

## Notes on /vob/ in Z &amp; C (!!!)

## I. Flute and Drum Music in Z

- the music:
1. the pieces
  2. the FD calendar
  3. the instruments: construction, value, ownership, rank, standards, style & technique

## the musicians:

4. who plays, who knows how; learning, practicing and why [what is good or bad?]
5. who hires, who directs, and for what

## the words:

6. description of FD activity at given ritual for: feeling, function, standards
7. old stories (where the songs came from?)

## II. Random notes on Z /vob/

1. VG combination as requiring special musicians
2. Songs for the VG combination (schedule: not every hvabahom knows them).
3. Instrument buying

## III. Word description for Z /vob/; notes on a semantic hypothesis

1. Musical perception, sound description
  - a) Dimensions in description: speed, pitch, strength, equalness (in playing and singing)
  - b) Relativity of concepts (early conceptual stage of ordering: Hempel) despite more or less absolute reality
  - c) Reactions to music: sound quality words in music compared with other sound words (largely concrete)
2. Ability rankings of musicians; are these rankings related to musical performance
3. Ranking of instruments
4. Hypothesis: concept of /vob/

## IV.

## Chamula Music: a sketch

## A. Description of musical event

## B. Musical Sound (Physical Behavior)

1. The pieces
2. The songs
3. The instruments
4. The playing and singing

## C. Social Behavior

1. The musician as maestro: learning & playing
2. The musician as Chamula (economic liability, too)
3. Non-maistros in connection with musical events

## D. Verbal Behavior

1. Music connected dialogues and prayers
2. Song text analysis
3. Word study: vocabulary, sound words, standards and evaluative words

→ what about  
(1/4 turns  
2/10) hāh } etc.

who makes  
drums?

VII. Flute and Drum Music in Zinacantan

Flute and drum music seems fundamentally different from stringed instrument music in Zinacantan, both musically and --- as one might say --- conceptually. That is, not only are the pieces/different, but so are the circumstances, the styles, the standards, the musicians, and, it seems, the functions. In this chapter we will consider FD music in some detail, concentrating on the contrasts between this music and ~~xxx~~ the string music which has been the main focus of the rest of the paper. First we will consider the music itself and its instruments; then we will discuss briefly the people involved in FD music. Finally, we will consider ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a typical occurrence of FD music to emphasize the differences in feeling and function between FD music and VHG or VG.\*

iz → The Music  
§20

Flute and drum musicians are seen strolling around in processions or standing, in or outside of buildings. They are always associated with one or another cargoholder and one or another ritual task or fiesta. The clearest classification of FD pieces thus involves the cargoholders and the particular pieces played for each at different times. In brief form the following table shows what pieces there are: how many and for whom.

Table 1: FD pieces	
Set and number	for whom (or what)
a) Alferes set (of 5 or 6 songs)	alfereses, moletik, capitanes
b) 'Year' set (of four songs)	new year, mid-year, and cross (k/k'in krus/) ceremonies

Insert #1  
also switch this section with the next § on Instruments

*End of year*

c) mamal ~~ik'al~~ set (7 mamal  
and 6 ik'al songs)

for /k'in rey/  
/k'exel/, and  
/paskua/ (fiestas  
around Christmas, ~~and~~  
this music associated with  
Martomo C'ul Me7tik)

This table needs clarification. First of all, what exactly are the pieces in question? For the alfereses there is at least one piece called /baz'i song/ (the real song, the only song, the first song); perhaps more than one different tune is called by this name. The pieces for /k'in krus/ etc. are fewer in number but according to one informant are identical to the first four pieces played for alfereses et al.\* The songs for /mamal/ and

\* This question could of course be solved by complete taping, which has not yet been attempted.

