ABSTRACT

GUAMBIA: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHANGE AND STABILITY

by

Ronald Allan Schwarz

Guambía is an Indian community in the Southwest Andean region of Colombia. In contrast to the deculturation experienced by other indigenous groups in the area, the Guambianos have maintained much of their tribal culture while incorporating new features and adapting to the complex demands of national institutions. The dissertation describes the culture and social organization of the Guambianos and the changes which have occurred during more than four centuries of contact with the outside world. The major questions dealt with are: Who are the Guambianos? What was the content and structure of their society before the Spaniards arrived? What has been the effect of outside influences on their culture and social organization? And, what institutions, values, goals and conflicts were involved in their adaptation to internal and external pressures?

To answer these questions a major part of the content devoted to historical and ethnographic description. In addition, a case study of the politics of a current development program is analyzed with respect to its implications for community development theory and practice.

The influence of other cultures on the Guambianos may be traced to preconquest times and their sociocultural organization in 1971

combines Indian, Spanish, Colombian and other Western components. While their partial integration into national economic, political and religious institutions require they be classified as "peasants," they maintain much of their indigenous culture and social organization. They continue to wear Indian clothing, speak their native language (and Spanish), and strive to maintain their territorial integrity and a measure of political autonomy.

Two major periods of change may be cited: the conquest and imposition of colonial institutions and; the 20th century. During the past seventy years the reservation population grew from 1,500 to more than 7,000. This radically altered the man/land ratio; a surplus gave way to scarcity. Though the unequal distribution of land became the basis for a new form of social stratification, other developments mitigated some of the potentially disruptive effects. Among these are the increase of educational opportunities, technical assistance and new forms of communication.

The ability of the Guambianos to persist as an indigenous community is related in part to the attitudes of the surrounding White community, but more importantly to their conscious desire to maintain social and cultural integrity. They value the persistance of their Indian community, and their history combines a selective stubborness with a flexibility to adapt to shifting circumstances and a willingness to incorporate new ideas and technology.

Data was collected during twenty-four months of field work in Guambía and eight months of library research between 1966 and 1972.

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A la memoria del Payanés

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I. INTRODUCTION

Studies of Latin American communities reveal the strong impact European civilization has had on the culture and social organization of indigenous societies. The similarity of political, social and religious institutions found in villages from Mexico to Chile are testimony to the acculturative and assimilative forces that have transformed a variety of Indian groups into what may be referred to as a "Latin American peasantry" (Adams 1969; Gillin 1947; Lewis 1951, 1960; Fals-Borda 1955; Reichel-Dolmatoff G. and A. 1961; Tax 1952; Stein 1961). In the sourthwest Highlands of Colombia outside influences have led to the assimilation--in varying degrees--of indigenous groups into the predominantly peasant subculture. In contrast to the radical loss of indigenous culture experienced by Indian societies in this region, the Guambianos have been able to maintain an exceptionally high degree of traditional culture while at the same time adapting to demands for cultural and structural change by the dominant White society.[1] According to John H. Rowe (1954:155) Guambiano culture represents "one of the most successful adaptations made by any Colombian Indian group."

THE PROBLEM

In 1971 there are more than 7,000 Guambianos living on the reservation of Guambía in the Municipality of Silvia, Cauca. Several

hundred others live on neighboring haciendas and small farms in adjacent municipalities. Before the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century the Guambianos were one of the more than 100 indigenous societies occupying the Popayán Valley and the surrounding mountains. These tribes are referred to in the literature as the Guambiano (or Moguex)-Coconuco. Today, while reservations are numerous in Cauca, only the Guambianos and the Páez continue to speak an indigenous languages and only the Guambianos wear distinctive clothing.[2]

Most Indians in the region were either killed during the conquest, destroyed by diseases during the 17th century, or have gradually assimilated into the Colombian peasant subculture.

This dissertation deals with the culture and social organization of Guambiano society and the changes it has undergone as a result of several centuries of contact with the outside world. More specifically, the major questions I deal with are:

1. Who are the Guambianos--in prehistory, history, and the contemporary world?

2. How was their society organized before the arrival of the Spanish and what has been the effect of more that four centuries of contact on their social organization and culture?

3. What structures, organizational principles, goals and conflicts have characterized Guambiano society as they have adapted to shifting internal and external pressures?

In order to answer these questions a substantial part of the dissertation is devoted to historical and ethnographic description and explanation. Various theoretical frameworks are utilized throughout. Selection of these was based on their suitability in helping elucidate certain aspects of Guambiano society rather than by a predetermined

theoretical orientation. In an extended case study which focuses on the politics of a road building program I attempt to bring history, culture, social organization and personality together in a limited space-time setting. The case ties into conflicts which are current in Guambía and has implications for the broader question of the role of outside agents in development projects.

METHODOLOGY AND SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES

The research for this thesis began in the Spring of 1966, and on an intermittent basis continued until October, 1971. Periods of field work in Guambía were: July 1966-mid-January 1967, March 1967-December 1967, mid-July 1970-September 1970, and March 1971-October 1971; a total of 24 months which included time spent doing archive work in Popayán, rest periods ranging from a few days to two weeks, and about twenty days supervising work of students on an anthropology program.

Two other aspects of the history of this thesis are important to note. The first is that my experience with the Guambianos dates back to 1962 when I was a Peace Corps Volunteer working with the Division of Indian Affairs. I had frequent contact with Guambiano officials at this time and worked actively on the road building program and in leadership training courses for them. I made frequent visits to the reservation, participated actively in community work days, and attended various ceremonial events. When I returned to the reservation in 1966 many Indians believed it was for another tour as a Peace Corps Volunteer. For several Guambianos, including some who have served extensively as informants, my role as an anthropologist and my previous one

as a Volunteer are not completely separated. In general, however, I believe that my Peace Corps experience on the reservation helped substantially in facilitating my investigation and acceptance into the community. I believe that in Guambía, as in other parts of Latin America, the activity of volunteers has accelerated the development of a category of Whites who are not there to exploit the local population.

Second, about 90 per cent of the material collected during 1966 and 1967 was destroyed in a fire which reduced my house in Vermont to ashes. This occurred during Spring vacation 1969 when I had brought most of my notes together to organize them for a writing period I planned for the summer. In order to continue my work I used slides and photographs (over 1000) and obtained copies of materials collected for me by Colombian assistants during the Summer of 1967. I also did a larger amount of work than I had planned on the prehistory and history sections since I had not lost my archive materials and sources were available in the U.S.A. to do most of this work. About 75 per cent of my time during field trips in 1970 and 1971 was spent redoing work lost in the fire. I did not, however, re-do the quantity that I had done during earlier trips. The greatest losses include: data on household composition and land holdings, questionnaires on political knowledge and participation, and in-depth material with present and ex-cabildo officers.

Methods employed in obtaining material for this thesis were those of standard anthropological practice. I participated in and observed almost all phases of domestic, economic, political and religious activity. I lived in Guambiano homes during all phases of field work,

doing some cooking for myself but mostly boarding with Guambiano families. I witnessed all life-crisis ceremonies except the female puberty ritual, and participated in numerous marriages and mortuary services. I witnessed all ceremonies on the annual calendar at least once, and observed frequent curing ceremonies as well as being cured myself by three local curers. Though my time observing and interviewing religious specialists was small compared to my work in social and political spheres, I did hold several interviews with them and accompanied two Páez shamans during a house-cleaning ceremony for an important Guambiano leader.

Two men served as key informants during the early phase of my field work. In the second phase and after the fire I worked regularly with four men. I did some interviewing with women but did not work with any single one on a regular basis. Material from female informants was made available to me (and often expressly collected under my direction) by two female research assistants and one of the girls on my anthropology field program.

Statistical information was obtained from government documents, archives in Popayán, Silvia, and from church records. Census material was collected in 1970 and 1971 to supplement official documents. Six complete genealogies were collected and supplemented by numerous partial genealogies in areas where material was contradictory and variations were exhibited. These were supplemented by observation and interviews about kinship behavior. That I had become a padrino to seven Guambiano children gave me ample opportunity to probe the details of this type relationship. Case material was collected in most areas of family and political life, and many were followed up by the in-depth interviews

with several of the participants. During the initial research period (before the fire) I held over forty interviews designed to probe behavior and motives with respect to recruitment to political office. About ten of these were re-done during return trips. Maps, photographs and life history material (three complete and three partially finished) are also part of the courpus of information collected. Projective tests were administered to several persons and used in connection with life history material. The tests were a mixture of modified standard T.A.T. cards and others specifically designed to probe areas of Guambiano culture.

LITERATURE ON THE GUAMBIANOS

There are a number of articles published about the Guambianos. There is an excellent early publication in French by Douay (1890) which gives a general ethnographic description of their society. More recent publications also of an ethnographic nature, include: Hernández de Alba (1946), Lehmann (1945-1946b), Osorio (1966-1969, 1969), Otero (1952), Reyes (1945), and Rowe (1954). A collection of ethnographic vignettes, legends, and drawings of Guambiano life are presented in Namuy Nisag: Nuestra Gente (1949), written by Hernández de Alba with sketches by an Indian, Francisco Tumiñá-Pillimué. Two publications include material on physical characteristics and blood groupings (Lehmann, Duque-Gomez and Fornaguera 1943; and Lehmann and Marquer 1960).

Linguistic work on the Guambiano language has been done by Branks, T. and J. (1965-1966), Rivet (1946), Otero (1939), Caudmont (1954) and Rowe (1948). It has been commonly accepted that Guambiano

belonged to the Chibchan family but recent comparative work by Matteson (1972) on Amerindian languages does not support the earlier classification. According to Matteson (1972:22) Guambiano, Páez (neighbors of the Guambianos), and Camsá (a group in Southern Colombia near the Ecuadorian border) are linguistic isolates or of uncertain classification.

Over the centuries Páez, Quechua and Spanish words have been added to the Guambiano vocabulary. Today, most residents of the community speak Spanish and want their children to be fluent in both Guambiano and Spanish.

The most misleading aspects of earlier writings concerning the Guambianos occur in the Handbook of South American Indians. The Guambianos are discussed in Volume II, The Andean Civilizations (Hernández de Alba 1946; Lehmann 1946b) while neighboring tribes in the Cauca Valley with whom the Guambianos shared a cultural and linguistic base are described in Volume IV, The Circum-Caribbean Tribes (see: Hernández de Alba 1948:297-327). Steward (1948:xv) acknowledges this error and concludes that many Colombian tribes discussed in The Andean Civilizations volume, including the Chibcha, are not properly classifiable as true Andean.

A more serious problem, however, is that in his discussion of the Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia, Hernández de Alba (1946:915-960) presents the culture of the Guambianos and the Páez together (Ibid:937-956). While acknowledging linguistic discontinuity--"different dialects (Ibid:937)"--among the groups, he cites their similar agricultural base and sharing of certain cultural features as justification

for treating them together (Ibid). He erroneously refers to the Guambianos as the Moguex (Ibid.) and one gets the impression that the Páez and Guambianos are but minor variants of a single underlying cultural reality. In fact, the Guambiano and Páez have radically different cultural and linguistic roots and are strikingly dissimular even to the casual observer in terms of physical features, clothing and chracter. They have, however, been neighbors for over 500 years and their sharing of certain cultural features, are the result of diffusion, similar ecological conditions and exposure to the same post-conquest economic, political and religious institutions.

