

**Ethnographic Field Recordings**  
From Around the World

Members of the Department of Anthropology, as part of their anthropological studies in the Pacific and in other parts of the world, are concerned to document not only the cultures and social systems of the communities where they work, but also to record the aesthetic and creative products of different societies. Many of us have, accordingly, studied the art and music of the people we have worked with, and made tape recordings of musical performances. The object is not only to collect musicological specimens of exotic and interesting (and usually enjoyable) music, but also to try to understand the place of music, musical performances, and musicians, in a particular social or cultural context. As part of our Open Days exhibit, we have prepared short samples of music recorded in different parts of the world. These notes provide very brief descriptions of the places and contexts from which this music is drawn. Members of the Department would be glad to provide more details and information about this music if you are interested. Please let us know if you wish to hear any particular selections from the list below.

Malaita, Solomon Islands  
(recorded by Roger Keesing)

Kwaio Panpipe Music, or ?au is played by an orchestra of eight men, with four pairs of bamboo pipes that exactly match in pitch. They accompany the pipe music by slapping their thighs in a highly complex rhythm. The genre recorded here (sisile) is unique in that it is based on seven voice counterpoint: that is, of the eight instruments, only the lowest pitched pair of pipes play the same melody. The percussion (?au basiakwa) is produced by bamboo stamping tubes, played by two men: they hold the tubes with fingers and toes, hitting them on stones.

Churah, Himachal Pradesh, India  
(recorded by Roger Keesing, January 1981)

This recording features music played for a traditional village marriage, by four low caste musicians, who play music in exchange for payments of grain. The instruments are oboe-like double reeded shawms, and a drum. Following several pieces by this wedding band, this cassette includes several selections from the Nonesuch record Festivals of the Himalayas, recorded in Chamba and Kulu, Himachal Pradesh, by David Lewsiton.

Indonesia: Roti, Flores, Java, Bali, Borneo  
(recorded by Jim Fox, Tim and Paty Asch, Doug Lewis)

This cassette has several examples of music from different parts of Indonesia, mostly from field recordings in Roti and Flores. Here is a brief description of each segment:  
Roti: Gong music from Roti, in three segments, the first two from a funeral, and the last from a wedding. This is followed by a session with Sesandu music: two men playing and relaxing under a

tree.

Flores: Ata Tana Ai: Several segments, as follows: (1) 3 A.M., People singing and dancing outside a ritual house at the start of the Gren Mahe ceremony. People stayed up for a week before the final culminating rituals. (2) At night of the final rituals, in the Sacred Forest: men are dancing and singing around the central altar stones and wood. They continue with a song to the mothers and fathers (ancestors); sounds of goats may be heard in the background. (3) Short gong playing interludes at the altar the next morning, around 7:00 a.m. (4) A dani --- or dirge --- at a secondary mortuary meeting. A man is calling his mame, or mother's brother, around 5:00 a.m. (5) Two women singing a dirge at the wake of their brother, who died that morning. They sang all night, and he was buried the next day. There follow brief selections from Javanese court gamelan, and from Dayaks of Kalimantan (Borneo), from a Musee de l'Homme recording.

Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana), South America  
(recorded by John Haviland, 1968)

The people of Suriname are drawn from quite disparate sources, but the music recorded here is played by people of African descent. The 'Creoles' of the coast are descendants of African slaves, brought by the British as plantation workers. They speak an English-based Creole, known as Sranan Tongo, and their music has a definite Carribean flavour, with African roots. The 'Maroons' or 'Bush Negros' of the interior are, by contrast, descendants of escaped slaves, who established societies in the interior, based on raiding coastal plantations, and who were never subdued by force, ultimately concluding a treaty with the British. The music recorded here is from a group of Maroons, known as Matawai, whose language is a Portuguese-based Creole. The selections on this cassette include wedding music, first from the all-night dancing to accompany the wedding of a Matawai chief in the village of Poesoegroenoe, with drumming on wooden drums, tins, and accompanied by a can, filled with pebbles, called seki-seki. There follow several hymns, sung in Sranan and Dutch, led by the Moravian clergyman who conducted the official marriage service. Finally, the tape includes several pieces by a Creole band, playing music in the style known as Kawina, at a wedding in the coastal province of Coronie.