/ik'al/ are identical to those played by the VG combination. That is, the tunes are exactly the same, <sup>(though not in pitch)</sup> and are ordered in the same way. Evidently the flautists learned that they could play <sup>these</sup> songs on the flute (which is not true of most of the music for VHG) and thus picked them up.\*

\* Petul Buro: / ko7ol son. ba7yi slok'es son kitara. ha7 li ama ta stak'. ta scan yec ta z'akal./ = they are the same songs. First the guitar produced the tunes. (But) ~~the flute can do them, too. So they learned correctly afterwards~~ <sup>subsequently.</sup>

In a certain sense these <sup>flute,</sup> /last are not true FD songs at all (and a logical musicological question would be: are there musical differences between these songs which are presumably post-conquest and those FD songs which are presumably 'indigenous'?) Occasionally ladino songs (popular tunes, record canciones, folk tunes of national prominence) appear <sup>on the</sup> usually in unrecognizable form; ~~they~~ <sup>sometimes</sup> are played for amusement along with the legitimate alferes songs.

Second, when ~~is this music~~ ~~heard?~~ heard?

Answer: /7oy ta skotol k'in tahmek/= it's at absolutely every fiesta. And: /skwenta naka hpasabtel/ = solely for cargoholders. This rough characterization, which expresses the fact that FD music, unlike VHG which may be heard at almost anytime, is played exclusively at fiestas and is nearly always connected with processions of cargoholders, may be made explicit by the following observations. ~~Each~~ ~~alferes~~ Each alferes has a set of FD musicians for the fiesta (occasionally for the two fiestas) when he leaves his office. (E.g., The old Alferes San Lorenzo has a FD group to play during the fiestas of Santo Domingo and San Lorenzo.) Thus, alferes FD music is heard at exactly those fiestas which have an office change for an alferes; ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> musicians then play for the particular alferes, as well as for the dancing of all the alferes in front of the church, and for processions in which the ~~incoming~~ <sup>incoming</sup> alferes takes part.\*

\_\_\_\_\_ *exitng*

\*The incoming alferes has no FD musicians of his own. To express the relation of cargoholder to his own FD group, interestingly enough, Tzotzil uses the following expression: /Oy strampol/= he has a drum, i.e., he has an FD group. But /7oy yamail/= ~~he~~ (it has a flute) is an expression meaning that a particular musical grouping contains a flute.

\_\_\_\_\_

There is one set of FD musicians associated with the moletik throughout their year of office. They play at /k'exel/ when the moletik change office. And they accompany the moletik when they take ~~an~~ an incoming alferes to and from Iskipulas to be sworn into office. ~~As~~ As shown in the table, FD music accompanies the /mamaletik/ and /ik'al-etik/ (blackmen), who are special costumed participants at the fiestas mentioned. Finally, FD music plays for the

capitanes, special <sup>costumed</sup> cargo holders at the Fiesta of San Lorenzo, who dance a special dance throughout the fiesta.

They are some data on this in Faller Early + other descriptions of San Lorenzo

\* Question: does anyone know exactly where these fellows are at all times during the fiesta? When are they supposed to dance?

These capitanes reportedly borrow the musicians of the alfereses for these occasions.\*

\* Literally: /ha7 no7ox tey sc'amun svob alperes./ (Just there (i.e., where they are going to dance) they borrow (i.e., overhear) the alferes's music.)