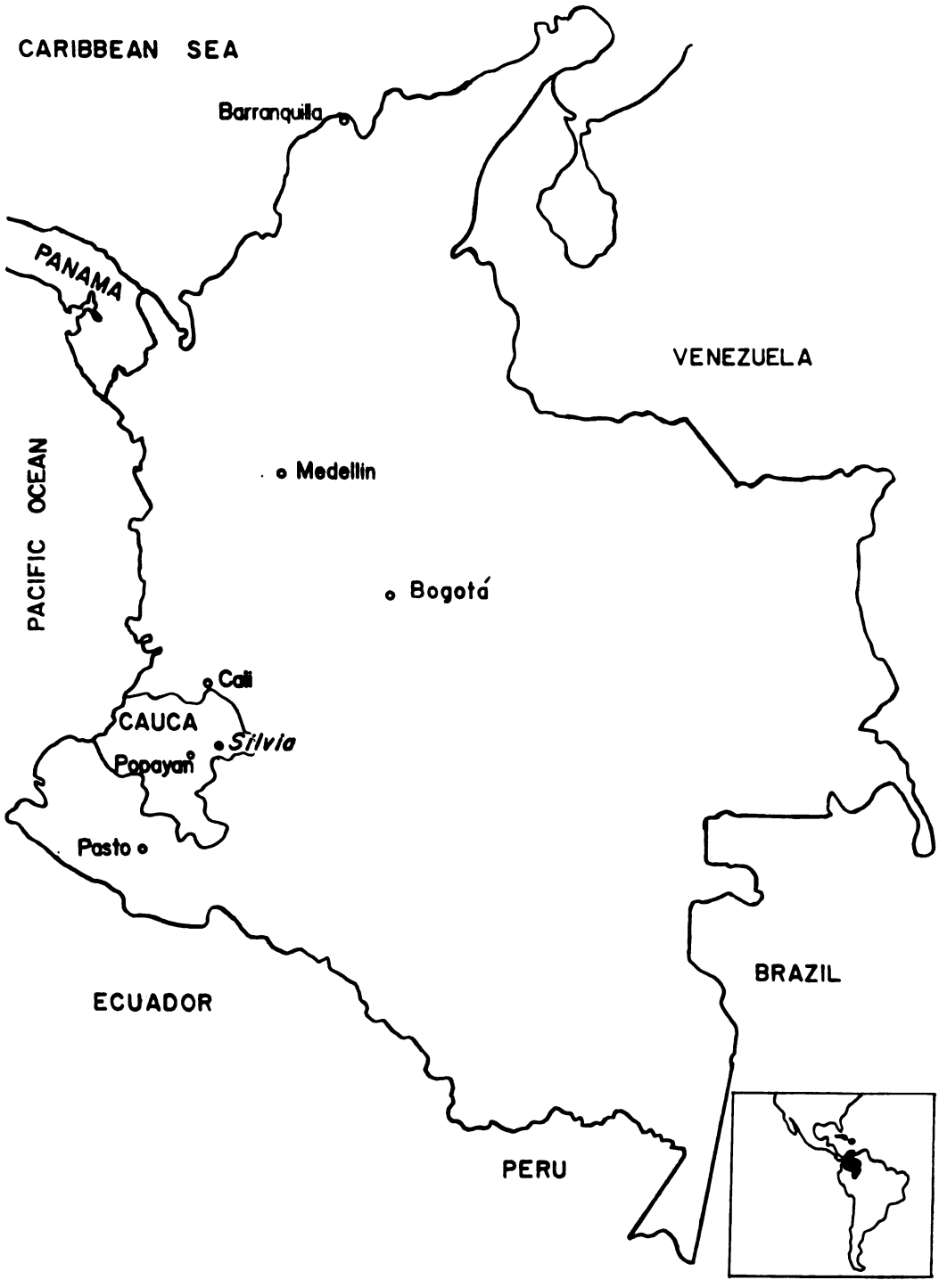

FIGURE 1: Colombia with special reference to the present boundaries of the department of Cauca.

GUAMBIA: A HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

A summary of the major sections of this dissertation is presented here to provide the reader with a context for examining the historical and ethnographic details discussed in the following chapters.

Guambiano society in 1971 is a sometime mixture, sometime blend of Indian, Spanish and Colombian elements. In addition, goods from Europe, the United States and Japan may be included as part of their material culture, and though less widespread, ideologies ranging from the concept of the Israeli kibbutz to the Marxian doctrine of class struggle. Old patterns of behavior and beliefs are occasionally syncretized, frequently co-exist with, and sometimes actively compete with modern technology and ideas, new patterns of social and economic activity, and new frames of reference for evaluating events. Areas of change are numerous and during the past century the pace of change and development has accelerated rapidly making systematic evaluation of isolated factors a difficult and sometimes futile exercise. In addition, one should note that before and after the conquest Guambianos were in continual contact with neighboring tribes and Indian traders from Southern Colombia and Northern Ecuador. Curing practices, witchcraft and sorcery, legends, and artifacts have been introduced by these outsiders and are now part of Guambiano culture.

My position with respect to the contemporary situation in Guambía is that is still very much an Indian culture and in terms of social organization still very tribal. While the present nature of economic and political relationships with the larger society clearly require including them in the category of "peasants" they are ties which have

developed over a strong Indian sociocultural core. Indeed, a significant aspect of Guambiano society and one which has enabled them to persist as a tribal entity throughout the centuries is a native ability to adapt to shifting circumstances and demands by more powerful groups. They value the persistance of their Indian community and culture, and their history combines a selective stubborness with a flexible social organization and willingness to incorporate new ideas and technology.

Ethnic Boundaries

The primary characteristics distinguishing Guambianos from other groups in the region are: language, a particular style of clothing and adornment, and physical features. Guambianos have physical features which make it easy to tell them apart from neighboring Whites and Mestizos whose skin is much lighter. It is also a simple matter to distinguish them from the Páez based on the distinctive nasal structure of the latter and other facial features. Though it is difficult to separate Guambianos from related Indian groups (especially the Totoró and Quisgó), Lehmann and Marquer (1960) demonstrate that statistical differences in physical characteristics exist, and that the Guambianos of all the Indian groups in the region preserve the highest percentage of Amerindian characteristics (Ibid:233).

The Guambiano language is another feature which sets them off from other groups in the region. Only the Indians in Quizgó (about 1000) and Totoró (less than 400) speak a similar language. In addition, while most Guambianos are bilingual, the way in which they speak Spanish reveals a distinct Indian influence; for example, Guambianos tend to

pronounce the Spanish "o" as a "u." Also, there are grammatical patterns and aspects of discourse structure (Branks 1970) which reflect the influence of the Indian language on their style of Spanish.

The feature of Guambiano culture which most dramatically sets them off from Indian and non-Indian neighbors is their style of clothing and adornment. The women weave skirts for themselves and ponchos for the men which, when combined with the bright blue cloth used for complementary items, make a Guambiano immediately recognizable. The Guambianos continue to use Indian style dress in spite of the availabity of manufactured items which are less expensive.

Dominant Themes in Guambiano Culture: Accompaniment and Equality.

Though language, clothing and physical characteristics initially set the Guambianos apart from other groups, they are features which quickly fade into the background. As I learned some of the language and began to participate in the secular and religious events of the community two themes emerged, and as I came to know more of life in Guambía their significance as organizing principles in Guambiano culture and society was confirmed.

The themes of linjab (accompaniment) and latá-latá (equality) are part of almost every aspect of Guambiano culture and social life. Their relative importance shifts with the context, and the themes are often patterned together in a single setting. The concept of linjab is related to the notion of reciprocity, inequality and cooperation. A man must have a family to accompany him in his work, a political leader needs others to assist him in the cabildo, a woman needs a

daughter to help her in the kitchen, a man must have others to work with in the field. The word linjab is expressly used in asking others for assistance; you ask them to "accompany" you. A "good man" asks others to accompany him in turn responds to others requests. The notion of reciprocity is part of the theme of linjab because each situation in which a person accompanies another there is the understanding that the person who accompanies is "giving" and thus has some claim on the future services of the other. The hierarchical dimension is omnipresent since the person sponsoring the event is always the dominant figure. Accompaniment is thus at the center of the dynamics of social relations in Guambía in which a mutual exchange of services and participation in community events develops into a complex overlapping network of dyadic ties which are never completely balanced (never latá-latá).

Latá-latá (the same for one as for the other: equality) is the other dominant theme and expressive of a cultural goal or ideal state rather than descriptive of an actual situation. It has a rhetorical function and is used to support claims for fairer treatment and more equitable distribution of resources. Guambianos say all are equal, no man or woman is better than any other; activities may be different but they should be equal in value. Even the differential distribution of inheritance--more to the youngest son--is explained in terms of his greater services to the parents; to make it equal, he should get more.

While the complementary themes of reciprocity (with the implicit idea of hierarchy) and equality are both present in Guambiano society it is the latter which serves as the starting point for understanding social relations. Inequality and hierarchy are always aspects any

relationship but equality, often used to mask the hierarchy and imbalance of exchanges, remains the cultural ideal.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN GUAMBIANO SOCIETY

How and why the Guambianos have continued to function as an indigenous society may be seen as an aspect of goals which have remained important to them throughout the centuries. They want to live as Indians with other Guambianos as neighbors. They want to maintain as much political autonomy as possible while at the same time integrating themselves into the wider economic and political systems. They see the latter as essential to their dignity and necessary if they are to maintain the desired degree of self-government. They want to continue to speak their native language while at the same time being fluent in Spanish. They wish to retain a traditional (though constantly changing) style of clothing without sacrificing the convenience of modern elements such as sweaters and boots.

Some of their sentiments may be traced to centuries of exploitation and hostility of the surrounding White community. Most Whites in Silvia deeply despise the Indians. Recent successes by the Guambianos and their adoption of economic roles previously held by Whites have increased the hostility of the latter, though they have superficially become more civil in their behavior towards the Guambianos. Negative attitudes on the part of Whites is not, however, sufficient to account for the Indians' desire to maintain their cultural and tribal integrity. Many, if not most, Guambianos, have the technical and linguistic skills to make a living off the reservation. Assimilation to the surrounding

Mestizo subculture is a relatively simple matter to those who desire such a move. All they need do is leave Guambía. Few do, and those who do leave are usually forced to do so because of the shortage of land on the reservation. Even those who feel compelled to leave for economic reasons usually return. The reason for staying or returning is related to the quality of life in Guambía; life there is more satisfying in an emotional and social sense than in other areas. There is a feeling of personal and cultural identity, difficult to articulate perhaps, which is never experienced on the outside. I often feel the same way after leaving Guambía for more than a few days. The reservation is a good place to be. One has a clear identity and the security of family and friends; outside one must always be wary, few Whites can be trusted.

Another aspect of stability in Guambía is a flexible and pragmatic approach to technical and social change. While most are conservative, there are always a few persons willing to take risks. Once an innovation is adopted others watch to see how it works. If it is evaluated positively others are quick to follow. This pragmatism extends to the area of social relations including the demands for change made by Colombian authorities. For example, when conversion to Catholicism was essential if they were to get the protection of the Church, they converted. When Colombian officials make demands they either comply or use the established legal offices to protect their interests. They have fought vigorously to maintain those things they cherish most deeply--their native land and clothing.

In short, one may cite elements of stability and change at the level of material culture, beliefs and values, social organizations

and external relations. What appears to be central to their culture is a pragmatic attitude towards change, a social structure with enough flexibility to adapt to new conditions whether they be imposed from above or the result of internal pressures, and a desire to maintain their cultural integrity. Had they been indiscriminate in adopting more of the dominant culture and/or disparaging of their traditional ways, the tribal quality of life would have disappeared and they would now be like most of the surrounding peasant villages. On the other hand, if they had been unbending when faced with demands from the outside authorities, they would have been killed off, dispersed, and/or forced to function at a subsistence level without the benefits of modern technology. While the pressures for change are greater today than in the past, they continue to maintain the goal of social and cultural unity while allowing for changes in the material aspects of life and in patterns of relationship to the economic and political institutions of Colombian society.

Social Stratification in Guambía: Cultural and Ecological Factors in Historical Perspective.