Chiapas, Mexico  
(recorded by John Haviland)

The music of Mexico is extremely rich and varied. The examples on this cassette are all drawn from field recordings from the state of Chiapas, in south-eastern Mexico. More information about Zinacanteco music is available in the paper Vob: traditional music in Zinacantan, by John Haviland. The Tzotzil and Tzeltal speaking Indians of the state now play a variety of music, most of which has, ultimately, a European origin, although it has been variously incorporated into Indian life, and accordingly transformed. The cassette begins with a selection of music from

the highlands of Chiapas, including: (1) a death wail, at k'in Santo, or All Souls' Day, in Romerillo, a hamlet of Chamula; (2) harp and guitar music from Mitontik; (3) music for religious officeholders at the Fiesta of San Sebastián, in Zinacantan; (4) cornet and drum music from Venustiano Carranza; and (5) music for two guitars, violin and harp from Carranza. (These are all Tzotzil speaking communities.) Then: (6) violin and guitar music from Tenejapa; (7) and a similar group from Petelcingo (Tzeltal-speaking); (8) flute and drum music from Las Margaritas, near Comitan (Tojolabal speaking); and (9) string and percussion from Tila, followed by church bells, also from Tila (Chol speaking).

Although the Indian music, originally learned from the friars who converted the Indians to Catholicism after the Conquest, is largely used in ritual contexts, Indians in Chiapas have, through exposure to more recent popular Mexican music, also adopted some of these other secular forms. The remainder of the tape includes selections of such secular music, performed by both Indians and ladinos (Spanish-speaking non-Indians) from the town of San Cristóbal de las Casas. The music includes: (10) several selections performed at a mañanitas or birthday party by the Mariache San Cristóbal; (11) love songs for midnight serenades, by the talented San Cristóbal guitarist and singer, Don Luz; (12) dance music played on a marimba conjunto at a San Cristóbal party. Finally, some of these same forms have been adopted by Zinacanteco Indians, who are heard playing (13) marimba music, on instruments provided by the State Governor, in the hamlet of Nabenchauk; and (14) brass band music, for fiestas, again played by Indians from Nabenchauk, accompanied by a few maestros from the more ladinoized town of San Lucas.

#### Australian Aboriginal Music Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland

This tape begins with songs, composed and performed by the last great Guugu Yimidhirr singer, the late Michael Webb, who died in 1975. (These Guugu Yimidhirr songs were recorded by John Haviland, at the Cooktown Aboriginal Reserve, in 1972.) The songs mostly depict domestic scenes and dilemmas, although a few notable songs deal with a walk down the street in the town of Mareeba, or the destruction of the landscape by white agricultural developers at Lakeland Downs. Michael Webb accompanied himself with two boomerangs which he claps together for rhythm. (Several other people at the Cooktown Reserve join in in the background.) The tape continues with a few songs recorded at Yarrabah Mission, near Cairns, by Alice Moyle, available on a record from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

#### New Guinea (recorded by Bill Foley (Linguistics, Arts), and Don Laycock, (Linguistics RSPacS))

The first section of this tape contains music called mambu, recorded by Bill Foley, in the Sepik region, in February 1979. The tape of New Guinea music recorded by Dr. Laycock is accompanied by brief introductory remarks.