Insert 2  
Here

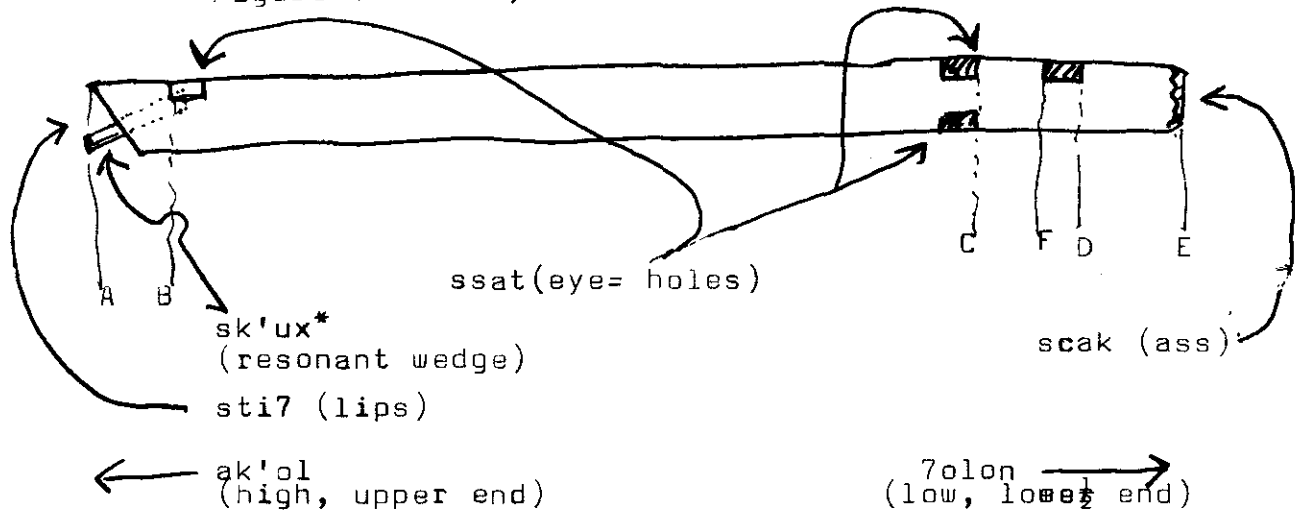
In the last section ~~of this chapter~~ we will give a brief description of ~~the~~ FD music ~~to~~ be heard at a particular fiesta. Such a description will give a better idea of which ~~xxxx~~ occasions and which events are apt to be accompanied by FD music.

Note:

§21. The instruments. (switch this section with the previous one so that it becomes section 1\*)

The /ama/(flute) is made from bamboo or /ah/ (reed) which is found both in the highlands and in Hot Country where Zinacantecos have their cornfields. The reed is planted and ~~also~~ is used in house-building <sup>as well as for flutes</sup>. For making flutes reed from the lowlands is preferred as it is smaller <sup>than the highland variety</sup> and thinner, and the internal joints are not so stiff, (These joints must be scraped out before the flute can play.) Flute players ideally make their own flutes, searching out suitable reed when they ~~xxxx~~ weed their cornfields. <sup>Good</sup> Suitable reeds are about ten inches long (the distance between two neighboring joints on the plant) and up to ~~about~~ half an inch in diameter. The following diagram shows the general form of the flute and the positions of holes.

Figure 1: Flute, with parts and names labelled



replace with  
Insert 3

\* Is there some joke about the word /sk'ux/, naming the resonant piece? /K'us/ also means pain; but all informants always ~~gk~~ laugh when they say the word /sk'ux ama/.

The hole at the top of the flute is the whistle part. There are three holes, arranged as shown, at the bottom of the flute. By using two of the harmonic ranges of the flute (blowing harder or softer) and straight combinations of the holes, one full octave (that is, eight notes on a major scale) are available. <sup>x</sup>Each correctness of pitch is not too important, since two flutes never play together and since <sup>the</sup>intensity of the sound makes ~~xx~~ slight errors of intonation difficult to hear. Generally standard pitch (at around an E major scale) is guaranteed by the following crude measures. First, reeds of roughly standard length and diameter are selected for the ~~initial~~ <sup>initial</sup> flute making. (In Chamula, reportedly, larger reeds are used with subsequently lower pitch.) Second, the holes are placed with ~~xxxxxxx~~ crude measurements. <sup>Distance</sup> A to B is about one reed-width or one finger (/hu p'eh/), as is the distance from C to F. D to E is two such measures (though when I made a flute I had to squeeze my fingers well together.)