Before the Spanish conquest the Guambianos were one of the more than one hundred tribes loosely associated with a regional military confederation. Various forms of differentiation and hierarchy were found among the groups but basically they were divided into noble and commoner classes. Class endogamy was the general rule and social mobility achieved through prowess in warfare and demonstration of leadership skills. The soil was very fertile and land was available to anyone willing to cultivate it.

The conquest radically altered the regional social system and had a severe impact on the internal structure of tribes which continued to exist after Spanish domination on the region was established. Decimation of the Indian population was caused by brutality of the conquistadores and several epidemics which occurred during the Colonial period. The Spanish Colonial economic, political and religious institutions, introduced new elements of material culture, and relationships within the Indian population were altered. The most important early changes were the reduction of the Indian population to encomiendas (later changed to reservations), and the Catholic church. The effect of several centuries of alien control on the traditional social system was a leveling of class distinctions. By the end of the 19th century the practice of endogamous marriage declined as did the prestige associated with membership in the upper class (Douay 1890:761-2).

Though the Spanish introduced the council (cabildo) system as a way of maintaining political order, the traditional system of lifetime leaders (caciques) continued to function within the reservation communities. During the Colonial period and until the early part of the 20th century the reservation population was less than 1500 and virgin land was available to those willing to cultivate it.

During the 20th century the convergence of several factors caused substantial changes in the content and structure of Guambiano society. The most important factor was the growth of the reservation population from less than 1500 to more than 7000. This radically altered the man-land ratio from one of surplus (or at least balance) to one of severe scarcity. Competition for good farming and grazing

land increased and became a source of conflict within and between families. During the past forty years some Indians have emerged with large holdings while others, who a generation ago had sufficient land, are now forced to look outside the reservation for to meet the needs of their growing families. Though the unequal distribution of land became a basis for a new form of social stratification in Guambía, some of the potentially disruptive effects were mitigated by the opening of new sources of income. New economic roles, mostly as store owners, traders and government employees, and the purchasing of small farms off the reservation, enabled those with less land to improve their social position.

In 1972 land and cattle are still the primary forms of wealth and preferred areas of investment for surplus capital. The relative standing of persons is, however, sometimes difficult to determine as new economic opportunities become available and government land reform programs are introduced. One trend which has emerged, however, is a decrease in the authority of household heads and a leveling of hierarchical distinctions between the sexes. At the political level conflict and schism, rather than competition for traditional positions, characterize the situation.

Social and Cultural Components: Indian and Spanish Elements.

The purpose here, in addition to introducing the reader to the major features of Guambiano society, is to indicate which aspects are of Indian origin and which are derived from contact with other cultures.

(1) Material culture: most traditional items of material culture ranging from cooking utensils, tools, house types and forms of transportation have undergone some additions, modifications and/or replacements. There are a few old style pots for brewing chicha (corn beer) but most cooking is done in metal pots. There are some old Indian style two room, wattle-and-daub style homes in use but these are quickly being replaced by adobe-walled, tile-roofed structures. Metal tipped tools introduced by the Spanish have replaced the wood digging stick, but the verticality of the terrain prevented the introduction of the Spanish style ox-drawn plow. This method was introduced in a few areas in the early 1960's but has not spread. Looms remain as they were before the conquest, and clothing has undergone a series of changes but remains distinctively Indian. Todays' Indian outfit includes skirts and ponchos woven by Guambiano women, blue cloth manufactured in Medellin (Colombia), felt hats, white bead necklaces imported from the San Blas Islands; manufactured boots, shoes, sneakers and socks; hand-woven belts and pouches; and jewelry ranging from Japanese-made earrings to Bulova watches.

(2) Kinship and marriage: descent is traced bilaterally, and post-marital residence is patri-virilocal. This traditional pattern continues but the growing size of neighborhood units (veredas) now makes it increasingly possible for a girl to marry within her natal neighborhood. Spanish kinship terms are combined in various ways with native ones and there is internal variation in their usage. Inheritance is ideally divided equally among heirs. The youngest son should get a slightly larger share if he fulfills the traditional obligations

of caring for the aging parents. The tendency, however, is for males to get a larger share of the father's patrimony and during the past fifty years the holdings have become small and scattered.

The traditional extended-joint family continues as the ideal but independent nuclear families are the norm. Traditional supports for the authority of the father have decreased and younger men are seeking new ways to establish their social and economic independence. In general, the authority of older over younger, and male over female has declined.

The Catholic godparenthood system (compadrazgo) is integrated into the native system of kinship and marriage. It is used in connection with birth, marriage, and confirmation. The Guambianos have their own variation of the compadrazgo system and extend it both horizontally and vertically to a wide range of persons. In addition, compadrazgo terms tend to replace kinship terminology when the two overlap.

(3) Politics: the traditional system was based on lifetime leaders, recruited on the basis of membership in the upper class and personal qualities which enabled them to maintain support. Over the years the cabildo system became more important, and during the past century a pattern of formal elections and registration of land titles was made operative. As the reservation system received greater attention from Colombian authorities its traditional authority to punish moral and criminal infractions declined. Although, cabildo's prestige decreased, the institution continued to keep pace with shifting circumstances and facilitated many of the changes which have brought progress (and conflict) to Guambía.

(4) Religion and Curing: this area is perhaps the most difficult to discriminate between the source of various beliefs and more work than I have done is necessary to obtain a satisfactory classification of components. With regard to major life crisis rituals--birth, marriage and death--there is a mixture of Catholic and Indian elements. Except for the few hundred Protestant converts, Guambianos are baptized, married and have funeral services in the Catholic Church. Related practices which may also be traced to the Spanish heritage are the forty day post-partum rest period (la dieta), a nine day mourning period after death, wooden coffins, and recently, enterment in brick tombs above ground (bóvedas). Indian practices include techniques used to accelerate birth, and methods of abortion. At marriage there is Indian style dancing and music, and special feasting following the service in Church. Traditionally, there was a period of "trial marriage" which in modified form continues today.

Death is the area richest in Guambiano beliefs and practices though many concepts are blended with Catholic ideas of heaven, hell and the devil. Most activity and attention is given to dealing with the two lingering souls of the deceased.

Guambianos use "hot" and "cold" in classifying foods and illnesses. Methods of curing vary greatly and some are of Indian origin and others derived from Spanish sources including books on witchcraft and magic.

A Summary of Chapter Contents

Chapter II covers the archeological background and the problem of determining prehistoric interelationships among groups which have occupied the region. Chapter III includes a general presentation of the culture of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes which inhabited the Popayán Valley at the time of the conquest and an analysis of the role of warfare in the regional sociocultural system. Chapter IV is a historical account of the Guambiano community and relates internal developments to events within and outside the reservation. Special attention is given to the impact of population growth and recent changes which have increased their integration with regional and national institutions. Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII cover ecology, economics, kinship and fictive kinship, politics and religion, and are essentially ethnographic. In Chapter IX I make a detailed presentation of events and individuals involved in a road building project started at the suggestion of development agents in 1962. An analysis of the impact of the project on life in Guambía concludes with a discussion of its possible implications for the theory and practice of community development.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Hernández de Alba (1946:916) states that the Páez and the Guambianos have maintained much of their indigenous culture. Though it is true the Páez have a strong Indian culture, much of their ability to "resist" White influence may be attributed to their large numbers (over 15,000) and their relative isolation from centers of cultural and political importance.

2. The Indians from Quizgó also use Indian style ponchos, and the women wear clothing similar to the Guambiano women. Traditional styles are rapidly changing there, however, and probably within a generation or two the Quizgueños will only speak Spanish and wear standard peasant dress.

II. ARCHAEOLOGY AND PREHISTORY

The topographical and climatic diversity of Colombia have been crucial factors influencing the character and development of its aboriginal inhabitants. Its position between Central America and the rest of South America made it one of the major crossroads of cultural exchange. People from cultures to the north and south reached Colombia and spread out at different rates, settling in some regions, passing through others. The irregular pattern of contact gave rise to varied local cultural developments in the inter-Andean valleys and coastal plains. These are reflected in the archaeological picture; many isolated styles, with little overlapping between geographical regions (Bennett 1944:15).

The prehistoric origins of the peoples of the Andean Core region are, at best, partially understood. No systematic archaeological investigation has been made of the area inhabited by the Guambianos, but a number of studies have been done in the Andean Core region.[1] There is, however, sufficient archaeological, linguistic and historical evidence to outline major developments there, and relationships to other regions.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANDEAN CORE AREA

From approximately 1500-1000 BC, during the Barlovento phase of the Formative Stage in Colombian prehistory, there was considerable movement from the north coastal lowlands southward along the rivers and toward the mountain fringes. The migrating peoples adapted to the ecological demands of the large rivers and fresh water lagoons.

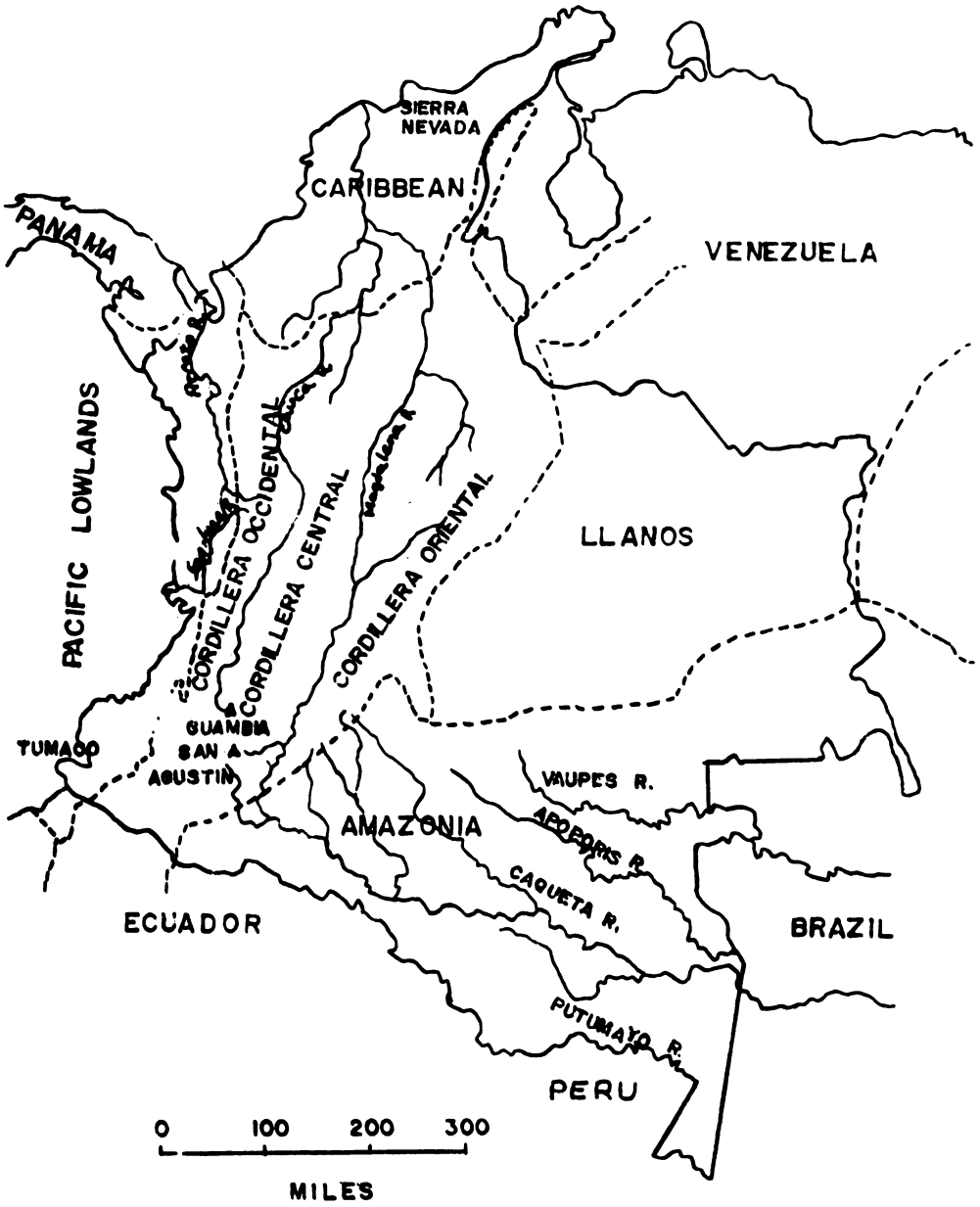

FIGURE 2: Principal topographical features of COLOMBIA.

