que nos levam a crer nessa unidade inferida pela dualidade matéria-espírito. Infelizmente, a interpretação dessas expressões, será, sempre, subjetiva, devido à dificuldade de se descobrir o significado da sua concepção figurativa. Evidentemente, o único caminho que se nos oferece, analiticamente, é o que nos leva a perceber, através de elementos cronológicos, a evolução temática e técnica da arte parietal.

Sobre a metodologia do estudo das inscrições rupestres, pode-se dizer que grande importância são a prospecção e a documentação em campo, para o estudo e análise de gravuras e pinturas. Além disso, a descrição detalhada do sítio escolhido, com coleta de informações sobre o suporte rochoso, seu estado de conservação e cronologia relativa baseada nas superposições das figuras e nos estilos, assim como nas pátinas originadas pelo intemperismo sobre a rocha-suporte; ainda, a temática, quando informa sobre atividades humanas, flora e fauna extintas.

Portanto, para classificar e documentar um sítio de inscrições rupestres, é necessário analisar todos os dados da área em estudo, seguindo alguns esquemas primários como a sequência exposta a seguir:

DESCRIÇÃO DA LOCALIZAÇÃO DO SÍTIO

- Estado, Município e região.
- Topografia.
- Pinturas inseridas em: laje de pedra, paredão de abrigo-sob-rocha, parede interna de gruta, nicho pétreo ou fragmento rochoso.

APRESENTAÇÃO DAS INSCRIÇÕES

- Determinação da altura que se acham as inscrições.
- Técnicas de representação: desenhos geométricos /traços filiformes, formas pectiniformes, zig-zags, círculos e semi-círculos, triângulos, quadrados, retângulos, losangos/, figuras

antropomórficas e zoomórficas, cenas de caça e dança, cenas de parto e fecundação humana e animal.

- Colorido /monocromáticas e policromáticas/:
brancas /carbonato de cálcio decomposto e tabatinga/, pretas /carvão e dióxido de manganês/, ocre-amarelo /limonita/ e ocre-vermelho /óxido de ferro/.

ANÁLISES TÉCNICAS

- Análise química dos pigmentos para coloração.
- Análise das técnicas instrumentais para gravar e pintar.
- Análise tipológica: grupos /anfíbios, aves, mamíferos e réptis/, tipos e sub-tipos, formas de corpo e dimensões, contornos /simples e pontilhados, delgados e espessos/, perspectiva do corpo, movimento aparente, posição em relação ao conjunto, associação espacial, descrição da cena, posição na superposição, animais dominantes e animais complementares.
- Análise quantitativa: número de figuras e frequência.

COMPOSIÇÃO DO PAINEL

- Associações.
- Classificação dos estilos /pessoal, grupal ou regional/.
- Definição dos estilos.

- Interpretação setorial.
- Interpretação geral.

MÉTODOS DE REGISTRO

- Fichas técnicas descritivas.
- Cortes topográficos.
- Croquis.
- Moldagens.
- Decalques.
- Plantas de grutas e abrigos-sob-rocha.
- Fotografias.
- Datação relativa: carbono 14 e termoluminiscência.

As culturas indígenas atuais colaboram no estabelecimento de comparações através de documentação etnológica e etnográfica.

O MUPA-Museu Paulista de Antropologia, através de seu Departamento de Arqueologia, tem demonstrado o seu empenho contribuindo para a constatação e verificação de sítios com inscrições rupestres, e trabalhando para a preservação do registro cultural da pré-história brasileira.

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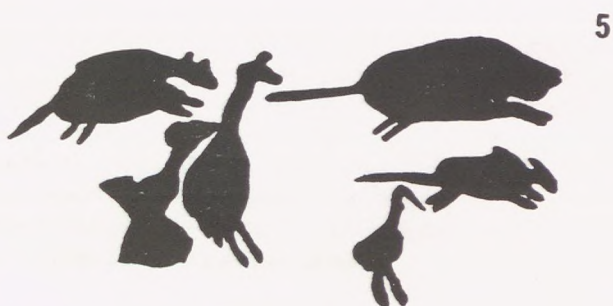
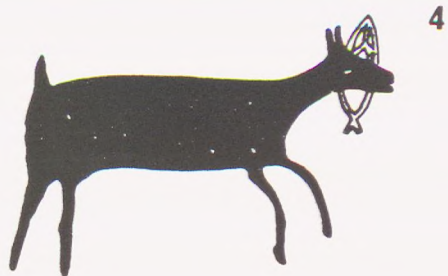
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3. Figuras zoomórficas. Cérca Grande, Minas Gerais.
4. Veado e Peixe. Cérca Grande, Minas Gerais.
5. Conjunto zoomórfico. Cérca Grande, Minas Gerais.
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7. Desenhos geométricos. Sumidouro. Minas Gerais.
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11. Figuras na Lapa do Dragão. Minas Gerais.
12. Figura zoomórfica. Letreiro. São João Batista do Glória. Minas Gerais.
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14. Desenhos geométricos. Letreiro. São João Batista do Glória. Minas Gerais.
15. Gravuras em Pedra. Piracicaba. São Paulo.
16. Antropomorfo ictifálico. Gruta do Balé. Minas Gerais.
17. Figuras zoomórficas. Gruta do Maquiné. Minas Gerais.
18. Cervídeos flechados. Serra do Cabral. Minas Gerais.
19. Veado e Grades. Lapa Pintada. Minas Gerais.



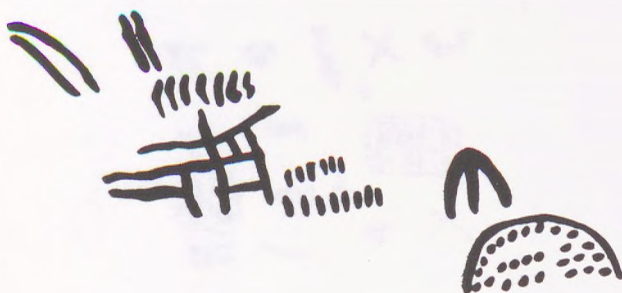




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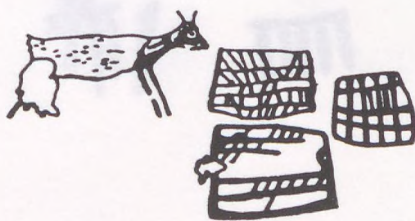
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Géza KÉZDI NAGY:

CERAMICS AND TEXTILE ART
OF CHANCAY CULTURE
IN ANCIENT PERU

THE ARCHEOLOGICAL RELICS OF
THE PERUVIAN CHANCAY
CULTURE
IN NAGYKANIZSA (HUNGARY)

In 1981, the Thury György Museum of Nagykanizsa obtained a peruvian archaeological collection. The collection was presented to the museum by a sculptor, **András Osze**, the son of the town, who lives now in New York. He had been collecting the pieces of his collection throughout many years in Peru, presumably with the help of experts. The most important area of collecting was the Chancay-basin and the surrounding territories.

When the author of the present paper offering his help to the museum took an inventory of the collection and - in connection with this work - studied its pieces at length, it was not accidental at all that he chose exactly the relics of the Chancay culture as a collection worth publishing. The reason of it is that this culture was considerable not only in regard of its quantity but also of its quality: the finest pieces and those in the best condition all belonged here. At the same time, another decisive argument was the manifold character of the collection, and the great variety of its pieces. The collection has got a few fine relics of other cultures too - for example those of the Nazca, Vicús, Chimu, Ica, Paracas - but these were represented only by a few nice potteries which together did not form an organic set of finds.

The material of finds of Chancay-basin contained 18 unbroken earthenware vessels. Seven of them were earthenware pitchers whose design and paint in most cases were distinctly visible..On each jar there is a reddish brown paint

on a sand-coloured basis. The first big-bellied jar /Picture 1., 82.1.1. height: 29,7 cm and $\varnothing$: 11,3 cm/ is decorated with finely painted birds, geometric ornaments and wavy lines. On both sides, above the handles there can be seen modelled figures of birds which were presumably placed on the vessel subsequently by application or by some adhesive /sticking??/ technique. The second big-bellied earthenware vessel /Picture 2., 82.1.2., height: 29 cm and $\varnothing$: 7 cm/ the diameter always refers to the orifice/ has also got two handles, and a little modelled sitting figure that leans against one of these handles. The lower part of the jar is completely painted, while from here up to the neck it is decorated with lines and stripes. Its neck is latticed by painting. The rim of its orifice is fragmentary. The third big-bellied pitcher /Picture 3., 82.1.10., height: 27 cm and $\varnothing$: 4 cm/ has its two handles at the neck, and its surface is divided into smaller parts by heavy and thin lines in which there are textile-like or latticed motifs. Unfortunately, the vessel has become pressed in at the belly, its side has cracked, the rim of its orifice has also become dented and fragmentary. The fourth painted earthenware vessel /Picture 4., 82.1.11., height: 24 cm and $\varnothing$: 6,3 cm/ has two applied figures of little animals /guinea-pigs?/ under its neck. Apart from the lower part, its surface is covered with geometric design. There are two bigger handles on the two sides of the pitcher, a little bit lower than its middle. And it has got also two little handles, on both sides, under the orifice. Before

this vessel was given to the museum it had already been restored; the break lines are easy to notice. The fifth painted earthenware pitcher /Picture 5., 82.1.9., height: 20 cm and $\varnothing$: 7,2 cm/ with its flaskshaped, salient rim of orifice is very different from the other pieces. Its handles are quite little in size. It is decorated with stripes and ornaments, and in the medial parts painted birds can be seen. The paint is very thick and contains some vegetal remains. The sixth painted, big-bellied earthenware pitcher /Picture 6, 82.1.34., height: 16 cm and $\varnothing$: 8,5 cm/ has got two handles. It is fragmentary, on its belly there is an indent, it is cracked, and its bottom is holed. The reddish brown paint on the yellow basis is worn. The seventh painted, big-bellied earthenware pitcher /Picture 7, 82.1.8., height: 21 cm and $\varnothing$: 10 cm/ has two larger, arched handles at the neck, and near to one of them there can be seen an applied earthen cat's head. Its neck is cracked, the rim of its orifice is very fragmentary and has become dented, the reddish brown geometrical motifs under its belly are very worn. Apart from this narrow streak the rest of the surface is unpainted.

Among the two earthen cups the one which can be seen in Picture 8 is undoubtedly the finer. /82.1.3., height: 19 cm and $\varnothing$: 8 cm/. The vertical stripes on the surface of the vessel is decorated with triangles with points in the middle. Its lower part is painted reddish brown down to its foot. Round the rim a linear pattern can be seen. On one of its

sides there is a little handle, while onto the opposite side the earthen figure of a bird is applied. Its foot was presumably attached to the vessel just subsequently. Its rim is fragmentary. The wall of the lengthy pitcher is quite thin.

The other earthen cup is much stubbier and its wall is thicker /Picture 9,82.1.35. height: 7,8 cm, and $\varnothing$: 10,3 cm/. It is worn, and its almost friable sand-coloured surface is decorated with thickly painted reddish brown geometric patterns. Around its rim, belly and bottom heavy, dark lines can be seen.

Another fine piece of the collection is the jug that can be seen in Picture 10. /82.1.13., height: 18 cm and $\varnothing$: 9 cm/. Only its rather longish neck is decorated with the reddish brown painted geometric patterns which seem to be the products of a freer artistic fantasy as they are different from the precisely drawn geometric motifs of the other pieces. On one of its sides there can be seen an earthen figure of a man wearing a headdress which is applied to the jug in the shape of a handle. On the other side of the neck is the remains of another handle. Three of the four earthenware vessels, which all have inverted rims, are painted, and fortunately, the one made with the finest technique has survived in the best condition. /Picture 1.82.1.40., height: 7.2 and $\varnothing$: 9 cm/. The surface is divided into little parts with heavier reddish-brown lines and these are filled with parallel, slanting stripes and wavy lines.

Its lower part is completely painted. Right under the rim there is an unpainted streak where an applied monkey figure can be seen. The other earthen vessel of the similar kind has got a little bit fragmentary rim and its patterns are much simpler; between the two heavily painted lines there is only one wavy line. /Picture 12. 82.1.39. height: 7 cm and 12,5 cm/. On both of its sides there can be seen two applied fragments, they were perhaps birds. The paint of the third pottery with inveted rim is slightly worn; fishlike geometric forms were painted among the reddish brow, lines. On both sides, under the rim we can find handle-like forms. The earthenware is slightly fragmentary. The fourth pottery of this kind is unpainted, or if it used to be painted then this today cannot be noticed because the spots on the surface might be the colour of the basic material as well. /Picture 14, 82.1.4., height: 6 cm and $\varnothing$: 6 cm/. It is in a very bad condition: its surface is almost friable. Its baking must have been insufficient. On one of its sides there is a little fragment.

The only earthenware dish of the collection /Picture 15, 82.1.5., height: 6 cm and $\varnothing$: 18 cm/ unpainted. Its rim is inverted, its surface is sand-coloured and it has been restored.

The finest piece among the potteries is the earthenware flask /82.1.12., height: 23 cm, $\varnothing$: 7 cm/. At its neck - which is painted reddish brown - there are two handles resting on its shoulder /??/. Round its belly there are

geometric ornaments, lines, loops, holed stripes. Its rim is fragmentary. Two of the potteries are figural, having the shape of a man. The man-shaped painted earthenware in Picture 17 /82.1.38., height: 23 cm and $\varnothing$: 7,3 cm/ originally had two handles, but one of them has broken off. The handles connected the figure's head with its shoulder. On its back tied round with a band there can be found a little applied earthenware monkey. Behind the head there is another handle too. Round the belly of the pottery there is a stripe full of geometric patterns, mainly triangles. In front, under the decorated stripe we can find two little fragments. The figure also has a headdress and the handle of the pottery starts out from the ear of the figure. The other man-shape earthenware vessel is perhaps the finest piece of the whole collection. /Pictures 18 and 19, 82.1.41. height: 24 cm and $\varnothing$: 8,6 cm/. This is the only pottery where the paint on the sand-coloured/white/ basis is still seems black. The figure has got a little vessel in his hands and the handle can be found behind. On both sides the figure has got round, painted ear ornaments which refer to the wearings of the time. The eyes are drawn round with clear, sharp lines. The little pieces applied in a regular semicircle round its forehead can be considered as a headdress. /5 pieces/. The nose and the mouth are just slightly worked out. Round its neck in a wide stripe there is a necklace-like ornament that consists of little pieces like grains of maize, in five lines, very close to each other.

The rim of the pottery is slightly fragmentary.

Besides the earthenware vessels, a little earthen statuette belongs to the collection too also having its origin from the Chancay-basin /Picture 20,82.1.42. height: 14 cm/. The statuette is sand-coloured and unpainted. There are geometric patterns round his headdress and three holes have been bored through its top. Perhaps it could be hung up. It is very similar to those earthenware statues of Chancay style that were found in Ancon.

The author of the present paper had the opportunity to survey the precolumbian collection of the Ethnographical Museum of Budapest, with three ceramics belongs to the Chancay culture. The figural earthenware vessel in Picture 21 /78.126.2., height: 50 cm and Ø: 11 cm/ is painted reddish brown on a sand-coloured basis, but in some darker places this paint is almost black. The face is painted and worked out. Round the forehead the applied pieces-resembling again a headdress, - are very similar to those shown by Pictures 18 and 19. The figure holds a little earthen vessel in his hands that are applied on the body starting from painted lines. The second statuette, the pride of the Museum, can be found in the Peruvian collection /Picture 22,73.162.46, height: 64,4 and its width is 39 cm/. On the sand-coloured basis the hands and the head is decorated with reddish brown paint, the other parts of the body remained unpainted. It must be the figure of a woman, as in the case of the one in Picture 20. In both cases the sexual charac-

teristics are emphasized. On the basis of some former investigations we may suppose that they actually represent the figures of certain goddesses. The head of the statue is worked out elaborately, the headdress consists of different geometric patterns. Three bored hole on the top can be found here again. The third piece of the Museum's collection is also a figural earthenware vessel. /Picture 23,73.162.54. height: 29,3 cm/. It is a double pottery /??/, it has got a pouring spout and an arched, connecting handle. On the other side of this handle we can see an earthen figure. The vessel is unpainted, and it was made of cream-coloured clay.

Now we are trying to find certain parallel features among the Chancay potteries of both the Nagykanizsa and the Budapest Museum. In 1973, in Schallaburg, we had the opportunity to see the archeological exhibition which was assorted from the materials of the museums of Lima, Cuzco, Ica, Lambayeque and other, European towns /Vienna, Berlin, Munich/ as well as from private collections. The experience we gained there in connection with the exhibited relics of Chancay culture can be very useful in our present work too. The collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde of Leipzig and the international special literature also helped our work. A parallel piece of the big-bellied earthenware vessel in the second picture was described by WILLEY /WILLEY, 1971, p.169. fig. 3-105./. It is owned by the American Museum of Natural History /height: 25 cm/. A similar figural pottery

to the one in Picture 17 could be found among the Chancay collection of Schallaburg too. /In: Peru durch die Jahrtausende, Kunst und Kultur im Lande der Inka., Niederösterreichische Landesaussstellung 1983., p. 343. Catalogue number: 10.4./ The height of an alpaca on its back. This pottery is owned by the Museo Nacional de Antropologia y Arqueologia, Lima. /55034/ The vessel, forming the shape of a man in Picture 24 is again quite similar to the above-mentioned pottery. It is owned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig. /SAM 7.017/ on the body we can see scraggy arms and legs which were marked by painting and modelling. /height: 30 cm/. On the basis of certain typical stylistic features, the man-shaped vessel in Picture 18 and 19 resembles the one exhibited in Schallaburg under the catalogue number 10.1 /height: 48,7 cm Ø: 26,5 cm/. It is also owned by the Museo Nacional de Antropologia y Arqueologia, Lima. /54593/. Comparing the earthenware statue in Picture 22 with other pieces we could find more than one parallel. Here belongs, for instance, the pottery owned by the Peabody Museum /WILLEY, 1971, p. 169., Fig. 3-106., on the left/ or the one exhibited in Schallaburg having the catalogue number 10.6., which both are startlingly similar to our piece. The geometric ornaments on the fillet of the statue exhibited in Schallaburg is absolutely similar to the one that can be found in Budapest. The height of the former one is 66 cm width is 19,5 cm. / Owned by RAÚL APESTEGUIA BRESCIANI, Lima/. Both pieces represent the figure of a

woman similarly to the one in Picture 22.

The collection of the Museum in Nagykanizsa also contains 20 different textiles or at least their fragments. These pieces can be seen in Pictures 25.-34. /82.1.101. - 103. and 82.105.-121./ A few words about their dimensions: the length of the shortest one is 4,2 cm and its width is 2,7 cm. The longest piece is 56 cm and its width is 6,5 cm. Six of them are pieces of textile belts or fragments of woven belts. There are also six woven fillets, seven different pieces of fabric and open-worked textile and one embroidery. Mainly brown, purple, yellow and red yarn was used. Brown is represented with many shades. The figures appearing on these pieces are men, fish or birds or sometimes they are geometrical patterns. Unfortunately, most of them are frayed, fragmentary and their weave is very simple. Only one or two of them are close-woven and these remained in better condition. It is mainly certain ornaments that deserve special interest. /See Pictures 25., 28., 29., 33., and 34./ Among the textiles exhibited in Schallaburg we could find some pieces which were very similar to the ones that are owned by Hungary. Their catalogue numbers: 10.13, 10.11, and 10.12/. These relics belong to the collection of the Museo Amano, Lima /R 0131, R 0175 and R 0046/. /They are 67, 36 and 32 cm wide and 88, 245 and 53 cm long./ Similar figural ornaments can be found on the polychrome textile owned by the Museum für Völkerkunde /Leipzig/, where the figures are surrounded by geometric patterns. /BOGLÁR-KOVÁCS, 1983.,

Picture 208./ In the Peruvian collection of the Ethnographical Museum of Budapest I could find only one textile that represented the Chancay culture. It is a puppet put together from different pieces of textile /70.131.1. height: 30 cm/. This figure was sewn together from brown, red, yellow and black texture.

The river valleys of the Central Peruvian seaside territories are those areas that are under the influence of the Chancay culture.

Scrutinizing this Chancay collection we can distinguish several styles and archeological periods.

- Pictures 1-5 Late Period; Chancay Black-on-white
- Pictures 6-7 Chancay White-on-red /Early Period/
- Pictures 8-13 Late Period; Chancay Black-on-white
- Pictures 14-15 Late Chancay, Plain white
- Pictures 16-19 Late Period; Chancay Black-on-white
- Picture 20 "Late Ancón II" - Chancay
- Pictures 21-22 /The collection of the Budapest Ethnographical Museum/Late Chancay/
- Picture 23 /The collection of the Budapest Ethnographical Museum/ It is said to have been found at Pachacamac, but its origin is quite doubtful, so possibly it is just a counterfeit

The experts of Peruvian archeological cultures use more than one term in connection with a given style or archeological period of Chancay pottery. Quite often, these

terms are very unlike and the opinions about the number of periods and styles may also differ. Examining Chancay pottery GORDON R. WILLEY stresses:

"There are two pottery style zones in the Central Coastal subarea during the Late Intermediate Period. The better known and northerly of the two is the Chancay. Found in the Huaura, Chancay, Ancón and northern Chillón Valleys, the style is often referred to as the "Chancay Black-on-white". It may have some prototypes in the "Black-white-red Geometric" style that preceded it in these same regions, and "Black-white-red Geometric" was in turn part of the "Epigonal" development of the latter part of the Middle Horizon. However, the Chancay Black-on-white is a highly distinctive style in its own right. It is a white-slipped /although sometimes this white is almost a dirty lemon-yellow./..... In the southern Chillón, Rimac, and Lurín Valleys the Huancho style is the contemporary of the Chancay. Huancho pottery is related to the Chancay style, although its principal color scheme is a white-on-red painting." /WILLEY, 1971., p.168,170./

SAMUEL K. LOTHROP and JOY MAHLER publishing the Zapallán material of finds, have distinguished five different groups of ceramics and fragments. These are as follows:

- "1. White and Black on Red
2. Red, Black and White Geometric
3. Black on White
4. Plain White

5. Plain Red" /LOTHROP and MAHLER 1957.,p.5./

As for the chronological settling, the time of appearance of White and Black on Red group is connected with the Nazca A style, but the same style can be found on the potteries of the Proto-Lima period and also appears on classic Tiahuanaco vessels. The pieces of this group were mainly found in the Chancay and Chillón Valleys, but were also collected in the Rimac, Chilca and Mala Valleys.

The interesting thing about the group of Red, Black and White Geometric style found also in the Chillón, Chancay, Ancón, Rimac and Piscó Valleys is that similar pieces were found in the distant Virú Valley on the north and at Moche, not far from Trujillo. LOTHROP and MAHLER dated this group on the basis of the excavations of MAX UHLE as the finds of post-Mochica and pre-Chimu age. The Black on White style was found in the Chancay, Huaura, Chillón and Ancon Valleys and is characteristic of the late period of the central coast.

The Plain White ceramics were unearthed primarily in the Lurin Valley, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Pachacamac. It is also a late period.