Considering that the width of a reed has a great deal to do with the pitch of <sup>the</sup> a flute ~~built with that reed~~, these measurements may guarantee close approximation to the desired pitch; though, contrary to earlier observations, the pitch of flutes varies considerably around the ~~xxxx~~ normal E major scale.\*

\* The procedure for making a flute may be of some interest. First the top end is selected and sliced into the angular form shown in cross-section. Then the bottom is beveled slightly and the joints at both ends are reamed out. The holes are put in, first at the top, then the two upper holes at the bottom and finally the hole on the underside. Holes are first outlined with a knife and then chipped out: /-c'oh/ is <sup>the</sup> numerical classifier for hole. A thin stick is then used to scrape the inside of the reed up and down to remove any wood chips or growths inside. Finally a piece of wood (we used pine) for the /-k'ux/ is carved, wedge shaped at the end. The placing of this piece is most crucial for the sound of the flute, though a bad sound is sometimes blamed on the thickness or crookedness of the original reed.

Drums are made of wood rims (/c'utte?/ sighted as best kind of wood) with ~~animal~~ skins stretched over them. A series of ropes holds the skins which can thus be tightened by means of small wooden plugs connected to the strings which are hammered tighter and tighter as the skin stretches. Some drums are produced in Zinacantan\* while others are

\* Only one drummer has been named: Cep Hernandez C'uc'uk'u of Nacih. This man plays only drum (not flute) and lends his drums out rather than selling them.

imported from Hot Country (I have seen drums made in Chiapa) or from a place near San Lukax called /Xuk'um/ (Elbow). Drums are valued at around 100 pesos. Within the municipio they are rarely for sale but are possessed by anyone who wants to offer them out /ta lok'bil/ (for loan). Generally

Using  
kind/skins  
of animals?

in any FD ensemble there is a large drum accompanied by a smaller drum. (At fiestas often random other people join processions with their own drums so that it may be hard to tell which drummers were 'officially' hired by the cargo-holder.) <sup>Drums</sup> They are quite definitely not tuned with flutes, and there is no guarantee that the large drum is any lower than the smaller one; it is often just louder.\*

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\* The famous /t'ent'en/ drum is a special case among drums just from the point of view of sound. (It is doubtless special in other ways, too.) It is reported to be amazingly loud, though not overly big.

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Playing both instruments is a simple matter. The flute is sometimes held with both hands, the left hand supporting the instrument, the right hand fingering the tunes. (Accomplished flautists sometimes use just the right hand, holding the flute up with the little finger.) The instrument is essentially nothing more than a whistle, and tunes within the range of one octave are easy to play. The drum is ordinarily played with <sup>two sticks</sup> two sticks (stihobil/= lit. player) <sup>of what kind?</sup> The left hand beats a solid rhythm (on the downbeats whether in 2/4 or 3/4 time --- that is, on each quarter note.) The right hand beats the downbeats and off beats, i.e., 1-2-and, 1-2-and; or 1-2-and-3-and, 1-2-and-3-and. Rhythm of the drumming may change without stop if the flute player moves directly from one tune to another. ~~The exception to~~ <sup>ails</sup> (This description of drum playing <sup>is</sup> with /mamal/ and /ik'al/ <sup>where</sup> in which the drummer uses only one stick and plays with the melody, i.e., beats once for each melody note.)

We may close this section with some linguistic notes about what constitutes good and bad instruments ~~or~~ or



good and bad playing. Of flutes, the same things are said as are said of harps and violins. Since there is no way to tune a ~~flute~~ <sup>flute</sup> (/muk' scapbil/ = it isn't tuned) it is the flute (and not the player) which may not /xal lek li sone/ (speak the song well). But of flutes and drums there is one virtue mentioned not considered for stringed instruments: namely, a good flute or drum /lek nom xvinah/ (can be noticed (i.e., heard) from afar.) Similarly, the better the drum the louder it can be played. These criteria support a suggestion we shall make that FD music has essentially a signalling function, announcing movements and functions of cargoholders; a good flute signals best: is heard from afar.

