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Notes

1. A lengthy description of the socio-economic characteristics of the valley and a general introduction to the study of sodalities can be found in Celestino/Meyers 1981a.

2. Account and Inventory of the Parish of San Juan Bautista of Chupaca, 1767; AA-L:Section Padrones, leg. 1, Chupaca 1767.

3. See the number of sodalities in each of the head curacies and each of the annexes in Celestino 1980b.

4. See Wachtel 1977:85 for his explanation of destructuration. In the Spanish original Celestino refers to the "destructuración" of the ayllus. In the translation I have used the more familiar English word "disarticulation" to refer to the disorganization of many Andean ayllus in the wake of the Toledan reducciones of the early 1570s. For further discussion see Wachtel 1973 and Hopkins 1983, chpts. 2 and 4.

5. See Duviols 1967; Hocquenghem 1979; Murra 1975; Pease 1978; Sherbondy 1982; Taylor 1980; Urbano 1981; Zuidema 1980.

6. AA-L:Sección Padrones, leg.1,Chupaca 1767.

7. The portico still had not lost the importance which it had in the prehispanic period.

8. The viaticum is the sacrament administered to the sick.

9. A rodeo is a fiesta in which cattle are counted.

10. An alferez is a municipal or sodality officeholder.

11. First Sunday after Easter.

THE 'MONEY OF THE SAINT'

Ceremonial Organization and Monetary Capital in Tlapa, Guerrero, Mexico

Danièle Dehouve

Introduction

Most scholars describe the cargo system as a hierarchical system in which all local men must participate, at least at the lower levels. The cargos themselves are presented as a fixed number of steps which individuals must climb. Each man participating in this system begins at the bottom of the hierarchy by sponsoring an inexpensive cargo and gradually takes on increasingly expensive and prestigious cargos thus progressively improving his own status in the community. Only the most prosperous reach the highest levels in this system by assuming responsibility for the most expensive and most prestigious cargos. Despite regional variations, many scholars assume that all cargo systems are hierarchically structured and that this hierarchy is determined by the cost of the cargo. The cost is in turn directly related to its prestige. This system is regarded as providing the basis for ranking all men in their local communities.

Several years ago I began to realize the fundamental inadequacy of this model in expressing the on-the-ground reality of the cargo system. In a 1978 article I showed how the hierarchical character of this system was not always as marked as that noted in Zinacantan (Cancian 1965). In many other communities the cargo system is not only not rigidly structured, but lacks a fixed order in which cargo-holders move from one level to another. Moreover in the communities of southern Tlapa in which I began my research in 1967, the hierarchical system is weakly developed (as in Xalpatlahuac; Dehouve 1976) or nearly absent (as in the Tlapanec communities). For example, Oettinger, an anthropologist who published a study of one of these, Tlacoapa, observed that try though he might, it was not possible for him to persuade his informants to hierarchically

rank the cargos according to their relative importance. He concluded that the internal structuring of social relations in the community is horizontal and based on cooperation rather than vertical and competitive (Oettinger 1980:99).

Hierarchy characterizes the cargo system to greater or lesser extends, but does not define or explain the system. This fact cannot be denied by arguing (as have some anthropologists) that the colonial system was hierarchical and that all weakening in the hierarchical character of the system is a result of recent acculturation. This argument is problematic precisely because historical evidence has yet to be presented backing this claim.

At the end of my 1978 article I questioned the adequacy of a definition of the cargo system which erroneously emphasized one of its features, hierarchy. I thought we should look for another definition which could explain the great variety of forms found in the system. Since then several studies have looked at the links between the character of the local cargo system and the national society in which it is embedded (Dehouve 1976). Lartigue's 1983 article demonstrates how this focus can enable us to explain the variety of forms found in the cargo system. Lartigue presents the case of a Quiché community in Guatemala whose cargo system was markedly hierarchical before it fell apart. In the first half of the twentieth century the hierarchy was charged with supplying the Ladinos with indigenous labor. These laborers were excluded from participation in the cargos. However, in order to maintain the cargo system other indigenous peasants were excused from this forced labor. When the judicial power authorizing this levy was suppressed in 1945, the hierarchy lost its former role in the cargo system, and weakened, it began to be replaced by other forms of social organization. In this way, though Lartigue does not describe how the hierarchy was formed, he does show the relationship between one of its characteristics, presence/absence of hierarchy, and the national (Ladino) society and so points the way to understanding recent changes.

We will now examine the question of whether there is a relationship between the various forms of the cargo

system and the historical role played by this system in colonial and national society. To answer this question we will look at an indigenous region of Mexico, the highlands of Tlapa, located in the contemporary state of Guerrero to the east of the highway from Mexico City to Acapulco. The so-called "Montaña" in which most of the indigenous population of the state lives is located to the north and south of the city of Tlapa between the depression of the River Balsas and the Pacific Coast. The indigenous population speaks three languages: Nahuatl, in the northern part of the region near Tlapa, and Mixtec and Tlapanec to the south in the highlands of the southern Sierra Madre. For a long time the region was isolated from the rest of the Republic. Before 1965 when an opening was constructed leading to Chilapa and from there to Chilpancingo, the state capital, Tlapa was served by a poor road to the city of Puebla from Los Angeles, the capital of the province in colonial times.

During the course of my research I was able to study most of the region of Tlapa.[1] As a result I am able to identify the characteristics of the ceremonial organization of almost all of the communities, especially those in the Tlapanec and Nahuatl areas.