According to LOTHROP and MAHLER, the Plain Red pieces found at Zapallán are mainly the products of Chillón Valley.

/LOTHROP and MAHLER 1957.,pp.5-9./

WENDELL C. BENNETT distinguishes three different pottery styles of the early period of the Peruvian central coast. These are: the White on Red and the Interlocking

styles and the early culture of Lima. The late period he connects with the Chancay Black-on-White style. /BENNETT 1946., pp. 96-99., and 138-139./

ALFRED L. KROEBER criticized Dr. JULIO TELLO for his chronological classification of the archeological finds of Teatino, and he gives a detailed analysis of the cultural layers defined by Tello. In connection with the Teatino findspot, he set up the following order:

4. Sub-Chancay, with some Chimu influence
3. Interlocking
2. Classic Black-on-white Chancay, with Red-White-Black Geometric and UHLE's Epigonal
1. Incised, unpainted Chavin

Of course, KROEBER's opinion was different: "This sequence is so contradictory to the sequences of UHLE, STRONG, and myself for the region that an examination of the situation is necessary."

We think that now it is enough to refer to his views on the third cultural layer, because this seemed to be the most obscure one:

"That "Interlocking" should come next is, however, incredible in view of the precedence of this ware to Black-on-white Chancay, B-W-R, and Epigonal at UHLE's Chancay site E, and the confirmation of this precedence in WILLEY's stratigraphic test pits at the same side. Surface sherds and several vessels left by huaqueros as unsalable /Pl.21, D/, fortunately showed what Dr. TELLO meant by "Inter-

locking". It is not at all the Interlocking of UHLE's myself, STRONG and WILLEY, but a particular expression of R-W-B Geometric.

This expression tends to occur on the upper part of flattish oval jars, and the design, following the rounded form of the vessel, substitutes curved triangles for the small dotted rectangles which occur in diagonal rows in the typical R-W-B Geometric of the region. Slip and colors are those typical of R-W-B, not of the much more somber "Interlocking".

/KROEBER 1944,p.44./ BENNETT stresses that: "At one time, the more elaborate Interlocking style was thought to precede the White-on-red." Fortunately, this was made clear before long, with a good stratigraphic line./BENNETT 1946.p.98./

In the processing and representation of the MAX UHLE collection the Chancay material occupied an important position. In his presentation of the material of the five findspots /La Mina, La Calera de Lauren, La Calera de Jegoa or Jecuan, Huaral Viejo Hacienda Guando and Cerro de Trinidad, all in Chancay Valley/ he distinguished the following groups of style: Black-on-white pottery, Red-White-Black or Three-color Geometric ware, and Epigonal, White-on-Red Chancay, and Interlocking. /KROEBER 1926.pp. 266-290./

Here we have to mention that the reminds of Chancay pottery can be found not only in the publication of Chancay material of finds: as WILLEY has pointed it out /WILLEY 1971. p.192. note 275./, the ceramics called "Late Ancon II" by STRONG, also belong here. /STRONG 1925.pp. 139-144/.

Questions may also arise in connection with the actual territory of this culture of several layers of style; to what extent did it occupy the river valleys of the central coastal area; how large was the territory it actually controlled? At the same time certain experts provide interesting data and statements. For instance, DONALD A. PROULX summarizing his archeological research-work in the Nepeña Valley, during its Late Intermediate Period /900-1476.A.D./ and in the cultural region of Chimú, enumerated the so-called Nepeña Black-white-red style in the first phase, and Nepeña Black-on-white style in the second one. The Chimú Blackware appears at the end of the period and settled on its predecessor.

"... In addition there is another pottery style, perhaps earlier than the Chimú ware, which developed in the valley perhaps due to influence from the outside. This new style, which I am calling the Nepeña Black-on-white style, develops from Nepeña Black-White-Red, which in turn had Middle Horizon affiliations /PROULX 1968.p.33./

Where do these two styles originate from, and how did they get to the Nepeña Valley? According to PROULX:

"The origins of the Nepeña Black-White-Red style remain unknown. It evolves into the Nepeña Black-on White style of the Late Intermediate Period, and this latter style seems to have certain affinities with the Chancay Black-on-White style to the south as well as having possible connections with the highlands. I have separated Nepeña

Black-White-Red and Nepena Black-on-White on the basis of seriation. Future research may prove that the two styles really form one continuous unit; present evidence suggests their separation." /PROULX 1968.,p.41./

"...As suggested earlier, the closest stylistic relationship of Nepena Black-on-White style, but the exact nature of this relationship is not known at this time." /PROULX 1968.p.42./

Still we don't know whether this many-coloured, varied culture in the river valleys of Peru's central coast, which we usually call Chancay, represented such a homogenous state on the eve of Inca conquest, as the Chimu Empire, or the Ica-Chinca culture in the south. According to WILLEY: "This sharp stylistic division within GARCILASO's "Cuismancu kingdom" is an argument against its reality as a political unit". /WILLEY 1971.p.170./

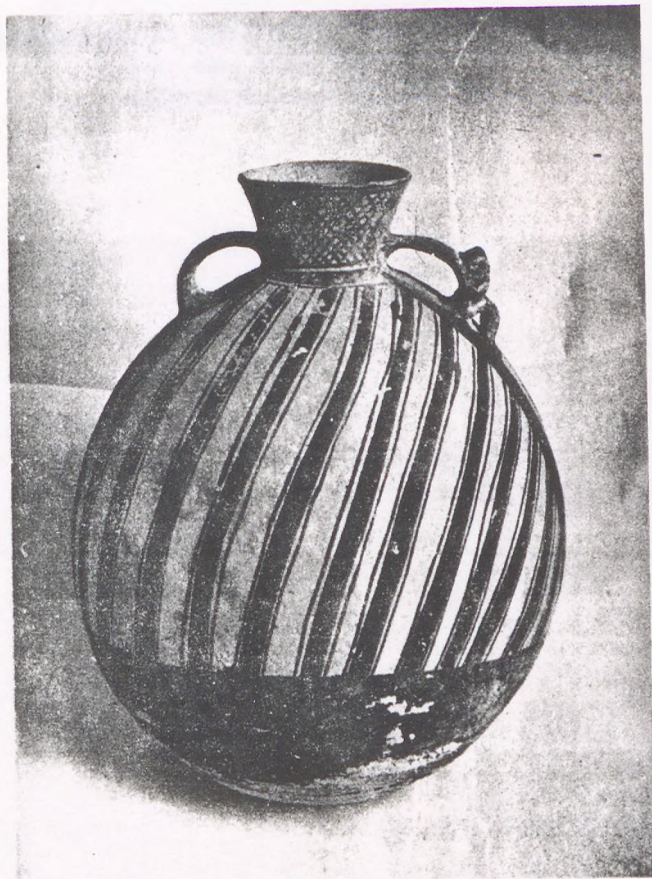
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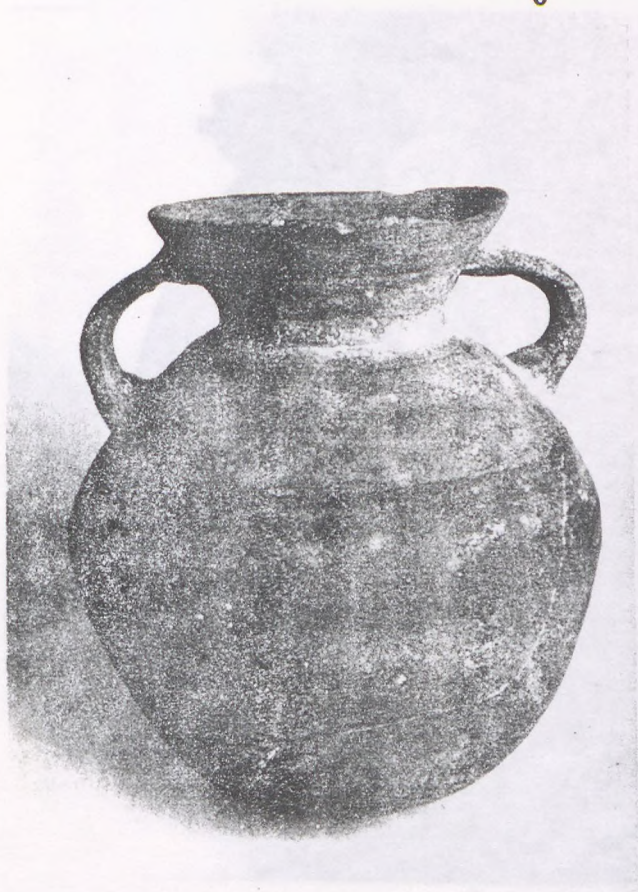








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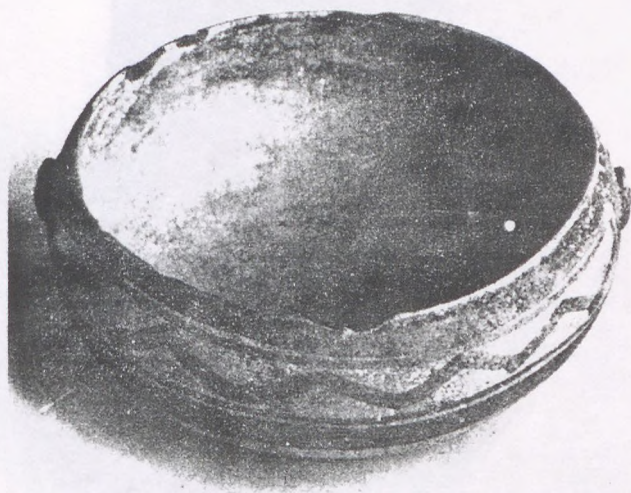




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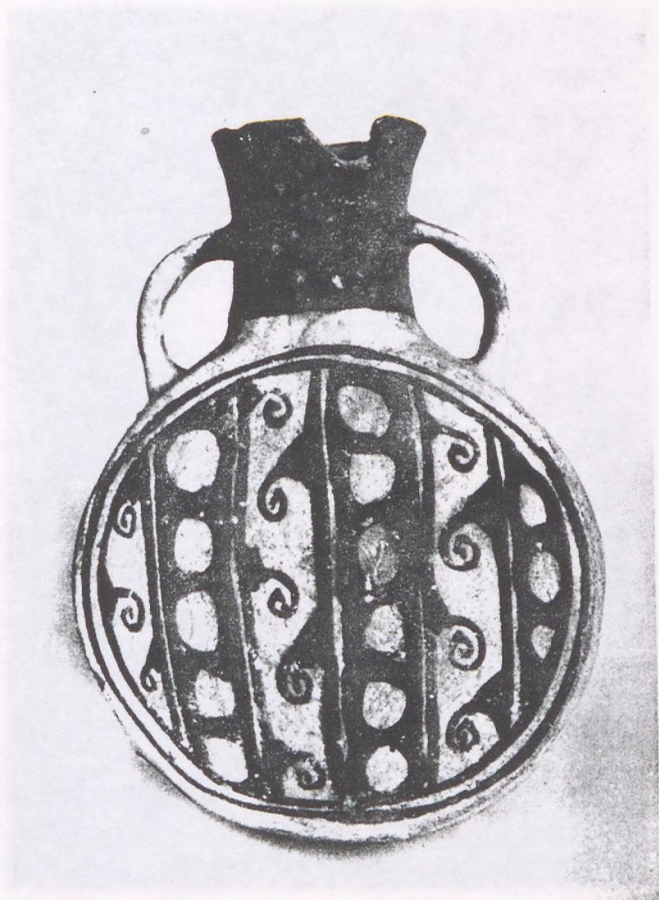


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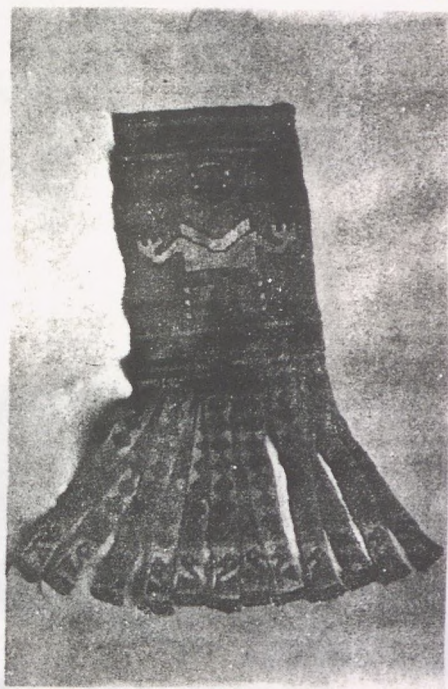
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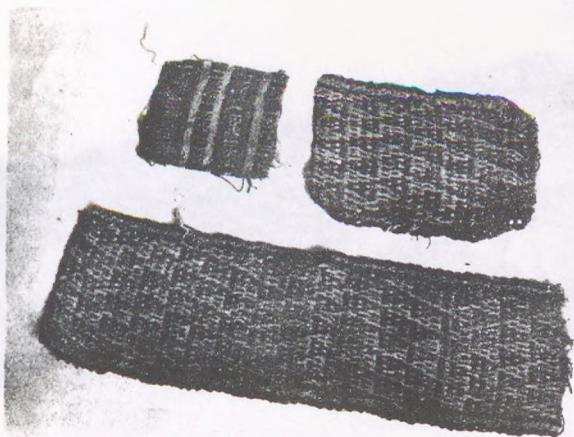
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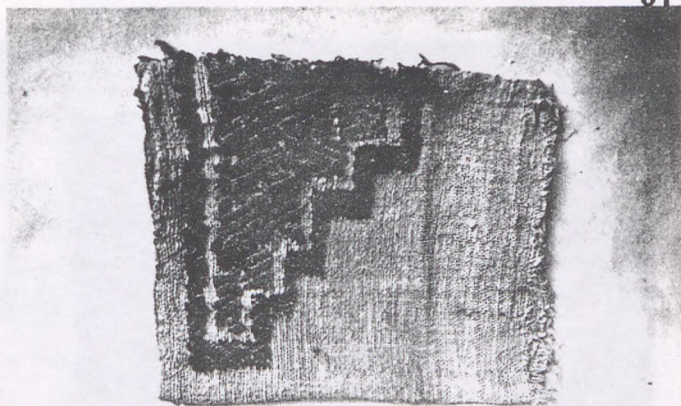
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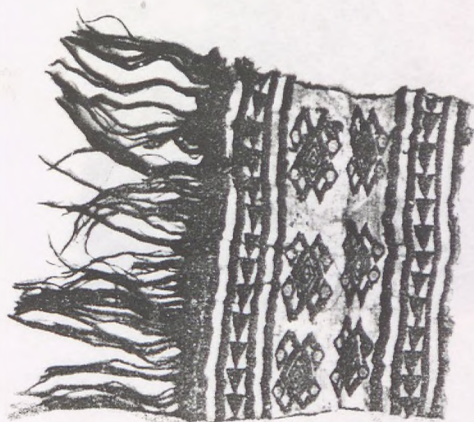
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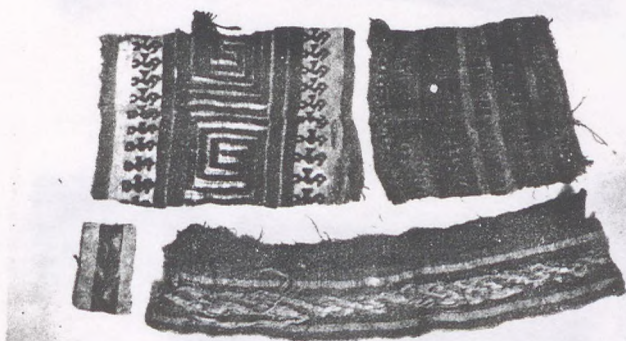
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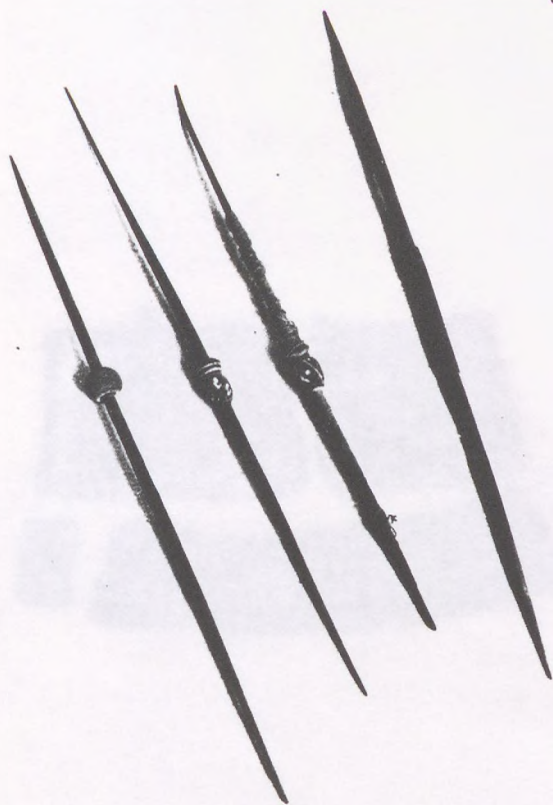


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1. MAP



Historical and Ecohistorical Studies

Critics, Essays

Judit BENKŐ:

**THE MEETING OF PEOPLES AND
CULTURES IN LATIN-AMERICA
AFTER THE CONQUISTA**

After the discovery of America, people from three continents met on the actual territory of Latin-America. During the following centuries, their fate was to be connected once and for all. The American Indians, the Spaniards, and the Africans each represented not only different main races but also different, though equally abundant, cultures of people arriving with various ways and stages of social development. And as the population of Latin-America became more and more characterized by the interbreeding of races and ethnic groups /the ethnogenesis of "mestizo", "mulatto", etc./, its cultural development was also determined by "trans-culturation"¹, the combination and interaction of cultural heritages.

On the basis of my research into Latin American cultural history, I am led to this conclusion almost directly. Nevertheless, I find that in special literature - apart from some fields of ethnology - discussion of the problem of interbreeding appears only occasionally, as connected to some partial themes, and not as a fundamental ordering principle in the elucidation of the peculiarities of Latin American cultural development. We cannot explain it only with the shortcomings of the empirical search for materials. Certain theoretical-methodological reasons seem to be much more important, for instance, the fact that positivism in Latin-American historiography and cultural history writing maintains so steadily that even the representatives of other

intellectual movements - e.g. the Marxists - cannot withdraw themselves from its influence. In addition to this there are still some more remarkable attitudinal factors that hinder acceptance of the phenomenon of "mixing races" as a scientific ordering principle.

The interpretation of the discovery and the estimation of the role and the consequences of the Conquista have been the subjects of bitter and passionate debates from the very beginning. How could it have been otherwise? From the point of view of a 16 th century Spaniard, "the discovery of the Indies has been the greatest event since the Creation, apart from the creator's incarnation and death"². For his American Indian contemporary, the "anonymus tlatelolcoean" it meant something else:

"We were crushed to earth,
we are lying in ruins.
Only grief and pain,
And nothing else remained in Mexico and Tlatelolco
where, once, beauty and valour prevailed."³

The opposition of the colonists and the oppressed natives, the outcry against the atrocity of the conquest and, on the other hand, the claim to justify the ideology of the Conquista, the fight between Spanish power and its European antagonists, all, from the very beginning of the 16 th century, led to totally contrasting evaluations, among which the most tendentious, extremely one-sided accounts were the so-called "white" and "black" legends judging either from an apologetic

or from an unfavourable point of view.

The international special literature is dealing with these questions even today; the "historical debate" is still going on, even in Latin America. Even in the present century there have been some evaluations whose authors argue quite similarly to the forefathers of the "white legends". The Brasil AUGUSTO DE LIMA, for example, favours the past effluxion of American precious metals which "made possible the raising of the living standards of those peoples who were able to develop"⁴. The Mexican JOSÉ VASCONCELOS, as opposed to Yankee expansionism, glorifies the Conquista as, "the noblest kind of universal and generous humane crusade", which, according to him, acquainted the Indians not only with useful animals, plants and different tools, but also with individual freedom, legal protection and national unity⁵. On the other hand, today some anti-imperialist trends not only criticize - rightfully - the "hispanophile" apology, or, at least, its partiality, but, appearing as the successors of the "black legends", they come to far-reaching conclusions. HUMBERTO PÉREZ, for instance, urged that "the European - and mainly the Spanish - conquest and colonization crushed the natural development of the Latin-American aborigines, and made an end of their future possibilities... Thus, the assertion that the Spanish conquest - in spite of its havoc and institutional exploitation - meant progress for the Latin-American people by establishing a higher economic and social system and effecting the development of the productive forces,

is not acceptable at all."⁶ According to LEONARDO ACOSTA "the acknowledgment of Spanish superiority, at least in connection with its technical level, and the opinion that it was Spain that connected America with the universal history mean silent agreement with the Eurocentric observation of the world and history."⁷

The exposition of MARX in his article "The British Rule in India" may be a guiding principle in the critique of the pre-cited and related one-sided views: "It is true that England had base interests in the provoking of the Hindustani social revolution, and that it enforced these interests in a foolish way. But that is not the point. The question is whether the human race would be able to carry out its designation without a fundamental revolution in the state of the Asian society. If not, then England, whatever sins it may have committed, was an unconscious means of history."⁸

The critical examination of the legends from this point of view would itself demand a separate essay. Here I would rather approach the issue indirectly. On the basis of the accumulated facts relying on those internationally significant accomplishments in Latin-American studies that Hungary has achieved in fields of different disciplines⁹, I am trying to indicate some crucial points of the Pre-Columbian process which may be important for the further investigations of cultural connections.

1./ The Conquista and the colony: a trial of strength of peoples and cultures

From the West European point of view, the discovery of America at the turn of the 15th-16th century was "inevitable". The scientific, technical and intellectual conditions without which it would have been impossible to become acquainted with the whole world were coming into existence, and the interest in new territories was further urged by the pressure of certain circumstances, like the closure of traditional ways to African gold, to India, etc. The quick succession of the circumnavigation of Africa /1487-88/, the first expedition of Columbus /1492/, and the undertaking of Magellan /1519-21/, all show that whereas the discovery of America may have had and really did have coincidental elements, it was almost inevitable that the seamen "scattering" in every direction all over the world ran into this gigantic continent.

Nevertheless, the American societies, even the highly developed ones, were in every respect unprepared for such events. And it was only one element of those differences in development and productivity that appeared after the Spanish arrival between the social forms existing side by side in America. For the aborigines, this important change in world history was equivalent to tragedy. As the discovery - at the wish of the arriving strangers /and mainly their employers/ - turned into conquest, the prosperous Indian societies sus-

tained military defeat; the Conquista was followed by the extension of the Spanish - Portuguese colonial empire.