Consider, finally, how one might criticize ~~the~~ flute or drum players.\* A musician who isn't accomplished on

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\* In this connection it is worth mentioning that the essential criticisms of VHG music are of this form: he doesn't know how to play. He doesn't know 'playing'. The suggestion apparently is that music or /vob/ has some ideal form, or that the technique of playing correctly is absolute: one knows or one doesn't. There are very few criticisms of something specifically wrong with a musician's technique; (only exception I can think of: his hand doesn't 'cover' the chords, i.e., he doesn't play them right.) FD music admits fundamentally different criticisms.

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the flute may say: I don't much play; I don't know many songs. Similarly, a person plays badly if: /mu xul ta shol k'usi sonal stih/ (he doesn't remember what song he's playing). The question of <sup>c</sup>knowing how to play ~~ama~~ <sup>y</sup> seems reducible to knowing a sufficient number of songs. One can ~~not~~ know how to play a little. With drumming, there is what seems a genuine musical criterion. One says: /mu xnik ta 7ora sk'obe/ (his hand doesn't beat in time). He may know <sup>o</sup> the correct patterns and simply fail to ~~keep~~ <sup>stay</sup> with the flute player.

Crudely put, there seems to be a definite difference between the conception of VHG music as conforming to some ideal which a musician either approaches or doesn't, and FD music as a certain sort of sound (signal?) ---namely that produced by flutes and drums --- which admits of more shades of criticism than simply: "He doesn't know how to play."

go back to  
 ↑ §21

§23. The people

Simple observation shows that the musicians who play fd music form a class distinct (almost absolutely) from VHG or V~~G~~ musicians. The most striking fact is that while VHG musicians are of all ages (and a premium seems to be on mol or elder musicians) FD musicians are young, almost to a man. Of the four FD musicians\* who are considered most accomplished in Hteklum ~~the ceremonial center~~ three

*of them*

\* They are: Martil Hernandez Zarate (younger brother of my old VHG informant Cep); Antonio Hernandez KBo; Cep Perez Kirivin; and Marvel Hernandez Promas.

are about twenty years old, and the fourth is no more than thirty. This is in marked contrast to the list of accomplished VH<sub>n</sub> musicians of which the minimum age is over thirty with few exceptions. The best violin and harp players, in fact, may be ~~xxxxxx~~ expected to be about fifty. We may consider here some of the reasons given for this difference and evaluate them with respect to a hypothesis about FD music: that it occupies a place of lower status in ritual occasions than VHG music.

Reason 1: /Mas sna7ik xa li bu(c'u0) kremotik. mas P'ih ta shol. moletik mas sonso, sc'ay shol./ (People who

are young know more. They are smarter. Old people are stupid, they forget.) We may object to this reasoning that elder musicians do not forget when playing VHG music; that in fact they excell. The reason may be expanded: /slekeh K<sup>2</sup>usi stih ama. 7oy xa 7ep ac' son s<sup>g</sup>ih ta ama./ (what the flute plays is separate. There are now many new songs to play on the ~~xxx~~ flute.) <sup>It</sup> ~~what~~ appears ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>is</sup> that young people like to play the flute because it is possible to play new songs, many songs, ladino songs, loud songs <sup>on the flute</sup>

— a variety perhaps appealing to young men (especially those who are more and more acculturated into <sup>the</sup> ~~xxxxx~~ ladino world) <sup>values</sup> where the monotony of VHG music would appall.\*

\* It is not, in the opinion of Petul Buro, possible to play these new songs on the violin --- which has ~~equal~~ <sup>equal</sup> melodic potential --- because /mas mu xbak' li hk'obtik. mas ep slok'es son tahmek li amae./ (the hands don't make enough noise. The flute can play (~~xxxxxxx~~ emit) many more songs.) Evidently the essential strength of the flute makes it more capable of playing the various new sounds. This may be related to similar reactions among gringos that FD music is more 'lively.'