The cargo system is generally defined by anthropologists as a system composed of a combination of civil and religious responsibilities. I will not discuss the cargo system of the Tlapa region as a whole since this would go beyond the scope of this article. Instead I will restrict myself to the study of one responsibility, celebrating the fiesta of the patron saint. This responsibility is not a cargo assumed by one individual. It is therefore in marked contrast to what has been assumed by earlier scholars in their descriptions of the classic hierarchically organized cargo system. The responsibility for the fiesta rests instead with the group, now called the mayordomia. This group is a direct descendant of the colonial sodality (cofradia).

1. The Mayordomía: A Ceremonial Group with Monetary Capital

Beginning in the early twentieth century the descendants of the colonial sodalities were called mayordomías, or in some cases, hermandades. The lay associations referred to by these terms were dedicated to the worship of a patron saint and were called, for example, the Mayordomía of San Miguel, the Virgin of Candlemas (Candelaria), etc. Each indigenous community had several of these mayordomías.

In the southern highlands of Tlapa there were two types of mayordomías: The first was found in almost all of the Nahuatl and Tlapanec highlands. The mayordomías are rotating groups whose offices are transmitted year after year to different members of the community. If a town had several mayordomías dedicated to different saints, all of its male inhabitants could participate in the fiestas of each of them and take on a responsibility, each in his turn.

The town of Teocuitlapa provides us with an example of rotating mayordomías. Teocuitlapa has a population of one thousand inhabitants with eight mayordomías: All Souls, the Virgin of Candlemas, Carnival, Holy Sepulture, Father Jesus, the Virgin of Afflictions, San Lucas and San Marcos. A mayordomo aided by a deputy appoints each of them and places them in charge of the celebrations of the fiestas. They accomplish this with the support of the members of their families. The responsibilities of the mayordomo and the deputy are rotated every year. Inhabitants of the community take charge of them and are replaced by others at the end of the fiesta for the patron saint. In other communities there are a larger number of deputies. In Huitzapula and Zapotitlan, for example, a mayordomo and from three to six deputies make up the mayordomía. However, they too follow the model of changing the incumbents of each office on a yearly basis.

A second type of mayordomía is that of the Malinaltepec zone where the groups of devotees are stable and permanent. In the town of this name there are some four thousand inhabitants and twenty-two mayordomías, each with between ten and fifty men. At marriage, a young man enters the mayordomía of his father and remains there until his death. The internal hierarchy of these organizations is similar to that of the rotating mayordomías: One or two mayordomos are assisted by between one and four mayores and several members. In this case, though, only the mayordomo is responsible for providing the group with a house for the saint's fiesta. The house is either his own or one borrowed for this occasion. The office of mayordomo does not rotate. If there are no problems, one man can occupy this office until his death.

Whatever its type (permanent or rotating), the mayordomía of southern Tlapa is organized around two essential elements: The saint and monetary capital. The saints, also called santitos (little saints), are adored in several forms: Some are made of stones fashioned in a pre-cortesian style; some are portrayed in paintings or pictures (santos de cuadro), and some in statues (santos de bulto) which are pur-chased. The number of saints actively worshipped by the mayordomías varies over time. Some saints become famous for a time as a result of the reputed efficacy of their protection and they are then forgotten while others suddenly become very popular. Those which acquire sudden popularity are known for being the "most miraculous". Pre-cortesian deities such as Tlaloc of the Nahuatls and Aku or Wuiko of the Tlapanecs are mixed into the pantheon of the saints. The Holy Ghost, various Christs (the Interred Christ, Father Jesus, Christ the King, and the Holy Cross), Virgins (Immaculate Conception and the Virgin of Guadalupe), Saints (San Lucas, San Miguel), the Holy Souls, and even Carnival are celebrated as though each were a saint.

The relations between saints and humans are seen as exchange relationships. The saints protect the faithful and reveal their futures to them or influence their "luck" (suerte) in exchange for votive offerings which the faithful give the saints. These offerings consist of flowers, leaves, branches, candles, food and drink. They are especially important among the Tlapanecs because they are used for divination; the shaman does this by counting the number of offerings and the order in which they are presented. Money is another offering

given to the saints. This forms part of a complex of beliefs and rites surrounding the capital of the saint.

The fondo (fund) or cofradia is the name given to the saint's monetary capital. It is also called mbuko santo (money of the saint) by the Tlapanecs and capital or puntero in Xalpatlahuac. The formation of the fund is of great importance in the founding of a mayordomía equivalent in importance to the purchase of the icon of the saint.

For example, a mayordomía in Iliatenco (municipality of Malinaltepec) was formed in 1926 when the daughter of the future mayordomo won a little money in a raffle. This was a demonstration of the girl's "luck". Her father began to "turn the money around" (girarlo), that is, he lent it out at a high rate of interest. In this way the initial capital grew and twenty-two years later in 1948 it was sufficient to buy a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City and to serve as the fund for the Virgin. Thereafter the mayordomía was formed around the saint personified in her two constituent elements: Her icon (the statue) and her money.

In this case the capital and its circulation had almost a divinatory role given that the future of the girl depended on it. The circulation of this interest-bearing capital was regarded as protecting the girl. Later when the capital was used to buy the icon of the Virgin and to set up a fund, the money marshalled the gifts of the faithful to the Virgin for the benefit of the girl and by extension, for the future of the members of the group.

In other cases the foundation of the group dedicated to the saint precedes the formation of the fund and the purchase of the saint's icon. In such cases the money comes from offerings made by different people wishing to acquire religious merit. This same method is used by already existing mayordomías to increase their capital fund by adding alms offered to the saint by pilgrims. In every case the funds are votive offerings. These personify the luck of the person and are a means of asking the saint for health and happiness. This money is not like regular money; it supports the requests of the faithful to their patron saint.