Undoubtedly, this confronted the aborigines /and in a short time the Africans, too/ with heavy ordeals. But it was also a tremendous shock for the relatively "well-prepared" Europeans. We do not deal here with those intellectual consequences that the discovery of the New World meant for the whole of Europe. Let us see what happened to those people who arrived in America, who became participants in a unique venture unparalleled with anything that had happened before. Because never before had a conquest of such a great dimension taken place on such an unknown territory, on the other coast of the ocean, with forces so little in number, and so far from reinforcement and the security of home. How did they react? Considering the circumstances and the numerical proportion it would not have been surprising if they had acclimated to the American Indian way of life. Under pressure - in the captivity of the natives - it could readily occur; but such a choice of a freeman was an exception worth recording. Such was the case of GONZALO GUERRERO who, when CORTÉS sent an envoy to set him free, answered: "Here I have got married, I have three children, and if there is a war I am looked upon as a "cacique", as a leader." "However much /his compatriot/ spoke to him and rebuked him, he did not want to leave the place."¹⁰

And what about the others? The vicissitudes of the expeditions, the mysteries of a strange world, the often

hostile nature and mainly the desperate attacks of the natives recurring from time to time, all left their marks on the little groups of the conquerors. They rarely gave proof either of the undiminished enterprise /"they are extraordinary men...half Vikings, half apostles"¹¹/ or of the moral superiority with which the white legends attributed them with so much prejudice. When even the enticement of El Dorado did not prove to be enough, their leaders made them proceed by force: CORTÉS, for instance, eliminated the possibility of a return by wrecking the ships. Revolts and retirements also occurred. Also there were situations which snuffed out the last gleams of inhibition in the conquerors, who were described by MADARIAGA as "especially civilized people"¹². We must not, though, think only of the massacres, the obviously frequent cruelties. As is revealed by contemporary chronicles, what also occurred was the same which was believed by the contemporary and later authors to be one of the chief arguments for the verification of the rascality of the natives: the conquerors ate man, or to be more exact, beset by hunger, they ate their comrades.¹³

Amidst the fighting, privation and horror, the Spaniards could realize to what extent their superiority depended on the means that were produced by their own culture. And though they won after all, the mere knowledge of this fact left its mark on their attitude for a long time, and redoubled their insistence on the monopoly of the means that strengthened their ascendancy. It is enough to refer to the

great number of applications and proposals that were sent by them to the Crown: let the natives be forbidden, e.g. animal keeping, let those ones be punished who "attach too much value to the acquisition and knowledge of military equipments"¹⁴. And soon, decrees were passed which forbade the slaves the use of firearms, even if they used it by the order of their masters.

Before dealing with the further questions of the Spanish adaptation, we have to examine what the conquest meant to the subdued.

In connection with the number and the mortality rate of the Latin-American Indians in 1492, there are many very disparate appraisals. Comparing the years 1492 and 1650, the American DOBYNS and THOMPSON estimate 77-80 and 3,5 million American Indians; the Spanish VICENS-VIVES monography 11,3 and 8,4 million. According to the venezuelan ROSENBLAT, in 1492 there were 14.579.500 Indian inhabitants in Latin-America. All of them agree that until 1650 the aborigines of the West-Indies practically had died out; but the estimations differ very much in connection with other territories. Concerning Mexico, for instance, the American COOK and BORAH estimate a 95 per cent death rate /from 25 million to 1 million/ between 1519 and 1607; on the other hand, according to ROSENBLAT and the VICENS-VIVES the number of the inhabitants was reduced from the original 5,8 and 4,5 million to 3,4 million by 1650.¹⁵

One does not have to be very experienced in historical

demography to see that the estimations of the American authors not only misrepresent the dimensions of the Conquista but, almost make it hard to believe that there are still Indians, what is more, millions of them, still living on the Continent. On the other hand, on the basis of the present-day territorial distribution of the Indian inhabitants, it is not likely that the death rate was similar in the Antilles and, for instance in Mexico... It would be quite unlikely even if we thought - as the above-mentioned authors did - that the main and most important reasons for the destruction were introduced illnesses and the wars of extermination. Without undervaluing the importance of these phenomena, I would rather agree with the opinion according to which the development of colonialism affected the aborigines much more destructively than viruses, though, of course, it had different effects on the different peoples...

After they had recovered from the first shock, the American Indians' natural reaction against the invaders' effort for power was to fight, nomatter what level their social development was at. A great number of participants, witnesses and historians gave account - either with deep commotion, with hostility, with sympathy or with appreciation - of the individual and collective resistance which flared up all over the continent. But the armed combat could go on for a relatively long period of time only at the borders of the colonial empire: the Chilean Araucanians were suppressed only in the 17th century, the Pampa-Indians were

defeated even later. On other territories, the active resistance was broken down much earlier and the retaliation coming after it continued the decimation of the natives.

After the defeat, the American Indians' only choice was either to adapt themselves, as a brutally exploited social class and ethnic group, to the developing colonial order, whether they could survive, or not. In deciding this question the level of these peoples' social and cultural development was a very important factor. This was felt even in the 16th century. The Popayán Indians - says CIEZA DE LEÓN - " had no masters to terrorize them. They are sluggish and lazy and, above all, they hate serving... which is quite enough for them to keep away from the subjection to foreign peoples". On the other hand, "the Peruvians serve well, and they can be made submissive, because... they were subjugated by the Inca kings, to whom they paid taxes,...and they were born to live this way".¹⁶

In other words, the colonial compulsion to work and the foreign domination, which introduced feudal elements, produced different effects and confronted different degrees of tolerance among the peoples who lived in primitive society where, until then, the primitive agriculture could cover only a small part of demand, and among those peoples of higher cultures who had already been living in class society and who had already been able to accumulate surplus products. Presumably, their better-developed communal, etc. relations contributed also to the higher stage of their adaptational

disposition, cultural resistance, and to their greater chance of survival. However, by the beginning of the 17th century, among the physically and psychically more defenseless, more exposed peoples of the West Indies, the prophecy of LAS CASAS had come true: the encomienda plunged them into a subhuman level of life, "but they mustn't stop even here, they mustn't stop until they have come to nothing, until they have been annihilated."¹⁷ To the physical and psychical burdens of the cruel colonial exploitation, to the diseases, the famine, and to the revolts and retributions, mass suicides, an unwillingness to bear more children and other tragic reactions were added to the hopeless situation. And there is one more element: for them there was no opportunity even to retreat, because the Spaniards could rake the islands much more easily...

But on the continent the last possible defense against adaptation to the colonial order was often "trooping out". Not only nomad tribes, but also settled peoples - among them some communities of the defeated empires - tried to hide themselves. This is how CIEZA DE LEÓN describes the tragic escape: the American Indians, "when the Spaniards begin to beset them, burn down their own houses,... and settle down one or two miles away, and build up their houses within three or four days; in the meantime they saw the necessary corn,... and if they are hunted again they leave this new place, too, and move along or turn back".¹⁸ They hid themselves in more and more distant, more and more impassable areas, affording

increasingly poor living conditions. And the difficulties of existence, persecution, lack of the optimal volume of community, and isolation gradually deprived these communities not only of the chance of progress, but also of the culture they already possessed; they were "reprimitivized", falling back to a lower level of development.

The slaves who were imported from Africa had quite similar alternatives. The estimates of their number also vary greatly, so here I would like to mention only some specific characteristics.

The condition of the Africans in Latin-America, as compared with their original circumstances, changed more radically than in the case of the American Indians. The American Indians, mainly in the mines, perhaps often had to do harder work than the Africans. But the Africans definitely and completely lost contact not only with their original way of life, but also with their companions, who spoke the same language, and shared the same culture. They had to acclimate to the new natural conditions and to get introduced-at the bottom of the hierarchy - to the colonial order simultaneously. These all contributed to the fact that, according to many authors, the "utilizable time" of the slaves transported to America was generally very short - five, seven or ten years at best.

The hopelessness of their condition and their sole stimulating belief, that after death they would rise again in Africa, explain why a great number of them committed

suicide. But their typical reaction was either adaptation or some more active forms of resistance: revolt or escape.

Though the African slave-trade came upon people who were standing on different levels of social development, those who got to Latin-America had a capability for adapt which was not entirely as diverse as in the case of the American Indians. In part, the reason for this might have been that the slavendders tried to obtain the "most useful articles"; moreover, Spanish royal decrees prohibited the importation of manpower from among certain ill-famed "wilds" to the New World. But it seems to be much more important that these wretched people were split up and divided individually amongst slaveholders; they got into a linguistically and also culturally heterogenous slave community. Being left to themselves, as a matter of course, they had to adapt to the given conditions, as opposed to the members of the American Indian communities, who, nevertheless, were in possession of a certain internal defense. They learnt the

European language quite quickly, partly because they needed it to be able to communicate with their fellow sufferers, and partly because it was the will of their masters. And, as Ortiz recognized¹⁹, in slave communities usually the highest African culture - for instance, the culture of Yoruba in many places of Cuba - became "standard": those who were wrenched from other cultures tried to take it as a pattern, they tried to assimilate it.

All over Latin-America, the history of the slave

revolts is as old as the introduction of slavery: in the West Indies, for example, revolts took place beginning in the 16th century. Though the rebels from time to time found allies for themselves - either the American Indians or those Europeans from other countries who set their eyes on the Antilles-these lesser or greater revolts were always followed by defeat, just as in the case of the American Indians. The slave revolts - excepting the revolution in Haiti - did not cause a decisive turn in Latin-America.

The other typical form of African revolt, the escape, had its own peculiarities, too. The lurking escaped slaves, the cimarróns, tried as far as possible to form groups, and in their hiding places they established communities often similar to free societies. They tried to cover their demands /dependent on circumstances, this meant agriculture, animal-keeping and/or looting or the extortion of the neighbouring people/ and to organize armed self-defense. Some of these communities, which were set up after African patterns, were unbelievably insubordinate. The Palmares "kingdom" in north-eastern Brazil had been driving back the attacks of the Portuguese and Dutch expeditions for long decades before it surrendered in 1693. The confederation of the Surinamean Bush-negroes, which was organized at the beginning of the 18th century and which still exists, proved to be even more refractory. In a strange way, this community did not "re-primitivize", though, of course it was more or less kept back in its development. They have preserved those social forms of

organization which had been typical on those African territories they had left behind. They have preserved and even developed some of those tools and cultural elements which they had either salvaged from Africa or adopted from the Europeans and American Indians in America.

So certain forms of the resistance against adaptation to the colonial order resulted in the further decay of subdued ethnic groups, while other forms led to the survival and formation of ethno-cultural units which were and continue to be existing, like "petrifications", for centuries in colonial, and later, independent Latin America. The existence and the insecurity of these communities place heavy responsibilities upon the present societies and they raise a series of questions of the unsolved or simply inhumanely solved problems. But the development of Latin America after the Conquista did not proceed on that track towards which the victims - driven to the social periphery - were constrained.

2./ The striving of the Crown after the safe possession of the colonies

In examination of the main currents of Latin American cultural development two very important questions often arise. The first is: how did the peoples and cultures, which met and were connected in the 16th century, influence each other? The second is: what kind of contact took place between the whole area and the contemporary European currents of uni-

versal development? With these questions in view, it is worth examining the conception of the Spanish Crown in connection with three different problems: the first is the adaptation of the ethnic groups to the colonial society, the second is the insurance of cultural and ideological rule, and the third is the external relations of the colony.

Let us begin with the last question and with that global-strategic conception in the spirit of which the motherland tried to defend its empire from rivals. Within this problem what really deserves attention is not so much the aspects of the military defense /for which, by the way, the Crown had good reasons/ as certain other factors that were deeply rooted in the economical-social specifics of the previous Iberian development, and which all took a direction towards isolation, towards the reduction of the external relations of the colonies. This was also promoted by the commercial policy which assigned an intermediate role to the motherland not only in the connection of the colonies with the world market but even in trade between viceroyalties and captaincies. About this endeavour and its consequences /e.g. that the capital and the profit of the trade between the peninsula and America were falling into foreign hands/ the hispanist literature draws a true picture for us. Another part of the same concept was that the Crown, after some time, tried harder and harder to exclude people of foreign nationality and religion from its colonies. At first, the Jews, who had been expelled from Spain in 1492, in return for duty,

were allowed to settle in the New World, but in 1518 they were exiled even from there. In addition to the Spaniards, Italian, Portuguese and Greek people all took part in the conquest, and Charles V, in 1528, gave authority even to German creditors to conquer and settle in America, though later he repealed it because of the abuses of rights. But the law of Philip IV, in 1621, decreed the expulsion of foreigners from America, making an exception only for certain handicraftsmen. This was followed by the expulsion of the Jesuits, etc. The decree, issued in 1801, also imposed enormous taxes on those who wanted to settle in America.

This attempt at seduction and isolation manifests itself also in one of the chief elements of the cultural-ideological concept of the Crown; namely, that it eagerly persecuted - together with its ally and means; the colonial inquisition - the foreign intellectual trends and foreign ideas. IRVING, in his book titled Los libros del Conquistador, similar to other authors, tries in vain to justify the cultural policy of the colony. It is shown even by the original sources he published how the clerks of the Holy Office rummaged in the commercial ships searching for secret caches of books; how they looked through the books to make sure that the harmless covers did not conceal dangerous contents; how they sent the suspicious consignments to the inquisitional centre of the viceregal residences; and how they showed interest not only in the books but also in the senders and addressees. From the 18th century on, beside the vague category of "heretic

literature" - to which belonged not only religious and theological writings but also scientific works that were against the ecclesiastical dogmas - more and more often appeared the category of "subversive literature". And it is worth mentioning that already in the 16th century there was a special index of books for American use that contained the titles of such - mainly belletristic - books /among them, e.g., Don Quijote/ that were not subject to restrictions even in the motherland.

The exclusion of foreign relationships /the intellectual and cultural aspects of which afflicted primarily the settled colonists; the "American Spaniards" /simultaneously and during different periods served manifold purposes of the security policy. Among the internal factors during the two centuries after the Conquista, the effort which deserves special attention is that which aimed at the strengthening of the monopoly of Catholicism, not only for religious but just as much for political reasons. The words of SOLÓRZANO PEREYRA, a 17th century statesman, prove the same: "the heresy, the disposition and the obstinacy of those belonging to other religions are so dangerous that if we do not make them perish root and branch they may be poisonous not only to religion but it may totally spoil and overthrow the political standing of the empire too....For this reason, none of the properly governed Catholic republics may allow the diversity of religions."²⁰

In America, the chief task was more than the preserva-

tion of Catholicism from the influence of those religions which were well-known in Europe. First of all, the colonists had to enforce Catholicism against the local religions. Of course, conversion and, at the same time, persecution, the blotting out of the relics and signs of the ancient Indian and African religions, were the chief aims of colonial expansion from the first years of the Conquista. Later, certain aspects of it should be examined in more details. Presently, I would like to emphasize only that the Crown regarded the influence of the heritage of the ancient - mainly the American Indian - religions as very dangerous, and not only for the aborigines and the Catholic Spaniards but also for the clergy. The same conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the accounts and records of the first spectators - mainly missionary priests and monks - which dealt with the life, customs and "heathen superstitions" of the American Indians, were kept secret already in the 1500s and buried in archives for centuries. Moreover, according to the injunction of Philip II. from 1577 on even the Spanish monks were forbidden to write about them. /These records were considered so dangerous that even in the 19th century the readers of these writings might have come into conflict with the inquisition - what is more, in Madrid and not in America!/

As time went by, the strictness with the American Indians became more and more pronounced. The relatively tolerant decree which was issued in 1530 according to which the "good customs" of the American Indians had to be "preserved"

if they were not contradictory to Catholicism, was replaced by a new one, in 1578, that declared that the Indians had to be educated in Catholic spirit, "making them forget the errings of their ancient rites and ceremonies".²¹ In 1621, the Jesuit ARRIAGA proposed that the visitadores who examined the religious life of the Peruvian Indian villages should have had a certain Constitution accepted that - among other things - would have declared that "from now on the men and women of this village will never, on any occasion, play the drum, dance or sing in the old way... they will not sing even those songs that previously were sung in their mother tongue".²²

So the function of the forceful missionary work was more than the solution of a simple religious problem. The real aim was to suppress, to efface - peacefully or violently - the memory of that cultural heritage which, among the American Indians, could have kept alive either nostalgia towards the past or, consequently, the spirit of rebellion. Another consequence of the same concept was that in the 18th century, after the revolt of Túpac Amará II, the book of the "Inca" GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, titled Comentarios reales de los Incas /1609/, was suppressed, and every retraceable copy of it was ordered confiscated because "the natives can learn many destructive things from it".²³ However, very few of the American Indians would have been able to read these works, because they were written in Spanish language. However, from the 16th century on, American Indian colleges were estab-

lished in Peru and in Mexico where students were taught on the level and in the spirit of the contemporary Spanish universities. The opportunity, though to learn in one of these institutes was provided only to the "caciques", the members of the American Indian "nobility". Aside from them, very few people could learn reading and writing in the "reducciones", vicarages and monastic schools. /The possibilities for the slaves were even more restrictive: for them, the law ordained only religious education, the adoption of Christianity and regular participation in the services./

The social adaptation of the ethnic groups was determined by the fact that after the discovery, the Spaniards could have either traded with or conquered the American Indians. They chose the latter, and this determined the fundamental social relation between the colonist Spaniards and the Indians. In the 16th century the passionate debates about the Indians /whether they have spirit or not, whether they are born slaves or not, whether the missionary work gives right to subjugate them or not, etc./ left their mark on the royal standpoints and mainly on the their reasoning. But it was not only the arguments of those who supported the American Indians that affected the Crown, when, in 1542, it passed the New Law, which, to a certain extent, protected the American Indians and their collective lands. It was much more important that the colonists realized that the Indians meant labour power and that they were taxpayers. Drawing a lesson from the tragic fact that the West Indies had almost lost its

population, they found that the natives had to be defended from the tyranny of landlords. This defense /which, in reality, was quite insignificant - if not in law, then in practice/ made easier, to some extent, the life of the American Indians. But it did not touch upon - and it really did not want to touch upon - the Indians' position in social reproduction or, still less, their rise from this position. The situation of the African slave was much worse, and was worsened by the fact that the "rightfulness" of his slavery was never even disputed until the end of the colonial age. According to SOLÓRZANO PEREYRA, for example, it was not right-ful to sell an American Indian as a slave because he was strained into slavery by force. But one was allowed to buy an African slave from a Portuguese tradesman "because, in this case, we act in good faith, supposing that the Africans sold themselves voluntarily or that they fell into captivity in just war between their own tribes".²⁴

On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, the condition of the peoples who were brought together in America appears rather as a social than an ethnic problem. But there were also a great number of legislative questions that dealt with the problems and relations of these peoples as the members of different ethnic groups. The American Indians were never qualified as slaves, and, though just sporadically, the opportunity for the Africans to be liberated individually was provided relatively soon. As for these peoples' rights, from the 16th century onward, many discrim-

inative laws and decrees were passed to the injury of the American Indians and the blacks, generally separating the case of the slaves and the freemen. These laws, for instance, limited their freedom of movement, settlement, the carrying of arms, the wearing of clothes and jewels, and the freedom of learning. As regards for their relation to each other, the original idea of the Crown was obviously to isolate the ethnic groups, to preserve, as far as possible, the "clear formula of races". After the Crown had thoroughly studied in the 1550s, for instance, the social organization and taxational system of the former Indian empires in a search for elements worth adopting, at the end of the century it put into force separate "republics" of the whites and the American Indians, or more accurately, their ethnic conglomeration, and recognized the Indian communities - which had already been "conformed" to the colonial order-as the bases of the American Indian "republic". This meant that in the country the American Indians and the Spaniards lived in separate settlements, while in the towns the American Indians lived in isolated districts similar to the Moorish and Jewish quarters of Castile. In connection with the biological relation of the ethnic groups, as early as the beginning of the 16th century the marriage of Spaniards and the Christianized Indian women was allowed. /At first it was presumably urged due to the lack of European women./ At the same time, a great number of laws and decrees forbade, e.g., an African-Indian marriage, though among the slaves the proportion of

women was low for a long time, too.

With knowledge of the existence of such laws and practices that cruelly afflicted the subjugated ethnic groups, certain authors have arrived at the conclusion that, already at the beginning of the colonial age, a kind of "modern" racism, based on biological reasons, was flourishing in Latin America. In contemporary sources one can really notice some blindly malicious viewpoints that remind us of racism in the modern sense of the word. In a peculiar way, these remarks were often made by the clergy. Nevertheless, it seems that the Spaniards /both officially and individually/ kept in view the traditional, ancient and medieval way of discrimination /civilized or barbarous, Christian or heathen/ rather than racialism. The discriminative, isolating regulations, at least, did not contain such motives. But - if we examine the question from an emotional point of view - they were rather based on an aversion which can be explained through the historical antecedents of the motherland; chiefly by the social-ideological phenomenon that, during the 700 years of Reconquista, the Spaniards became aware of their "clear Christian origin", which they could preserve through centuries and which made them susceptible to form castes. But certain administrative endeavours /e.g., the defense of the American Indian and the ruling Spanish minority, the reinforcement of the taxational order, etc./ and the claim to guarantee the privileges of the conquerors were also essential.

So segregation was a chief aim and also a main tendency

in practice. But the course of events, starting with the Conquista, made this question more complicated than it had been imagined. Now I shall dwell on some problems of it.

3./ The ethnic amalgamation

There are a lot of reasons for the phenomenon that, from the very beginning, the biological interbreeding of ethnic groups was spreading almost irresistibly in the New World. Studies dealing with the question usually explain it with reasons such as the lack of women, the ruling position of the conquerors as opposed to other ethnic units, the loose life of the clergy, and a kind of natural curiosity. The reasons mentioned by Wittman indicate the possible motives of the mixed marriages, namely the appealing independence and resolution of the American Indian women and the victory of personal affection over the traditional Spanish marriage burdened by feudal customs.

Since the evaluations in connection with the proportion of interbreeding are very different - and it cannot be otherwise because of still-existing prejudices, the uncertain criterions, etc.- I mention only a few data as a kind of indication of the chief phenomena. According to a partial census in 1514, the Spaniards not only had sexual relations with the American Indian women but they often also married them. The document mentions 64 such cases among 684 Spaniards. The VINCENS-VIVES monography states that in 1570, the total

number of the negro, mestizo, and mulatto inhabitants of the Spanish colonies was 230 000, and the number of the "mixed-blooded" in 1650 was 584 000 /the number of the Europeans was 118 000 in 1570 and 650 000 in 1650/. In 1570, according to Rosenblat, 100 000 mestizos lived in Peru together with 38 000 whites and 2 million American Indians. In Chile /as other sources declare/ there were 20 000 mestizos, mulattos and negroes, half a million Indians and 7000 Spaniards.²⁵ However questionable and - in light of still more, different confronting sources - contradictory these data are, they all indicate the significant quantity of the mixed races.