It seems ironic that music which seems historically ~~to be~~ <sup>the</sup> oldest <sup>music</sup> and most traditional in this culture should be the domain of the young and be associated with ~~xxxxxx~~ such new things as popular record songs etc.

Reason 2: /skotol ~~xxxxx~~ htiham a kremotik to, moletik mu xabu stih. mu xa snupin./ (all the flautists are still young. Elders no longer play at all. They are no longer suitable.) We suggest that the sense in which elder men are not suitable as flute players is the sense in which young boys, not old men, are suitable as helpers for cargoholders at flowerchang s etc. Older men are past the

helper stage. The suggestion then, is that FD musicians are more of the helper status than, say VH<sup>u</sup> /hvabahometik/ who are ~~integral parts of~~ <sup>important participants in</sup> ceremonies. Thus, younger men are both appropriate and willing to serve as FD musicians, where older men are neither.\*

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\* One informant gave a different way in which older men are not suitable. (A joke, I hope.) /70y xa yisim my xu? stih ama/ (They have moustaches so they can't play the flute anymore --- presumably because it gets in the way.)

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Learning to play flute or drum seems quite like learning to play VH<sup>u</sup> in that the learning process is private and personal. One hears the tunes, gets an instrument, and works out the fingering. A major difference is the widespread availability of flutes as ~~xxxxxx~~ contrasted with stringed instruments which must be bought or borrowed. One expects most ~~everyone~~ <sup>every man</sup> to have played a flute at one time or another. People probably begin to play flute for <sup>(professionally)</sup> fiestas when they are asked (hired) by friends who know they play.

Similarly, the process of recruiting FD musicians follows the familiar pattern of requests throughout Z life. ~~xxxxxx~~ An alferes who is leaving office goes to the flute player about a month before <sup>the fiesta</sup> ~~beginning~~ with two ~~xxxxxx~~ bottles of weak pox and a peso of bread. The request itself is unremarkable except for the especially appropriate appearance of the ritual couplet: "I borrow your mouth, I borrow your lips."\* The flute player, unlike a

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\* Full text of actual asking (probably brief):

Litahk'opon, hbankil, kiz'in  
 Hc'amun ave, hc'amun ati  
 Va?abulah catihbon li amae  
 Ci lok' ta kabtel, cilok' xa  
 Abulahan, avokoluk

violin player, does not choose his own drummers by specifying those people he wishes to accompany him.

In ~~the~~ connection with hiring we ~~may record~~<sup>note</sup> that the moletik ~~divide~~<sup>divide</sup> the labour of hiring FD musicians among themselves. The first ~~xxx~~ regidores borrows ~~xxx~~ large and small drums ~~from xxxxxxxx~~ from ~~xxxxxxx~~ some drum lender for the cargo year. The second, third and fourth regidores recruit the flute player, and the large and small drum players respectively. Each of these four requests involves the same output of pox and bread. As a final note, we notice that alfereses occasionally hire two flute players to ~~xxxxxx~~ alternate between playing and resting, to avoid overtiring the mouth.

## § 24 ~~24~~. An FD 'performance'

In this section we give brief descriptions of two discrete events which have FD music. We pay special attention to the place of the F<sup>m</sup> music in the whole event and the behavior of the FD musicians in relation to the others. In the last section we will draw inferences about the function of FD music in Zinacantan; further we shall remark ~~about~~<sup>on</sup> some conceptual ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ curiosities about the music.

First let us consider the procession to greet (or deliver) a saint at the fiesta of San Lorenzo (presumably ~~the same as~~<sup>like</sup> other large fiestas). The procession involves all the central cargoholders (except those ~~involved~~<sup>connected</sup> with *señor* Iskipulas) with their accessories --- including VHG groups for the mayordomos, VG for the alfereses, FD for the outgoing alferes (San Lorenzo)--- a brass band from San Lucas

and a saint with its entourage. We will consider the procession (1) as it ~~xxxx~~ halts at the cross to greet the saint and (2) as it returns towards the church to install the saint.