The money is invested each year. This is the task of those responsible for the mayordomía, the mayordomo and his assistants. They lend out the money at high rates of interest to peasants in the community and its environs or invest it in merchandise which they resell at a profit. The circulation of capital is regarded as having a sacred character. This was illustrated by an official (principal) from Xalpatlahuac when he presented a new mayordomo to the patron saint:

> "We are going to deposit the money in the hands of another of your sons, another of your children... He is going to receive it, he is going to take it to the Montaña so it will multiply, to the place where he will go, by his side, behind him, you will place yourself, there, faraway, behind him, you will be. You will go with him, you will travel along the road with him, you will talk with him, in the place where he will struggle, in the place where he will buy a pig, where he will make money, may a medio or a cuartilla come of this for you, to serve you".

Finally the profits obtained from the interest-bearing circulation or commerce with the capital is spent on the saint's day. This has a votive character parallel to that of offering alms.

> "He will give you what he will earn-two or three centavos in your honor, to pray your holy mass, your holy vespers, it will buy the wax for your service".[2]

Like the mayordomos who are replaced every year, the saint's circulating capital is also replaced. This annual change contrasts with the permanence of the community, the saint, and the capital fund. People in Xalpatlahuac say that the capital must be 'made to travel' (quinehnemitia), 'to divide' (quixeloa), to be 'made to multiply and be fruitful' (quitlapana); but when the time is up and the interest has been counted, the principal must be returned intact exactly as it was received. Following a similar cycle, individuals and generations come and go, while the community and the saint remain.

> "It is he, your son, who has worked in this season; now that the year has ended he has come to give you your cofradía[3] which has multiplied during the course of the year; now in the moment of your fi-

esta, at the end of the year's account, now we return the money to you ... and when the year is over, when they (the mayordomos) have been changed, they will leave and others of your children will enter, others that I will bring you, to present to you, those who are your other children who will assume your annual cargo" (Dehouve 1976:346,353).

In this case it is the capitalist change (the concentration of profits obtained through multiple commercial transactions and from usury undertaken with capital) which provides the metaphor with which one thinks of the perennial nature of the saint and of the community in contrast to the replacement of human beings who live and reproduce themselves in new generations and the ever-new annual celebrations for the patron saint.

While the formation of capital and its investment and the spending of its profits—constitute a votive aspect of the annual cycle, the loaning out of the capital is less obviously sacred. It could be considered as sacred in Malinaltepec: For example, when the members of a mayordomía feel obligated to borrow part of the capital of the saint in order to acquire religious merit. The revenue which they return is a monetary contribution to the expenses of the fiesta for the patron saint. Yet frequently the capital is considered available for "whoever needs it", whether or not that person is a member of the mayordomía, a Catholic or a Protestant. The only condition specified is that the money be returned at the end of the year.

The ritual is the same everywhere. The private and divinatory part of the ceremonies takes place on the vespers of the fiesta. In the morning the members of the mayordomia gather in the house of the mayordomo bringing provisions for the kitchen. In the Tlapanec area the women grind maize in their metates (curved stones) and cook the gruel while the men prepare a large cross made of branches and flowers counted with care for purposes of divination. After eating they leave dancing with the cross while musicians play. After going around the church, the men leave the cross at the altar.

The next day they celebrate the public part of the fiesta. In the morning the priest says mass. Later the members of the mayordomía prepare the food, killing

animals which they cook with chiles. They eat in the afternoon and eventually invite the principales and other distinguished members of the local community. Then the men count the money of the saint and immediately loan it out distributing it among the members of the mayordomía or among the people of the community present at the gathering. In this way the ceremonial group is reproduced.

Depending on the specific case, the capital fund is used as commercial capital or for interest. In all of the Tlapanec-speaking region the capital of the saint is lent out at a rate of interest which was formerly 50 percent and is presently 25 percent. But in Xalpatlahuac, the mayordomias lend part of their capital at an annual interest rate of 100 per-cent and invest the rest in commerce. For example, they might buy a pig that the mayordomo kills to sell its meat in small amounts to individual households or they might buy straw hats made in the village to resell at a profit in the city of Tlapa. This kind of commercial investment developed in the 1930s. During the nineteenth century the mayordomos went to the coast to buy bulls and oxen to bring to the plaza of Tlapa for resale. In earlier times they went to the coast to buy cotton to resell in Tlapa. Commercial investment was therefore hardly novel in this community.

The interest from the capital fund is not always spent on fiestas. There are two basic methods of paying for ritual expenses. They can be met by circulating the capital of the saint. This occurs in the western highlands in Teocuitlapa, Acatepec and Huitzapula and in Xalpatlahuac. The mayordomos lend or invest the capital and a year later, shortly before the fiesta, they request the return of the capital and count the revenue earned. If this is insufficient, the mayordomo makes up the shortfall with his own money.

In some areas funds are raised by imposing a contribution in money and in products on each individual man in the mayordomía. In such cases the revenue obtained from the circulation of the saint's capital is put to other uses.

In the area of Malinaltepec the members of the mayordomía give the mayordomo between 50 and 150 pesos

each year. The exact amount depends on the number of members in the mayordomia and on the prestige of the saint. This contribution allows the group to buy animals such as a bull or several goats (for about 1.000 pesos), liquor (aguardiente), cigarettes, candles, and firecrackers (for about 500 pesos), and sometimes to pay for a mass costing between 50 and 100 pesos. The total cost for all of these purchases is about 1.500 pesos.[4] A mayordomía with a membership of 30 men each paying 100 pesos annually will have a fund of 3.000 pesos, enough to pay for two fiestas for patron saints. Fiestas are held for the patron saint of the mayordomia and for Saint Michael, the patron saint of the community. In addition, each member donates between four and six liters of maize and beans for the meal. After the fiesta they divide up whatever is left over among themselves.