The Crown, of course, noticed this also, and passed new decrees classifying these new ethnic formations. In the case of an illegitimate child, the status of the mother was authoritative - so the child of an Indian mother and an African slave became free by right, but the son of a woman-slave was a slave even if he had a white father. /The father, at best, could liberate his son, which was made easier by laws that gave right of preemption to buy his child if the mother was somebody else's slave./ If the child was born of a lawful marriage, then the status of the father was decisive. In the course of time, the number of the "mixed-blooded" free people continually increased, and the Spaniards watched this process with growing jealousy. Because more and more of them became a member of the "has-beens", for whom the only way to earn an honest living was a job in a state or church office. And since the number of the offices

was finite even in this overbureaucratized colonial society, new decrees were passed that privileged, /e.g., the attendance of the universities and offices/ the "unmixed-blooded" whites. On principle, the Church was open for everybody, but when it preached the equality of the ethnic groups before God - of which the conservative Spanish history writers are so proud even today - it referred rather to heaven than to God's earthly offices. The rejection of a mestizo, a mulatto, an American Indian or a free African was reasoned either by the old Castilian formula according to which they were not "ancient Christians", or by the insufficiency of the applicant's education. In practice, such prohibitions and refusals came upon those "mixed-blooded" people who lived in poor conditions and/or were illegitimate. It did not mean that the high-born families, /the colonial aristocracy/ were free from interbreeding, but that they could get "credentials" to verify their "pure origin". Originally, only very meritorious, illustrious people could get such "bleaching" documents if the blood of an American Indian or of a slave was somehow "mixed" in the family. Later on, this royal favour became a source of treasury-income, it transformed into a business with fixed prices, which could be even by "mixed" families if, for instance, they wanted to have their children educated.

The increased of interbreeding had special ethno-social consequences. The mestizo, mulatto, zambo and other new ethnic "compositions" became the object of ridicule and detestation among those who belonged to one of the main races.

They were looked as "artificial" groups of people /milk and coffee was created by God, but coffee with milk was made by man - says one of the typical mocking proverbs about the mulattos/ and this opinion is reflected in the naming of certain "mixed" groups which are traceable to animal names. It is natural - considering the Spanish traditions - that with the appearance of mixed groups the number of "castes" was growing. While in the 16th century one could speak only about Spanish, American Indian and African peoples, Alexander Humboldt, who travelled to Latin-America at the beginning of the 19th century, already wrote about seven castes: the Spaniards born on the peninsula, those who were born in America, the mestizoes, the mulattos, the zambos, the Indians and the Africans.

This classification /the division of the American and peninsular Spaniards/ indicates that the distinction was not only ethnical but also ethno-social. The practice of arranging people into these "castes" shows the same: in 18th-century Mexico, only the illegitimate "mixed-blooded" were called mestizoes /the legitimate ones were called "creols" or "Spaniards"/ while an unmixed-blooded white, if he became poor, was counted a mestizo even in the 17th century. And as we can see its importance from the above-mentioned examples - the Crown had to take this situation into consideration from the very beginning.

Before continuing, it is advisable to answer first a probable objection: whether we have to deal with the bio-

logical mixing at all, whether the widening of the investigation towards this direction is not inspired by a kind of biological determinism. I firmly believe that in making scientific investigations into the proper cultural connections - at least, in the case of Latin-America - these questions cannot be avoided. This certainly does not mean that I agree with the opinion that says: "if the mixing of different species of animals can lead to better qualities.... then the same is true in connection with human beings".²⁶ In my anthropological-philosophical conception, the biological interbreeding is neither "good" nor "bad", it brings on neither a "degenerated" - as is claimed by the followers of racial segregation who are great in number even in Latin America today - nor a "cosmic" race as the mystifiers of "mestiziation" assert. Nor do I share the quite general opinion that the "mixed" character of the Latin American culture is the direct outcome of ethnic mixing.

But there are really considerable reasons of the further researches of the subject. Now I would like to mention two of them. The first point is that, to a certain extent, the coexistence and the social relations of the ethnic groups are undoubtedly cultural problems. The fact itself that in Latin America the ethnic and social status together determined the classification of the individual /some authors speak about "social races" the essence of which can be shown again by a proverb: "If he has money, the negro is not negro; and if he has not money, even the whiteman is a ne-

gro"/ did not mean that there were not racial prejudices on the continent; of course there were, and even among those who belonged to the same social class. This is corroborated by the fact that the Indians' /and, in a large measure, the Africans'/ position in the social division of labour has remained very homogenous until today. And in the 19th and 20th century, the appearance of "scientific" anthropological reasons, and the growing European immigration and American influence added fresh fuel to racism. Nevertheless, the increase in interbreeding, the variety of social positions, the amount of ethnic transitions among the main races, the "genetic pitfall" - the unforeseeable reversion of the ancient racial signs in the descendants -, etc., created, and still create /at least potentially/, such characteristics of the relation among the ethnic groups which, either in themselves or compared with the observations of other territories, deserve a good deal of attention.

The other reason why I find the investigation into biological interbreeding important is that the most natural way of contact and "reconciliation" of the different cultural heritages presumably was strongly determined by family background. It must have played an important role, mainly in this colonial society, where the different cultures living side by side were not equal in rank: the European "roots" were unanimously in a higher ruling position as opposed to any other more doomed and despised elements. Of course, we mustn't overestimate the role of the "mixed" families, e.g.,

in the culture of behaviour or in connection with even higher and more complicated cultural activities: it is obvious that the culture of the mestizo or the mulatto was determined mainly by the norms of his social environment and position. The aforementioned aspect cannot be left out of consideration after all. /A prominent and early example of it is the case of GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, who, in the 16th century, proudly stated "I was born of the mixing of two nations"²⁸ and who was equally proud of his Spanish and Inca antecedents/ though we have to evaluate and arrange it satisfactorily among the other factors that influenced the process of transculturation.

But before we examine these further factors, let us have a look at the language that played a very significant role in the relation of the different cultures.

4./ The language, as the means and the result of cultural relations

The language communication between the Spaniards and the Indians started in two different ways. The discoverers generally taught their own languages to the natives, whom they captured or engaged to be their leaders or informers. The typical figure of the native interpreter ran through the history of the Conquista. But at the universities and the different seminars, which were established in 16th century America, the chief Indian languages appeared relatively soon.

From 1581, the Crown forced the missionary monks to study the local languages, admitting that the millions of Indians could not take part in the religious education in Spanish language. They hoped that with the help of their mother tongue the new religion would be brought nearer to the natives more easily than in a foreign, and less comprehensive language.

So there was a possibility that the Indian languages perhaps could become equivalent and active intermedia among the different cultures of the continent. That this did not happen, and that the fate of these languages is full of deep contradictions and serious problems even today, can be attributed to such reasons which all have their roots in the characteristics of the development of the colonial, and - later on - of the independent, Latin America. But before we have a closer look at these questions - stressing some of those problems of the Indian languages which are significant from the point of view of my investigation - we have to deal with that European language which arrived together with the conquerors.

If we examine the culture of Latin America, the Spanish language deserves special attention because, undoubtedly, it has been playing a very dynamic role in the continental development since the establishment of the Spanish-Portuguese colonial empire. At least in the "golden century", it was the link, through the motherland, between Latin America and the forefront of the European culture; this language kept

alive the flourishing main trends of the colonial culture, which, in the course of time, not only increasingly expressed the interests of the inhabitants deferring from those of the parent state, but took on more and more particularly American characteristics. And, though the higher cultural achievements /e.g., science, ideas, arts/, which could be transmitted only by the help of language, were for centuries, accessible only to a limited number of the subjugated people /for the Indian notability who attended the cacique-schools, for a few house slaves, and for the slowly developing intellectual class of the emancipated Africans/, the importance of the Spanish language cannot be underrated: most of the really significant representatives and leaders of these peoples emerged from this narrow stratum.

The prominence of the European language was partly due to the fact that this was the best means to develop an overall, yet manifold, relationship among those people who had had no connections before the colonial subordination. The communicational spheres of other languages were always much more limited. In the 16th and 17th century, the fact that the immense territories of the continent came under the organic influence of the Spanish language did not mean much to the inhabitants; among the peoples of the viceroyalties there were no connections. But this language became very important at the age of the wars of independence, both in maintaining relations with each other and in the awakening of the inhabitants to the consciousness of the "Spanish-American

community". And it has become even more important since the evolution of the republics as independent national states. The phenomenon that not only the official, but - considering the majority of the inhabitants - also the national languages are common in most Latin American countries, affords the possibility of direct relationship among these peoples. As a matter of fact, this possibility also has its continental dimensions, considering the circumstance - the importance of which has been revealed only recently - that, along with Spanish, the Portuguese language has come into usage almost universally in Latin America. These related languages are so close to each other that there are no insurmountable difficulties in mutual understanding, and, in this way, the notion of being "Latin American" has a real linguistic basis.

These results and possibilities began to develop during the colonial era when the formation of connections started among people who lived close to each other rather than among the inhabitants of more distant territories. The way in which the possibilities hidden in the colonists' language were transferred into practice depended on several factors, first of all on the width of the communication sphere. Until the last decades and before the acceleration of urbanization the Spanish language was not wide-spread among the great masses of Indians. The reason for this was not at all that in the colonial /and in the subsequent/ societies their mother tongue - to which, of course they held on,²⁹ defending

it by the survival of their communities - was an intermediate equivalent with the Spanish language. It was rather the consequence of the old Indian way of living, in "rearchaized", isolated communities, dealing mainly with agriculture. An Indian felt neither the possibilities of nor the need for the Spanish language because his relation to the authorities was mediated by his superiors. But - as we have already mentioned - the European language became the mother tongue of the majority of Africans relatively soon; their original language remained alive in fragments, chiefly in their rituals. And, aside from the already mentioned reasons, we mustn't forget that an African /mainly if he lived in a town and was a house slave or a freeman/ was inside the society, while an Indian lived rather on the perimeter...

So the European language played, and is still playing a certain unifying role all over the continent. Nevertheless, its spreading /mainly in the case of the Spanish language/ formed the special dialectics of linguistic unification and differentiation. A certain departure of the language spoken in America from that of the motherland was detectable relatively soon; and, during the subsequent centuries, the subregional differentiation of the "American Spanish" language was noticable, too. This was a result partly of the relationship of the peoples living together on the continent, and partly of their subsequent, relatively separate development. One of the first differentational impetus was the fact that

peninsular Spanish itself was very rich in dialects; thus, on the different parts of the colony different dialects came into usage depending on the origin of the majority of colonists. The original linguistic basis of the native Indians and the arriving Africans /together with the people arrived from Asia and Europe during the following centuries/ was a determinant of language acquisition. Their stock of phonemes, their vocabulary, and, according to some linguists, even their syntax could influence the way they spoke the new language; and it soon left its mark on the Spanish they spoke.

However, this process of differentiation took place without the ceasing or weakening of the fundamental unity of the Spanish language: the intensive relationship between the mother land and the colonies, the already increased literacy and other factors all prevented the Spanish language from a "Latin-like" decay. Moreover, the American contacts had at least one linguistic result, a strong influence on vocabulary, which was not only instrumental in differentiation but which also enriched the notional base of the Spanish, and - through it - many other European languages. To indicate the unknown phenomena of the New World, the Spaniards borrowed a great number of Indian words to avoid the difficulties of analogue word-formation. A large number of these words have been built into Spanish and, later on, - as international loanwords - into other European languages.

As for the Indian languages, it is worth mentioning

that there are widely difflening opinions about the stage of development of those which are spoken by most Indians. According to GEROL, an expert on the world of the Incas; the Quechua language "of course has lost much of its primary excellence, but has maintained its power of expression".³⁰ According to other opinions, the Indian languages have "rudimentary vocabularies" because, lacking the appropriate notional apparatus, they are not suitable for expressing the essentials of a modern society. Other experts try to prove - with the help of original literary, political, etc. works and translations - that these languages preserved their integrity and would become effective promoters of the Indians' rise if the process were aided by the necessary cultural-political, etc. measures.

I cannot shoulder - mainly not on the field of linguistics - the decision of these discussions. I can only try to give a general idea - perhaps a framework of a possible scientific approach - of the question; what kind of influence the conquest had or might have had on the Indian languages.

The afore-mentioned encouraging outset of the 16th century had two important consequences. The first was a result of the fact that the missionary monks did not even try to learn all the Indian languages, which were really very great in number, and were spoken by language communities of varying size. /These could range from a few dozen Indians to millions, reflecting well the different pre-

Columbian connections./ Thus, the friars rather tried to teach the Indians the language which was the most frequent, and was used by the most people. Mainly in Mexico and Guatemala, these monks continued a process, which, - as one of the most important and lasting results of the Inca conquest in the Andes - had already started much earlier: they tried to reduce the lingual dispersion; they tried to shape language communities. This effort /which was also strenghtened by the transformation of the old communities based on the ties of blood into new ones based on territorial divison/ helped the linguistic integration which, after the destruction of these empires, otherwise would have been slowed down or stopped. Another notable achievement was the introduction of Roman letters in Indian writing, which was a qualitative step forward in the increase of literacy, even when compared with the Maya culture. Already among the first American prints of the 16th century there were writings in Indian language, and though they were used only for language teaching and conversion /they were grammars and catechismus/ their importance cannot be doubted. Theoretically, the possibility of a flourishing Indian written literature was given, and appeared, though only as manuscripts of the first treatments of the history of the natives written in Indian language, and usually by Christianized natives.

Aside from the afore-mentioned factors, other phenomena also influenced the Indian languages, the advanced state of which was acknowledged even by the contemporary Spaniards.

And it is conceivable that these effects in the case of the Indian - as opposed to the Spanish - language appeared in the modification of the notional basis, and, consequently, in the linguistic conception of the universe. It is enough to think of the great number of totally new notions, which were infused into the language by the newly introduced relations of production, and which all had to be rendered into the Indian languages, starting with the names of the previously unknown tools, and finishing with the notions of the contemporary Spanish Catholic views. The missionary-literary work of the priests and monks and the translation of the catechism all helped this process. Another important factor was that a lot of Indians were bilingual: this was quite general among Indians who lived in towns, and it was also frequent - at least for "domestic use" - among Spaniards whose servants and nurses were Indians, or who lived in "mixed" marriage. These factors all urged the natives to find or to form vernacular equivalents of the Spanish words in speech and in writing.

So, it did not depend on the language - or its perfectibility - that during the following centuries the Indian languages were, almost without exception, barred from the main trends of Latin American cultural development. It rather depended on the fact that the Crown urged bilingualism only in the first century of rule and even then did so quite one-sidedly, for the sake of missionary work. In colonial administration and in the judging the Spanish

language was always dominant. And, from the 17th century forward, the early zeal of the Church was diminishing, too. The few Indians who could attain a certain level of education were "of course" taught in Spanish language, and so Indian literacy was mostly forgotten before it had become really strong. Thus, the Indian languages have formed rather certain kinds of "walls" than "open windows" towards the world.

5./ The first forms of transculturation

During the Conquista, even the highly developed Indian societies were defeated and this hindered the further development of American autarchy. But this did not cause the disappearance of those economical, social and cultural traditions which dated back hundreds and thousands of years. And it did not mean either that after the victory and the establishing of the colonial empire the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors could domesticate their traditional customs and relations in the New World without any change; it did not mean that they could make the past disappear. Instead of the total destruction of the Indian culture and the complete victory of another one, a much more complicated tendency was developing in the relationship between the American Indians and the Spaniards /and, later on, between them and the people arriving from African and other territories/.

The degree, the quality, the intensity and the results of the cultural connections depended on many factors. First of all, they depended upon the degree of organization and social development of the natives who made contacts with the conquerors, or more accurately, they hinged upon the ethno-cultural composition of the area. On the other hand, the situation was different both in the "Indian republics" where the permanently or just periodically present Spaniards /priests, "visitors", taxmen, etc./ could cause little effect on the everyday lives of the natives, and in the "reducciones", in these artificially established communities, where the Church strictly regulated activities and lives of the natives. The same was the situation in the communities which were under the control of the encomendero. The relations were again different in the case of domestic slaves who lived in intensive contact with their masters, and in the case of those who worked drudgingly in the fields, or escaped, or were emancipated Africans. In spite of all the discriminations, it was the town that provided the opportunity to evolve the most intensive and many-sided forms of connection among the members of the ethnic groups. But here /just like anywhere else/ they took differing forms at the beginning of the 16th century, when the colonial relations were still "easy to shape" and when the methods of the Crown and the Church were still rather "experimentative", and one or two centuries later, when the new society had already been stabilized /and stiffened/.

when both the decline of the motherland and the difficulties in the colonies /Indian and slave revolts, syncretism, and the more and more obvious flourishing of the cultural interrelation/ intensified impatience and severity. Finally, it is obvious that even within the different spheres of cultures the degree of possible interrelations was dissimilar. The possibilities, the intensity and the results of this tendency were less when the colonist did not need any external help or manpower /for instance, in his literary or scientific activity done for the sake of his own pleasure/ and were greater/ e.g. in architecture or in music/ when he employed Indians or Africans as workers or performers. On the other hand, culture meant something quite different for the Indians and the Africans when they could cultivate it for their own sake and when they had to practice it under the compulsion of work and duty...

The geographical, temporal, or formal developments of the cultural interrelation cannot be examined as a process in a straight line, or on the basis of one general rule. And it is even less feasible to consider a certain outward form to be true of the whole process. Until the treatment of facts takes place with the help of a uniform attitude and an adequate ordering principle, any attempt to interpret the results from a general point of view and refer it to the entire Latin American culture will be misleading. For the time being, it seems more practical to examine how various, and plentiful, the concrete forms of communication were and

how impossible it is to unify their tendencies.

Examining these main tendencies, we can classify the different phenomena according to the ethnocultural formations or social classes, according to the outward forms of culture, or according to the kind of degree of their relationship /symbiosis, interference, synthesis/. Any of these aspects would require a separate monography, though here we can make investigations only with a view to indicate the main tendencies of development. So it seems to be more expedient to go on without detailed elaboration of the question and, instead, to put in the centre the function of that organization which, undoubtedly, played a prominent role in the cultural development of the colonies: the Church. Thus, we shall attempt to describe the role of the Church and its influence on the cultural connections which it required by its sanctions, tolerance or prohibitions.

What was the role of the Church in the colonies? It is not enough to say - even if it is absolutely true - that the Church was the main ideological means of the conquerors, while, at the same time, it also made a profit out of the conquest. Its activity cannot be reduced to the fact that it sanctioned colonial rule, and imbued the subdued dogmas of religion - though these are again all true. Its role was much more complicated - and, in many respects, more positive - than is presented by certain representatives of bourgeois anticlericalism and Marxism. Recognizing its greater role in civilization, of course, we do not want to

revise the fundamentally true judgements of Marxism, particularly not from the point of view of clerical apology. But we would like to avoid the faults of one-sidedness; the fundamental cultural outcomes of the colonial age cannot be explained without the revelation, the more equitable evaluation of the many-sided religious activity - at least on the level of indications. This activity manifested itself in the coexistence, the overlapping and even the transformation of the different cultural results of different values.

Though the Sword and the Cross appeared and ruled in alliance in Latin America, it is a fact that /mainly in the 16th century/ the Church - or at least its significant groups and trends - interpreted and represented the colonial concept in a way which was different from the point of view of the secular powers; of conquistadors and encomenderos. A conqueror was moved by the desire for gold; moreover, the occupation of the New World seemed to him a kind of crusade, the continuation of the Reconquista; the Indian, in his eyes, was an enemy to kill. The encomendero /due to well-known historical reasons/ also had little interest in the protection, careful treatment, or social betterment the natives. On the contrary, the Church saw potential religious force in the aborigines and it stood up for them against the conquistadors and the encomenderos quite early. The categorical evaluation according to which "the Hispano-American episcopacy was an institution that really dealt with the defense of the Indians and, in this way, played an outstanding role

in the life of society"³¹ of course cannot be accepted as a generally recognized fact. /Contemporary documents, which are carefully selected even in today's publications, also give a good deal of contradictory examples./ Nevertheless, it is a fact that a more detailed evaluation of the role of the Church would be very important. Though the memorandum that appeared in about 1516, in which LAS CASAS and some of his fellow members put down their plan for the humane and complex assimilation of the aborigines, was an exception,³² it is true that the activity of the monks, aside from missionary work, also included the transmission of material goods, experience, the knowledge of professions and the cultural achievements brought from Spain and popularized widely among the natives.

Nevertheless, the chief aim was conversion and, in this spirit, the destruction of the material and spiritual manifestations of the local religions. Its different ways are well-known, so, instead of their detailed description, I would like to deal with two more important aspects of the subject. The first is: What did the forceful spreading of Catholicism /probably/ mean in Latin America? The second is: What were the real consequences of it?

For the first question, the valuable answer, of course, is given neither by the theologian who would say that it was Catholicism that brought true faith to the misguided, nor by the anticleric, to whom conversion means only intellectual manipulation. Though the latter standpoint is worth

keeping in view when we want to describe general social aspects, now it is sufficient to simply note it. Even in Marxist literature, it is not revealed perfectly how and to what extent Catholicism /the ideology of a class society more developed than any other societies before the conquest/ could become the real ideology of the colonial societies. The social sciences have not even put into words how Catholicism became both the manifestation and the means of the developing relationships. This was the case in more than one respect. On the one hand, as a universal religion, Catholicism meant a kind of connection between Latin America and that part of Europe with which the conquest related economically. On the other hand, Catholicism, helped the integration, the unification of peoples and cultures into one society. The only previous example of it in Latin America was the Inca empire where, with the similarly violent spreading of the Sun-God cult, the ruling tribe could create an extensive religious community. Finally, Catholicism, which was spread on the whole territory of the continent, became one of the common components of the "Latin American mind".

However important these problems are, we must now be satisfied with a mere indication of them; with "putting question-marks" after some raised problems. These problems cannot be solved without manifold preliminary investigations /which should involve even the specifics of Spanish Catholicism determined by social history/. We'd better tackle now the question of the "efficiency" of the Latin American con-

version, mentioning some of its consequences which are important from our point of view and which can be detected with the help of written records.

The 16th-century reports of the Church arriving from the New World show an unbelievable quantitative success of the missionary work. For instance, in Texcoco in 1536, Motolinia christianized on the average 3-500 Indians a week, using a very strange type of confession before Christening; he asked the natives to put down, better to say, to "draw" their sins, partly to avoid the difficulties of understanding each other, partly to hasten the process of work. This example shows that Christening was a rather formal act; a 16th-century report from Peru seems to be much closer to reality: according to it, only about 40 persons were "real Christians" out of 30 thousand Christianized. These 40 persons were surely those who could attend the cacique-schools.

The conversion en masse, the religious education of the new followers of the Church, required new methods. The Spanish Church did not want at all to follow the Roman example, which had tried to assimilate the Gods of the conquered into Catholicism. Nevertheless, it was a characteristic feature of missionary work, and was often mentioned in contemporary documents, that the priests tried in different ways to connect Christianity to the cultural traditions of the aborigines. For instance, they rebuilt the "heathen" temples often transforming them into Catholic

churches as a kind of manifestation of the new God's victory over the old ones. Or they simply adapted Indian myths and legends which seemed to be suitable to express a Christian message. Specifically, they tried to cast the "spell of Catholicism" on the natives by music, dance, mystery-plays, etc. again based on local traditions. It is possible that, despite the active persecution of heresy and idolatry in the 16th and 17th century, this method, which was found to be "provisionally admissible", goes a long way in explaining why among the Indians there are existing forms of a special Indian-syncretic variety of Catholicism even today. And the world of the Indian beliefs and tales shows an even much more colourful picture. It was not only the 16th-century Nicaraguan cacique who thought himself to be a "good Christian", though meanwhile he declared whole-heartedly that the world was created by the first human couple; Tagamastal and Cippotoval. The Indian mythology of our days mixes even more complexly the elements of the ancient American Indian, the Christian and even of the European antic myths and fables...