Sedentary life evolved in these inland sites. The successful adaptation to this environment is attributed to the introduction of manioc which could be systematically cultivated (Angulo-Valdez 1963:58; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:62). During the period manioc cultivation facilitated southward migration Meso-American influences appeared on the Atlantic coast and in the Pacific coast region of Tumaco. Elements introduced about 1200 BC included burial mounds, obsidian mirrors, many pottery shapes and the jaguar cult (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:115).

About 500 BC, another period of Meso-American influence began. The major component of this complex was maize agriculture. Material components included figurines, vessels, spindle whorls, necklaces and pendants. The quantity, quality and stylistic consistency of these items suggest cultures with increased occupational specialization and social stratification (Angulo-Valdez 1963:58-59; Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. 1956:278-81; Rouse 1962:48-49; Willey and Phillips 1962:172-3).

The introduction of maize farming had a far reaching impact on the subsequent pattern of sociocultural evolution in Colombia. The high nutritional value of maize, and its adaptability to different soils, climates and altitudes, made it easier for natives to penetrate the interior. The population migrated south, following the valleys of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers. They settled in intermount valleys and hillsides where they built houses singly, or in small groups. The movement to the mountain interior added many stimuli to the intensification and diversification of agriculture. The wide range of micro-environments produced a diversity of wild plants and provided an ideal opportunity for experimentation and eventual domestication of new food sources (Kidder 1964:453; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:80-1).

A rapid increase in local and regional cultural variation developed with the spread of maize farming. Local cultures, sometimes those in neighboring valleys, differed from their neighbors in scope and content. This diversity is reflected in the archaeological record for this period which lacks "co-traditions" and "horizon-styles " such as those recorded for the Central Andes at this time (Bennett and Bird 1964:47; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:82).

REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANDEAN CORE AREA

The earliest archaeological site (600 BC) in the Andean Core Region for which there is evidence of human settlement, is San Agustín, about 80 kilometers southeast of Popayán. About 500 BC local cultures developed in Cantanguero and Calima, forming the base of the well-known Quimbaya culture. Some later developments in Tierradentro and Nariño may be related to the Cantaguero-Calima zones (Bennet and Bird 1964: 50-52; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:84-88).

Developments in the Upper Cauca sub-area provide a mixed picture. Many elements, however, are related to earlier developments within and outside of the Andean Core Region. Outside affiliations include the eastern Colombian lowlands, the Pacific lowlands, Meso-America, and northern Peru. The relative influence of the regions is hard to determine. For example, stylistic parallels have been noted between several San Agustín traits and North Peruvian complexes which, in turn, appear to have been influenced by Olmec Culture in Meso-America (Coe 1962:579-80; Kidder, Lumbreras and Smith 1963:94).

Four cultures in western Colombia, San Agustín, Tierradentro, Calima and Quimbaya, reached the Sub-Andean stage of sociocultural

development (Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. 1956:300). Though differing in many particulars, these local cultures share a number of significant Meso-American influences which reached them at varying times and intensities (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:110).

Reichel-Dolmatoff (1966:109-110) presents a concise summary of the major features of Sub-Andean cultures in Southwestern Colombia:

> All of them are based on intensive maize farming and sedentary village life; ancient fields with ridges and furrows are common to all of them; a well defined social order is suggested by the discriminative treatment of the dead; burial rites point to an emphasis on ceremonial. The pottery has the following traits in common: double-spouted bridged vessels, multiple bulbous supports, pedestal bases, negative painting, finely decorated spindle whorls, and anthropomorphic vessels or figurines. Stone carvings are found in all four areas, and the metallurgy of gold and copper also links these regions together. Calima gold-work shows stylistic relationships with San Agustín and, technologically and stylistically, many Calima and so-called 'Quimbaya' ceramics are quite similar. There is a relationship between San Agustín and Tierradentro, and the painted sepulchral chambers of the latter area are found also in other regions of the Cauca valley, extending towards the south at least as far as Pasto.

At the time of the conquest the prehistoric cultures of the Calima, Tierradentro and San Agustín regions were no longer functioning. The Tierradentro and San Agustín regions were occupied by aggressive, warlike tribes of Carib origin who had earlier established themselves in the Colombian lowlands (Cuervo 1920:244; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966: 138-9). The Quimbayas were a relatively small and peaceful tribe when the Spanish arrived. They were excellent gold craftsmen, but 'Quimbaya' ceramic vessels and pottery were the work of earlier cultures and not the Quimbaya tribe encountered by the Spanish (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966: 101-2).

The relationship between prehistoric Sub-Andean chiefdoms and the societies occupying the Upper Cauca Zone and Popayán region at the time of the conquest, is difficult to determine. The archaeological record indicates diffusion of a variety of features throughout the region, but also includes many points of differences and discontinuities within a single zone. Reports of early chroniclers indicate they were similar to Sub-Andean cultures in many aspects of social, political and religious life. Meso-American influences were strong throughout the area. Before discussing the archaeology of the Popayán Valley in detail, however, brief mention of the most thoroughly investigated Colombian culture is in order.

The Chibcha

The Chibcha occupied the large intermont basins of the Eastern Cordillera centered around the contemporary cities of Tunja and Bogotá. The basins average about 7000 feet above sea level, and it is the one region in Colombia which has the requirements for the maintenance of concentrated, sedentary, agricultural population needed for the development of the Andean culture pattern (Bennet 1946:842). The Chibcha are the best known preconquest peoples in Colombia because of the numerous historical accounts of them by the conquering Spaniards. Information provided by the chronicles shows the Chibcha developed an integrated pattern of political organization and that they were on their way to attaining a political structure at least similar to that of the Aztecs, if not the Incas (Kroeber 1946:887). When they arrived, the Spanish found the Chibcha organized into two loose federations, one centered around Bogotá and the other around Tunja.

The Chibcha were an agricultural people whose main staples were potatoes, maize and arracacha. Agricultural terraces were occasionally used in the northern sections. Produce was distributed by means of periodic markets and through trade with surrounding tribes. Besides the agricultural products, the major items of these transactions were salt, emeralds and cotton cloth which the Chibcha exchanged for gold and other luxury articles. In spite of the formal division into two "states," political authority was highly decentralized, and local rivalries, similar to those in the valley of Mexico, prevailed. Within each region, however, status differences were clearly marked and both the political rulers and priests lived in well built homes and palaces, and received tribute from their followers. Religion centered on a sun cult. Idols of wood, stone and cotton were placed at sacred spots and offerings of golden figurines and emeralds were made to them. Human sacrifices of enslaved prisoners were made to the sun (Angulo-Valdez 1963:62-63; Kroeber 1946:887-909; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:158-60; Steward and Faron 1959:212-16; Thompson 1936:115-19).

Turning to the archaeological evidence for the Chibcha, the record is disappointing, and data indicating antiquity for this area is lacking. Large village sites have not been discovered, but some house foundations marked by rings of stone have been found. Chibcha burials are in dry caves, pit graves, some with stone slab coverings, and there is evidence of secondary burials in urns. Grave goods include pottery, stone spindle whorls, swords, wooden spear throwers, and some textiles. Chibcha ceramics, although technologically adequate, lack artistic elaboration. In some dry caves, large pieces of cotton cloth decorated with designs have been found. The Chibcha worked gold and tumbaga,

using most of the techniques used by Quimbaya craftsmen but with less skill. Typical pieces are flat cast figurines, hollow and solid casted idols, birds and animals, crowns and scepters. Utilitarian stone artifacts were also found in abundance, and petroglyphs and rock paintings are common.

Chibcha house and midden sites lack time depth; the shallow deposits cover a small area. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a pattern of shifting village sites which would account for the shallow deposits. From this it must be concluded that the Chibcha arrived in the highlands at a relatively late date and that they formed a scattered rural population. The lack of time depth of Chibcha sites indicates that this culture, like the ones in the Popayán valley, was not the center of diffusion but a receiver whose source cannot yet be determined.

Soon after the Spanish arrived, the Chibcha became tributary Indians and began to cultivate the new crops and raise the cattle introduced by the Spanish (Angulo-Valdez 1963:63; Bennett 1944:104; 1946:842-44; Bennett and Bird 1962:48-49; Kroeber 1946:898-900; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:161-67; Broadbent 1965:35-36).

Although there remains much to be discovered about the prehistoric cultures of Colombia, enough is known about the major features of those who reached the Sub-Andean level (or higher) to present a brief summary of their essential characteristics. These are:

-permanent settlements based on seed agriculture (although shifting cultivation continued among some groups);

-the concentration of large numbers of people around ceremonial centers;

-increased specialization and stratification; technological development and trade;

-a priest-temple-idol complex as a focus of religious organization; jaguar cults, artificial mounds and large cemeteries; utilization of figurines in curing rituals; occasional human sacrifice and display of skulls;

-occasional political integration of neighboring tribes under the leadership of a single chief (Angulo-Valdez 1963:59; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:115).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD IN THE UPPER CAUCA ZONE

In the Upper Cauca zone two regions and a number of complexes are distinguished. One region is located near the city of Cali, and the other in the Popayán-Silvia area. The ceramic complexes associated with Cali are Pichindé, Río Bolo and Quebrada Seca (Ford, 1944). These complexes are comparatively recent--a few centuries before the conquest--and the pottery finds show no affiliations with Tierradentro, Calima, and Quimbaya (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:134).

Further south, but still part of the Upper Cauca zone, is the region of Popayán. In contrast to the apparent isolation of the complexes near Cali, the archaeological remains unearthed in Popayán reveal substantial affiliations with the surrounding Sub-Andean cultures. Items found here include: sculptured stone pieces stylistically similar to, but simpler than, those uncovered in San Agustín; pictographs; deep shaft graves (20-35 feet) whose contents included small ceramic vessels--some with zoomorphic relief lugs; decorated conical spindle whorls, bowls, Carib-type stone axes, adzes, and small gold nose ornaments. The shaft tomb-figurine complex found there may be derived from western Mexico (Nayarit-Jalisco-Colima). One shaft grave yielded several large anthropomorphic warrior figurines seated on short four-legged benches, holding rounded shields, and wearing crested headdresses. The

figurines' calves are swollen and deformed by tight ligatures applied above the ankle and below the knee, a feature which recurs in several regions of Colombia. On the back of one figure there is an animal in a climbing position similar to the alter-ego representations found in Calima and San Agustín. Also found with one of these was a large, gold anthropomorphic ornament in which the lower part was shaped like a Peruvian tumi knife (Lehmann 1946a:861-64; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:132-3).

From an archaeological standpoint the area lacks many of the features common to the Sub-Andean level cultures of Quimbaya, Calima, Tierradentro and San Agustín--the pottery is not as complex and diverse, the gold-work is simpler, the carvings smaller, there are no large grave sites, no subterranean galleries, and no monumental stone structures.