In Zapotitlán Tablas, between–five and seven members of the mayordomía assume personal responsibility for the costs of two meals, one for the fiesta of their own patron saint and the other for the fiesta of the patron saint of the town of Zapotitlán. Others assume responsibility for buying the liquor, flares and firecrackers. In the areas outside of Zapotitlán the mayordomos assume all of the costs of the fiesta for their saint.

In Tlacoapa the hosts also assume all of the costs. To get the money they usually work for wages in the maize fields of local peasants. They say 'they're going to clean the maize fields where there are animals to sell' because their work is paid with a cow or a bull which the members of the mayordomia eat during the fiesta.

In some communities the profits from the circulation of the saint's capital are accumulated until there are a few thousand pesos with which to pay the important expenses of the mayordomia or of the community. The money might be used to pay the mason charged with constructing an adobe chapel for the saint, to buy new clothes for the saint's statue or musical instruments for the town or to decorate the church or the municipal building. The poorest mayordomías circulate only 3 or 4.000 pesos, while the most powerful circulate as many as 80.000.

How can we describe the cargo system of southern Tlapa on the basis of this information? The cargo system appears to consist of groups dedicated to the cult to their patron saint which circulate monetary capital and celebrate the saint's annual fiesta. On the ideological level these groups organize themselves around beliefs about the saint and his capital. The capital is believed to have a divinatory character by the Tlapanecs in particular.

In some parts of the Montaña the characteristics of the mayordomías are almost the opposite of those of the classic description of the cargo system as a hierarchy of cargos which are progressively more expensive and more prestigious. Malinaltepec is one such example. There the membership of the mayordomías is permanent and the cult is financed by equal contributions paid by the members. In other places mayordomías retain some aspects of hierarchies based on the classic model of increasing expenses and increasing prestige corresponding to ranked cargos. This occurs in places in which the mayordomos personally assume the expenses for the celebration of the saint's fiesta and the incumbent mayordomo is replaeed each year.

Yet nowhere in the Montaña is the mayordomía an onerous ritual responsibility weighing on the shoulders of a few elected individuals: In all of the communities the mayordomia is a group collectively charged with management of the monetary capital of the saint.

In the following section we will attempt to identify the historical reasons for these local characteristics of the ceremonial organization of the cargo system.

2. The Money of the Saint and the Formation of Markets

The first cult groups, which were called cofradías (sodalities), were founded in the indigenous communities of the Tlapa region during the seventeenth century. These associations multiplied in the eighteenth century. The clergy saw them as essential for evangelization and used them to spread the sacraments of Holy Communion and Confession and to oblige the faithful to attend mass

and to pray. In comparison with contemporary mayordomias, the clergy exercised considerable control over the colonial cult groups and tightly controlled their purse strings. For example, in the mid-eighteenth century a sodality in the Tlapa region was obliged to arrange a certain number of masses each month and to celebrate the vespers of the saint's day and the saint's day with offerings of wax, flowers, flares, and sometimes firecrackers and with a procession and a meal. Depending on the size of the sodality, this cost between 50 and 100 pesos a year, 80 percent of which was used to pay for masses and for wax.

The sodality used its monetary capital to cover these expenses. In some areas the associations also had cattle. The capital, cattle, goods and cult objects possessed by the group were called the "principal" or sometimes the "cofradia". The purpose of the sodality was to increase its herd and its capital fund to pay for its ritual expenses.

Consequently examination of the annual accounts was an important task of the sodality. The association's members met once every year after the fiesta of their patron saint. The cult members met in the church with the parish priest (called the "rector de cofradias") to listen to a report presented by those who had assumed responsibility for the cult's capital during the previous year. The latter had titles such as mayordomo and deputy. They presented their accounts to those assembled placing their expenses in one column (under the rubric "data") and their assets (called their "cargo") in the other. These accounts had to show an increase in order to be approved. Part of the profits were spent on the expenses of the cult and another part was added to the principal to increase it. The group then elected its successors (a new mayordomo and several deputies) and transferred the monetary capital of the cult to them. The meeting ended with a lecture from the priest who entrusted the new officials with 'the care of the divine cult and the increase of its "cofradia"' and 'the greatest attention, purity and veneration of the holy effigy to procure an increase in the principal and to care for the herd and other goods of their cargo'.[5]

All of this information, the accounts, the elections, and the priest's lecture, was recorded year after year by the priest in the "Libro de Cofradia" (the sodality book). I was able to consult several of these books in the oldest curacies of the region of Tlapa and will present some cases which illustrate the historical role of the money of the saint later in this article.

With the formation of the fund or capital, the priest attempted to assure the financing of the fiestas and the masses which could not be paid for by voluntary contributions and alms. With so many financial pressures, members of the indigenous population frequently had no hard cash whatsoever. By providing themselves with collective capital they attempted to escape the banes of rural societies: The periodic occurrence of bad harvests, flood and droughts. Their capital increased in good years and diminished in bad. The members of the sodalities could adapt their investments to a changing economic situation and so survive recurrent crises.

In the eighteenth century the capital funds were invested in regional commerce. During this time with the exception of cochineal, all production in the Montaña of Tlapa was undertaken with raw materials from the Pacific Coast. Cotton textiles were the most important commercial product in the southern highlands of Tlapa.

The Mixtecs wove three types of textile: stockings, blouses (huipiles), and lengths of cloth (cozanquis) which Indian women from northern Tlapa used as skirts by wrapping the cloth around their waists. The Nahuatls and Tlapanecs of Atlixtac, Acatepec and Huitzapula wove blouses and shawls. They sold the textiles in the five annual fairs of Tlapa to travelling merchants and to Indians from the province. Part of this production was used to pay royal tribute.