It is not likely that the conversion and the religious education of the African slaves regulated by royal decrees were more profound than in the case of the Indians. Since their circumstances had changed so drastically, their own religion survived and was even strengthened as one of the most important relics of the past which they could salvage, and by which they could keep their identity. They could preserve it in its original form, because in their case - as

far as I know - the missionary work could not rely on their ancient religious-cultural traditions, presumably because they were too diverse and unknown. Perhaps this is the explanation for the phenomenon that Afro-American religious syncretism is characterized by a special paralellism, by the coincidence of African gods with certain Catholic saints. At first this meant that the Africans, in spite of the interdictions, could pay homage to their Gods "under the mask" of Christianity. But while the ancient rites remained strikingly similar in Africa and in Latin America /in spite of their century old separate development/, the role of Catholicism gradually grew out of its original function in the New World and took on more of a "complementational" character: this is shown by the custom that those preparing themselves for initiation, according to Afro-American rites, first went to mass to give thanks to God for making them suitable for the event.

Of course, life together with the Indians and the Africans did not leave the Europeans untouched. Thus, another problem arose from the very beginning. "Here there is a great need for godly monks" - wrote Columbus in 1498 to the Spanish king - "rather for the sake of the improvement of our own religion than for the conversion of the Indians, because we have been influenced by their customs which we begin to prefer."³³ Or, as AZEVEDO said, during the following centuries the chief task of the Church was, aside from conversion, the protection of the purity of the conquerors'

religious faith against Indian and African "paganism"³⁴. This heathen influence did not cause, of course, the renunciation or the query of the fundamental Christian dogmas; it rather meant that the magic elements of the Indian and African religion - wizardry, prophesying, etc. - were easily accepted by even an orthodox Spaniard or Portuguese. Because of this, under the shadow of religious "monolithism", even in the Iberian peninsula, opulently pullulated - not only among the ignorant masses but also among wealthy and educated people - such superstitions, beliefs and practices survived, either from Iberian antiquity along with other cultural traditions, or newly established by various peoples living together for centuries. In America, the Europeans were charmed by the unknown black art that they thought to be very effectual, while the Indians and Africans were dazzled by the colonial splendour and mysticism of Catholicism and by the great number of "wonders" told /and often made-up/ by the priests...

It is probable that the elements of the Indian and the African religions - just like Catholicism - had a "connective" role amongst the ethnic groups, even if these elements did not become organic parts of the Europeans' religious faith. It might have been so, because even the Church was not /and it could not have been/ consistent in the estimation of these phenomena: from the point of view of a dogmatic religion, it was hard to decide whether this or that Indian or African custom was "dangerous paganism"

or just a "harmless amusement". So the judgement usually depended on the personality of the priest or on the general religious and political feeling. There were priests who forbade even the vernacular songs, but there were examples of the opposite, too. This is what father Acosta, who worked in 1590 in Mexico, wrote about the dances of the Indians: "though many of them were danced in honour of their idols, it ... meant a kind of refreshment and entertainment to the people, so, instead of depriving them of it, it would be enough to keep back the mixing of superstitious elements in their dances."³⁵

That the strong effect of the ancient religions was inevitable is shown by the fact that priests deliberately used superstitious elements in their missionary work. Moreover, they took advantage of the situation - and often for selfish ends - that, mainly in the towns, in the "melting pots" of different ethnic groups and cultures, the superstitious, mystic, and ecstatic elements of the different religions were inseparably merged with each other. Perhaps the most famous event was the occupation of Remedios, a Cuban town, by 1111 /later on even more/ legions of demons in the 17th century, which was written up by ORTIZ in a massive monography.³⁶ There are two points of the story which are really interesting. The first one is that the real aim of the "devilish war" was to persuade the inhabitants of the little town to move to another place, "accidentally" to the nice but - because of the lack of

manpower - worthless estate of the local pastor. The second one is that before the very eyes of father Gonzáles - who, as we have seen, led the war against the devils not without any self-interest - "Lucifer possessed" exactly a woman slave, i.e. the member of a religious community where trance and ecstasy were organic parts of worship...

It is worth noting that in connection with some forms of expression /chiefly in the case of dance/, which were inconsistently judged by Church, the degree of rigour and prohibition was growing by and by. The missionaries of the 16th century found it a big success if the Indians danced their ancient dances on the feast of Corpus Christi dressed in their ancient costumes; in the 18th century, the Inquisition forbade these dances because their "superstitious character" did not disappear after two centuries. The same was the fate of the "shameless dances" of the Africans, though in 16th century Mexico the Church usually overlooked the tempestuous amusements of the slaves, which blossomed out in an instant in the streets and squares of the towns. They also allowed the appearance of American Indian and Afro-American dance groups even in spectacular religious feasts. Presumably, the growing interdiction of the dances of pure entertainment was parallel with the loosening of the ties that connected these dances to only one ethnocultural community; they became the common entertainments of the plebeian inhabitants.

The questions of religion direct us almost impercept-

Notes

- 1./ The notion of "transculturation" was introduced by FERNANDO ORTIZ in 1940 in his book Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar. He used it for denoting the process in the course of which from the mutual influence of different cultures being in continuous and intensive connection a new culture is born "conserving with cessation" the elements of the original ones. Though the concept that ORTIZ concretized in a given discipline can be used in another approach only with certain reservations, on the basis of my investigations up till now I see it reasonable to "borrow" it as an auxiliary notion.
2. FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA's letter to Emperor Charles /1552/. Historiadores primitivos de las Indias. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 22. Madrid, 1946, p. 156.
3. The Hungarian translation of the verse was made by JÁNOS BENYHE, and it appeared in the anthology Igy látták /How they saw it/ Indian and spanish chronics/ = Budapest, 1977, p. 157.
4. Quoted by EDUARDO GALEANO: "Latin Amerika nyitott erei /The Open Veins of Latin America/. Budapest, 1976, p. 99.
5. Quoted by SVERKER ARNOLDSSON: La conquista española de América, según el juicio de la posterioridad. Vestigios de la Leyenda Negra. Madrid, 1960. pp. 46-47.
6. HUMBERTO PÉREZ: El subdesarrollo y la via del desarrollo. = La Habana, 1971. pp. 56-57.

7. LEONARDO ACOSTA: José Martí, la América precolombina y la conquista española. La Habana, 1974, p. 67.
8. MEM /= The Collected Works of Marx and Engels/ Vol.9. Budapest, 1964. p. 125.
9. Among the fundamentally important /and internationally original/ theoretical approaches of the subject we must mention the study of TIBOR WITTMAN A latin-amerikai feudalizmus vitás kérdései /=The Unsettled Questions of Latin American "Feudalism"/ /Századok, 1976, Vol.6, pp. 1293-1330./, and the book of BÉLA KÁDÁR Latin Ameri-ka gazdasági dilemmái /=The Economical Dilemmas of Latin America/. Budapest, 1977. These books and anthois try to explain the peculiarities of the Latin American colonial mode of production by the historical determination of the Spanish and precolumbian American development and by the interference of them.
10. BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO: Uj-Spanyolország meghódításá-nak hiteles története /in Igy látták...ibid. p. 305.
11. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL: ?Codicia insaciable o ilustres hazañas? The lines from this work are quoted by LEONARDO ACOSTA: José Martí...., ibid. p. 60.
12. SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA: El auge del imperio español en América. Buenos Aires, 1959, p. 35.
13. ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE LA VACA: Hajótörések /Schipwrecks/ in Igy látták...., ibid. p. 374.
14. The letter of licentiate Ceynos written to Charles V. is quoted by GEORGES BAUDOT: Utopie et histoire au

- Méxique. Les premiers chroniqueurs de la civilisation mexicaine. 1520-1569. Toulouse, 1976, p. 35.
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László BORSÁNYI:

**EL PAPEL DEL TRABAJO
ASALARIADO EN EL PROCESO
DE TRANSFORMACIÓN
DE LA SOCIEDAD
"TRADICIONAL DE LOS NAVAJO"**

La investigación de las culturas indígenas de América del Norte originó, en primer lugar en los Estados Unidos, una literatura especializada extraordinariamente abundante. Sin embargo, pocos estudios tratan el proceso de subyugación de los pueblos indígenas, su concentración en reservas y su integración en el aparato político-económico de los Estados Unidos. En un principio, los antropólogos culturales norteamericanos se interesaron fundamentalmente por reconstituir cómo habían sido las culturas indígenas en el momento del "primer encuentro", y pretendieron documentar las costumbres y los restos de la cultura material de los pueblos indígenas antes de que éstos desaparecieran definitivamente. Luego cuando el trabajo de campo dirigió la atención de la investigación etnológica a la vida en las reservas, comenzaron a concebir las culturas indígenas en su propia realidad, como comunidades independientes y sociedades que, a pesar de los cambios que sufrieron, han conservado sus modelos tradicionales.

Incluso los estudios que examinaron los procesos de aculturación y asimilación centraron su interés en el modo de que los indios y las culturas indígenas habían logrado adaptarse a las nuevas circunstancias, y dejaron de lado el examen del papel que desempeña en este proceso el poder político-económico de los Estados Unidos.

Los rasgos particulares de las culturas indígenas, consideradas tradicionales, sólo pueden ser comprendidos cabalmente/x/ Resultados de una investigación de campo de 6 meses, realizada por el autor en 1982.

mente y captados en su esencia, si los consideramos con arreglo al desarrollo del capitalismo norteamericano, puesto que durante la colonización del Occidente, la formación de la fisionomía de estas culturas, totalmente subordinadas al mercado capitalista tanto a nivel de consumo personal, como a nivel de su economía, fue determinada por las relaciones de la producción de mercancías capitalista. En estas comunidades indígenas autárquicas, basadas en la propiedad colectiva de la tierra, el capital comercial y, luego, el capital industrial norteamericanos no sólo imposibilitaron la formación del mercado interno, sino que demoraron también la total desintegración y transformación de las comunidades tradicionales. En el marco de las relaciones socio-económicas de la producción de mercancías la modificación de sus instituciones, especialmente de sus formas de organización social, precisamente por la lentitud del proceso de transformación, produce o reproduce toda una gama de variaciones de las antiguas formas. /Por ejemplo, la aparición de la propiedad privada, desarrollándose a la par de las formas de propiedad colectiva imperantes, y conservando los rasgos externos de esta última, genera, en casi toda tribu, todo un sistema de instituciones de la distribución ritual de los bienes privados./

Apoyándome en las experiencias obtenidas durante los dos años de un viaje de estudios y de trabajo de campo en el suroeste de los EE.UU., bosquejo en el presente artículo, sin pretender ser exhaustivo, la influencia ejercida por la producción capitalista en la sociedad navajo. Considerando que

las relaciones de parentesco entre los navajos, al igual que en antiguas comunidades de similar nivel de desarrollo, reflejan las relaciones de producción /véase GODELIER, 1975:10/, trataré también aquellas formas de parentesco que son el producto de nuevas relaciones de producción inducidas, a su vez, por la producción de mercancías.

En las estribaciones de la meseta de Colorado, en la región semidesértica del suroeste, en los Estados actuales de Arizona y Nuevo México, vive uno de los pueblos indígenas más numerosos de Estados Unidos: los navajos cuya población está a punto de superar los 160.000.

Los navajos, pueblo nómada poseedor de caballos y ovejas, cuyo número llegaba de 8 a 10.000 a mitad del siglo pasado, pasaron junto con el Territorio Suroeste de México, anexado en virtud del acuerdo Guadalupe Hidalgo, bajo el dominio de los norteamericanos en 1848. En 1864, los reunieron en un campamento cerca de Fort Summer /hoy Nuevo México/, y en 1868 designaron para ellos como reserva la región más desértica del suroeste /KLUCKHOHN and LEIGHTON 1962:40/.

Con este acuerdo, los navajos, en su calidad de colonia interna, se encontraron en situación de dependencia frente a los Estados Unidos, puesto que en virtud de la política indígena del Gobierno norteamericano del siglo XIX, la tarea de la designación de territorios para los grupos indígenas fue la creación de un absoluto y severo control sobre la población y su objetivo fue la ampliación de las fronteras para la posterior colonización sin obstáculos.

El forzar a los navajos —pueblo guerrero nómada de organización tribal segmentaria— a ocupar la reserva, implicó la ruptura de su forma de vida tradicional. La política del gobierno estadounidense se dirigía a convertirlos en una sociedad autárquica /VOGT 1961:316/. Se les proporcionó de acuerdo con este objetivo alimentos, semillas, implementos agrícolas, y 30.000 ovejas y 4.000 cabras /VAN VALKENBURG, 1974:36/. Los clanes dispersos en la reserva se dedicaron a la economía natural, basada en la cría de ganado, agricultura, caza y recolección, llamada en la literatura especializada "economía navajo tradicional" /véase LAMPHERE 1979:78/. Hacia 1880 ya habían logrado cierta independencia.

Mientras tanto, la rápida extensión de la red ferroviaria abrió el camino hacia el suroeste a la ola de especuladores de terreno, a colonos y comerciantes de modo que este territorio fue conectado al mercado interno norteamericano que se desarrollaba a gran velocidad. Los Puestos de Comercio, instalados incluso en los sectores más alejados de la reserva, al comprar los productos artesanales de los indígenas, conectaban a éstos al comercio y al mercado nacional norteamericano. El capital comercial que se penetró así en la vida económica de la reserva generó cambios radicales en la economía "tradicional". Como producto de la creciente demanda de cuero, tejidos y lana, la pequeña producción de mercancías condujo a un vertiginoso aumento de la importancia del pastoreo. En estas circunstancias el ganado de ovejas y cabras superó en 1887 el millón de cabezas, lo cual significaba la explota-

ción total de las tierras de pastoreo de la reserva /LAMPHE-RE 1979:79/.

El valor de las tierras en el suroeste semidesértico no era determinado por la calidad del suelo, sino por la cantidad de agua disponible para el pastoreo y el cultivo de la tierra. De acuerdo al tradicional derecho del uso de la tierra de propiedad colectiva, las familias que obtenían mejores terrenos de pastoreo podían mantener gran cantidad de animales, y de esta manera acumular riquezas en forma de ganado /BOYER, 1980:433/. Las desigualdades que se presentaron en la tenencia del ganado entre las familias provocaron la diferenciación entre los clanes tradicionales de los navajos. Según el testimonio de los datos históricos, la reglamentación del uso de la tierra entre los navajos probablemente se puso en práctica y se generalizó en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, y es cuando aparecieron rasgos patrilineales en los derechos de sucesión hasta entonces matrilineales. La sucesión al hijo de la hermana mayor del padre empieza a ser reemplazado por la línea de sucesión de padre a hijo /HILL 1938:21-22/.

La rápida concentración de tierras de pastoreo y de rebaños de cabras en manos de algunas familias y las precarias condiciones de la tierra, provocaron el empobrecimiento de la mayoría de las familias. Este proceso fue tan acelerado que en 1915, ya el 24 % de la población no tenía animales y por lo menos dos tercios de ella poseía sólo 100 o menos de 100 animales, cantidad que apenas aseguraba la mitad de un

mínimo vital /KELLEY 1976:11/.

Desde comienzos del siglo XX contamos por lo tanto con un estrato de "navajos pobres":

"los que no tenían agua en sus tierras,...o los que vivían fuera de la reserva, ya sea en las propiedades de la Compañía de Ferrocarriles o en la de los colonos. /.../ Para ellos solicitaba el agente de gobierno /encargado de los asuntos indígenas/ aún en 1947, raciones alimenticias" /UNDERHILL, 1956:230/.

Los indios desprovistos de tierras buenas y de agua se vieron obligados a vender sistemáticamente sus productos manufacturados, o a realizar trabajos eventuales para mantenerse a sí mismos y a sus familias. Los primeros trabajadores asalariados navajo aparecieron en las décadas 70 y 80 del siglo pasado, en las construcciones del ferrocarril /MATTHEWS, 1897:22; UNDERHILL, 1956:178/. Los grupos habitantes en la región noroeste de la reserva no sólo trabajan en la construcción de la línea ferroviaria Denver-Río Grande, sino también en las granjas mormonas de los alrededores /SASAKI, 1960:45/.

En los primeros años de la Primera Guerra mundial, los indígenas en general eran considerados en los Estados Unidos un ejército de reserva de mano de obra industrial, que podía ser incorporado a la producción cada vez que fuese necesario, de tal manera que en caso de receso económico podían ser despedidos de sus trabajos sin complicaciones. Esta situación

queda muy bien ilustrada por el Informe MERIAM, realizado en los años veinte por el Instituto Brookings:

"Durante la Guerra mundial llevaron a varios centenares de indios a Torrence /California del Sur/ a trabajar en la industria del acero. Se les permitió instalarse libremente en la tierra de una de las compañías. Hace algunos años /a comienzos de los años 20. L.B./ el campamento fue disuelto por razones de salubridad, las necesidades y condiciones industriales de la ciudad cambiaron y sólo algunas familias indias permanecieron en el lugar" /MERIAM 1928:175/.

Por esta época el número de navajos asalariados fue incrementado por la multitud de jóvenes egresados o fracasados en los planteles de educación secundaria:

"La situación de los ex estudiantes se encuentra aún sin solución. La reserva hace tiempo está superpoblada. No hay lugar para los que regresan después de terminar los estudios, salvo que la familia sea lo suficientemente acomodada como para proporcionarles un pequeño terreno cultivable o un rebaño de ovejas para establecerse en la reserva. Se ven obligados a buscar trabajos eventuales en el puesto de comercio o como última solución, caminar siguiendo la línea del ferrocarril hasta la ciudad para incorporarse al ejército de los trabajadores temporales, o bien

se van a los aserraderos, en donde por un bajo salario tienen que competir con negros y mexicanos y se ven obligados a vivir en un ambiente inmoral /COOLIDGE and COOLIDGE 1930:281/".

Los objetivos políticos y económicos del capitalismo monopolista del Estado necesitaban masas cada vez mayores de trabajadores asalariados. El Gobierno Federal intentó por diferentes métodos reclutar obreros asalariados entre la población navajo.

"Donde las condiciones de vida son precarias y allí donde hay inseguridad o poca posibilidad de reintegrarse a la actividad agrícola, los indios son inducidos —por agentes de gobierno— a vender sus granjas y a dejar la reserva para aceptar un trabajo asalariado en alguna rama industrial o en otro campo...Los patrones interesados en esta campaña...saben que...en la vida económica moderna generalmente hay empleo para aquellos que desempeñan los trabajos menos atractivos con salarios bajos. Consideran que las faenas agrícolas de gran envergadura, en lugares apartados proporcionan una fuente de ingresos para familias enteras y, a su vez, contribuirían a satisfacer las necesidades de cambio de ambiente /sic!-L. B/ de los indios /MERIAM, 1928:519/".

El reclutamiento y propaganda de las fuentes de trabajo fuera de la reserva eran dirigidos por agentes y empleados

del Servicio Indígena /institución gubernamental/, pero también las escuelas-internados para los indios participaban en dicha campaña cada vez que había necesidad de mano de obra en de obra en la industria o en la agricultura:

"Las escuelas-internados sirven fundamentalmente para proporcionar jóvenes para trabajos estacionales, para trabajos domésticos y raramente para enseñarles un oficio /MERIAM, 1928:389/".

El bajo nivel proporcionado por las escuelas descartaba la posibilidad de que los estudiantes que terminaban sus estudios pudieran desempeñar un oficio o continuar estudiando. En general eran considerados como fuente inagotable de mano de obra barata /MERIAM, 1928:641-2/. Incluso el grupo que preparó el informe Meriam advertía que "algunos patrones" prefieren a los indios porque el bajo nivel de vida los ha hecho poco exigentes y por lo tanto se conforman con unas condiciones de vida miserables, se mudan con mayor facilidad que los norteamericanos /MERIAM, 1928:520/.

En el suroeste, al principio, los indios eran contratados como rompe-huelgas en las construcciones ferroviarias /UNITED STATES SENATE, 1929-1939:9071, 9237, 9565 y 9607/. Durante los años veinte abandonaron masivamente las reservas, desplazándose hacia regiones industriales. Muchas familias navajo se trasladaron a las ciudades en busca de mejor sustento. El Informe MERIAM distingue tres grupos entre los mismos. Denomina "colonos indios" o "comunidades-campamento" a aquellos que se establecían ilegalmente en los suburbios

construyendo chozas o levantando carpas en condiciones precarias; "colonias industriales" son las levantadas para este objetivo por las empresas y que en ciertos lugares consisten en casas rodantes; por último, los habitantes indígenas de los barrios americanos forman el grupo de "asimilados". El más numeroso es el primer grupo, de quienes expresa lo siguiente:

"A los habitantes indígenas de los campamentos se les permite en general lo siguiente...a los hombres emplearse en la industria local o en otros trabajos, y en cierta medida a las mujeres y muchachas el trabajo doméstico... Un número mayor de indios es empleado por empresas industriales en aquellas ciudades donde tienen sus campamentos, pero de preferencia en los trabajos menor remunerados y en los puestos que no requieren conocimientos especializados ... Algunos de los indios trabajan por varios años en el mismo lugar, se ausentan sólo aquellos pocos días cuando visitan la reserva. A pesar de esto, la mayoría de los habitantes de campamentos pertenecen a la categoría de trabajadores ocasionales y trabajan generalmente por un salario bajísimo /MERIAM 1928: 686/".

El rol tradicional de los clanes matrilineales, dispersos en la reserva, fue perdiendo paulatinamente su importancia como consecuencia del nuevo tipo de vida. Finalmente sólo

servía para regular las relaciones matrimoniales /REICHARD 1928:29/. A mismo tiempo que surgen rasgos patrilineales en las relaciones de parentesco, poco a poco pasan a primer plano las relaciones locales. Los clanes se desintegran en familias nucleares y compuestas, convirtiéndose en comunidades ganadero-agrícolas. Los grupos de residencia común que tienen cultivos y ganado administrado colectivamente, en la literatura especializada se conocen como "campamentos" /véase UCHENDU, 1966:87-90/.

En la época de la diferenciación social, a principios de siglo, surge una nueva costumbre en la relación entre grupos locales de diversa situación social. En los campamentos de familias de fortuna empiezan a emplear jornaleros para cubrir ciertas tareas, como por ejemplo, el pastoreo y la trasquila de rebaños que a menudo alcanzan varios miles de cabezas. Los miembros de campamentos que poseían menos animales podían realizar los trabajos familiares con ayuda de parientes y así una parte de los hombres tenía tiempo para trabajarles a los navajos acomodados, o para trabajar como obrero fuera de la reserva en la industria o en la agricultura. Las mujeres podían dedicar más tiempo a la fabricación de artículos manufacturados en creciente demanda /véase por ejemplo /COLLIER, 1966/.

II.

La crisis económica de los años 1929-1933 hizo disminuir significativamente la demanda de mano de obra, lo cual,

sumado a las calamidades naturales de aquel entonces —sequía, inviernos extremadamente fríos, epidemias de peste en el ganado— aumentó la miseria y también las diferencias sociales entre los navajos /TREREL, 1970:269/. Esta tendencia fue forzada por el programa gubernamental que limitaba la tenencia del ganado el cual fue puesto en vigor en aquel entonces. Hubo necesidad de tomar tal medida porque la enorme cantidad de ganado de ciertas familias ricas, desbastó a tal grado las tierras de pastoreo, que se corría el peligro de afectar el equilibrio ecológico de la zona.