**Guugu-Yimidhirr Speaking People  
from Hopevale Mission  
near Cooktown in North Queensland  
(photographed by John Haviland)**

Guugu Yimidhirr is the language of the Cooktown area. It was spoken along the river Captain Cook named the Endeavour when his party landed there to repair their ship, which had been damaged in a collision with a section of coral reef as Cook sailed northwards along the Australian Coast in 1770. Cook and members of his crew collected words from the language, including the name of a curious, hopping animal, called in Guugu Yimidhirr **gangurru**, which Cook rendered in his diary as kangaroo. Thus the Cooktown people made the first contribution to the languages of the world from Aboriginal Australia. Cook's relations with the Guugu Yimidhirr people were not entirely amicable, and their experiences with Europeans since that time have been, if anything, worse. Gold was discovered on the Palmer River, and Cooktown was established as the port to serve the goldfields. By the mid-1880s Cooktown was a thriving boom town, with more than forty hotels, and the territory of the original inhabitants was preempted once and for all. (If you are interested in the history of the region, or in Captain Cook's wordlists and adventures among Guugu Yimidhirr people, please do not hesitate to ask for further material during your visit to the Department of Anthropology.) The few Aboriginal survivors of this invasion mostly gathered together at a Lutheran Mission founded at Cape Bedford, north of Cooktown; and most of their descendents remain at the modern Hopevale Mission, the successor to Cape Bedford, located about 50 kilometers from Cooktown. John and Leslie Haviland, of the Departments of Anthropology, RSPacS, and Prehistory and Anthropology, Arts, at ANU, have carried out linguistic, anthropological, and historical work among these Guugu Yimidhirr people at Hopevale since 1971. The photographs displayed here illustrate a few features of life at Hopevale, and they concentrate especially on the pursuits which members of the community most enjoy: hunting and fishing. Much is ignored, however, in this pictorial display, and we will be happy to answer further questions from visitors to the Department.

Rodeos and Shows

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(1) The major entertainments around Hopevale are the shows, races, and rodeo days in various towns in this part of Cape York Peninsula. People from Hopevale have in recent years begun to drive their own vehicles to such events, and these kids are watching the rodeo events associated with the annual Laura races.

(2) Most off-mission employment for men is still in cattle-related industries (except for those few Hopevale people who work at a Japanese-owned silica mine, leased on Mission territory), and young boys are still encouraged to acquire stockman's skills. These boys went to Laura to participate in a boxing exhibition, during race days, held outside the Laura pub.

(3) Still at the Laura rodeo, a young Aboriginal man dons borrowed boots to compete in the buckjumping.

(4) One of Hopevale's premier stockmen, Walter Bowen, who at the age of sixty was adjudged Best All-Around Cowboy at the Hopevale Show, shows off a fancy cowboy-shirt.

### Plentiful Fish

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(5) The rivers and estuaries around Cape Bedford abound with fish, although people complain about the adverse effects of commercial fishing in the area (which includes the illegal netting of river mouths). Nonetheless, Hopevale people have notable fishing successes, with very simple gear. Here Bob Flinders, one of Hopevale's fishing experts, butchers a seven and a half foot Queensland groper, caught on the McIvor River, using a shark's head for bait on a clothesline tied to a tree. The fish ultimately fed just about everyone at Hopevale, after it was butchered and distributed around the Mission.

(6) Handline fishing also has its lucky days: here Bob Flinders opens an earth oven in which the five or six dozen fish caught the previous afternoon were cooked. The fish are stacked in layers in a covered pit in which rocks have been heated; the process both cooks and dries the fish so that they keep without refrigeration for a couple of days --- enough time to transport them back to the Mission settlement before they spoil.

### Hopevale People at Home

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(7) Maya Haviland and her adopted uncle, Martin Jacko, sitting on the front step of Martin's house.

(8) Hopevale Mission, which was reopened after World War II, is

located about twenty kilometers from the sea, near the north branch of the Endeavour River. About six hundred people live in a compact settlement of about one hundred houses. Whenever they have the chance, people leave the Mission for the comparative peace and quiet of the bush. Here Walter and Lizzie Jack, with one of their grandchildren, wait for yams to cook on the river bank near the Mission.

(9) Another of Walter and Lizzie's grandchildren (in their house are the two grandparents, two of their unmarried daughters, two unmarried sons, two of their daughters' children whom they have adopted, and two further un-adopted grandchildren) shows a **gadaar**, or local grey wallaby, brought down on a Hopevale street by dogs.

(10) Elizabeth Jack bathes her baby in the river near the Mission.