With the exception of a few places in the highlands where cotton grew, most of the cotton used in the Montaña of Tlapa was produced on the coast of the contemporary state of Guerrero. It typically took about two weeks to transport the cotton from the coast. The people of Tlapa went to Igualapa to buy cotton and carried it back to chilly Tlapa.[6] People from the neighboring province of Chilapa went to the coast of Atoyac

and Ometepeque to buy cotton to sell. It is estimated that they sold as much as 22.000 arrobas annually.[7]

To the north of Tlapa the settlers of Chiepetlan and Olinala painted different objects such as xicaras (gourd trees) from the coast, a practice which their descendants continue today. People from Tlapa went to the coast and carried off xicara and brought it to Olinala where it was painted with different colors and distributed throughout the kingdom.[8] People from the capital of Chiepetlan went with their beasts of burden or sometimes on foot to the coast of Xicayan, Metepec and Azoyu to buy unpainted xicara.[9] Throughout the century the funds of the sodalities were invested in the transport of products from the coast.

Before 1750 part of the capital was lent out at interest. An account from 1714 of the Sodality of the Virgin of the Rosary of Alcozauca refers to some money drafts (libranzas) which the previous mayordomo gave and the priest collected from different people. After 1722 most of the capital of the sodality was given to one of its members to invest on his own. He was to give an account of the investment every nine years.

This case is similar to two others. In Mexico City important Spanish businessmen requested loans from the capital of the sodalities managed by one of their fellow businessmen (García Ayluardo 1983) and in several towns in the contemporary state of Guerrero including Iguala and Tixtla, loaning out capital at interest seems to have been the most frequent type of investment of the sodalities' capital (Lavrin 1983). We do not know whether this circulation of capital was accompanied by commercial use of the capital in the Tlapa region. A sentence in the contract set up in Alcozauca in 1722 is suggestive. It stipulates that maize harvested in a maize field by the members of the Sodality of the Virgin of the Rosary should be delivered to the cowherd who took care of the association's herd leaving the mayordomo what was necessary for the expenses of his business trips. These trips became common after mid-century. Mayordomos from all over the region travelled with their deputies and paid the expenses of the trip from the sodality fund.

After 1760 this commercial circulation of capital became common in all the towns in the area. The funds were invested in buying and selling operations called "ynteligencias" or "agencias" carried out by the deputies under the supervision of the mayordomo. They traveled to the coast to buy cotton or gourd trees which they resold in the Montaña or in Tlapa. They may also have gone to Puebla to acquire manufactured products in that city such as soap and textiles to resell in the region. Even today the mayordomos of the town of Xalpatlahuac who are still involved in these commercial operations agree that their ancestors went to the coast to buy cotton on trips which lasted a few weeks. The accounts of the Libros de Cofradias (Books of Sodalities) also mention expenses for the meals of the deputies during their trips. For example, in 1768 the accounts of the Sodality of the Holiest Sacrament of Alcozauca record a cost of 1,6 pesos for beans, chiles and salt used on a trip to the coast. In 1772 and 1773 expenses of 25 pesos (for maize, chiles, salt, brown sugar, and beans) incurred by deputies during two trips to the coast and to Puebla are cited as 'inexcusable'. In 1779 19 pesos were spent for the expenses of traveling deputies.

Tab. 1: Sodality of the Holiest Sacrament, Expenses for Travel. Alcozauca, Mexico, 1797 (pesos)[10]

Item	Pesos
Maize used in the trip of the deputies	6.0
Chiles, salt, beans, and sandals used during the year	1.2
Sandals and beans used during the last trip	0.2
a beast of burden for a trip on the coast	0.2
two beasts of burden for two other trips	0.4
Total	8.2

Source: Relación Geográfica de Chiepetlan, BN-M: manuscritos, tomo 2249, fl. 150 to 163

Merchandise was regularly transported on the backs of mules. An account from 1797 provides us with detailed information (Tab. 1).

The annual profit was generally high, though in some years profits were low. For example, in 1754 the mayordomo of the Sodality of the Virgin of the Rosary of Alcozauca complained that he was unable to buy an altar ornament that he had promised to buy because of several setbacks including a scarcity of food, a loss of cotton plants on the coast, and other well-known problems. But generally the annual profits were at least 37 percent and over 100 percent in the best cases. In 1768 the profits of the Sodality of the Holiest Sacrament of Alcozauca (a town with 100 tributary Indians and 67 Mestizo families) were low: A capital fund of 98 pesos produced 40 pesos (an increase of 41 percent). In 1783 the capital fund of 98 pesos produced 85 pesos profit (an increase of 91,4 percent).

These figures parallel those found in the smallest Indian communities. The capital of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception of Amapilca (a town of 20 tributary Indians) came to 58 pesos in 1776 and produced 49 pesos in profit (an 84 percent increase over the original 58 pesos). Malinaltepec, a Tlapanec community with 100 tributaries, enjoyed the highest rate of profit in the region varying between a minimum of 85 percent (in 1806 when a capital fund of 160 pesos produced 136 pesos) and a maximum of 127,6 percent (in 1803 when investment of 130 pesos produced 166 pesos).

Even subtracting the expenses incurred during the deputies' trips, the profits still exceeded 50 percent. In 1787 a bishop from Puebla visiting Alcozauca observed that in other places the mayordomos were involved in profitable business ventures going to the coast and to other distant places earning profits twice the value of their original principal.