The Problem of Classification

Using the archaeological evidence available, it would be difficult to argue with Reichel-Dolmatoff (1966) and others who do not include the Popayán Valley tribes in their list with the Quimbaya, Tierradentro, San Agustín, and Calima cultures--all referred to as having reached the Sub-Andean stage of development. Indeed, my own exhaustive review of the literature on the archaeology of the area fully confirms the lack of this kind of data for cultures in the Popayán Valley. Thus I have no quarrel with either the evidence nor with conclusions based on the archaeological finds. My argument with anthropologists writing on Colombian prehistory (Bennett 1946, 1964; Hernandez de Alba 1941; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966; Thompson 1936) is that they inconsistently use non-archaeological material, essentially chroniclers' accounts, in the evaluation of prehistoric cultures of Colombia.

In most cases, anthropologists do not review the chronicles, or do so for some cultures only. Even without the work of historians (Arboleda 1952; Arroyo 1907; Mosquera 1855; Perez de Barradas 1943; Vergara 1958) and "historically-oriented" anthropologists (Hernandez de Alba 1946; Otero 1952), substantial material exists in the records of the Spanish Chroniclers (Andagoya 1865; Ciezna de Leon 1864; Juan de Castellanos 1881; Pedro Simon 1882-92; Velasco 1881-4). This may permit the inclusion of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes among those classified at the Sub-Andean level of development. In fact, I believe further research may reveal the culture and social organization of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes at the time of conquest was as complex and sophisticated as the Tairona and Chibcha. I must acknowledge, however, that one or more of the cultures now classified at the Sub-Andean level may have been, at their apex, larger, more complex and better integrated than those functioning when the Spanish arrived.

I do not propose an extended debate on the classification of prehistoric cultures in Colombia nor to argue about methods of prehistorical analysis. Some comment on each, however, may help put in perspective material presented in the following chapter (III).

The first problem, and one which in most cases we have no satisfactory solution for, is the heavy reliance on pottery, metal and stone artifacts as a basis for evaluating--if not establishing--the relative complexity of sociocultural organization. While the archeologist can only work with what is available, he should at least on occasion remind himself that relevant artifacts of less durable material may have perished. Not only may wood construction be large and technically complex, but weaving, rather than stone, metal or

pottery, may be the significant focus for aesthetic activity in a culture. Clearly, neither wood nor cloth survive as intact and for as long a period as artifacts made of other material. In this context it is appropriate to mention that while the Tairona have a rich architectural and ceramic tradition, weaving, at least among their contemporary descendants (the Kogi), is not an area of artistic elaboration or innovation (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1949-50:62-3, 192-4).

In addition to the rapid deterioration of wood and cloth (compared to stone, ceramic and metal), they are highly susceptible to destruction through accidental and purposeful actions. For example, in the Popayán Valley we find large wooden enclosures, forts, bridges and fine weaving destroyed by fire in warfare and in the ritual burning of clothing. This, however, is merely a preface to the way archaeological and historical evidence has been used in developing comparative frameworks of Colombian prehistory.

From a common sense point of view, it seems, insofar as first-hand descriptions of societies functioning at the time of the conquest are available that this information should be used in relation to comprehensive attempts at comparison and classification. My position is that anthropologists have unevenly, and/or uncritically used chroniclers accounts in evaluating the relative development of pre-conquest societies. While such writings are used to support assertions of the advanced stage of development of the Chibcha and Tairona (e.g. Kroeber 1946:887-909; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966:143-168) scholarly use of similar documents for the Popayán region seems lacking. This is an unfortunate oversight since descriptions of the situation in the Popayán Valley in Andagoya (1865; 1892), Ciezna de Leon (1864; 1945),

and Castellanos (1881), indicate the region was heavily populated and the land among the most fertile in all of South America. In 1535 the Popayán Valley contained some large settlements, well constructed wooden forts, imaginatively engineered bridges, carefully woven garments, gold ornaments, and loose political-military organization in which more than one hundred tribal units coordinated activities to protect themselves from surrounding warlike tribes.

It is ironical and sad that after almost four and a half centuries the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes, who fought to defend their territory and way of life against a brutal army of Spaniards and Indian recruits from Ecuador, have been relegated to virtual obscurity, while the capitulating Chibchas are often discussed along with the Incas and Aztecs.

GUAMBIANO ORIGINS: POPULAR ACCOUNTS AND A FEW HYPOTHESES

There has been considerable speculation by professional and amateur historians and anthropologists about the origin of the Guambianos. The "theories" are based on superficial investigation and imagination rather than scientific inquiry. The only reason for mentioning them is that they have been repeated to me by Whites in Popayán and Silvia, and by several Guambianos. A complete critical summary of these stories is found in Otero (1952). One set of tales links the Guambianos with their neighbors, the Páez and Pijaos, and concludes they are of Carib origin. Other accounts present them as having an Ecuadorian origin. In one version, Inca warriors are said to have brought them from Ecuador, and another suggests that it was the Spanish Conquerers who took them from Quito to the Popayán Valley. Fortunately, there is enough evidence

using archaeological and sociocultural data to outline a few scientific hypotheses about the origin of the Guambiano-Coconuco culture.

One is that the tribes occupying the Popayán Valley at the time of the conquest have some historical connection with one or more of the Sub-Andean cultures that had ceased functioning by the time the Spanish arrived. It is possible that the Guambiano-Coconucos are descendants of peoples who at an earlier period were organized around one of the large ceremonial centers. Tierradentro and San Agustín are the likely choices because of geographical proximity and the presence of ancient roads from Popayán and Silvia to these areas. What appears to have happened is that centuries before the Spanish arrived, these centers and their surrounding populations were overrun and pushed west by migrating warlike tribes of Carib origin (see: Cuervo-Marquez 1920:244; Thompson 1936:144).

The contemporary situation in Guambia lends support to this hypothesis. The Guambianos are a relatively peaceful tribe clearly related to others in the Popayán region, and on their eastern border are the Páez, who speak an unrelated language. In addition, there are Guambiano legends (Hernandez de Alba and Tumiñá 1949) which tell of invasions from the east by the cannibalistic Pijaos. The Pijaos were totally destroyed by the Spanish, but Guambianos continue to fear and exercise ritual precaution with respect to Pijao burial urns found throughout the reservation.

Another hypothesis is that the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes originally migrated to the Popayán region from the south or east. A comparison of Murdock's (1970) ethnographic sample of kin term patterns with my

Guambiano data reveals that of the 566 cultures for which terms are listed (which include the other highland Colombian and Ecuadorian tribes: Chibcha, Páez, and Cayapa), the closest affiliations are with tribes in the Llanos region, east of Guambía in the area of the Caquetá River.

Neither hypothesis excludes the other, and it may very well be that 1500 to 2000 years ago groups migrated from the Caquetá region, and became part of and/or helped develop one or more of the phases of San Agustín and/or Tierradentro culture. These groups would have proceeded west (towards the Popayán Valley) when invaded by the hostile tribes that eventually dominated the San Agustín-Tierradentro area.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Major sources dealing with the Archaeology of the Andean Core area are:

   Bennet (1944, 1946); Cuervo (1920); Duque-Gomez (1963); Ford (1944); Hernandez de Alba (1938, 1946); Lehmann (1946a); Perez de Barradas (1943); Piedrahita (1936); Root (1961); Reichel-Dolmatoff (1961a, 1961b, 1966), and Samper (1936).

III. THE GUAMBIANO-COCONUCO TRIBES AT THE TIME OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST

The Guambiano-Coconucos, and most tribes surrounding them, can be classified as "militaristic chiefdoms," using the criteria established by Steward and Faron in their comparative summary of South American Indians (1959:177-212). The organizational patterns of household, village and community life of the militaristic chiefdoms resemble those of tropical forest peoples. In both, households and villages are relatively self-sufficient economic and religious units. The chiefdoms, however, produce a greater economic surplus and have a more differentiated social organization. In certain religious and military patterns, architectural features and manufactures, the militaristic chiefdoms were similar to the "state" societies of the Central Andes and Meso-America. Politically, they were united under a chief who led them in warfare. Some practiced human sacrifice and cannibalism which were related to their religious system. Human trophies obtained in warfare were important for prestige and social status.

In contrast to the cultural and environmental uniformity of the Central Andes, there were significant ecological and cultural variation among the chiefdoms of the Northern Andes. The following section describes in detail the culture of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes at the time of the conquest.

CULTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The first Chronicler to visit the Andean core region after the conquest was Pedro Ciezna de León. He states (1864:XXXII:114-5) that

the Popayán Valley and the surrounding mountains and valleys were densely populated.

> This city of Popayán has many large villages within the boundaries of its jurisdiction. Towards the east it has the populous province of Guambía, and others called Guanza, Maluasa, Polindara, Palace, Tembio, and Colaza, all thickly peopled. The Indians of these districts have much gold. . . of which they make ornaments, . . . They are warlike, and as great butchers as those of the provinces of Arma, Pozo and Antiochia.

According to Pascual de Andagoya, another early chronicler of the region, there were 1000,000 houses in the vicinity of the Popayán Valley, which suggests a population of approximately 500,000. This figure is disputed by the historian Sergio Arboleda, editor of the Historia General de la Gobernación de Popayán, who believes the population was closer to 100,000 (Lehmann 1946b:973). Arboleda's figure is generally accepted by historians and anthropologists to be a more realistic estimate.

The area was divided into various "provinces" occupied by relatively autonomous tribes which, at the time of the conquest, were organized into a confederation (Ciezna de León 1865:XXX:109; Vergara 1958:19-20). They shared a common linguistic and cultural base and are referred to as the Guambiano (or incorrectly, the Moguex)-Coconuco group (Lehmann 1946b:969). With the exception of the Pubén, who inhabited the "city" known today as Popayán, tribes in the region were known by the name of their chief. Among the tribes who shared a cultural base and participated in the confederation are: the Ambaló, Tunía, Coconuco, Guambía, Polindara, Puracé, Totoró, Guanaco (the only one located on the eastern side of the Central Cordillera), the Chisquío, Palacé, Colaza, Guamza, Timaná, Guachicono, Malvazá, Piendamó, Zhotará, and Usendaz (Ibid:969-70;

Ciezna de León 1864:XXXII:114-5).

Ecology, Economy, and Settlement Patterns

> The Province of Popayán was one of the most populous in South America and, had it been conquered by the Incas, would have been the best and richest of all (Ciezna de León 1864:XXXII:118).

Andagoya (1865:74) mentions that near Popayán a special variety of "short" maize (niorocho) could be cultivated after two months. Maize of all types was especially important. It was used to make dough (which was toasted, not baked) and chicha, an alcoholic beverage (Ibid: 75). In the tropical zones to the east and south, sweet manioc and beans were cultivated. Additional food sources included fruits, granadilla, guayaba, guama, papaya, pineapple, plantains and chirimoya. Deer, some large birds and fish were also eaten. Guinea pigs were the only domesticated animal consumed in the region (Hernández de Alba 1946: 918-928). Besides chicha, the only other important stimulant used regularly was cocaine. Cocaine leaves were chewed with powdered lime (mambe) to relieve hunger (Ibid: 934). Trade was carried out between the tribes in the different climatic zones.

In contrast to the low percentage of cultivable land and the high population density of the Central Andes, the Northern Andes (Ecuador and Colombia) had a higher percentage of arable land and a lower population density (Steward and Faron 1959:53).[1] Community size in the Northern Andean region has been estimated as varying between 500 and 3000 persons in contrast to the 3000+ figure cited for the Central Andes (Ibid: 57). In the region inhabited by the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes the Pubén, living in the Popayán Valley near the banks of the Cauca River, were

reported to be living in a large concentrated settlement or "city." Other villages were located along the river, and most groups occupied territory on the slopes of the Western and Central Cordilleras.