Con el argumento de que el desmedido pastoreo convertiría en desierto regiones enteras y pondría en peligro el nivel de vida en ascenso de los propios navajos, se determinó la disminución radical del número de animales y se reglamentó la cría de los mismos /PARMAN, 1976:43/. Esta tarea fue asignada al Departamento de Conservación del Suelo del Ministerio del Interior, llamado Soil Erosion Service en el otoño de 1933. En el programa de dos fases, como primer paso se procedió a eliminar de 200 mil ovejas y cabras, entre 1933 y 1937, con la autorización del Consejo de la Tribu, la entrega de los animales fue voluntaria. /PARMAN, 1976:43, 62, 81, 98/. Entre 1937 y 1941, como parte de la segunda fase, la reserva fue dividida en distritos de pastoreo /land management districts/, y se delimitó el número de animales por cada distrito, incluso el pastoreo fue sujeto a autorización. Más tarde se hizo obligatoria la entrega del ganado que sobrepasase el número límite establecido por cada distrito /JOHNSTON, 1966:121/.

Los navajos de fortuna procuraron entonces comprar las autorizaciones de pastoreo de los indios empobrecidos, pero dada la limitación del número de ganado permitido a cada familia, el gobierno americano imposibilitó el surgimiento de nuevas fortunas que habrían facilitado la acumulación de capitales. De esta forma se cerró para los navajos pudientes la posibilidad de convertirse en grandes ganaderos o en latifundistas. Como producto del programa el número de los rebaños más grandes disminuyó en un 5,4 %, el de los más pequeños en un 23 % /UNITED STATES SENATE, 1929-1939:17766/, de modo que nuevas multitudes de indios se vieron obligados inevitablemente a aceptar el trabajo asalariado.

La nueva política económica de aquel entonces, el llamado New Deal generó fuentes de trabajo favorables para los navajos. Fueron aceptados en obras de mantenimiento, de renovación y construcción; en la propia reserva también se ofrecieron nuevos puestos: se creó la Reserva Civil del Ejército /CCC/ que ocupó a los navajos en la construcción de diques para el agua del ganado, de presas, mantención de aguadas, perforación de pozos, construcción de molinos de viento, remozado de pozos antiguos y horadación de nuevos /PARMAN, 1976:34/. La Oficina de Obras Públicas /PWA/ construyó en este período también 40 escuelas en el territorio de la reserva /PARMAN, 1976:195/. El Gobierno Federal canceló entre 1930 y 1940, en promedio anual, más de 2 millones de dólares por concepto de salarios por faenas realizadas en la reserva de los navajos /UNDERHILL, 1956:236/.

El efecto producido por la disminución violenta de los rebaños y la inflación del precio de la lana, se presentó ante todo en la vida de las mujeres, puesto que por derecho de propiedad el ganado en general les pertenecía. Por lo tanto, las propietarias de rebaños menores a quienes no se les ofrecieron tan amplias posibilidades de trabajo asalariado como a los hombres, se quedaron sin ingresos propios. El papel jugado por ellas en el seno de la familia se vió quebrantado ya que los hombres pasaron a mantener la familia /UNITED STATES SENATE, 1929-1939:17827-8/.

Las relaciones de producción capitalista —que también irrumpieron en la reserva— convirtieron la economía de la sociedad navajo dependiente de una economía compuesta por el trabajo asalariado, la producción artesanal y la producción de autosuficiencia. Los campamentos y —en tiempos de necesidad— la agrupación de campamentos desempeñaron la coordinación de las actividades económicas que también comprendía la repartición de bienes. Se hizo práctica normal el que los navajos ricos aceptaran como jornaleros a los parientes pobres de su propia familia o clan /véase por ejem. COLLIER, 1966:113/.

III.

Durante la situación coyuntural provocada por la Segunda Guerra mundial la participación de los navajos en la mano de obra nacional alcanzó una importancia nunca antes vista. El ferrocarril, las minas, las faenas estacionales de la agricultura y los diferentes servicios públicos dieron empleo a

miles de navajos /PARMAN, 1976:287, UCHENDU, 1966:127-9/. El número de los ocupados por el ejército sobrepasa a los 300 mil. La industria bélica absorbió enormes masas, muchos navajos lograron en este período empleos que anteriormente fueron inaccesibles o poco accesibles para ellos /ABERLE, 1966:75/. Eran empleados en trabajos asalariados como producto de campañas de reclutamiento, cuando las necesidades bélicas aceleraron la producción:

"Durante la guerra los navajos ocuparon aproximadamente lo mil puestos /esta cifra con la mayoría de las estimaciones puede pasar por moderada L.B/. Enormes camiones de carga esperaban en muchos sitios tan apartados de la reserva como son los puestos de comercio. Los chóferes ofrecían a los pocos indios que sabían inglés uno o dos dólares, o la cantidad que fuese necesaria por el reclutamiento de mano de obra y una vez llenos partían con su carga. El hacinamiento en los camiones era tal que los navajos sólo podían ir de pie. Los llevaban a direcciones desconocidas /¡ sic! L.B./. Supuestamente a los campos de algodón de Texas, a plantaciones de frijoles y lechugas en Arizona, a la construcción del ferrocarril de Santa Fe y hasta Idaho, al Northern Pacific Railroad, o a las plantaciones de remolacha en Colorado y Utah /BOYCE, 1974:130/".

Según ADAMS, /63:50/:..."Con la guerra aparecen

por primera vez hasta en los últimos rincones de la Tierra Navaja los reclutadores de mano de obra.

Antes de 1940 los navajos ya eran considerados como importante mano de obra, pero sólo para las faenas agrícolas de la región, la gran mayoría de los hombres de Shonto nunca había realizado un trabajo asalariado permanente, excepto algunos días o semanas en las construcciones locales... Hacia 1943, gracias a la ayuda de comerciantes, los reclutadores de mano de obra llegaron a todas partes en la reserva, y todo navajo sano, independientemente de su nivel de capacitación, recibió trabajo bien remunerado, con alojamiento y transporte gratuito.

El ejemplo de Shonto es en general característico de los indios navajos del noroeste. Antes de la Segunda Guerra mundial de la comunidad sólo 6 hombres trabajaban por salario, sin tomar en cuenta los trabajos temporales promovidos por el Gobierno, y además ninguno de ellos hizo servicio militar. Hacia fines de la guerra sólo dos hombres habían hecho servicio militar, pero por lo menos 50 de los 70 hombres que constituían el total de la mano de obra, eran ocupados cerca de Flagstaff por el Depósito Militar Navajo en el ferrocarril de Santa Fe. Al mismo tiempo muchos de ellos participaron en trabajos agrícolas esta-

cionales de Utah e Idaho..."

Los salarios relativamente altos desfavorecieron al trabajo artesanal tradicional. Durante la Segunda Guerra mundial cualquier trabajo era 5 o 10 veces mejor remunerado que el hilado de tejidos o la platería /UNDERHILL,1956:243/.

"Antes de la guerra los ingresos provenientes de los salarios representaban menos del 30 % del ingreso total de los navajos, y el trabajo asalariado —aparte de aquel ofrecido por el Gobierno en la reserva— tampoco alcanzaba más del 10 %. La industria casera era la principal fuente de ingresos. En cambio después de la guerra la renta proveniente de los trabajos asalariados siempre superó el 50 % del total de los ingresos de los navajos../ADAMS,1963:50/.

El Servicio Indígena del Gobierno Federal /antecesor de la Oficina de Asuntos Indígenas/ quiso instalar industrias en la reserva, en los primeros años de la guerra, pero al mismo tiempo, trató de atraer al máximo de navajos para satisfacer las crecientes necesidades de mano de obra de los grandes centros industriales. La anterior política promotora de la producción de mercancías a pequeña escala fue desplazada por ciertos "objetivos superiores" /BOYCE,1974:134/ los cuales en el fondo pretendían asegurar el destino de los ricos yacimientos de gas natural /véase por ejemplo PALMER,1967:111/ y de petróleo /véase por ejemplo LAMPHERE,1976:9/. El Servicio Indígena de acuerdo con estos objetivos "superiores", intentó

utilizar en forma cada vez más sistemática, en favor de los monopolios y de los empresarios capitalistas, la barata y poco exigente mano de obra navajo. La reserva de mano de obra industrial de los navajos quedó liberada después de terminada la guerra, al cesar la producción bélica, con lo cual dichos objetivos alcanzaron su total desenvolvimiento.

IV.

La base del sustento de los navajos después de la Segunda Guerra mundial fue asegurada en general por el trabajo asalariado industrial y agrícola, excepto las familias más ricas.

"En 1949 más de 13 mil hombres realizaron trabajos de temporada fuera de la reserva. En uno de los sectores /Kayenta.L.B./, de donde provienen los datos, en 1950 el 28 % del ingreso total provenía de los salarios obtenidos fuera de la reserva...

/MC COMBE, KLUCKHOHN, and VOGT, 1951:135/"

/Cabe señalar que los datos estadísticos no incluyen los ingresos de los navajos provenientes de salarios obtenidos dentro de la reserva./ Aunque el cultivo de pequeños huertos familiares seguía siendo fundamental para el sustento, su importancia fue decayendo gradualmente /véase SASAKI, 1960: 48/.

A partir de 1950 el crecimiento demográfico fue de 2,4-3,3 % anual /YOUNG, 1961:321/. Considerando que la extensión del territorio habitado no había variado, este hecho se

presentó como nuevo factor compulsivo en el proceso extraordinariamente acelerado de la conversión de los navajos en obreros asalariados. Los navajos seguían siendo invariablemente fuente de mano de obra barata, por tanto los comerciantes de la reserva —junto con los agentes del Gobierno Federal— se incorporaron también activamente a las tareas de reclutamiento. Al respecto ADAMS, expresa lo siguiente sobre los años 50:

"La tarea histórica del comerciante, desde los comienzos del intercambio comercial establecido con los navajos, fue encontrar para sus clientes fuentes de ingresos que diesen beneficios cada vez mayores ... Todas las formas de obtención de ingresos estables, como la venta de lana y de carneros, la elaboración de productos de industria casera, los salarios por trabajos ferroviarios y los subsidios por cesantía surgieron a iniciativa y gestión de los comerciantes /ADAMS,1963:276/.

Es indudable que la preponderancia del trabajo asalariado de obras ferroviarias, frente a la importancia de otros trabajos, no solamente en Shonto sino en toda la reserva, obedece a la avidez y la tenacidad con la que los comerciantes intentaban convencer a sus acostumbrados compradores para que realizaran este trabajo y no otros /ADAMS,1963:280/".

Los comerciantes recibían a cambio una determinada participación en las utilidades. En primer lugar estaban interesados en asegurar el poder adquisitivo de sus clientes navajos /véase por ejemplo SASAKI,1960:94/.

En los años 50 comenzó con gran ímpetu la explotación de las riquezas naturales de la reserva. La extracción del gas natural y del petróleo, la explotación de las minas de uranio y carbón de excelent calidad, la generación local de la energía eléctrica barata, no solamente aumentó el número de obreros asalariados, sino que creó un estrato de funcionarios tan importante por su número /16.656 personas en 1955 y 17.228 en 1973 - KELLEY,1977:196/ como por su papel social /ABERLE,1966:80, SHEPARDSON,1963/.

Las comunidades familiares tradicionales de los navajos, los llamados campamentos, perdieron vitalidad. Ciertas comunidades-campamentos de profundas tradiciones, mantenidas unidas por viudas, mujeres separadas o por matrimonios de gente mayor y de prestigio, continuaron siendo a pesar de todo lo carasterístico de la reserva, y sólo en los años 60-70 comenzaron a disgregarse en familias nucleares, entre las cuales disminuyó vertiginosamente cualquier forma de trabajo cooperativo /LAMPHERE,1979:86-7/.

Primero fueron los pastores y agricultores navajos quienes al trabajar por salarios, fueron los que primero descuidaron sus obligaciones de mantenimiento de las instalaciones de propiedad común /por ejemplo, canales de regadío/, o en algunos casos se libraron de ellas pagando el equivalente en dinero /SASAKI,1960:98/. La siembra, cosecha, esquila de ovejas que antiguamente eran actividades llevadas a cabo recíprocamente entre las familias y vínculos de parentesco, se convirtieron entonces en trabajo asalariado /SASAKI,1960:23,28/.

Los miembros activos de la familia, quienes tradicionalmente tenían la tarea de auxiliar a los habitantes de los campamentos, trataban de esconder el dinero, o gastarlo rápidamente para no tener que cumplir esta obligación /ADAMS 1963:262/. Algunas de las familias ricas, a veces grupos de clanes intentan acaparar las posibilidades de trabajo dentro de la reserva, a través de vínculos establecidos con diferentes patrones, jefes de tribus, agentes gubernamentales y comerciantes /ADAMS 1963:101/. Los trabajadores que por tiempos largos se ausentaban de la reserva, a raíz de que no participaban en las actividades de la comunidad, pierden su derecho a intervenir en los asuntos de interés colectivo /SASAKI 1960:90, 113/.

En el proceso de descomposición de la organización social tradicional de los navajos actuó de manera significativa el denominado "Proyecto de Traslado". El Informe MERIAM ya había planteado en los años 20 que el Gobierno debería promover el traslado de los indios a sectores industriales, pero la crisis de los años 30 hizo poco oportuna la proposición. Nuevamente fue relegada a segundo plano, primero por la nueva política económica, la creación de fuentes de trabajo en la reserva y luego por la situación coyuntural a consecuencia de la guerra. En la segunda mitad de la década del 40 el Gobierno Federal dio los primeros pasos para realizar el proyecto paralelamente al descenso de la producción. El Congreso asignó en principio un millón y medio de dólares para asistencia social y reclutamiento de mano de obra, suma que fue aumentada

hasta tres millones y medio de dólares, durante los diez años del programa de rehabilitación /la mayor parte de este dinero fue utilizado directamente en el traslado de familias navajo/ /YOUNG, 1958:99/.

Se abrieron también "Oficinas de Traslado" para brindar asistencia continua a las personas y familias que iban a ser trasladadas. A partir de 1952 también el Consejo de la Tribu contribuyó en forma especial a la movilización de los navajos. La red de oficinas de traslado seguían con atención durante dos años el proceso de asimilación de los indios en su nuevo ambiente, alejados de sus antiguos hogares, pero sobre todo...

"... proporcionaban la ayuda material necesaria para la atención médica, educación, el asentamiento de las familias, gastos de mudanza, y también aseguraban trabajo en la ciudad elegida /YOUNG, 1961:234/".

A partir de 1957 el Proyecto de Traslado fue complementado con la enseñanza gratuita de un oficio prorrogable por dos años. La Oficina de Asuntos Indígenas se encargaba de la mantención completa de las personas que participaban en cursos de capacitación así como de sus familiares /YOUNG, 1961:235/. A pesar de que un tercio de los traslados a ciudades regresó a la reserva en un plazo de 8 años, aproximadamente 200 mil indios se quedaron definitivamente en sus nuevos hogares.

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István BONDÁR – Csaba NEMES:

NATURE AND MAN IN THE HISTORICAL PERU – A STUDY TO HISTORICAL ECOLOGY

When the ancestors of today's American Indians first reached the coast of the American continent, the ice age on the northern hemisphere which had lasted for many hundreds of thousands of years had already arrived at its last phase. This period fell between the 10-15-thousand-year-long interglacial age, that had started about 100 000 years ago, and the present interglacial age, that began about 10 000 years ago.

Why did people leave their original settlements and to what extent did the climatic changes play a part in it? Lengthy climatic changes alternated with the oscillation of climate, i.e. the rotation of shorter cold and warm, wet and arid periods. It would also be interesting to know how this influenced the formation and collapse of different human communities. These are all open questions even today. To find the answers, first of all we need a full knowledge of historic and prehistoric climatic changes.

Different scientific devices can help in our investigation. Nevertheless, they are not sufficient to form a true notion of the problem. We have a great number of research methods: e.g. we know that the O^{18} isotope in polar ice-samples refers to the distribution of precipitation; the proportion of O^{18}/O^{16} in carbonate indicates temperature; C^{13}/C^{12} or the proportion of D/H in the cellulose of annual rings approximately inform us of the character of the climate of previous ages. In order to make our knowledge of the subject more correct we have to make use of all kinds of

sources. Our archaeological attainments may also help our investigation. "The rise and fall of East Asian and American civilizations show a certain similarity with the environmental changes induced by the climate. Presumably it is partly due to the imperfection of our archaeological knowledge, or actually in the development of these civilizations the climatic influences were not so strong as for instance in the case of Egypt or the valley of Indus. Perhaps the only exception is the lowland plain of the South American western coast where the climatic changes formed the history of the region."

Using Ecuadorian sources, PAULSEN, in 1976, reports on a more arid climate between 600 and 1000 A.D. and after 1400 A.D. His assumption is based on the fact that because of the local changes of farming the native American Indians had to switch to fishing and plant-gathering. He adds that during these draughty periods the different coastal communities of Ecuador and Peru underwent a certain decline, while, on the other hand, on the same territory and at the same time - in about 600 - the history of the Incas and their ancestors reached its highest peak. It is also interesting that their last great epoch under the rule of Huayna Capac took place during the 15th century. According to PAULSEN, the connection between the arid climate and the development of higher cultures is very complex, so we cannot point out evident natural relations as certain other factors necessarily add to the problem.¹

from the records of historians, chroniclers, missionaries and other scholars who were in contact with the Spanish conquerors, we can learn much about the contemporary natural environment and its changes. We may also rely on the written records of the age, as well as on different painted potteries and delineations, from which we can often conclude on the past fauna and flora. The so-called "dragon-bones" unearthed in the region of Chinese Anjang are perhaps the earliest examples of such relics. Actually, they are pieces of sheep shoulder-blades and tortoise-shells bearing different characters on the surface. In about 1100-1400 BC, they were used for futuretelling and prediction making.

But let us now return to the Peruvian sources. From the work of SEARS, published in 1895, we can learn that in 1532, the climate in Peru changed from its original condition. SEARS proves it by the record of Francisco Pizzaro, who, on his way from Tumbes to Cajamarca with his troops, happily realized that a previous anomaly in precipitation, of which the swollen rivers might have informed them, guaranteed enough vegetable food to their animals.² This anomaly was undoubtedly the result El Niño, that interesting natural phenomenon which is characteristic of the Peruvian coastal and nearby regions and which, according to popular observations, recurs every seven years. Still, we have not acquired a full knowledge of this phenomenon, which originates from an abnormal rise in the temperature of the sea. In such years, the temperature of the sea-surface may be 5-7 C°

higher than usual. The last time El Niño appeared was between December, 1982 and April, 1983. But the degree of anomaly can also be as great as it was in 1953, when 40 % of the rain of 20 years fell during these months. His no wonder, then, that this phenomenon, which recurs sporadically every 5 or 10 years, surprised Pizzaro, too.

Let us deal now with the memoirs of Ferenc Xavér ÉDER, the Jesuit missionary who left for South America in 1749, and spent 15 years among the Indians in the old "Peruvian Empire". He writes in his "Preliminary Report on the Peruvian Empire" as follows: "The old Peruvian Empire, which is almost equal in territory with Europe, lies between Paraguay and the Quito Empire; the former one borders it from the north, the latter one from the south. Its eastern neighbour is Brasilia, while its western coast is washed by the Mar de Sud - as the Peruvians call the Atlantic Ocean."³ During his stay there, he undertook two journeys in the country, from which he obtained a very profound knowledge of the place. This is what he writes about Lima: "The location of the town itself is very charming and the evergreen trees are also very pleasant."⁴ Later on, he tells us that "In the major part of the year, the temperature of the air is good. But sometimes there is such a great heat that if the southern wind did not subdue it, it would be very hard to bear. In such a weather people cool their drinks with lumps of ice."⁵ "But in certain months", he adds, "sometimes the sky is being overcast by clouds for ten days, and these wet clouds are driven by the

wind, which is so strong and piercing that even the felt clothes and cloaks are too thin to prevent us from the cold."⁶ So the hot-spell of January, February and March is permanently by the cool wind from the southern coast. Those "certain months", when clouding over is strong, fall between July and October, and this period also produces minimum temperatures. Lima has the finest weather in March and April. Later on, ÉDER describes the whole territory of the "Empire": "... it is astonishing how the radiation of the sun and the climate could change in a few hours, and this could happen not only once or twice a year or in certain months as in Europe, but it may occur in any period of the year. You can often see that, after a snowy and bitterly cold night, in the next morning you can find beautifully blossoming cotton-plants and sugar-cane. I am sure that any plant you would bring from any part of the world would produce here a very rich crop. Is there any kind of air temperature, can we imagine any sort of warm or cold weather that you could not find in this country?"⁷ After this brief and, after all, rather in formative description written in a very good style, let us get a nearer view of what ÉDER could really experience in this country; let us examine some characteristic climatic parameters.

First, we can have a look at the territorial and annual distribution of temperature. The average annual mean temperature of Eastern and Central Peru is figured out

empirically, taken as a function of altitude:

altitude /m/	0	0	500	1000	1500	2000	2500	3000	3500
temperature /C°/	27	24	21	20	17	16	13	9	

altitude /m/	4000	4500
temperature /C°/	6	3

The annual thermal conditions measured by certain weather stations are:

- Iquitos: the temperature is mediocre and is at about the same level every month. The warmest months are October and December /the mean temperature of these months is between 26.5 and 27.5 C°/. The "coldest" period falls between June and August /25.0 C° - 25.5 C°/
- Cusco: the mean temperature between October and December is 13.3 C° - 13.6 C°; between June and August it is 10.2 C° - 11.2 C°
- Santa Cruz /Bolivia/: the monthly mean temperature calculated from the daily maximum temperatures between September and March is 30 C° - 31 C°; the minimum during the same period is between 19 C° and 21 C°. The monthly mean temperature calculated from the daily minimums is 15 C° - 19 C°, and it falls on the months between May and September.

It is interesting to refer to the temperature data of El Misti /5835 m/, which is varying between the warmest mean temperature of January / - 5.9 C° / and the coldest mean temperature of June / - 10 C° /. /According to HANN/.⁸ On the other hand, in Arequipa /2363 m/, a nearby town, the monthly mean temperature calculated from the daily maximums is 22 C° - 23 C°, while its minimum is 4 C° - 8 C°.

Now let us say a few words about the distribution of precipitation and its consequences:

- Iquitos: the average annual rainfall is 2638 mm.
Maximum rainfall occurs in March and April, but this exceeds only minimally the average.
- Lima: has very little precipitation due to its coastal situation. Its yearly average is about 29 mm. Its annual maximum is between July and August, which shows the importance of fog-condensing.
- Quince Mil: here the annual rainfall is 6345 mm and more than doubles the rainfall of the second rainiest place, Tingo-Maria. There the maximum amount is only 3170 mm.
- Santa Cruz /Bolivia/: The annual mean amount of precipitation is 1270 mm./Its maximum falls between December and February, its minimum between June and August./

Moreover, what does the water output of the rivers

show?