Apparently the sodalities of Tlapa were not the only ones in New Spain to discharge an important role in colonial commerce in cotton. In Alta Vera Paz (Guatemala) in 1775 the sodalities lent money to the Indians to buy cotton which they used for weaving. In 1816 commerce in thread and cotton in most of the (all) Indian towns is cited as producing as much as 100.000 pesos a year in commerce undertaken by Indian sodalities managed exclusively by priests for the benefit of the cult of the sodalities' patron saints.[11] In Chiapas

as well the sodalities had a capital fund which the members lent out at 5 percent annual interest. Rus and Wasserstrom (1980:468) note that "by 1793...Zinacantan possessed five of these brotherhoods (sodalities), each headed by four mayordomos and endowed with a capital of around 200 pesos; together they paid their parish priest 185 pesos each year for 58 masses celebrated on their behalf".

The Indians of the highlands of Chiapas and Guatemala and of the Montaña of Tlapa transported cotton from the coast and made textiles. The sodalities were especially active in this transport. It is notable that in the Mayan area profits were made for the sodalities by lending out capital to individuals at interest while in Tlapa the transport of merchandise was a collective activity assumed by the officials responsible for the sodality in any given year.

In order to understand the economic consequences of the transport of primary materials by the sodalities of Tlapa, it is necessary to understand the development of mercantile production in the area at the end of the colonial period. This was "free" in the sense that the indigenous population was not forced to weave but did this voluntarily to sell their merchandise to the merchants and traders or to the alcalde mayor.[12] However this production was sustained by two authoritarian measures: One was the obligation to pay tribute to the Crown. To fulfill this obligation the Indians had to make goods with monetary value. The other was the business of the repartimiento, the distribution of goods managed by the alcalde mayor, the representative of the Crown in the alcaldía mayor of Tlapa, who forcibly sold merchandise to the members of the indigenous population who in turn obtained the money necessary for these forced purchases through textile production. The basic commodity sold by the alcalde mayor in these repartimientos was the mule. These animals transported the primary materials (including cotton) from the coast. In this way the authoritarian practice of forced sales indirectly stimulated the production of textiles by providing the Indians with the raw materials necessary for their production and by compelling them to produce to pay for the items they bought.[13] Commerce in cotton

was also undertaken collectively by the sodalities. This played a similar role in favoring mercantile production in a way which was both collective and to a degree, forced.

In the eighteenth century the capital funds of the sodalities were the most important sums of money in this poor region. In 1770 the capital town of Alcozauca (with 100 tributaries and 67 families of mixed race) had three inter-ethnic sodalities which collectively managed a capital fund of 400 pesos. Amapilca had 20 tributaries and circulated a fund of 50 pesos. By the end of the century almost all of the towns had at least one sodality and the more important towns had several. In Malinaltepec, a town with 100 tributaries, the Sodality of the Virgin of Purification circulated a capital fund of 40 pesos around 1750. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Malinaltepec had three sodalities with a capital fund of 750 pesos.

In the nineteenth century the number of sodalities and the amount of their capital increased significantly alongside the increase in the general population. In Malinaltepec in 1770 there were 100 tributaries and between 500 and 600 inhabitants. A century later there were 6.891 people living in three towns. They had 33 sodalities and a capital fund of 1.196 pesos.

This pattern was repeated in all of the towns of the region. In the mid-nineteenth century the municipality and parish of Tlapa had 5.590 inhabitants, 58 sodalities and a capital fund of 2.201 pesos. Atlamajalcingo del Monte had 789 inhabitants and 30 sodalities with 358 pesos and Alcozauca had 6.593 inhabitants, 39 sodalities and 1.100 pesos.

The capital funds of these associations became so important that during many of the armed conflicts which took place during the first century of Independence the rebels became as interested in these funds as they would have been in the money now kept in banks. When Avilez attacked the city of Tlapa in 1855 'the enemy advanced to take possession of the old town (now the barrio) of Acatzingo. From there they sent a representative to force surrender, impose conditions, and secure a cash loan. Once the sodalities had handed this over from their existing funds, the enemy left'.[14]

The collapse of cotton textile production and its replacement by cattle was the major economic calamity suffered by the region during the nineteenth century. Every year the Spaniards of Tlapa brought thousands of bulls and goats from the coast to sell in Puebla and Vera Cruz.[15] Together with the transportation of products from different ecological levels (such as fish and salt from the coast, crops from cold and warm climates, and regional specialties including pottery) the cattle business became a common occupation in the region. The money of the saints was invested in this commerce. In Xalpatlahuac the sodalities were always involved in commercial investments. Their mayordomos bought and sold oxen brought from the coast to Tlapa.

In most towns the usurious lending of the capital fund to private individuals became generalized during this century. This was in contrast to the customary practice during the previous century when large Spanish merchants requested the loans. In the nineteenth century Indians borrowed the capital. Any peasant could ask the mayordomo for a sum of money which he would return the following year before the saint's fiesta along with between 25 and 100 percent interest. Frequently members of the sodality took these loans.

As in the eighteenth century the capital funds of the sodalities increased by between 37 and 126 percent. For example in 1844 in Malinaltepec the Sodality of the Virgin of Guadalupe earned 29 pesos on a capital fund of 77 pesos, an increase of 37,6 percent. In 1841 the Sodality of the Virgin of Candlemas earned 31 pesos on a capital fund of 62 pesos, an increase of 40 percent. In 1853 the capital of the Virgin of Sorrows of Alcozauca consisted of 53 pesos which produced 67 pesos, a profit of 126,4 percent.

Another form of capital circulation was called "en depósito" (in deposit or in trust). When an important purchase of cult objects or repair of the church was contemplated, part of the capital was entrusted to a reliable person (a fiscal or a justice of the peace) who was in charge of circulating it for some years. Once the desired sum was obtained through the annual profits, the cult object was purchased or repairs made. In Tlalistaquilla in 1849 100 pesos of the Sodality of the

Crucified was placed in the control of the local justice of the peace to earn a profit of 50 percent for the construction of a section of the upper altar. In Itzcuinatoyac in 1843 a capital fund of 50 pesos was entrusted to a few reliable persons selected for this purpose. This money was the beginning of a fund which would pay for church necessities.