The territory of each tribal group was communal property with usufruct rights allotted to individual families by the chief or cacique. Clothes, ornaments, tools and dwellings, were personally owned. The distinction between private property, and communal property--which the entire population had the right to exploit and the obligation to maintain--continued in many sections during the Colonial and post-Independence periods (Hernández de Alba 1946:932). In modified form the pattern is still characteristic of Guambía.

The typical house in the region was a square or rectangular wattle and daub construction, covered by a neatly thatched straw roof. Near each home was a circular hut used exclusively by menstruating women. In the Pubén capital the homes had four doors, and that posts supporting the extension of the roof over a patio were sometimes carved.

Local historians (Arroyo 1907; Otero 1952; Vergara 1958) estimate the population of Popayán at 40,000. There were plazas, streets, aqueducts leading to public fountains, and attention was given to maintaining their cleanliness. This heritage has continued, and Popayán today is the best kept city in Colombia.

In the "city" there were two large circular homes located near one another. These were the residences of the leaders of the Pubén tribe. The derivation of the word Popayán can be traced to the Guambiano-Coconuco language in which pu-pa-ya means "two houses of paja" and, according to Hernández de Alba, Otero and J. M. Arboleda, refers to the "houses of the caciques."[2] Other large constructions included a high roofed

"community house" with sides of 400 large diameter (32") poles. This house was reportedly used for large drunken feasts and "orgies." At the entrance to several native villages were large fences or forts, 50 paces to a side, made of bamboo trunks. Each fort had two narrow doors, one on the east and the other on the west side (Otero 1952:206; Hernández de Alba 1946:928-9). Tunnels through mountains and large caves are found in the territory of the Guambianos which, according to legend, were used to hide the civilian population from the invading Pijaos and Spanish (Hernández de Alba and Tumiñá 1949:111-120).

Clothing and Adornment

Chroniclers' accounts of the dress of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes at the time of the conquest are complicated by several factors. First, while sharing a cultural and linguistic base, tribes were relatively autonomous and used clothing, hair styles and adornment to express differences. Second, though the chroniclers noted variation in local styles, they did not always identify the groups using them. Third, dress varied within some groups according to social position. Finally, in warfare, special body paint was used and this context is not always clearly indicated in the literature.

In the summer of 1970 I reviewed early accounts of dress (Andagoya 1865:66; Cieza de León 1864:117; Hernández de Alba 1946:934-39, 991; Otero 1952:205; Vergara 1958:13-16) with several informants to determine which passages could be applicable to the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes. Final selection was based on references to hair styles, jewelry, general descriptions, and native terms for clothing recorded by the chroniclers.

One interesting aspect of the evolution of Guambiano clothing is that present-day men's styles are in some respects closer today to the pre-conquest costume than they were during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Today, as then, men wear a blue cloth wrapped around their waists (Vergara 1958:13).

At the time of the conquest, men wore cotton undergarments secured at the waist by a narrow woven belt (chumbe) which was sometimes decorated. Attached to the belt was a double pouch used to hold the scrotum and penis. Men still use small pouches to carry money, keys, handkerchiefs, etc. These pouches are called war or jigra, which also means "scrotum." Around the waist the men wore a doubled-over blue cloth. This kilt (marú) reached the top of the knee, and the ends met at the side but were not sewn or pinned together. The men used narrow ponchos (turí) with an opening along the shoulders. This horizontal slit contrasts with the vertical opening characteristic of most ponchos used in Colombia. After the Guambianos were converted to Catholicism by Andagoya, crosses of red cloth were attached to the ponchos.

The women wore long tunics which covered their breasts and reached to below the knee. The cloth was secured by a pin above the breasts and around the waist by a yellow belt (chumbe). A blue shawl was worn over the back and shoulders. Some garments worn by both sexes were embroidered and/or painted.

Around their necks women wore jewelry of gold, bone and teeth. Other adornments, used by both sexes, included bracelets, earrings, and nose ornaments of gold and tumbaga. Hair was cut short, and both sexes wore headbands of cloth decorated with figures and designs. Some men and women wore fiber sandals.

Political and religious functionaries and "nobles" wore special items to indicate their status. Some used waist length capes covering the left side of the body. Gold crowns capped with colored feathers were worn by political and religious officials.

The cotton cloth used in the garments was woven on a vertical loom made of wooden poles. A similar one is still used in Guambía and other Indian villages in Cauca.

Music and Dance

Music was an important aspect of Guambiano-Coconuco culture. Flutes, drums, and instruments of cane, bone and large sea shells called "fututos" were used. Music and singing accompanied the warriors into battle. Music and dancing were part of religious rites, communal ceremonies, marriage, the death of a child (and some adults), and sexual initiations (Hernández de Alba 1946:934, 951).

Kinship and Marriage

Information on the kinship system and interpersonal relations among the Guambiano-Coconuco peoples is extremely limited. According to Steward and Faron (1959:210-11), descent in the North Andean region (Ecuador and Southern Colombia) was traced through the female line. The argument for the occurrence of this pattern among the Guambiano-Coconuco groups is based on the rule of succession by which a sister's son inherited the position of chief (Otero 1952:211; Hernández de Alba 1946:931), and the practice of avuncular marriage. Avuncular marriage, however, like the brother-sister marriage practiced by the Inca and Chibcha rulers, may be more related to the goal of keeping descent

within ruling family than to matrilineality (Steward 1949:719).

My kinship data on the Guambianos indicate a fully developed bilateral nomenclature and seems appropriate at this point to assume continuity in this aspect of the system. This does not eliminate the possibility of special marriage rules for the upper class which did practice endogamous marriage (see: Douay 1890).

Villages consisted of several groups of kin. Post-marital residence was patrilocal, and like many tribes in the Central and Northern Andes a "trial marriage," or period of amaño preceded the marriage ceremony. The adolescent period was relatively free of sexual restraint and the trial period in which the girl lived in her boyfriend's household, tested the girl's domestic skills and the couple's compatibility (Price 1965:312; Hernández de Alba 1946:933). Although the girl moved into her father-in-law's house after marriage her husband was expected to perform labor service for her parents during an unspecified period of time (Hernández de Alba 1946:933; Otero 1952:211).

Polygyny was allowed. In some parts of the Province of Popayán, females were permitted to have extra-marital affairs provided her "lover" gave her something in return (Hernández de Alba 1946:933). Also "in some places" the first male child was sacrificed (Jijon y Caamaño 1936-38:2:179-82 [quoted in Hernandez de Alba 1946:931]; Otero 1952:210).

Religion and Ritual

The most detailed information on supernatural beliefs of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes is based on specific references to the Pubén and Coconuco groups. Among the Coconuco, the sun was associated with good and the moon with evil. The sun was a beneficent power and the

object of worship.[3] The moon was an evil power and the cause of misfortunes such as storms and crop failures (Bogert 1860:5-6; Hernandez de Alba 1946:935, 952-3; Otero 1952:177). They also believed in a Supreme Being and a devil. The stars and planets were cosmological forces. They distinguished between heavenly bodies and measured time by lunar months (canapuil). Birds were viewed as omens of both good and bad fortune. Snakes were bad omens (Otero 1952:177; Hernandez de Alba 1946: 935-6).

The Guambiano-Coconuco peoples believed in reincarnation. Rituals were performed at a ceremony after death to assure the rebirth of the departed soul in the body of a newly born child (Ciezna de León 1864: XXXII:117). The dead were buried with their possessions and supplies of food. Status considerations influenced the type of treatment received after death. According to a soldier who wrote of the religious practices of the Indians of the Popayán Valley:

> When they [the principals, caciques and "kings"] die
> they have the custom of burying what they own with
> them, including some of their women and servants,
> whom, they say, will serve them where they go.
> (Quoted In Otero 1952:211).

Cremation and preservation of dried bodies were also practiced (Ciezna de León 1864:XXXII:117). The Guambianos sometimes buried a dead man in his house with his possessions and then abandoned it (Hernández de Alba 1946:933, 948).

Though there was a large decorated "temple" in Popayán, it is not clear whether worship and religious ceremonies were conducted in it. Castellanos (1881) states that the principal gods were not portrayed in statues or idols.

Offerings were made to metal and wooden idols kept in homes (Ciezna 1864:XXXII:117; Hernández de Alba 1946:935, 952). Religious activities, including ritual celebrations and curing, were performed by specialists. There is no evidence to determine whether these roles were full or part time, or whether the status was inherited or achieved. The likely pattern, consistent with the other North Andean communities, would have a single person serving the dual role of priest and shaman, recruited on the basis of personal supernatural experience rather than heredity (Steward 1949:723-4). According to Ciezna de León (1864:117) the shamans in the region "... converse with the devil, and, by his advice, they do many things in accordance with his wishes."

An annual mourning ceremony, reported for tribes in and adjacent to the Popayán region, involved a ritual of simulated warfare. Andagoya (1865:75) gives the most detailed description of the ceremony as it was performed by the Lile tribe who bordered the Guambianos to the North.

> In these festivals those of one village united with those of another, or the followers of one chief with those of another, being friends, and ate and drank together... After dinner, ... they came out to play at tilting with reeds, a leader of one side with fifty to thirty men, and another with as many more, all with their shields ... and their darts, ... Having taken their places, they came out to skirmish, as the troopers do in Spain, darting at each other like enemies ... skirmishing, sallying forth and retreating in skirmishing order, during the whole afternoon. Many came out from the game wounded, and some were killed: and there was no penalty or ill feelings for him who killed another.

Political Organization

Tribes in the Popayán Valley were for the most part independent political units. Some, including the Pubén, Guambiano and Coconuco,

were subdivided into smaller groups. Each tribe had a chief, or cacique, who kept his position until death. The cacique was assisted by lesser authorities with political and administrative functions. General Mosquera's (1855) description of the political organization of the Pubén group gives some idea of the regional pattern.

> They have a Supreme Chief, called Yasgüen, who is like a king. The caciques governed divisions of peoples (pueblos); under them were caschus, the equivalent of governors. [the word] carabic designated lesser authorities who were comparable to mayors (quoted in Lehmann; 1946b:973).

Mosquera's translation of Yasgüen as "king" and "Supreme Authority" must be qualified, however. Ciezna de León (1864:XIII:55) emphasizes a rather different view of the allocation of authority.

> ... the Indians of the government of Popayán ... have never been ruled by a chief whom they feared ... and ... they detest being under subjection to any one, ...

Ciezna's statement indicates that independence and self-sufficiency, characteristic of their economic, religious and territorial organization, were fundamental to their political system and attitude towards authority. The power of Pubén officials was apparently very limited.

Ciezna de León's statement may also reflect the exasperation of the Spaniards who had so much difficulty in establishing control in the region. In fact, one of the greatest problems one encounters in evaluating chroniclers' accounts involves an understanding of the personality and philosophy of the author. It should be remembered that before arriving in Popayán, the Spaniards with few men conquered a large territory and gained control over millions of people. As we will see in the next chapter, they had a rather difficult time in southern Colombia.

The Pubén Confederation

During the late 14th or 15th century the tribes of the Popayán region were organized into a political-military confederation by Pubén, a leader of the tribe occupying the "city" of what is today Popayán (Cieza de León 1864:XXX:109; Vergara 1958-19, 39). Under his direction, trade increased, a council of caciques was organized, and a small permanent military force was established. Four forts were built in different sections of the territory. The major purpose of the confederation was to defend the population from the frequent raids by neighboring militaristic and cannibalistic tribes--the Petequies, Patías, Bojoleos, Pijaos, and Yaporogos (and later the Incas?).

The territory covered by the tribes of the confederation included most of the present day departamento (State) of Cauca, the southern part of Valle, and the western third of Huila. It is impossible to determine without extensive additional research how many of these tribes were also culturally and linguistically part of the Guambiano-Coconuco complex. What is relevant for present purposes is that while there may have been other cultural groups integrated into the political structure of the confederation, its leaders, and almost all the tribes immediately surrounding the Pubén capital (Popayán), were of Guambiano-Coconuco stock.