(11) The late Billy Muundu sits by the laundry near his house, putting the prongs on a fishing spear. As one of the few men left at Hopevale who can make good spears, he made six or seven spears for every one he himself was able to keep and use.

(12) Another adopted Hopevale youth, related to Guugu Yimidhirr people who now live on Palm Island and in Kuranda, near Cairns, stands in the doorway of his new house at Hopevale. His relatives at Hopevale took over his upbringing when social workers in Kuranda threatened to have him sent to an institution as a neglected child.

### Bush Tucker

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(13) Most of the modern Hopevale diet comes from the store: it centers on flour, tea, sugar, and locally grown beef. A favorite activity, however, is going hunting for 'wild tucker'. Here Billy Muundu climbs a cocoanut tree on what remains of the old Cape Bedford cocoanut plantation. The original missionary had his charges clear and plant large areas of swampland in an effort to make the Mission self-supporting; copra prices never made the venture commercially successful, however, although people old enough to have lived at Cape Bedford remember the fruits as a special treat.

(14) Having failed to reach the nuts, Billy tries to shoot down a

cocoanut with his 22-calibre rifle.

(15) A Hopevale man, on an expedition into largely deserted land north of the Mission, kills a wild pig. Feral pigs do considerable damage in the bush, where they have thrived probably since Captain Cook's time. They are a prized dish, although many Hopevale people bear scars that testify to the danger involved in hunting them.

(16) Finally, the Cape Bedford plantation yielded a few cocoanuts.

(17) Formerly, the wild honey of various types of native bee was a major part of the Hopevale diet. Nowadays people are driven to hunt for mula or 'sugarbag' only when they run out of sugar, or when the opportunity happens accidentally to present itself. Here Tulo Gordon has found a fallen tree with honey in it, and he deposits the honey in a billcan by the handful.

(18) The tender heart of the grass-tree palm, known as bunga, yields a cabbage-like edible vegetable. The base of the same plant also produces both a hard resin, used traditionally for pitch, and an edible grub.

(19) The bush around Hopevale also abounds with several varieties of wild yam, which require considerable skill to track (their vines and leaves wither and nearly disappear when the tubers are ready to be dug), and lots of hard work to dig. The food is worth the effort, however, although here Walter Jack is about to burn his fingers on a yam just pulled from the fire.

### The Joys of Fishing

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(20) Life at Hopevale Mission is overcrowded, noisy, and filled with tension. People prefer to leave the settlement at every opportunity to seek the isolation of the bush, and fishing is the favorite escape, providing both peace and quiet and good food as well. In this picture Maudie and George Rosendale wait for a bite in a secluded bay on Cape Bowen, well to the North off Hopevale, where a group of people had gone on an excursion to visit now abandoned tribal territory (on a large pastoral leasehold).

(21) A solitary fisherman sits on the tip of Cape Bedford's northern side.

(22) Billy Muundu fishes with his family in a little creek on Cape Bedford, known as 'Wharf', where at the old Mission the fishing boats were kept. Cape Bedford Mission was evacuated during World War II, and the boats were abandoned. Billy is standing next to the remnants of a Mission boat called the 'Pearl Queen'.

(23) Fishing on freshwater rivers is not only a different experience, producing different sorts of fish. There is also a traditional animosity and rivalry between Coastal and Inland people, so that invidious comparisons are made between the taste and plenty of freshwater as opposed to salt water fish. The silent rivers, covered by dense tropical rainforest, contrast with the rocky, windy seashore.

(24) Billy Muundu digs bait on the bank of the Morgan River, on Mission territory.

(25) Billy and his family collect hermit crabs, called ngaaruunh, a premier bait.

#### Hunting Trophies

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(26) Roger Hart, and a medium sized barramundi, speared from the river bank with the spear he is displaying. (Roger caught this fish on his own tribal territory, near Barrow Point, on his first visit back to his ancestral land since he was taken to Cape Bedford mission fifty-eight years previously.)