Let us examine, for instance, the river Rimac and the data of the weather station of Chosica. From these two sets of data one can conclude that the average annual output of water is at its maximum in February and March, while at its minimum in August and September. This is in a natural concordance with the distribution of rainfall in the mountains.

Frederic-André ENGEL,⁹ one of the outstanding experts of the historical ecology of the Andes, has made a division of the mountain based on hydrological indices. We can distinguish the following sectors and zones:

1st zone: coastal desert /up to 1000 m/. The annual mean amount of precipitation is about 25 mm. Vegetation can be found only in different oases. They are:

- the oases of rising rivers
- fog-oases, where the water-drops concentrating in the air provide fresh water to the earth. They were so-named by

ELLENBERG /1959/

- the oases of underground waters which originate from the highlands.

2nd zone: It is between 1000 and 2000 m. It is actually a waste land or a desert. The amount of precipitation is very small. There is no

fog, and the river-beds are too narrow to supply the soil with water when there is a rise.

3rd zone: Up to 2800 m. This territory can be cultivated a little bit more easily. Watering is necessary, though, in for instance, the Arequipa oasis, the annual amount of rainfall can reach 200 mm.

4th zone: The valleys of the Central Andes. These are much more suitable for higher population. The annual mean amount of precipitation is 600-800 mm at most.

5th zone: Puna. Grassy punas on the places of cut out forests. These are important territories to herdsmen.

6th-7th zone: snow-line.

8th-9th zone: These are beyond the territories examined by the group of ENGEL.

ENGEL adds that the peoples of the pre-Columbian age knew well the above-listed oases. The fog-oases, for instance, have being been utilized for 8000 years, were important not only to herdsmen but also to those who dealt with plant-gathering. Hundreds of people lived in the valleys and along the rivers, and they all knew very well the subsurface waters and their currents. As an example, he mentions the

rivers Huantar, Casma and Nepeña, which were all under the authority of the Chavin Empire. He also mentions Aldas, where there was a market and a ritual centre built up 380 m long by the riverside.

Let us now return to the records of ÉDER in which he described those territories where he spent 15 years among the Indians. More exactly, this is the region of the river Mamoré, where he worked in different missionary communities. The title of this record is "The Province and the Inhabitants of the Peruvian Mojos".¹⁰ "Let us speak now about the stars and the brightness of the sky. No words can describe how sparkling and beautiful the sky can be in this part of the world - mainly if the prevailing winds arrive from the south. For these winds dispel the steam of the earth and the stars burst upon one's sight more brightly." The main direction of the prevailing winds has not changed during the last two centuries, so it seems certain that in autumn and winter the southern wind was dominant, just like today. Of course, anomaly can also be a possible result of orography." It seems that the Indians do not really care about stars. They are only interested in the constellation of the star that settles the exact time of sowing.

"Further on, ÉDER is writing about the different operations that precede sowing and about that agricultural method which fertilizes the soil by burning. In July, August, or September, the plough-lands are burnt up. Natural barriers of fire are formed by the evergreen forests. "But only the

smaller branches can be burnt to ashes, the saw-logs and the thicker limbs the fire cannot destroy. This is very fortunate, because on this territory, which is exposed to violent winds, these pieces of wood form different "beds" around the sown Turkish-corn /maize/ so as the wind could not beat it down." On this territory, the velocity of the wind can reach 20-25, the gusts even 30 knots. The only exceptions are the months of autumn. "...they do not till the soil, but when the copious rainfall soaks the earth - in October, at about the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi - they dig holes with wooden hoes, then they throw 10-11 seeds into them and, lastly, they cover it grubbing earth to them by their feet." The rainy weather begins in October and it reaches its maximum in January and February. The abundant rainfall results in rich crop of maize. "Even a horseman is hardly visible among its stems rising astonishingly high. Its leaves are very wide, its stalk is thick - like a staff - its fruit is sometimes half an ell long."

About the temperature and the vapour percentage of the air he writes: "The sun shines a lot all through the year; I think, nobody could find a hotter country even in the African desert."¹⁰ But it is rather a kind of "hyperbole" and its reason must have been the enormous degree of humidity which could hardly moderate the unbearable temperature of the deciduous tropical forests." ...this area is both hot and wet, so many diseases are unavoidable.¹¹ The relative amount of moisture can be as high as 95 % in the morning and 60-70 %

in the afternoon.

Agricultural terracing in historical Peru

Beside the agriculture of the fog-oases, which made use of the recurrent rise of rivers, agricultural terracing might also have played an important part in the provisioning of the pre-Columbian inhabitants.

It is generally accepted that the forming of these terraces started long before the age of the Incas, during the preclassical period. The first signs of agricultural terracing appeared in 500 B C, during the Formative period. From this time on, the building and cultivating of such terraces was continually passed down from culture to culture, and at last reached its high point during the Inca era.

The early Spanish chronicles often call the terraces andenes.¹² We can also mention the Quechuan pata and suca and the Aymaran taka names.¹³

The agricultural terracing became general mainly on those territories of the Andes where an arid or semiarid climate was dominant. Today 95 % of them are situated on territories which have the climate of deserts or steppes. In these areas the annual amount of precipitation is 900 mm or even less, and the period of the arid seasons can be longer than 5 months.¹⁴

The above-mentioned climatic phenomena are mainly

characteristic of the highlands of the Andes, so the first signs of agricultural terracing can be found on the territories which lie above 1000 m. The highest terraces can be found at 4700 meters, on the northern slopes of Lake Titicaca. Their major part is cultivated even today.¹⁵

Agricultural terracing was always considered less important than irrigation by canals. Nevertheless, the former was much more determinant in the distribution of the pre-Columbian population.¹⁶

When shaping these terraces, the sloping hillsides were usually preferred to flat countries, partly because on those territories the soil was exposed to the fresh air to a larger extent, and the danger of frost was less. We can add to this that the agriculture on the slopes could be directly connected with the settlements on the hill-tops. The terraces got their necessary water supply by hand-watering or irrigation by canals.

Most terraces were bordered by stone-walls which stopped the gravitational slipping of soil which had either accumulated or been brought by the Peruvians. The height of these walls was often more than 9 m; of course, this depended upon the steepness of the slope. And it is obvious that the larger the amount of filling is, the thicker the counterforts have to be. The building up of such walls demands a profound knowledge of engineering, which attained its artistic perfection during the Inca era. Indeed, most of the Inca

terraces seem to exceed the bounds of mere utility, and they also have a symbolic meaning, just like other Inca architectural works.

The filling up of late Inca terraces was done by a special method; first, they covered the foundation with a mixture of broken stone and clay called tierra arcillosa. Next, it was overlaid with a 30-40 cm thick layer of crop-land /tierra vegetal/, which they sometimes had to take there from great distances.¹⁷

The agricultural terracing is usually connected with irrigation by canals, which was developing during the preclassical period, roughly during the same period as the appearance of terracing. Later on, the different classical /Nazca/ and preclassical /Inca/ cultures developed complicated systems to utilize the superficial and subsoil waters.

During the Inca age, maize /Zea mays/ was raised in all the valleys of the Andes where it was possible to water the terraces. Above the height of maize-cultivating - about 3200-3500 m - the terraces were used to raise fundamental provisions. They were tuber crops - like frost resistant solanaceae /Solanum spp./, oca /Oxalis tuberosa/, ullucu /Ullucus tuberosus/, and local cereals like quinoa /Chenopodium tuberosus/ and cañahua /Chenopodium pallidicaule/. On the terraces of Las Yungas, at the eastern edge of the Andes, coca /Erythroxylon coca/ was raised, which was used for medical purposes and for different rituals. The cultivation

of coca was under the control of the Inca Empire. /Later on, the Spanish conquerors took over this role from them./

Today, the majority of the previously-cultivated terraces are not utilized. The slow disappearance of agricultural terracing started before the Spanish conquests; it was chiefly due to a variety of climatic reasons, mainly to the fact that for the last 2000-2500 years there has been a general decline in the amount of rainfall. On the other hand, there were also shorter or medium long fluctuations in the quantity of precipitation. This slow decline in rainfall reduced the rate of flow of the different currents which had previously guaranteed enough water, and after a critical level made it impossible to irrigate the terraces. In the case of those terraces which lay on arid or semi-arid territories, even a very minor decrease in the average amount of rainfall, or lesser or greater fluctuations, could become fatal for agricultural terracing. On those regions which did not suffer from a lack of water, the reason for the end of agricultural terracing must have been the illuviation of septic mineral salts.

From the age of the Spanish Conquest, agricultural terracing has been increasingly declining, and this is obviously due to the conquest itself. The Europeans introduced different diseases, such as influenza, smallpox, measles and syphilis, which all took their toll of the inhabitants, whose resistance was weak against these ill-

nesses. Between 1520 and 1570, two thirds of the natives of the Central Andes were killed by the direct and or indirect genocide of the Spanish conquerors.¹⁸ This, of course, led to the decline of the previously-flourishing agricultural terracing and to the negligence of the well-developed irrigation plants and waterworks.

Today, the correct answers to the questions posed above are still unknown, and here we could not even try to solve these problems. In thought, we followed Pizzaro on his way, we were in the Chavin Empire, and, with the help of ÉDER's records, we resorted to the river Mamoré. We have also become acquainted with agricultural terracing. We can recall the past with the help of written relics and different other sorts of finds, but we must keep in mind that - beside scientific measurings - they also help us to form a more realistic picture of climatic changes and their influence on the history of mankind.

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Vilmos VOIGT:

EARLY VIKING SOURCES ABOUT THE NEW WORLD

insulam ... quae dicitur

Winland

/Adam Bremensis/

I.

The Vikings' early voyages to the present territory of North Amerika is a recurring subject of the Hungarian scientific research and popular sciences. Nevertheless, apart from some second-hand information, occasional publications and articles, we can mention only few studies that approach the matter from a really serious scientific point of view. Between 1938 and 1940 JÁNOS HONTI has published four of his papers which all dealt with the problem of Winland.¹ According to his interpretation, the conception of Winland - which he derived from a Celtic origin -, in contrast to the place-names connected to other Viking journeys, was the manifestation of an ideal, unreal country, it meant a paideuma-like manifestation of joy or the other-world.² The book of the Norwegian amateur archeologist and traveller, HELGE INGSTAD³ appeared in Hungarian language more than ten years ago. In it he gives account of his American Viking expeditions between 1961 and 1970, in the course of which in 1960, in the northern part of Newfoundland not far from the fishers' village called L'Anse aux Meadows he came across Viking findings which all dated back to the year 1000. In recent years a surprisingly great number of books have been publish-

ed in Hungary which all deal with the problems of the Vikings. The book of the Danish archeologist, JOHANNES BRØNDSTED⁴ refers briefly to the Winland-stories, though the accounts are not word for word translations of the original texts. The popularizing work of PÖRTNER⁵ presents quite properly the questions of the Viking society and expansion. ISTVÁN RÁCZ's picture book⁶ is effective rather by its illustrations; he mentions just very briefly the Vikings' way to America. The thesis dealing with Viking navigation⁷ did not arouse too much interest. Unfortunately, among the above-mentioned works only the book of BRØNDSTED gives further bibliographic and philological references. Another problem is that the terminology and the dates of the otherwise precise translations do not always agree. It shows a general public interest that recently the Hungarian popularizing scientific journal "Univerzum" has published a two-part article about the Viking and Eskimo findings on Ellesmere Island⁸, though, of course, again without any further references.

The sensational reports on the Europeans who had been to America 500 years before the arrival of Columbus display dilettantism even if the facts themselves are more or less exact. The European world of science has never denied that the Vikings reached Greenland and the territories lying west of it. But, on the other hand, the attempts to acquire any trustworthy trace of Egyptian, Arab, Berber, Basque, Greek, Roman, Irish, Jewish or other nation's voyage to the pre-

columbian America, or even their return from there, all have remained unsuccessful - and, perhaps, it could not have been otherwise. Of course, Egyptian, Jewish, Celtic or Roman archeological "findings" appear from time to time on the different territories of America, and we can take it for certain that in the future their number will rather grow than fall; nevertheless, they are outside the domain of science based on real facts.

In Scandinavian studies the only thing that can be considered as a fact is not more than the acknowledgement /and all the handbooks state the same/ that after the exploration of other territories the north-western Viking expansion reached Iceland in about 870. In spite of the fact that it must have been a very important event in the life of the Scandinavian inhabitants whose descendants are still living on the island, actually, none of the early source-books look upon it as a real "discovery". These works mention more than one "first" traveller, and they fairly agree that the Vikings had already found in Iceland a European population, presumably Celtic monks or, perhaps, another social group, the members of which were later on used as their servants or slaves.

Landnámabók /its oldest manuscripts can be dated back to about 1100/ mentions that by the end of the 10th century the Icelanders had already known about the existence of a continent lying west of them, moreover, they had had certain

connections with it. This territory is called Grönland /i.e. 'green land'/ by the earliest sources as well, and we can identify it with the present island, though, according to the early writings, the Vikings thought it to be a continent rather than an island. Eiríks saga rauða /both of its chief manuscripts were written at the beginning of the 14th century/, to which we shall later on turn back, dates the "discovery" of Greenland back to the years between 982 and 985. According to it, the discoverers came from Iceland. Landnámabók dates the same event definitely to the years between 985 and 986, and actually, it can be regarded to be authentic.

The medieval Icelandic sources /or those of an Icelandic origin/ give a relatively full picture about the life of the Vikings in Greenland. They mention a number of colonies both on the western and on the eastern coast. They also mention certain voyages starting eastwards from Greenland sailing towards that part of the Atlantic which lies north of Iceland and which can be connected to the present territories of Svalbard Islands, Jan Mayen Island and to Bjarmaland which can be localized at the northern borders of the actual European region of Russia. Examining their ecclesiastic organization, we can learn that the inhabitants - among whom, in the golden age of Greenland, there were about 4-5000 Europeans - formed individual episcopacy. What is really strange is that we do not know exactly how they have died out. Until the beginning of the 14th century,

there had been a very strong naval connection between Iceland and Greenland. Later on, it was slowly coming to an end - as far as we know, the last ship from Greenland arrived in Iceland in 1410 - presumably because of the marked social, economical, and sanitary decline of the 14th century Iceland and Norway. By the very end of the 15th century, in about the time when Columbus discovered America, there had been no connections between Greenland and Europe. It was Martin Frobisher who, in 1576, "discovered" Greenland again. By that time, the Vikings had already died out on the island, though, according to certain presumptions, in 1721, the Norwegian priest Hans Egede, "the apostle of the Eskimos", still hoped that he would find Viking descendants in the course of his missionary work in Greenland. The exact time of the Eskimos' arrival in Greenland is not known even today. For a long time it was thought that only those had been in contact with the Europeans settlers who had lived on the western border of the island. But some recent archeological findings and the discovery of the eastern Eskimo groups have extended the probable territory to the whole inhabitable coast though this supposition has not got any real proof.

Though certain objects, which can be considered as archeological findings of the Viking age /among them, e.g., a runic inscription/ were found as early as the 19th century, the actual archeological exploration started much later and has become widely known since the sensational excavation of the Danish archeologist, POUL NØRLUND in BRATTAHLID /1939/⁹.

Today, the great number of Greenlandic Viking findings make the question of the Viking extinction more and more difficult. The previous and generally accepted view according to which the colonists were degenerated and extincted by different diseases today does not seem to be absolutely convincing. Furthermore we cannot find any sign of a former Eskimo population or of their interbreeding with the natives. We can learn from the data of historical climatology that at the end of the 13th century and during the 14th century the climate turned colder on this territory, too. And when the livestock supply from Iceland was broken off or when certain difficulties hindered the preparation of products that demanded more developed technology /as e.g. smithed tools or weapons/ then, these all aggravated the life of the Greenlanders. But these in themselves are not enough to account for the total destruction of the Greenlandic Viking society. Nor do we know about any fateful fights or elemental disasters which could have brought at once such an unexpected end.

A great number of contemporary manuscripts show that from the 14th century on /and, presumably, even earlier/ the Icelandic, the Norwegian /and actually the Danish/ population all took notice of the existence of Greenland. Not only the sagas but also the titles of two Edda-songs have preserved its name. Among the few remaining Scandinavian maps of the age we can find the chart of Claudius Clavius Niger /this is the so-called Nancy-map dated usually at for

1427/ which has already denoted Greenland, though still as a part of Europe. On the Vinland-map, which was made in about 1440 or 1450, Greenland is marked already as an island and with surprisingly right outlines just like Vinland, again as an island with its two lagoon-like bays. The Ice-lander Sigurður Stefánsson in about 1590 also indicated Vinland in his map, and in about 1605 the Danish bishop, Hans Poulsen Resen made a map about the same territory too.¹⁰ In spite of all these, especially the confused travel reports of Frobisher on islands, passages and different routes leading to "China" on the one hand, and his credible descriptions about Tartar-like looking Eskimos and icebergs on the other hand perplexed the European public opinion even of the 17th century, just like the report of de la MOTE LE MAYER, which was in the second half based on "Danish" and "Icelandic" sources and which was looked upon as a standard work even in Germany¹¹ though it still regarded Greenland as an endless continent the eastern borders of which reached as far as Svalbard.

Another manifestation of the Nordic people's continuous experience and interest in America was the publication of the handbook titled Antiquitates Americanae¹² in 1837. Though it maintains the view that America was discovered "anno 1170 duce Madoc consedissee" by the Welsh-men called "Cambro-Britannos", nevertheless, when summing up the different scientific descriptions, it mentions the names of the great Danish erudites of the 18th century.¹³

II.

Concerning the main sources, as a matter of fact, we have to mention the two well-known texts of Old Icelandic literature. Since the 19th century they both have appeared in several good and scientific editions, and by the help of a great many translations they have become internationally known. About twenty years ago, two outstanding experts, MAGNUS MAGNUSSON and HERMANN PÁLSSON published popular English translations of the Icelandic writings.¹⁴ This book became famous partly because the authors tried to work the former philological accomplishments into the translations.

The scholars' opinions differ in the question whether "The Saga of Red Eric" /Eiríks saga rauða/ or "the history of the Greenlanders" /Groenlendiga þáttur - which sometimes and also in Hungary is mistranslated as a "saga"/ is the more important or more authentic text. ESR¹⁵ has two parchment manuscripts. The first one /AM 544,4^Q/ is the part of Hauksbók and it dates back to the beginning of the 14th century. The other one /Am 557,4^Q/, which is also called Skálholtsbók, is one century later. On the basis of AM 544,4^Q /and certain other references/ the story is also often mentioned as Þórfinns saga karlsefnis, but it is not a third version just another title of the same text. So, we cannot speak about three different Vinland-stories even if some uninformed writers of certain references and translations mention it as a fact. Grp¹⁶ was written at about the end of

the 12th century, but the oldest remaining /and also parchment/ manuscript has been preserved in Flateyjarbók, which was composed between 1382 and 1395 in the northern part of Iceland. We also know four further copies of this book, already written on paper, and it shows the past popularity of Flateyjarbók. These versions, however, do not add new elements to the original Vinland-stories.

According to SVEN B. F. JANSSON¹⁷, certain sections of the Hauksbók text of ESR must be considered as shortened versions of an original text, while other sections were enlarged. In the case of GRp we actually do not have any complete manuscripts. The text of Flateyjarbók is inserted into the saga of OLAF TRYGGVASON, and presumably, that is why its beginning was left out. What we can read now at the beginning of the story is only a later formed text written on the basis of Landnámabók.

The other important question in which the scholars have been interested for a long time is in connection with the exact dates of the events and the texts of the two stories. According to the traditional view, America "was discovered" by LEIF ERIKSSON in about 1000, and thus ESR, which states the same should be considered as more original. But some new investigation try to verify that the data of GRp, according to which BJARNI HERJOLFSSON had /accidentally/ seen the "New World" 15 years earlier, are authentic. In JÓN JÓHANNESSON's opinion¹⁸ ESR is a late and rewrited version of the events,

the rephrasing of an already well-known story putting LEIF
ERIKSSON in the centre. It can be proved especially by that
 part of story in which LEIF, as the agent of OLAF TRYGGVASON,
 the Norwegian king, sets out to christianize the Green-
 landers. In reality such expedition and commission never
 took place, because the christianization of Iceland fell on
 about the same time, and, as a matter of fact, it was
 carried out not soon and with much difficulties. So, this
 part must have been inserted into the original story by
GRUNNLAUG LEIFSSON, a 12th century Icelandic monk. The Ice-
 landic copyists also noticed these differences between the
 two texts, and they attempted to find different solutions
 to "harmonize" them. It is just why by now why it seems so
 that the composition of Grp must be considered to be more
 authentic.

Of course, the existance of such differences does not
 mean at all that the texts are unreliable. On the contrary,
 we have to understand that they are reconstructed versions
 of well-known stories, which proves that the fact of the
 journey to Vinland stands beyond argument. What still
 remains a question is that when the first hints about the
 New World appeared in Iceland.

If we accept that the Vikings were those who, in about
 985, first caught sight of the land that we call now
 /Northern/ America, the question may arise when this new
 experience was recorded for the first time and whether the

connected data re reliable. The philologist's ostentation adds to these problems, which stimulates every decent expert of the subject to make out indirect, hidden information of the texts. From among the compilers of such data HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON, the great Icelandic philologist is undoubtedly worth mentioning, who, during his long life, several times returned to the problem of the Vinland-stories, also changing his former ideas in the meantime.¹⁹

We have to start from the fact that both Greenland and later on the American continent must have been discovered between 985 and 1000. If the information of these events, as verbal messages, reached both Iceland and the that time closely connected Norway very soon, then we may suppose that the same experiences could become known in a relatively short time also among the Danes or in the entire circle of those who showed interest in the Vikings. The north-western expansion of Iceland at the very end of the 10th century resulted from the internal logic of conquests and the long-distance voyages rather than from an inner social necessity. Though the opinion is not very likely that Red Eric returning from his voyage in 982 called the new territory grön-land, i.e. a "green", moreover a "grassy and rich" land in order to induce his compatriots to settle there, nevertheless, it indicates that it may have been necessary to such suppose earlier propagandistic devices in the time of the shaping of the saga. As the Eric saga mentions that many years before /according to present

opinion it was in about 900/ Gunnbjörn had already seen "Greenland" and that Eric started to hunt up the same territory, it is feasible that the Icelanders had already knew about the existence of Greenland for a relatively long time, but they considered it neither seducing nor worth keeping in secret.

But such a free transmission of information about discoveries and adventures was by no means ordinary in the European Middle Ages. The different data on journeys maps, references that could be used in colonization or in trade, the exact observations concerning distances and directions became particularly secret in the area of the Mediterranean from the time of the crusades, and in connection with the Atlantic from the 15th century. Both in the case of Greenland and America it is conceivable that at that later time certain people had already known about the existence of these far North Western territories but they never spoke about them. Though it rather belongs to the world of fantasy, later historians of discoveries dealt much with the question whether Columbus /or JOHN CABOT/ could have known about the Vikings' voyage to America. It is wellknown that in the biography of Columbus written by his son, Fernando, there is a quotation of a reputed remark according to which Christopher Columbus "in February 1477, got 100 miles beyond the island of Tile".²⁰ If we identify it with the name and Land of Thule and with the territories which, nearly since late antiquity, were equal with areas where Iceland may have

registered to, then, what is really interesting is not the very fact whether Columbus could really go so far northwards - which is unbelievable - but rather the possibility that his voyage was tried to be reconciled with the antique long-distance navigation, moreover, perhaps it also meant an oblique hint at the Viking long-distance navigation. In the 15th century the spreading of unwritten traditions was helped by the bustling trade between Iceland and Bristol and between Bristol and Iberia, which also circulated believable and unbelievable stories of the sailors. If Columbus knew anything about the Vikings' voyages to America then he must have heard about it in this way.