For military purposes the territory was divided into two sections--the high mountainous region to the east and the valley region in the west. Authority, or more accurately organizational responsibility, was divided between two brothers, Calambás and Payán. Cacique Calambás, the older of the two, was in charge of the mountainous region, and, in

general, had greater authority in political and military affairs. The younger brother, Payán, had responsibility for guarding the gold and other riches in the valley and for the "city" of Pubén. A religious leader, Yasgüen, lived in Pubén capital, but it is not possible to establish the extent of his religious authority outside of the "city" limits.

Warfare and Weapons

Invasions from neighboring hostile tribes were frequent. Ciezna de León describes them as being in a continual state of warfare. The weapons used were: darts, cast by a spear thrower (atlatl); stones, hurled with and without the aid of slings; six to nine foot clubs made of hard black wood (chonta) called "macanas," and long lances with fire-hardened points. Decorated wooden shields were use for defense (Hernández de Alba 1946:933; Otero 1952:171, 200).

There is disagreement as to whether the Guambiano-Coconuco tribesmen were "good" or "poor" warriors. Regardless of their military skill, they were probably inferior to the tribes surrounding them. The Pijao, Páez, and Patías had disciplined, aggressive fighting forces and well developed combat strategies (Ciezna de León 1864:XXXII:116; Cuervo 1920:244). The Pijao and Páez groups continued to wage war against the Spanish until the early part of the 17th century whereas the Guambiano-Coconuco groups were conquered a half-century earlier (Hernández de Alba 1946:923-7).

Women of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes accompanied the men in battle, supplying them with darts, spears and stones . The men went to

war with their bodies painted, wearing feathers, necklaces, breast-plates, and bracelets of gold and tumbaga. Battles were initiated with songs and yells accompanied by music from flutes.

The Guambianos, in fights against the Pijaos and Spanish were led by a female "chieftaness" (Hernández de Alba and Tumiñá 1949:111-120; Andagoya 1865). Women also were leaders of a few other tribes in the region.

Enemy victims and prisoners were sacrificed and skulls displayed as trophies on high posts at the entrance to dwellings. Sometimes the victims' skin was dried, filled with ashes to restore its shape, and kept against a wall (Hernández de Alba 1946:933-4). Cannibalism, practiced by many of the surrounding tribes, was rare among Guambiano-Coconucos.[4]

SOCIOCULTURAL INTEGRATION OF THE GUAMBIANO-COCONUCO TRIBES: THE ROLE OF WARFARE

The purpose of this section is to present an analysis of the way in which warfare contributed to the unity of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes at several levels of sociocultural integration. In an analysis of military and other institutions, functional statements refer to a condition directly or indirectly related to the maintenance of a system, and are used to emphasize the importance of those conditions connected in some way to the maintenance of systems (Brown 1963:109-110). A functional analysis of social systems should also take into account the psychological as well as social and cultural variables (Spiro 1961). An interpretation of the role of warfare is presented at this point because after the conquest intertribal warfare was rapidly eliminated.

This contrasts to the effect of Spanish control on other institutions in which change was gradual and the post-conquest pattern a blend of Indian and Spanish systems.

Among the possible functions of primitive warfare discussed by anthropologists are: the regulation of demographic variables, territorial expansion, acquisition of goods and services, regulation of relations with other groups, and the regulation of psychological needs (prestige, security and aggression) (Bohannan 1954:2-16; LeVine 1961: 3-15; Malinowski 1941:521-550; Vayada 1968:468-72).

The precise demographic effect of warfare in the Popayán region is difficult to determine. However, intertribal warfare was reported as "frequent," and it is likely that the number of battle and sacrificial victims--together with infanticide and abortion--contributed in a measurable way towards slowing the rate of population growth.

Territorial expansion, an important function of Inca Militarism, was not a major concern of the chiefdoms in the Popayán region. A variety of conditions can be seen as being related to the lack of a territorial goal: sufficient land and resources within the Province, and tribes, which were militarily superior, surrounding them. Although the population was fairly dense, there were uncultivated areas separating them. If attacked, they would leave their homes, move a few miles, and begin anew (Ciezna de León 1864:XIII:55). Sufficient territory, and the demographic effects of warfare, abortion and infanticide, enabled them to maintain a fairly stable balance and/or allowed for a rate of population growth that could be accommodated within their territory.

The presence of well-constructed forts indicate a concern for the protection of people and a defensive military posture. Ciezna de

León notes that "above all, they detest being under subjection to any one (Ibid:55)."

Warfare had an important role in regulating relations between the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes and their neighbors. Although politically autonomous, the tribes were united in a military confederation to protect their persons, possessions, and territory from invading Pijaos, other tribes (the Incas?), and finally the Spanish.

While I stress the defensive nature of the Pubén political and military organization, there is not enough evidence to conclude that warfare was solely with groups outside the region. It is possible that intertribal warfare of a different type, and for different motives, occurred among Guambiano-Coconuco tribes. Vayada (1968:278-9) mentions that among tribal groups which lack a central government with penal jurisdiction over the various units, intertribal warfare is often a means of regulating disputes. This is especially common among groups practicing swidden (slash and burn) agriculture. Among such groups, warfare is often a matter of fighting for revenge.

> In such circumstances the punishment for offenses by members of one group against members of another--and, presumably, the deterrence of more such offenses--may be effected by fighting and killing undertaken by the offended group to avenge the insult, theft, non-payment of bride-price, abduction, rape, poaching, trespass, wounding, killing, or other offense committed (Ibid:278-9).

The latent social function of this type of "fighting for revenge" is to maintain the integrity of the group and their possessions (Ibid: 278-279).

Fighting also provided warriors the opportunity to obtain additional women, and trophies for display outside their homes. Success

in combat was a means of obtaining prestige and increased the possibility of social mobility into the class of "nobles." It should be noted, however, that peaceful relations existed among many, if not most, Guambiano-Coconuco tribes, and were sometimes extended to different cultural groups. For example, the Guambianos and the Páez, in spite of their many differences, have apparently never been at war with one another (Cuervo 1920:154).

The relationship of warrior achievement to social status among the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes is different from the Inca pattern, but similar to that found in Meso-America. Inca warriors were conscript soldiers who had limited opportunity to improve their social status (Steward and Faron 1959:189). In Central Mexico and the Popayán region community leadership and social status were related to military prowess (Carrasco 1961).

From a psychological perspective, warfare is a means of reducing tension and displacing aggression. The source of tension may be related to factors within and/or outside its boundaries (Coser 1957; Tolman 1968:166-8; Vayada 1968:277). It is inevitable that there would frequently be members of one tribe angry at members of another. The motive for revenge was probably omni-present, and the initiation of combat--or actions leading to combat--provided opportunities for acting out the hostile feelings.

Another identifiable source of tension is traceable to the norms governing interpersonal relations within the family and tribe. In agricultural communities in South and Meso-America there existed--and still exists in many sectors today--a strong ethos of mutual aid, reciprocity and community solidarity. This is expressed and reinforced

during religious and secular activities such as mortuary rites and co-operative work parties in agriculture and house construction. It is likely that then, as today, overt expression of hostility within the tribe was condemned and subject to punishment by political officials. In this context intertribal warfare can be seen as a major activity through which repressed hostility was displaced and acted out.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Native Population densities in South America about 1500. (Based on Steward and Faron 1959:53).

Area	Population	Persons per square mile
Inca Empire		
Central Andes	3,500,000	10.0
Chiefdoms		
Northern Andes	1,500,000	6.6
Central America	736,500	4.8
Northern Venezuela	144,000	1.1
Southern Andes		
Southern Chile: Araucanian	1,050,000	7.0
Tropical Forests	2,188,970	0.6

2. This interpretation was given to me by the persons noted during conversations in 1966 and 1967. Vergara (1958:21-2) disagrees with this version and suggests it is partially based on "Payán," the name of the Cacique who lived there.

3. The religious importance of the sun among these groups is a matter of dispute. Accounts by chroniclers are contradictory.

4. Ciezna de León (1864:XXXII:116) mentions that all the tribes of the Province except the Coconuco were cannibals. Hernández de Alba (1946:934), however, denies that cannibalism was as widespread as other historians suggest. He states that the Guambiano and Páez were not cannibals, although they did keep trophy heads and stuffed the skins of dead enemies. Curiously, Hernández de Alba says the Coconuco were cannibals (Ibid:934) which contradicts Ciezna's observation: "among the tribes of the Province of Popayán only the Coconuco do not eat human flesh" (1864: XXXII:116).

IV. GUAMBIANO HISTORY

Subí a una altura,	I climbed a hill,
allí me senté;	There I sat;
encontré una cruz	I found a cross
me puse a llorar.	And began to cry.

--Coconuco poem translated into Spanish by General Mosquera (1855). (My translation)

THE CONQUEST[1]

Sebastián de Belalcazar first heard of the riches of the Pubén Valley from an Indian in Quito. He dispatched a group of 4000 Ecuadorian Indians and a small complement of Spanish troops under the leadership of Captains Juan de Ampudia and Pedro Añasco to explore the region. As they moved north they had several encounters with Indian tribes whom they defeated, often taking male prisoners. In a few instances friendly relations were established with Indians, including one tribe from the Guambiano-Coconuco group. They assisted the Spaniards in combat against their enemies in southern Cauca--the Patías and Bojoleos.

After their initial victories, which were not easily won, the Spanish forces arrived at Mastales, the southernmost fortress in Pubén territory. The Pubén leaders had received word of the invaders' activities, and Cacique Payán was at Mastales when the Spanish arrived. An eight-day battle took place and Ampudia and Añasco were victorious. Cacique Payán was killed in the fighting.

Notified of the defeat, Yazgüen, the old religious leader in the Pubén capital, directed a general evacuation, and removal of the gold

and other riches. The inhabitants moved to the mountains in the east. Yazgüen's strategy was to allow the invading troops to occupy the city, leaving it to the insects--which could only be controlled by burning special plants--to drive them out.

There were several skirmishes with troops led by Calambás. Finally, the Spaniards, molested by the fleas and lice, and furious at not finding gold, burned the city and went north to Jamundí. The Indians returned and began rebuilding the Pubén capital.

The Spaniards often had difficulty in "recruiting" reinforcements from local villages. Some groups, not able or willing to engage in combat with the Spanish, took advantage of the uninhabited areas and favorable ecological conditions. As Ciezna de León (1865:XIII:55) explains,

> Another reason [for the difficulty the Spaniards had in gaining control] is to be found in the fertility of the soil ... so that when the Spaniards press on these Indians, they burn their houses, which are of wood and straw, and retreat for a league or two, making other dwellings within three or four days, and sowing as much maize as they require, which they reap within four months. If they are still pursued, they once more abandon their homes, and retreat; for wherever they go they find a fertile land ready to supply them with its fruits, so that war or peace are in their own hands; and they never want for food.

Belalcazar and the Founding of Popayán

Belalcazar, hearing of the riches of the city, and the unsuccessful efforts of Ampudia and Añasco, organized a force to gain control of the Pubén capital. Without informing his superior, Pizarro, who was in Peru at the time, Belalcazar with 300 Spanish soldiers, eighty horses, dogs, 5000 Indian warriors (from Peru, Ecuador and southern Colombia)

and 6000 supply and auxiliary forces, led the march to Pubén.

The first encounter between Belalcazar and the Pubén forces, led by Cacique Calambás, occurred at Guazabara. The ensuing combat, according to one historian (Vergara 1958:48-9), was one of the largest that ever occurred between Spanish troops and Indian warriors. The Spanish forces were outnumbered two to one, but better armed. After thirty days of battle, Belalcazar was victorious, and among the dead was Cacique Calambás.