(1) At the cross the procession is hardly a procession at all but a large, amorphous group, with the saint at the cross itself and the full-year cargoholders clustered around in a more or less orderly way, praying, joking and drinking. A VHG group is playing near the mayordomo line, and the VG for the alfereses are seated between the senior and junior halves of the alferes line. (They are not playing.) The brass band is standing well back from the cluster of people playing occasionally. Well back from, but within view of the cross and the saint stand the FD musicians: a flute player, two Z drummers and numerous sympathetic drummers from various other places, principally places like San Lucas and Ixtapa. These people are amid a general scuffle of young boys carrying cargoholders' pouring-off bottles, officials of the junta for the fiesta, and curious Chamula spectators. Alternately within the circle of the FD musicians ~~or~~ ~~of~~ the circle of the band are the two capitanes, dressed in fancy coats, pink stockings, and peacock feathers around their heads, who dance a hopping dance (<sup>about</sup> fifty hops on one foot, a scream like 'Whooooooooo', and fifty hops on the other foot) to the music of one group or the other. The flute player begins by playing a small run and a high note while the drummers beat out a fast ~~xxxxxx~~ loud sequence. Then the flutist plays a/baz8I son/ while all the drummers catch up, ~~to him~~. The flutist seems to start at his own discretion, keeping up more or less constant music, ~~when~~

Do they  
count?

~~combined with the band~~, The band, on the other hand, seems to wait until the FD people start to pray at which point they delight in drowning out the local indiaa musicians. The spectacle goes on: praying, drinking, string music, flute runs, fifty steps, band begins on "Hello, Dolly", 'Whooooo', flute and drum musicians quit in frustration, and on ... until the praying is completed at the cross. (Note that the string musicians are part of the 'reception line' for praying, whereas the FD musicians do not pray.) The helpers with rockets and canons fire off a spurt and the procession forms to return the saint to the church.

(2) The procession ~~starts~~, and the order is important for us. At the very front come the young men with rockets and canons, signalling to everyone (all the way to San Cristobal) that the procession is on its way. With these men (they cluster around) are the flute and drum players who walk in no particular rank order: more or less in a circle of percussion with the flute moving front to back. Behind these men dance the capitanes. From <sup>that</sup> point back ~~the~~ march the band, the VHG and mayordomos, the VG and ~~alfereses~~, and the moletik, with the saint ~~in the~~ <sup>somehow in</sup> middle. ~~the~~ The FD, the fireworks boys, and the capitanes head the procession and occasionally have to stop to let the rest catch up. The procession marches clear to the church. The rocketeers stop in the center of the churchyard where they begin to pound new explosions. The FD musicians walk to the front steps of the church where they stop to let the rest of the procession pass ~~in~~ <sup>inside</sup>. They do not enter but continue to play the tunes they have been playing without stop from the cross while all the others

Insert  
4 (a note)  
here

~~the~~

enter to install the saint. As the crowd closes in, they are still piping and beating, audible in all parts of the center.

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Second, we will give a brief description of the actions of the FD musicians who accompany the moletik as they go to the house of an incoming alferes to bring him to Iskipulas to administer the oath of office. We start at the house of the ~~xxxxxx~~ incoming alferes which is some two blocks from the Chapel. The alferes is dressed and waiting for a signal that the moletik are coming. It is about 8:00 PM and quite dark outside. The signal comes in the form of a canon shot from Iskipulas, which is answered from the house. Everyone listens as the moletik approach. Their progress is ~~is~~ clearly marked by the music which accompanies their procession; people remark about the house crosses which are passed on the way, as there is always a pause in the music while the moletik pray.