(27) Leo Rosendale, originally from the Maytown area but brought up at Cape Bedford, displays a haul of mud crabs, speared at Redpoint.

(28) Tulo Gordon is about to dispatch the same giant groper shown in photograph (5), before we haul it back to the river mouth to be butchered. The chain was used to secure the fish overnight (it was left in the water alive), waiting for the proper tide to drag it downriver.

(29) Daphne Darkin with an afternoon's catch of bigu-dhirr, or jewfish, caught in this freshwater section of the Endeavour River.



**Photographs from Zinacantan**  
**Chiapas, Mexico**  
 (photographed by John Haviland)

The state of Chiapas, in south-eastern Mexico, enjoys one of the highest proportions of Indians of Mexico's various states. More than one quarter of a million speakers of the closely related Mayan languages, Tzotzil and Tzeltal, live in the mountainous highlands of the state, mostly located near the Colonial town of San Cristóbal de las Casas. Anthropological studies of these Indian communities have been carried out by Mexican and foreign investigators for many years, and the Indians in question have been the objects of considerable attention, beginning before the Spanish Conquest when Aztec soldiers were garrisoned in the community of Zinacantan, through the Conquest, and up to and beyond the Mexican Revolution. Two members of the Department of Anthropology have carried on extensive research in Chiapas, and the photographs on exhibit illustrate a few aspects of Indian life in the area. The following descriptions are keyed to individually numbered photographs and are designed to provide a bit of additional background detail. Both John Haviland, and Penny Brown, who have worked in Chiapas, will be happy to provide further information.

Zinacanteco Corn Harvest

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(1) Zinacanteco men spend the bulk of their work time cultivating maize, both for their own household consumption (which is based on corn as the staple food, usually eaten as flat corn cakes called *vaj* or *tortillas*) and for sale in the local markets. Here a man and his son beat the dried kernels of corn from the harvested corncobs, which have been placed in a rope bag on a plastic sheet. The heavy wooden club scatters the kernels onto the sheet.

(2) The man here collects the kernels which have been dislodged. Corn is treated with care in Zinacantan, and most Indians are careful to pick up every single kernel of corn, whether storing the corn in bags (as here), or when pouring out a helping of corn for cooking.

(3) The same Zinacanteco man, sorts and picks over his corn crop at a small work-house in his cornfield. Corn grown near the house compound is often beaten in the house courtyard, but corn raised in the fields is processed and bagged on the spot. The small crosses are designed to protect the heaps of kernels from infestation by vermin, both natural and supernatural.

(4) A young Zinacanteco boy stitches up the mouth of a burlap sack which contains about 100 kilograms of corn. Nothing is so reassuring to a Zinacanteco farmer as having a large heap of such sacks stored in his family's corn warehouse.

(5) Several full sacks of corn, suitably protected with miniature crosses, sit near a temperate cornfield, waiting to be loaded onto mules for transport back to the house compound.

(6) An old Zinacanteco man, having spent the day beating and sacking part of his corn crop from the local fields near his house plot, takes a brief rest, secure in the bounty of a new harvest.

#### Zinacanteco Portraits

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(7) A part of a single Zinacanteco household, here consisting of a man, his young daughter, his mother, and his father --- here relaxing in their yard, during a formal visit by the child's godparents.

(8) A brand new Zinacanteco bride, carefully combed and dressed in her stylish unmarried girl's clothes, but posing by her new husband's tunics, hung out to dry. A new bride in Zinacantan usually moves into her husband's household for a few years, where she is at first treated as a somewhat dangerous stranger.

(9) An unmarried Zinacanteco woman, and a close friend of the anthropologist's family.

(10) Zinacanteco men traditionally wove their hats from dried palm, and a common pasttime for men when they could not hold hoes in their hands was to weave their next year's hats. Nowadays, few men maintain the old practice, and only a few younger men know how to weave. A recent resurgence in the skill followed the introduction of plastic strips to replace the original palm, and here an older man and a young boy weave, in the midst of a conversation at a hamlet market.