This connection is more feasible in the case of Cabot. In 1490, the Genoese tradesman and seaman, Giovanni Caboto moved with his family to Bristol, and when it became known that Columbus had gone to America, it was him who, on behalf of the tradesmen of Bristol, started in his little ship towards the new territories. Caboto, whose name at that time had already been changed to the English sounding John Cabot, chose an unexpected direction, and following the northern latitude of 50th degree he travelled straight westwards until on 25th June 1497, he caught sight of that "territory first seen" /Terra Prima Vista/ which was a cold and barren land, yet, in a strange way it was felt to be inhabited, though not a living soul was there to be seen.²¹ Today it seems that what he saw was perhaps the east coast of Newfoundland /or Labrador/. They returned to Europe in the same latitude,

in an almost straight eastwards direction. The surprisingly high north and straight forward navigation shows that - perhaps exactly in Bristol - Cabot could hear about former northern expeditions. Such kind of gossips, of course became more and more lively after the famous voyage of Columbus.

As it has been already mentioned, in spite of the fact that the Norwegians and the Danish tried to monopolize the long-distance trade and the fishing of Iceland, it was exactly Bristol with which the connection of the Icelandic fisherman remained relatively unbroken, and, in this way, they could transmit different data to England, though in Cabot's itineraries there is not a single name, date or characteristic expression which we could relate to such sources.²¹

The series of European textual references to Vinland started with the work of Adam of Bremen /Adam magister Bremensis/. He completed his book about the arch bishops of Hamburg /Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum/ with a kind of appendix /Descriptio insularum Aquilonis/ in which he described northern territories also mentioning the island of Vinland:

"Praeterea unam adhuc insulam recitavit a multis in eo repertam oceano, quae dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges non seminatas habundare, non fabulosa opinione, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum".²² This book appeared first in print in 1629, though the description itself was written in about 1070. According to Adam, on the waters of "oceanus

septentrionalis" there were five separate islands: Island, Gronland, Halagland, Winland and Insula Cyclopus. It is interesting that besides Winland he does not mention any further "American" place-names, nor does he write about the history of the discovery of the islands.

Another important source is the famous Íslendingbók written by Ari Þorgillson /the manuscript was presumably written in about 1124/, which in few chapters mentions several times that the described, events are based on the tradition of older generations and witnesses. Ari writes down that those who had arrived in Greenland from Iceland found there different stone tools which were similar to the ones found in Vinland. This indirect reference means that at least in the first quarter of the 12th century Vinland was well-known term in Iceland too.²³ But it is interesting that this book, again, does not contain any further "American" place-names, and it does not tell the very story of discovery.

The next manuscript /AM 194,8²/ dates back to the 15th century. It contains a pilgrim's itinerary of Rome and the Holy Land written by NICOLAUS BERGSSON, the abbot of the North Icelandic Benedictine monastery of Þverá /who died in 1159/. The introduction of the manuscript says that Helluland is south of Greenland, then comes Markland and not far from it is "Vinland the good", about which some people think that it reaches as far as Africa. It was Þorfinn Karlsefni who

sailed for this place to examine the usefulness of the territory. It was discovered by Leif the Lucky. It can be seen that this description was written with the knowledge of ESR text. For instance, it mentions that it was Erik who introduced the Christian faith to Greenland. It is quite unbelievable that NICOLAUS BERGSSON himself inserted the Christian elements into the text. The other thing that forewarns the reader is that the above-mentioned passage about Vinland is missing from the other manuscript of the same itinerary, so it is possible that it was a later insertion. What we can positively state is that whoever and whenever wrote these lines it is sure that they were based already on the knowledge of ESR /and perhaps of the Grþ/²⁴

At the turn of the 12th and 13th century, in the Benedictine monastery of Þingeyrar there were two monks who both tried to write the saga of the Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvason, stressing the importance of his christianizing activity. Both writings were written in Latin, and though the original texts have been lost, they were soon translated into Icelandic. The chronicle of Oddr Snorrason written in about 1200 seems to be the older one, and from the remaining three copies it is possible to reconstruct the original work.²⁵ The other monk, the already mentioned GUNNLAUG LEIFSSON died in 1218 or 1219. His work as a separate manuscript has not remained but some of its parts were inserted into the so-called great saga of Olaf Tryggvason, which can be considered as a very popular and

monumental compilation from about 1300, of which more copies have survived. Especially the data referring to the Christianity of Erik aroused great interest. The saga mentions that Vinland was discovered by Leif Eriksson, but otherwise it does not give too much new information.²⁶

In connection with this the classical summarizing work about the history of the Norwegian kings, the Heimskringla /it was drafted in about 1230/ also mentions Leif's voyage to Greenland, in the course of which he found and saved the lives of a few shipwrecked persons who were on their way back from Vinland.²⁷ Kristni saga /written in the middle of the 13th century/ which dealt with the spreading of Christianity in Iceland, just briefly mentions the activity of Leif, in a way which shows that its source was presumably the earlier text of GUNNLAUG LEIFSSON.²⁸

Eyrbyggja saga /which dates from the first quarter of the 13th century/ tells us that Snorri Þorbrandsson travelled to Vinland together with Karlsefni where the son of Snorri /! / whose name was also Þorbrand had lost his life in a battle with the natives /skrælings/.²⁹

The classic literary description of the Viking settlement in Iceland, Landnámabók was fixed at least in five or six versions between the 1330s and the beginning of the 14th century, not including the older "ultimate" sources and the later revised compilations. This work, in compliance with its aim to reach a kind of synthesis, also dwells on

the subject, though just very briefly and - comparing the different manuscripts we can see it - quite inconsonantly. It seems from the different manuscripts among that everybody the scribes knew about Vinland. The figure of Leif appears again, but /e.g. in the Hauksbók variant/ Þorfinn Karlsefni is also mentioned as a discover, presumably not only by chance but also because the later owner of the manuscript, Haukr Erlendsson was his descendant/. In fact, in this book we cannot find any new and detailed descriptions or unexpected motives.³⁰

The tradition of the American voyages of the Vikings was in connection with the tradition of the above-mentioned texts appearing in different manuscripts. ESR, which survived in the Hauksbók compilation /and in an other, also compilation-like, miscellaneous manuscript/ itself contained borrowings from other works /and it is quite sure that Landnámabók was one of them and - according to some scholars - also from certain manuscripts of Sturlubók/. On the other hand, Grp is unseparable from the whole of Flateyrbók, from its textual tradition, and, as we have already mentioned it, from the whole of the historical cycle of King Olaf Tryggvason, which in itself is an extremely difficult problem of Old Norse philology.³²

This circumstance both makes it easiear and makes it harder to interpret the written documents about the Norsemen's voyages to America. On the one hand, the

difficult contexts make it obvious that this subject was widely well-known for centuries so we cannot suspect of falsification or mere literary fiction. On the other hand, the differences, the terminology and the changes of certain texts cause special problems into the examination of which it would be more expedient to enter with the profound knowledge of Old Icelandic literature, and even in this case it is very probable that very different and at the same time equally valuable solutions or supposable explanations could be reached.³³

On the basis of all the above-mentioned facts, we can see it to be proved that between 985 and 1000 the Vikings' American voyages really took place.³⁴ In Scandinavian historical literature and in other sources a few number of minor references to the subject can also be found. But it is more important that certain literary texts also deal with these voyages.³⁵ These works were written between about 1070 and the beginning of the 14th century, and though they were in relation with each other, they cannot be regarded as mere copying or the sophistication of the same source but rather as individual literary pieces, the authority of which in connection with the American voyages are undoubtable.

The historio-cultural and historical questions of the Viking way of life in America³⁶ fall outside the scope of the present study. Nor can we draw far-reaching conclusion

from the fact that the investigation of further American /and Greenlandic/ archeological findings will surely continue leading us to astonishing results. The different maps have indicated "America" only since 1437, but this tradition was not at all general or properly well-known. For instance, the American continent still does not appear in the illustrations of Carta Marina made by Olaus Magnus in 1539. On the other hand, its later version that appeared in 1567 in the edition titled Historia de gentium septentrionalum variis conditionibus already mentions the Pygmies called "screlinge" though still as the inhabitants of Greenland.³⁷

So, still there is a great number of further philological questions the clarification of which may be the task of subsequent surveys.

NOTES

1. JÁNOS HONTI: New Ways to Vinland Problems. Acta Ethnologica 1938. -- On a Type of Saga Incidents. Helicon IV /1940/ 65-73. -- Vinland and Ultima Thule. Modern Language Review 1940. 159-172. -- Late Vinland Tradition. The Thorbjörn Narrative. Modern Language Quarterly I. /1940/ 339-355. Three of the above-mentioned studies have also been published in Hungarian: Új utak a Vinland-problémához - A saga-epizódok egyik típusáról - Vinland és Ultima Thule/ in: JÁNOS HONTI: Válogatott tanulmányok /Selected Essays/ Budapest, 1962. 273-312./ He wrote these studies in about 1939, in Paris, and he often dealt with the above-mentioned questions and approaches in his other works, too.
2. It is remarkable that he does not refer to the sources of Vinland sagas. From his quotations it seems that instead of the original /Old Icelandic/ texts he used their popular German translations. It is more striking that he did not know about the classical work of Halldór HERMANSSON /1936/, though at the same time he followed with attention the writings of FRIDTJOF NANSEN and L.G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY. Of course, he already could not take into consideration the edition /also by HERMANSSON/ of Vinland sagas in 1944. As even the data mentioned by HONTI are incorrect, it seemed to be necessary to return to this theme.

3. HELGE INGSTAD: Vikingek az Ujvilágban. Normann település felfedezése Észak-Amerikában. /=Norsemen in the New World. The discovery of a Norman settlement in North America./ Budapest, 1972. /This is the translation of Vesterveg til Vinland. Oslo, 1965. with certain supplements./ The English version differs just minimally from it./ /Westerward to Vinland. London - New York, 1965./ The earlier Greenlandic investigations are summarized in the book: Land under the Pole Star. London - New York, 1966. /The Norwegian title is: Landet under Leidarstjernen. Oslo, 1959./ By the time of the Hungarian edition, another survey had been published, amplified with certain new data: Norse Explorers - Norse Sites at L'Anse aux Meadows. In: The Quest for America. London, 1971./
4. JOHANNES BRØNSTED: A vikingek. Budapest, 1983. /The Hungarian translation was based on the English edition: The Vikings. Harmondsworth, 1965. This is the revised version of an earlier edition /1960/. The Danish wording was taken into consideration./
5. RUDOLF PÖRTNER: A viking kaland /=The Adventure of the Vikings/ Budapest, 1983./ The original work is: Die Wikingersaga. Wien - Düsseldorf, 1971. The Hungarian version was translated from its edition in 1977./
6. ISTVÁN RÁCZ: A vikingek öröksége /=The Heritage of the Vikings./ Budapest, 1983. /With 16 colour and 179 black and white photographs/

7. AGNES HARRACH: Vikingarnas navigation. Budapest, 1979.
8. Az Ellesmere-sziget eszkimó és viking leletei. /= Eskimo and Viking findings on Ellesmere Island/ Univerzum 84/2. 3-18.; 84/3. 26-36. It was based on the article of Peter Schiedermann which appeared in The National Geographic.
9. POUL NØRLUND: Meddelelser om Grønland 76 /1930/; 88 /1934/; De gamle nordbobygder ved verdens ende. Skildringer fra Grønlands middelalder. København, 1934. The results of recent findings are summarized in: Finn Gad: Grønlands historie. I. København, 1967. Another work which already deals with the problems of Viking and Eskimo relations is: Therkel Mathiassen: Skraelingerne i Grønland. Grønlændernes historie, belyst gennem udgravninger. København, 1935.
10. Though in favour of the so-called Vinland map, the classical collection of essays offers a survey of the subject: R. A. Skelton - Th. E. Marston — G. D. Painter: The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation. New Haven - London, 1965.
11. See, for instance: Bericht von Gröhnland Gezogen aus zwe Chroniken: Einer alten Insländischen und einer neuen Danischen; übergesand in Französischer Sprache an Herren von der Mote den Mayer von einem unbenandten Meister und gedruckt zu Parihs bey Augustin Kürbe in s. Anno 1647. Jetzo aber Deutsch gegaben und um desto fartiger ihn zu gebrauchen unterschihdlich eingeteihlet von Henrich Sivers. Hamburg, 1674.

12. *Antiquitates Americaenae sive scriptores septentrionales rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America.* - Samling af de i Nordebs oldskriften indeholdte efterretninger om de gamle nordboers opdagelsesreiser til America fra det lode til det 14de aarhundrede. - Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Hafniae, 1837.
13. See: Indledning - Prefatio p.4. The works of Torfaeus, Suhmius, Schöningius, Lagerbringius and the writings of others /*Grönlandia antiqua*. Hafniae, 1706. - *Historia Vinlandiae, seu partis Americae Septemtrionalis*. Hafniae, 1705. - and other works dealing with the early Norwegian, Danish and Swedish history./ As the precedents of the preface, he mentions two works dealing with Greenland: the first is the book of the Danish Wormskjoldius /*Gammelt og Nyt om Grönlands, Vinlands og flere af Forfædrene kjendte Landes formodentlige Belliggenhed, insertum scriptis Soc. Literariae Scandinavicae, pro anno 1814, p. 298-403.*./, the second is the writing of the Swedisch Schröderus /*Skandinavernes fordna upptacktsresor till Nordamerika, insertum commentario Svea, Tidskrift för Vetenskap och Konst. Upsaliae, 1818. I.p. 196-226.*./ -- By the way, it is surprising how correct and well-informed this almost 150 years old compilation is. It is well-known and often quoted even today. HONTI also refers to it./ *ibid.* p. 298., note 34./
14. *The Vinland Sagas. The Norse Discovery of America.* Harmondsworth, 1965. /Penguin Books/. It was reprinted

several times. It is considered to be the fundamental sources-book for those who cannot read the original texts. Its excellent and "sober" comments and its introduction contain the generally acceptable material of knowledge until 1963. It can be felt that the authors tried to keep away from publishing too risky suppositions.

15. Eirik saga - hereinafter called ESR.
16. Groenlendinga báttir - hereinafter called Grp. It is to be noted that the publication mentioned in commentary 14. uses the abbreviations Eir and Gr1, while other works use different, not generally accepted ones.
17. It has a very good text edition, and its commentary is used by scientists as a source-book. See: Sven B. F. Jansson: Sagorna om Vinland. Lund, 1944. /vol.I./
18. The most famous study and summary of the subject is: Aldur Graenlendinga Sögu in: Nordæla /in honour of Sigurdur Nordal/, Reykjavik, 1956. 149-158.
19. They are summed up and interpreted by P.M. Mitchell: Halldór Hermannsson. Ithaca - London, 1958. /Islandica XLI/, mainly on the pages 71-77.
20. The Philological works dealing with Columbus's life and with the works about him are very immense and confused, and it is exactly the imperfection of the contemporary data which offer a large scope to the scholars' fantasy. A part of the special literature is listed under the appropriate entry of Világírodalmi Lexikon [=Lexicon of

- World Literary/ /Budapest, 1979. Vol.6. pp.463-465./
21. The book of John Bartlet Brebner /The Explorers of North America 1492-1806. Cleveland - New York, 1964. pp. 88-97./ offers a brief survey of the subject and it also sets out the titles of a great number of earlier monographs and studies. /It was first edited in 1933./
 22. From now on, we are relying on the compilation of Halldór Hemannsson /The Problem of Vineland. Ithaca - New York, 1936. - Islandica XXV. /who always refers to the source-books he used.
 Recently, a considerable number of studies have dealt with the life-work of Adam Bremensis, though none of them could point out new conclusions.
 23. One of the classical text editions is: Ari Thorgilsson: The Book of the Icelanders /Íslendingabók/. Edited and translated with an Introduction and Notes by Halldór Hermannsson. Ithaca - New York, 1930. /Islandica XX./
 24. Its edition: Alfræ di íslenzk. Islands encyclopædisk litteratur. I. Cod. mbr. AM. 194,8^o. Udgivet ved Kr. Kaalund. København, 1908. 12-23. The commentaries of Hermannsson: Islandica XXV. 2-3.
 25. See the critical editions of the three texts: Oddr Snorrason: Saga Oláfr Tryggvasonar. Udgivet af Finnur Jónsson. København, 1932. Its new critical edition: Ólafur Halldórsson. København, 1958-1961. I-II.
 26. The monography dealing with the two authors and the relation of their works is: Finnur Jónsson: Óláfs saga

- Tryggvasonar /hin meiri/. København, 1930.
27. Among the critical editions, the most famous are the two-volumed work published in Copenhagen between 1893 and 1901, and the three-volumed edition published in Iceland /Reykjavik, 1941-1951/.
 28. The edition used even today is: B. Kahle /Halle, 1905/
 29. Íslendzk fornrit IV. Reykjavik, 1935-with commentaries written by Einar Ól. Sveinsson.
 30. Its most useful critical edition /containing also the text of Íslendingabók/ is: Jakob Benediktsson /Reykjavik, 1968/, I-II. Íslendzk Fornrit I₁-I₂.
 31. The data relating to the subject have been almost completely collected and published by A.M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good. The History of the Icelandic Discovery of America. London, 1890.
 32. In connection with it, see the already mentioned works and comments of Hermannsson.
 33. The titles and - according to the authors - the different references can be found in the handbooks of Old Icelandic literature. To a certain extent, we simplified the different spellings of names and we did not indicate the variants existing side by side.
 34. I find it useful to list here in chronological order the most important surveys which, in connection with the Vikings' voyages to America, refer to and evaluate the different sources with indisputable professional skill:

- C. C. RAFFN: Antiquitates Americae. København, 1837
- G. STORM: Vinlandsrejserne. København, 1887.
- A. M. REEVES: The Finding of Winland the Good. London, 1890.
- H. HERMANSSON : The Northmen in America. Ithaca - New York, 1909. /Islandica 2/
- W. HOOGLAND: The Voyages of the Norsemen to America. New York, 1914.
- A. FOSSUM: The Norse Discovery of America. New York, 1918.
- H. P. STEENSBY: The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Winland. København, 1918.
- G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY: The Norse Discoveries of America. The Winland Sagas Translated and Discussed. Oxford, 1921.
- W. A. MUNN: Winland Voyages. Location of Helluland, Markland and Vinland. St. John's, 1929.
- M. ÞÓRDARSSON: The Vinland Voyages. New York, 1930.
- A. W. BRØGGER Vinlandsferdene. Oslo, 1937.
- V. TANNER: De gamla Nordbornas Helluland, Markland och Vinland. Åbo, 1941.
- e. HAUGEN: Voyages to Vinland. New York, 1942.
- E. ZECHLIN: Maritime Weltgeschichte. Altertum und Mittelalter. Zürich, 1947.
- E. REMAN: The Norse Discoveries and Explorations in America. New York, 1949.
- H. BRØNSTED: Northmen in North America before Columbus. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1953.

Washington, 1954.

G. JONES: The Norse Atlantic Saga. London, 1964.

T. J. OLESON: Early Voyages and Northern Approaches
1000-1632. London - New York, 1964.

R. A. SKELTON -- Th. E. MARSTON -- G. D. PAINTER: The
Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation. New Haven - Lon-
don, 1965.

P. NORLUND: De gamle Nordbobygder ved Verdens Ende
/4 opl./ København, 1967.

S. E. MORISON: The European Discovery of America. New
York, 1971.

W. E. WASHBURN: Proceedings of the Vinland Map Conferen-
ce. Chicago, 1971.

M. MAGNUSSON: Viking Expansion Westwards. London, 1973.

INGE LANGENBERG's book /Die Winland-Fahrten. Die Ent-
deckungen Amerikas von Erik dem Roten bis Kolumbus.
1000-1492. Köln - Wien, 1977./ sums up the whole subject
and values the accomplishments of about 150 different
works. We can find another survey in the 12th volume of
Kulturhistorisk Lexikon för Nordisk Medeltid /1967/
/"Opdagelsesrejser" 609-617./, though, of course, it
reflects the conditions of the 60s. There is a supple-
ment written by HELGE INGSTAD under the entry "Vinland",
where he also lists his own writings and, though he has
made some corrections, he looks upon his own results
as incontestable facts. The best scientific survey of

his expedition was written by his wife, on the basis of some former accounts: Anne Stine Ingstad: *The Norse Discovery of America. The Norse Settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows. Excavations 1962-68.* Oslo, 1975. /The book was later on reprinted several times./ The above list does not contain the writings dealing with the American "finds" of doubtful value, even if they also contain some really important data. Neither do we mention here the text editions and text commentaries listed under the next /35th/ foot-note.

35. Though in the above foot-note we have already referred to the editions and commentaries of certain Old Icelandic texts, now, in a chronological order, we are listing the most important works again. The two main sources /and some other documents/ were published either together or separately. Now we are not going to distinguish them. From among the translations, we mention only those ones in which the mode of the translations, the comments or their completeness offer new data. We mention the well-known Old Icelandic /Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic/ text editions and the also well-known /e.g. German/ translations only if their commentaries contain important textual-philological statements. Among the above-mentioned works /see foot-note 34./ there are some editions which contain complete texts, their translations, facsimile or commentaries. Here we shall not list them again.

Eiriks saga rauda og Flatøbogens Grænlendingapátttr.
Utgiven af G. Storm. København, 1891.

A. KROMAYER: Die Winlandsagen. Die Erzählungen von der
Entdeckung Nordamerikas durch die Normanen im Jahre
1000. Halle, 1909.

FINNUR JÓNSSON: Flateyjarbók. /Codex Flateyensis/. MS
No. 1005 fol. in the Old Royal Library of Copenhagen.
Copenhagen, 1930. /Corpus codicum islandicorum I./

MATTHIAS ÞÓRDARSSON ed.: Islenzk Fornrit IV /1935/
Copenhagen. /The important texts./

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON: The Problem of Wineland. Ithaca -
New York, 1936. /Islandica XXV./

DAG STRUNBACK: The Arnarnagæ an Manuscript 557 4^o,
containing inter alia the History of the First
Discovery of America. Copenhagen, 1940. /Corpus
codicum islandicorum XIII./

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON: The Vinland Sagas. Ithaca - New
York, 1944. /Islandica XXX./

S. B. F. JANSSEN: Sagorna om Vinland. I. Håndskrifterna
till Erik den rödes saga. Lund, 1944.

La Saga d'Eric le Rouge. Le Récit des Grœ enlandais.
Texte islandais avec introduction, traduction not
et glosses et 4 cartes par M. Gravier. /Bibliothèque
de philologie germanique XVII/ Paris, 1955.

GWYN JONES: Eirik the Red and Other Icelandic Sagas.
Oxford, 1961.