The party arrives at the house. The moletik enter, with their helpers --- principally the young boys who hold bottles into which the moletik pour the ~~pox~~ they don't wish to drink. The musicians remain outside, not playing, just stamping about trying to keep warm by ~~the~~ fire which has been provided. (This fire is not just to keep the FD musicians warm but to provide the rocketeers and ~~canoneers~~ <sup>and</sup> with ready made coals with which to ~~ignite~~ <sup>ignite</sup> their ~~rockets~~ <sup>weapons</sup>.) There is ~~little~~ <sup>some</sup> drinking, and extensive joking and ritualized bowing inside the house, during which time the F<sup>~</sup> musicians are silent.



Another <sup>canon</sup> canon from the alferes's house signals the departure of the procession to <sup>words</sup> the chapel-- and answering shot may be heard. The FD musicians lead the procession (aided by a man bearing a lamp or torch) playing continuously except for brief pauses at each roadway cross. They proceed to the rear door of Iskipulas and lead the procession into the chapel. The moletik take their places at the table after every <sup>D</sup>ne in the procession (not including helpers or musicians) ~~xxxx~~ kneels and prays. The alferes is then sworn in by the moletik and the sacristans and offers candles at the altar. During the ceremony the FD musician play occasionally, with their songs in no apparent way coinciding with the progress of events. Nor is it noticed that the flute music ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ conflicts from time to time with the VHG music of the martomoreyes.

The ceremony is eventually over and the procession reforms in this order: flute and drum musicians (who, like the helpers, do not go through the elaborate bowing ~~order~~ <sup>with</sup> of the cargoholders) lead, followed by the moletik in reverse rank order and the two new alfereses <sup>marching with</sup> ~~in the middle~~ of the regidores. Helpers are scattered throughout, ~~and there is a goodly number.~~ The procession goes to the house of both new alfereses where the procedure <sup>repeats.</sup> ~~is~~ essentially ~~the same.~~ The cargoholders enter and sit. The helpers enter ~~if they~~ <sup>holding</sup> ~~old~~ drink-bottles <sup>or</sup> remain outside if there is no room. The FD musicians and ~~car~~ <sup>car</sup>oneers remain outside; the FD music is heard sporadically as are the canons. The cargoholders inside joke and are served several rounds of pox plus coffee with two pieces of sweet roll. The helpers and musicians are

served the pox, and cups of coffee with one sweet roll.\*

~~\*through\*~~

\* In the house of Mikel Vaskis I noticed that musicians were served two rolls, and other helpers only one.

When the coffee is served and drunk a canon is fired, and the procession moves on. When both houses have been visited, the moletik bow out (with very complicated prayer) go outside to meet their party, and disappear playing into the night.

§25 FD Concepts

It seems almost certain that Flute and Drum music has an explicit ~~XX~~ signalling purpose in Zinacantan. We have seen how the great virtue of a flute or a drum is to be loud and penetrating, i.e.,

*audible* ~~hearable~~ from afar. Second we might remark that flute and drum musicians are always associated with the ~~cohetes~~ <sup>camayos</sup> and ~~cohetes~~ <sup>cohetes</sup> which signal movements and activities of ritual

people. They march very close to the fireworks people <sup>and</sup> generally ~~they stay near these people~~ <sup>stand near them.</sup> Finally, whether

~~XXXXXX~~ this purpose is explicit or not, FD music is one important means by which people keep track of the location and movement of ritual people, and hence of the progress of the ritual world. We have noticed how FD music informs participants in the alferes swearing-in ceremony of the location of moletik etc. Outgoing alfereses make a ~~sound~~ <sup>circuit</sup>

*also circuit of alfereses*

~~change~~ <sup>leave office</sup>; their FD drummers go /ta xanav/ (on the walk) piping and drumming to let everyone know that the alferes is leaving his post, that the fiesta is in progress. They play a moment at every corner, at every cross, so that the