The widespread circulation of these capital funds was sometimes criticized by the clergy. For example, in 1843 the priest of Alcozauca wrote that the capital fund was distributed in the town and called this an abominable custom because it did not benefit the town, but hurt it. When the capital was received in good faith as much as possible was taken. When it was returned, the borrowers sacrificed the security they had used in taking the loan because they did nothing with the money during the year or in some cases, they failed to return the interest payment on time or even the principal thus causing a capital loss to the sodality.

In the same parish in 1881 the priest tried to prohibit the usurious lending of the money of the saint, apparently without success since this custom persists today. He lamented that the state of the sodalities in the parishes was deplorable because the mayordomos had introduced very high rates of interest lending at 25, 50, and even 100 percent interest. He complained that some took all of the capital fund and some took part of it. Some oppressed the poor when they could not pay their debts, demanded the money, and punished them by taking their goods, except for those which were judged necessary for them.

The lending out of capital had different consequences in different places. In some cases it was helpful to businessmen, in others it was a constant year to year pressure for the peasant sodality members to engage in periodic commerce. In the poorest places and during times of economic depression the local priests noticed that the burden was distributed among the brothers of the association or among other people in the town. Apparently the town officials or the authorities of the sodality encouraged the peasants to request part of the money of the saint. It is probable that in these cases the quantity of available capital exceeded the borrowing

capacity of the region. At least the priest of Tlapa noticed that in turning over his accounts the mayordomo of the Sodality of Corpus de Chiepetepec did not present the required amount. He said that he had not circulated all of the capital of 125 pesos which he was given because he did not find sufficient opportunities. Everyone agreed that only 100 pesos would circulate leaving the remaining 25 in reserve to use for other things. In this case the sodality had to reduce its capital because it had become so substantial that all of it could not be borrowed.

Considering such cases it is hardly surprising that contemporary Indians make such extensive use of the market. They make many small-scale purchases and sales to obtain small profits of a few cents. This is in no way proof of a capitalist mentality, but is an economic attitude formed by years of pressure partially exercised by the ritual institution which was the sodality.

The market function developed during two centuries by the sodality had distinct aspects. In the eighteenth century it organized collective commerce in primary materials encouraging the indigenous population to develop mercantile production and in the nineteenth century it stimulated the borrowing of money by the peasants for them to invest in commercial ventures. In the twentieth century the economic role of the sodalities (henceforth known as "mayordomías") continued. The increase in their number and in their capital is impressive. Recall that the old town of Malinaltepec had 6.891 inhabitants in 1871 divided among three communities and 33 sodalities with a total capital fund of 1.196 pesos. A century later in 1971 this old town had developed to the point that it contained two municipalities and 14 communities with 22.697 inhabitants and at least 128 mayordomías, each with a capital fund of between 200 and 500 pesos, which means a collective capital of 45.000 pesos.

The primary economic activities of the region have changed again. Commercial crops such as coffee and sugar cane have been introduced among the Tlapanecs. Salaried work including selling straw hats and seasonal work in other states have become common in the rest of the highlands. The indigenous communities have not

abandoned or reduced the functioning of the mayordomías which have retained their role as a source of credit sustained by loans at usurious rates of interest and collective commerce including peasant participation in product and labor markets. For example, the mayordomos of Xalpatlahuac kill pigs for sale or resell straw hats in Tlapa.

The economic role of the mayordomías has expanded. Since the 1960s a rural infrastructure began to develop. Between 1960 and 1965 an opening between Tlapa and Chilapa (and from there to Chilpancingo, the capital of the state of Guerrero) was built. In 1970 construction of a road which crossed from the Sierra Madre in the south towards the coast was begun. This project has started to materialize today. Many towns have landing strips for small planes. During the same period efforts were made to set up electrification, and to install potable water and a telephone system.

The money of the saint has acquired a new role in investment in public works. The profits realized from the circulation of the capital fund which until recently were spent on the icon of the saint or on the church are now invested in the construction of municipal buildings, town squares, or in the purchase of musical instruments. In Malinaltepec the mayordomías participate directly in the management of the civil funds. In addition to the 'money of the saint' they circulate the 'money of the president'. The profits from the latter are given to the municipality.

Conclusion

Let us now return to the question posed at the beginning of this article. We inquired whether it was possible, on the basis of the role of mediation assumed by the cargo system, to find a relationship between its forms and its historical role in regional and national society. The organizational model which emerged from the study of the region was manifested in the ceremonial groups formed around the image of a patron saint, the circulation of a capital fund, and the celebration of annual fiestas. This model, which appears to have diffused into some parts of Mesoamerica including the highlands of Chiapas and Guatemala, has disappeared in these areas

while it continues to exist in southern Tlapa. It appears that we have found a kind of fossilized system. It is therefore appropriate to ask why this system has survived.

We know the reasons which led to the downfall of the capital funds of Chiapas. This decline was related to the multiplication of farms in the warm lowlands after 1824: 'Economic progress in the lowlands required not only a plentiful supply of peons (workers attached to the farm), it also created a large force of free laborers who carried cotton, hides and other such products from plantation to port or market'. Consequently the number of men in the communities began to decline. 'As a result, the cofradia system, which depended upon the active participation of a large number of hermanos (brothers or members) began to crumble; after 1870, it collapsed altogether' (Rus/Wasserstrom 1980:469–470). Thereafter the clergy began to reorganize the system in a form which became very hierarchical.