(11) A young unmarried girl, goddaughter of the anthropologists, displays her Mayan profile during a visit to town to borrow money to pay for the dyeing of her new skirt.

(12) Several generations of women share a kind of conjoint

responsibility for children in most Zinacanteco households. Here a grandmother, and one of her eldest granddaughters supervise a collection of nieces, grandchildren, and neighbours, so that the anthropologists can obtain an orderly photograph.

(13) A mother shows off her newly scrubbed first child.

(14) A Zinacanteco man, dressed here in non-Indian clothing, loads bullets into his pistol as he prepares to make a long walk across a lowland tract owned by non-Indian cattle growers. He is on his way to a disputed ejido, a colony being claimed under Mexican land reform laws. The Indians who are trying to settle on the new colony claim it as unused Government land; however, the local ranchers have been enjoying de facto rights of pasturage over the land for years, and they have violently opposed the petition by the Zinacantecos. This man, who has been the leader of the colonists, has been repeatedly threatened with assassination.

#### Zinacantecos in Distant Markets

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(15) Some Zinacanteco men, rather than farm corn, make their living by selling highland produce in various lowland markets. Their principal commodity is flowers, which are much in demand in coastal towns. The trade began with Zinacantecos growing a few flowers near their highland homes, and purchasing further flowers and vegetables in the San Cristóbal market from other Indians, especially Chamulas. Nowadays, Zinacanteco traders will even travel to Mexico City to buy more favoured flower varieties, often spending as much as 20,000 pesos (about Aus\$800) on a week's load. This is the market in Arriaga, on the Chiapas Pacific Coast, where, amid several local women, a lone Zinacanteco man sits selling flowers, radishes, and carrots.

(16) A Zinacanteco flower seller bargains with a local woman about selling her what remains of his flowers before returning to the highlands.

(17) At different religious festivals throughout the year, markets are held in the various hamlets of Zinacantan. Here, at the Fiesta of the Virgen of Rosario, celebrated in the old hamlet of 7Atz'am, a market is held at which a man from the nearby Tzeltal speaking community of Tenejapa has set up a stall to sell meat.

(18) Here a young Zinacanteco woman, a close friend of the anthropologists, stands out in her strange costume amid the quite spectacular garb of Indians in the market of the Guatemalan town of Sololá, near Panajachel. In a country where each small Indian municipality can be recognized by its characteristic costume, the Zinacanteco woman is recognized as a stranger. (She has come to Guatemala on an excursion with the anthropologists' family, and has spent most of her time examining local weaving with an expert eye.)

(19) This picture shows further glimpses of the Sololá market.

(20) Two women from the Tzotzil township of Chamula rest in the San Cristóbal market, where they have come to sell flowers and fruit.

(21) A group of Zinacanteco women sit, somewhat forlornly, hoping to sell a few bits of corn and wool which they have hidden among their belongings. They have come to the lowland community of Ixtapa, once predominantly a community of Tzotzil speaking Indians who specialized in the manufacture of pottery, but now more and more inhabited by Spanish-speaking Mexicans. These Zinacantecos have bought the pots they came for, and are now waiting while other business is concluded elsewhere. They hope that someone will inquire about their goods, but not willing to uncover their wares or try more actively to sell them.

#### Bargaining in local markets

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(22) A Zinacanteco man who does not farm corn, but who instead makes is living by re-selling highland produce --- especially flowers --- in lowland markets, tries to strike a bargain for flowers with a Chamula flower-grower. These Zinacanteco entrepreneurs rely on their regular contacts at both ends of the selling process: to acquire cold-country produce in and around San Cristóbal, chiefly from Chamulas; and then to negotiate the difficult network of commercial relations in distant markets on the Chiapas Pacific coast.

(23) and (24) Another transaction is trying to take place between an eager Zinacanteco flower-buyer, and a reluctant Chamula vendor.

