

I. Introduction

B O. Zinacantan and its Music

Zinacantan is a municipio of Tzotzil speaking Indians located in the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico. In an development of the ancient Mayan settlement patterns, the municipio is arranged into parajes, or ^{hamlets} ~~small~~ villages, which are culturally and ritually centered around one paraje called Hteklum, or 'My real land.' This central paraje, ^{which has the cabildo, or civil gov't. center,} is the site of the major activity at fiestas throughout the year; it contains Zinacantan's most important churches, and ~~has~~ a large number of other religiously important spots. It is also the site of the yearly ritual cycle, which we will discuss briefly below. This, Hteklum is the home for the majority of participants in the ritual cycle, and, most importantly for us, the home for the most accomplished and most active musicians in Zinacantan.

Zinacantece men are corn farmers who cultivate their milpas both near their homes, ~~and~~ in the lowlands of the Grijalva River Valley, (Hot Country), ~~and~~ in certain other plots of ejido land. Corn is, ~~in~~ the economic base of Zinacantan, as well as its primary food. Thus, one scale on which Zinacantece men can achieve success ~~is~~ measures the amount of corn ~~he~~ ^{man} produces and his resulting wealth. To most Zinacantece (hereafter abbreviated "S's"), however, another scale of success is more important than this one based on wealth. This scale ~~is~~ places a man in a religious hierarchy which consists of four ranked levels, ~~and~~ Between these levels are distributed ~~52~~ 52 charge positions, each with a certain rank. A man passes through the hierarchy by holding a charge for a year on each of the

four levels. A 'cargo' position involves certain well defined ritual tasks during the year. The cargoholder exchanges sometimes huge amounts of money for ~~certain~~ prestige in the community, depending on the particular cargo he holds. After his year is complete he returns to everyday life, corn farming, and ~~he~~ works to repay the debts he incurred with cargo expenses.

~~2x2~~ While a man is serving his cargo, he moves with his family into Hteklun, the ceremonial center. His most important tasks during his cargo year involve participation in the fiestas and in a round of ceremonies in the churches and in his house. These are the ceremonies ~~xxxx~~ at which most of the music ~~is~~ performed in Zinacantan ~~xxx~~ ^{is} to be heard. As we shall see, most cargo positions have associated songs. For their year in office, most cargoholders even have special musicians who ~~xxxx~~ play whenever ~~the cargoholder needs them. xxx~~ ^{needed} The best musicians in Zinacantan --- those who are reputed to play the best, and to be most worthy of respect --- are those who participate often in the ceremonial round as helpers to the cargoholders.

Music is played at other sorts of ceremonies not associated with the cargo ritual. Generally these ceremonies could be characterized as special events: weddings, new house dedications, funerals, house cross ceremonies and the like. In the outlying parajes, where there is ^{little} ~~no~~ cargo ritual (with ~~some very minor exceptions~~), musicians play only at these special events. ~~xxx~~ They are less accomplished, since they play very little, and less knowledgeable, since they know only certain music and ^{a few} ~~certain~~ songs.

Anticipating later discussions (cf. § 16) we may clarify what things are to be referred to as 'traditional

music' in Zinacantan. At a large fiesta in Zinacantan, a visitor would hear sounds he might classify as music coming from:

- a) ^{loud} speakers at open cantinas blaring records, Mexican popular music;
- b) brass bands wandering ^{in processions} around the town or in the kiosk in front of the church;
- c) small, unattached or attached groups of men with drums and reed flutes, playing outside in processions or just standing around;
- d) groups of men with stringed instruments (the visitor would probably recognize violin, harp, and guitar) either seated in churches or wandering around with various fancily dressed men. The subject of this paper ^{deals with} is the music of the last two kinds, especially the very last (source d)).

The division of 'musics' seems natural enough, and, as we shall see, reflects the Z conceptualization of the matter.

The reader will find a few random notes about life in Zinacantan useful in understanding the complexity of the musician's existence. First, a word about food and drink. The general diet of a Zinacantece family has little more than tortillas (vah), beans (benek), occasional greens (titab), and coffee. This diet is supplemented on special occasions, and rarely for the average Z, with various meats — beef and chicken, principally. Pex (pronounced 'peah') — that lovely liquid — is a locally produced rum, made from the ~~best~~ brown sugar which is otherwise commed in coffee. Presenting pex is a necessary part of nearly every kind of transaction (between men) in Zinacantan; and the bottles are plentiful in the ritual world as well. Pex is carried in a variety of bottles, from litres ~~and~~ (5 kwartas) and limetes (4 kwartas), to merias (2), and kwartas themselves. One drinks all grades of pex, from the ~~most~~ kixin nic pex (lit: hot uncut pex) which burns readily with a pretty blue flame, to the ~~most~~

when band is playing around town

see

most of alcohol

hot flower of tagon

New Prayer for page 14:

God, Jesus Christ, Our Lord
 I have arrived at the ground beneath your feet, the
 ground beneath your hand.
 We are here at your divine Saturday, your divine Sunday
 To ~~change~~ change your flowers, your leaves
 Here in the seat, here in the place
 Divine martyr, divine guaranter, father
 Divine Martyr, divine captain, Our Lord

New Prayer for page 21

God, Jesus Christ, Our Lord
 Divine Martyr, Divine guaranter, Our Father, Our Lord
 It is just finished, the change of your flowers, of your
 leaves
 We borrow your three graces, your three ~~graces~~ ventilation
 there in my body, there in my ~~side~~ side
 Watch over me, ~~see me~~ see me
 We have obeyed your words, your commands
 Your servant, your rooster
 Your work, Your burdens
 Take pardon for a little, a tiny bit
 Justice, one candle.

at a back
 apat ... xokan
 taken together
 mean really
 as the translation
 is inconsistent

bendition?
 blessing?
 RR

You should be sure your translations
 make sense in English es. amosoon = I am your slave
 then, maybe
 (I do) your work
 (I carry) your burdens