In the highlands of Tlapa the capital fund survived thanks to the absence of disturbances such as those which resulted in the precipitous decline in the male population of Chiapas. Moreover the specific role of the mayordomias in the region of Tlapa facilitated the access of peasants to capital during a period of three centuries. For the indigenous population the circulation of the capital fund was one means among many (though perhaps the most important) of borrowing money or engaging in commerce and the only means (based on co-operation) of circulating capital. I do not wish to claim that the mayordomías were a humanitarian institution providing capital to the poorest of the poor, nor do I assume that the peasants themselves voluntarily provided capital to invest in commerce: In many cases it appears to have been an obligation to engage in commercial transactions with the money of the saint or to request part of the capital. What I am claiming is that in this region the sodalities accompanied the peasant in his entrance into the market economy. In the eighteenth century the adoption of small-scale mercantile production by the indigenous population took material form in the production of cotton textiles. This in turn facilitated the development of the mayordomías. The mayordo-

mias of the nineteenth century promoted mercantile exchange in the area. Today the peasants have an economy based on the sale of coffee and sugar cane and in the poorest areas on straw hats and labor. They need money to invest in mercantile production, to pay for the schooling of their children, and to build new houses. Finally, the communities themselves need funds to begin work developing their own infrastructures. The mayordomías are involved in all of these diverse levels.

It is probable, therefore, that the permanence of the sodalities as groups which circulated monetary capital is related to the socioeconomic characteristics of the region of Tlapa, a zone separate from the centers of production of the country and until the beginning of this century dependent on the supply of primary materials from the coast. Comparing the respective histories of Tlapa, Chiapas, Guatemala, and other places can perhaps explain the variety in their cargo systems. By avoiding the simple description of different cargo systems or systems of sodalities which in themselves explain nothing and by avoiding the reduction to a single model based on hierarchy, we are able to account for the variety of its past and present forms as well as its distinctive involvement in the life of various regions and of the country as a whole. The sodality can be defined more broadly than as a simple cult group for it is an institution with an astonishing capacity to adapt to differing socio-economic environments facilitating its adoption of a wide range of forms and functions.

Notes

1. In 1967 I began anthropological study of a Nahuátl community called Xalpatlahuac with 2.000 inhabitants. I later did research in the Tlapanec region from 1974 to 1976. This area had a population of about 40.000 people. The historical documentation was obtained during research begun in 1978 which brought me from Seville to the parishes of the Montaña passing along the way through Madrid, Mexico City, and Puebla. All of this

material has been used in the preparation of my "Doctorat d'Etat".

2. See the Nahuatl text of the discourse of a "principal" and its Spanish translation in Dehouve 1976: 348-349.

3. "Cofradia" is most frequently translated as 'sodality', 'brotherhood', 'fellowship', or 'confraternity'. Here its meaning is clearly the capital fund of the saint.

4. These figures are from 1976.

5. This datum, as well as those that follow, was obtained from the "Libros de Cofradías" kept in the oldest parochial archives of the Tlapa region (principally Tlapa, Alcozauca, and Atlamajalcingo del Monte).

6. AGI: Indiferente General 108 fl.188-197: Descripción de la Provincia de Tlapa, 1743.

7. AGI: Mexico, 1675, fl. 21r-v, 1792. An arroba is about 25 pounds.

8. AGI: Indiferente General 108 fl. 188-197.

9. Relación Geográfica de Chiepetlan, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, manuscritos, tomo 2249, fl. 150 to 163.

10. These are pesos containing 8 reales each. So the notation 1.2 pesos indicates 1 peso 2 reales and the total for this account is 8 pesos 2 reales.

11. AGCA-A II, leg.29,exp.845, fl.38; cited by Percheron 1979:81.

12. The alcalde mayor was a local official roughly equivalent to a town mayor in the United States.

13. The repartimiento in the region of Tlapa is examined in my as yet unpublished article on the formation of mercantile production; see also Pietschmann 1975:147-153.

14. Acapulco, Library ACORA-FONAPAS; Archivo del Ingeniero Pauzic: "Informe presentado por Ayuntamiento de Tlapa", June 1922.

15. Unedited manuscript of Moises Pacheco, a Tlapa hacendado.

RITUAL, SODALITY AND CARGO AMONG ANDEAN WOMEN

A Diachronic Perspective

Diane Elizabeth Hopkins

This article examines the diachronic transformation of an Incaic rite of passage for postpubescent adolescent girls into a seventeenth century sisterhood of young unmarried Andean women and finally into the modern cargo of Santa Rosa in an indigenous community in the Cuzco region of southern Peru. Before embarking on a description and analysis of this transformation, we will describe the cultural context of the reciprocal labor exchanges which were highlighted in the Incaic rite of passage, the seventeenth century sisterhood of Our Lady of Monsarratte, and the contemporary cargo of Santa Rosa.

In the southern Peruvian Andes Quechua children acquire competence in their culture by imitating the behavior of older children and adults. Unlike Western modes of enculturation, the focus of Quechua enculturation is on informal, ostensive, and observational learning. Quechua speakers use the verb 'yachay' (to know practical things) primarily for this kind of knowledge as opposed to the knowledge which they acquire in formal educational institutions such as public schools. A child's early enculturation is provided by the examples of his mother and siblings and by other friends and relatives.

Enculturation in behavior appropriate to the child's sex begins at about age four. Though both male and female enculturation is characterized by informal, observational learning and by emphasis on the many manifestations of the dominant value structuring Quechua culture, reciprocity, Quechua enculturation varies according to sex roles from this age onwards. Boys spend most of their time with their fathers watching them and their male companions as they engage in agricultural labor.