(25) The ladino, or non-Indian residents of San Cristóbal, who had heretofore been largely able to control the resale of all produce coming into town, have from time to time created certain obstacles to the direct sale of produce by Indians to Indian resellers. The town authorities tried for a time to regiment the flower trade by making both buyers and sellers register at the market, and purchase tickets for the right to deal in flowers. (Sometimes only the trade in, say, cabbages was restricted.) Here several Zinacanteco flower merchants, undaunted, buy their tickets from a market official.

(26) Indians from all over the highlands come to San Cristóbal to sell their goods. Different municipalities specialize in different products: just as Zinacantecos are known as corn and salt vendors, people from Tzeltal communities to the East of San Cristóbal on the Pan-American highway make earthenware pottery, which makes its way periodically to the main town market.

(27) Zinacantecos also travel to the large markets at fiestas in nearby communities. For example, they often go to the major festivals in Chamula, especially to buy things the Chamulas are known to produce: wool, woolen garments, furniture, musical instruments, and other implements made of wood.

(28) Chamulas are also the major producers of bootleg alcoholic beverages in the area. (Legal production of liquor is in the hands of a wealthy ladino monopoly, whose magnate from time to time sends unsuccessful police expeditions against the bootleggers.) In this case the beverage is a fermented cane sugar beer, called yakil vo7, or 'intoxicating water', flavoured with fruit, and drunk from a gourd bowl.

#### Indian children as miniature adults

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(29) An eight year-old girl has just wrapped up a bundle of flowers, grown in a household garden, to be taken by her father for sale in a lowland market. She was responsible for picking the flowers and packing them properly for transport by truck; she may well have been largely responsible for tending the flower field as it grew.

(30) Two brothers are here charged with the care of their youngest sibling.

(31) Maruch, a Zinacanteco one-year-old, and Maya, a one-year-old Australian, display their parents' contrasting views of proper children's attire.

(32) This defiant son of a Zinacanteco musician knew that his father kept a stock of cigarettes inside his harp. He has raided this supply, and lit his prize on the embers of the hearth fire.

(33) Two young Chamulas, in the San Cristóbal market, reckon the proceeds from a sale of vegetables and flowers.

(34) Little Maruch, again, with a spoon.

Zinacanteco women at home

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(35) An old Zinacanteco woman, well into her eighties and nearly blind, still spins wool with a hand spindle, which sits in a little gourd bowl. Only a few women still weave woolen cloth, and this woman earns a small amount by spinning the woolen yarn which others will make into skirts, shawls, and heavy ritual garments. This woman now mostly spins for her daughters, who bring her the wool and commission spinning on their visits to her house.

(36) A woman moistens her hands as part of the process of making corn tortillas on her house fire. She must cook fresh tortillas at least once a day --- the culmination of a long process involving boiling, washing, and rinsing whole corn, grinding it by hand (often several times), patting the tortillas, and finally cooking them on an earthenware griddle, before setting them steaming before her family.

(37) An unmarried daughter in the house compound where the anthropologist lives, showing an exaggerated annoyed face at being caught by the camera when, seated at her backstrap loom weaving the characteristic red and white pinstripe cloth basic to Zinacanteco clothing, she is unable to flee. Unmarried women in Zinacantan often turn their spare time into cash by weaving clothes both for sale, and as favours to their married relatives whose child-raising duties leave them little time to weave.

(38) Indian women also work in the gardens and cornfields; it is a prejudice popular among Zinacantecos, however, that only women from the nearby community of Chamula --- like the woman

pictured here, working with her husband in a rented cornfield in the valley of San Cristóbal --- will stoop to handling a hoe.

(39) Zinacanteco women also spend at least some of their time tending the sheep that may be found in most compounds; the sheep must be pastured, and are hence driven to areas of grassland, sometimes taking the shepherdesses far from home, where they will often set up their looms or do laundry during the time spent out.

(40) At home, this is the laundry room for a well equipped house compound, when there is a nearby water source. (In this case, the tub was filled from a newly installed standpipe, provided as a side benefit of a government sponsored potable water scheme. However, as the pump capacity for this village was insufficient to meet the demand, villagers were specifically forbidden from using the 'drinking water' for washing, and this collection of tubs and washing stones was a clandestine affair.)