In spite of the loss of several thousand troops, Belalcazar chose to move on to the city of Pubén. His first efforts to capture the city were unsuccessful. He decided to move north and recruit additional forces. Belalcazar, a rather vicious soldier, had not been pleased by the events which prevented him from achieving rapid victory. His vengeance was felt by the peoples whose villages were on the route he took to Cali (then Lile). Human slaughter and the burning of homes became his policy. Whole populations were destroyed or reduced to a small fraction of their original size. Pascual de Andagoya, who served briefly as Adelanto of the Province of Popayán, described what he encountered on his first visit to the area:

> On the ten leagues of road towards Popayán [from Cali] there are many villages with five hundred to eight hundred houses; of which, when I arrived, no memory remained, except the ashes; for all had been destroyed, and the inhabitants killed by Belalcazar... The whole is a very beautiful land, with plains, rivers full of fish, and abundant hunting of deers and rabbits. This land, now laid waste, was a most populous and fertile country... When I arrived it was so laid waste that there was not a duck fit to breed, ... and where there were over one hundred thousand houses in the space of these thirty leagues, I did not find ten thousand men (1865:64-5).

Reinforced by warriors from local tribes, and reunited with his captains Ampudia and Añasco, Belalcazar returned south to assault the Pubén capital. In the first line of defense was Cacique Piendamú, one of the leaders of the Guambías. The Spanish advanced slowly and eventually surrounded the city. One major battle was fought on the large parallelogram-shaped plaza on the outskirts of town--a battle famous for the participation and leadership of several women. After several months of continual fighting, and hampered by heavy rains, Belalcazar was not able to capture the city. Finally, taking advantage of the calm which occurred each night, a squad of Spaniards entered the city and killed the Pubén leader, Yazgüen. This occurred on December 24, 1536. The year 1536 is now celebrated as the "founding" of the city of Popayán by Sebastián de Belalcazar.

The Indians Continue to Resist

The Spaniards' difficulties with the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes did not end, however, with the conquest of Pubén. It must be remembered that these tribes, though joined in a loose confederation, were not accustomed to pay tribute to a centralized authority. And, as described by Ciezna de León (1864:XIII:55),

> ... they detest being under subjugation to anyone, which is sufficient cause for resisting the yoke of strangers.

The conquerors' demands on the native population for women, goods and services increased as their rule in the area was consolidated. Initially the Indians supplied them with food and helped in some battles against their traditional foes, including the Pijaos. As the Spaniards'

need for Indian products and labor increased, force was used to gain compliance. Some Indians fled to the more inaccessible parts of the territory. Others refused to plant and cultivate their crops. The use of this tactic, however, contributed significantly to the decline in population in the region.

> In Popayán, the Christians never sowed during the whole time they were there, having the crops of the Indians to live on... [to resist the Spanish] the Indians determined not to sow, and there was no maize for eight months, which caused so great a famine that many ate each other, and others died (Andagoya 1865:66).

Ciezna de Leon (1864) observed that the natives' refusal to sow was not just a protest, but part of their strategy of opposition to the conquerors.

> ... they preferred to die rather than be subjected, such was their hardihood and they believed that the want of provisions would force the Spanish to leave the country (XXXII:115).

But the Spanish, impressed by the climate and natural resources of the region, were determined to stay. Popayán became an important political and religious center during the colonial period, and the capital of an intendencia with boundaries stretching from Ecuador to the Caribbean.

It is interesting to note that among the chroniclers there are differences of opinion as to the causes of the warfare in this part of Colombia. Ciezna de León (1864:XXXII:115) states that combat with the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes was caused by their refusal to "keep the peace which they had promised."

Andagoya, whose policy towards the Indians was humane and diplomatic (Markham <u>in</u> Ciezna 1864:ii), offers an explanation which

contradicts Ciezna's. He notes:

> ... the principal cause of their [the Indians] destruction was that they received such evil treatment, without having the faith kept with them (Andagoya 1865:66).

Not surprisingly, it was Andagoya who was made to return to Spain, and the Chibchas--conquered in 1538 by 166 Spanish soldiers--who became known as the most "advanced" society in Colombia. As for the Guambiano-Coconuco, well, to the casual reader of Latin American history and anthropology, they are just another of the "savage and mutually independent hordes of cannibals and sodomites" (Madriaga 1963:53) who surrounded the Chibcha of Nueva Granada.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Relative peace was established in the Popayán Valley and nearby mountainsides by the middle of the 16th century. To the Northeast, however, the Páez and Pijaos continued to resist the Spaniards for another fifty years. Once their position of dominance was secure, the Spanish subjected the remaining Indians to a variety of economic, religious and political institutions which affected, but did not always destroy, native community life.

Conversion to Catholicism

In some areas the clergy began its work immediately. Among the earliest New World Indians converted to Catholicism were members of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes, including the Guambiano Chieftainess. Andagoya (1865:66-68) describes their conversion:

> The few that remained [in the Popayán valley] were friendly, and I wished to convert them to our holy faith, and to learn whether they had any religion. They had none whatever, and did not even worship the sun, like those of Cuzco. But they lived according to the law of nature, with great justice... The first who were converted in Popayán were one hundred of the natives of that land, and fifty of those of Quito, who had come here with the Spaniards. Among them was one chieftainess, and two or three chiefs... They delighted greatly to hear the things concerning the creation of the world; for they themselves have a tradition of Noa's flood, just as we have. But they have no other information in this province concerning Him who was able to cause the water to rise and cover the land.
>
> Having already instructed these one hundred and fifty converts in the essentials of our holy faith, not touching on the passion and incarnation of our Lord, ... but only on matters easy to be believed, I wished to convince them that there truly was a God the Creator ... I showed them that neither the earth, which was without life, nor the sun and moon, nor the first man, could do anything of themselves; whence they might truly believe that it was the Creator and Maker of all things who is God, whom we must worship. I did not think it right to baptize them on the first day... When they came to be baptized, I asked them if they remembered what I had said to them the day before,... They replied they had not slept all night, but had conversed concerning all that had been said to them, holding it all to be good, and that they desired to do as God willed. I then placed crosses of red cloth on their shirts, and took them in procession to the church,... Mass was solemnly said, and having explained somewhat concerning it, they all ate with me, and I ordered that the captains and officers of his Majesty should serve them, at which they were astonished. After eating, I gave them to understand that on that day they had merited to be changed from beasts to sons of God and heirs of his kingdom. I ordered a tournament, and a great festival to be celebrated, and they held it to be very grand; and after four of five days there were three hundred more, for whom the same festival was celebrated.

Their formal religious conversion brought them into the Christian universe. Their acceptance of Christianity was facilitated by the lack of a formal "confederation-wide" religion and the curates' concessions to the lesser gods, sacred objects, magic, etc., which were dismissed as "superstition."

In contrast to Andagoya's enlightened view of the Indians, most Spaniards then, and some Colombians today, saw them as savages to be tamed, and a source of labor to be exploited. Unfortunately, Andagoya's rule over the province was short-lived. Belalcazar, who directed the brutal and vicious conquest of the Indians, asked Charles V to grant him the government of Popayán. The King complied with his request mainly for the purpose of having someone in the region who would be able to check the ambition of the Pizarros in Peru. Belalcazar returned to the region, took Andagoya prisoner and in 1541 returned him to Spain (Markham in Andagoya 1865:XXIX; Ciezna 1864:XXIX:104-5).

Indians Laws and Economic Exploitation

In the year following Belalcazar's installation as Adelanto of Popayán, Charles V, influenced by Bartolomé de Las Casas, well known as a protector of Indian rights, and Pope Paul III, promulgated a revised set of laws for the colonies. These laws declared the American natives free persons, vassals of the Crown of Castile, and prohibited anyone from using them against their will (Haring 1947:44-54). Shortly thereafter, from 1545-50, the colonists imported African slaves to New Granada. Many were brought to the Popayán region to work in the mines (Arboleda 1948:68). The Blacks replaced the Indians as the lowest and most exploited group on the social ladder and made possible some enforcement of the laws prohibiting Indian slavery. Nevertheless, abuse was common, and the Indians had few civil liberties and minimal economic freedom. On encomiendas and haciendas they were almost totally subject to the rule of the colonial landlords.

What the Crown wanted most from the colonies was gold to purchase manufactured goods from outside Spain. The key problem was to mobilize manpower to work in the mines, in agriculture, and on public works. The colonial institutions developed to meet these needs were: the repartimiento (called the Mita in Peru)--a forced labor draft; encomiendas--temporary land grants, usually accompanied by limited rights to the labor of a group of Indians living on or near the encomienda; tributos--taxes of a fixed sum paid directly to the King or encomendero and, later, resguardos (reservations) or parcialidades--communal land grants to a group or groups of Indians who continued to pay tribute in coin and labor to the King's representatives (corregidores and alcaldes), and the church (Haring 1947:38-68; Stein and Stein 1970:37-45; Steward and Faron 1959:151-2).

In contrast to the generally poor treatment of the Indians by encomenderos and administrators, there are numerous events which show that in the province of Popayán personal and legal concern for the Indians was still present (Arboleda 1948:40-67). This concern, however, usually related to Spanish paternalism and personalism rather than their rights as citizens. For example, the widow of an ex-governor of Popayán, doña Magdalena de Vega y Aragón, states in her will:

> It is my desire and my will that they distribute to the male and female Indians of the encomienda and estancia of Guambía fifty fanegas [80 bushels] of corn, without their being required to do any labor for it (Archivo Central del Cauca 1683: Sig 1801 [Col.-J.I-]).

There are also numerous cases in the archives in Popayán which show that abuses by landlords and other authorities were sometimes punished by officials of the Crown. For example, in response to a

complaint by the cacique of Tunía that he had been physically mistreated and humiliated by the priest of the village, the court in Popayán in 1738 ordered the priest to pay a fine of 25 patacones to the Indian leader (Arboleda 1948:45-7).

In general, however, the Indians in Colombia suffered the same ills as those in other parts of Latin America. Hernández de Alba summarizes the impact of the Spanish rule on the Indians in Popayán and surrounding regions:

> The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery (1946:926).

Colombia during most of the colonial period was a poverty-stricken, disease-ridden part of the Spanish empire, and much less important to it than Peru and Mexico. There were few industrial activities as long as gold could be mined. Medicine was almost entirely lacking; what there was was very rudimentary. Diseases were prevalent, and the Indians had no immunity to many of them. Most severe were leprosy, smallpox, typhus, typhoid fever and paratyphoid. Two smallpox epidemics in the latter part of the 16th century increased the decimation of the Indian population which continued to decline during the colonial period. In 1789 the total population of the Province of Popayán was 64,463 persons, approximately 25,000 of whom were Indians

(3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 families of Indians, 4,793 families of Black freemen, and 3,247 families of Black slaves) (Silvestre 1927 in Hernández de Alba 1946:927).

Origin and Development of the Reservation System in Guambía

In 1562 the son of Sebastián de Belalcazar, Francisco, was granted the encomienda of Guambía which included partial rights to the labor of the Indians of the region. Provisions were made for religious instruction and Hispanization of the natives. In addition, the pueblo of San Felipe y Santiago de Guambía, known as Guambía (and after 1838, Silvia) was established within the encomienda's boundaries. In 1589, groups of Guambianos became part of two other encomiendas, Ambaló and Usenda, granted to Lorenzo Paz de Maldonado and to his wife, Catalina de Belalcazar (Otero 1952:255-6). Usenda became a mestizo town, while Ambaló continues today to function as a hacienda worked by Guambiano tenant farmers.

Many important local developments occurred during the century and a half following the initiation of the encomienda system in Guambía. Unfortunately, a fire in the archives in Silvia in the latter part of the 19th century destroyed most of the records of the municipality and limits the precision of the historical record. Documents preserved in Popayán, however, permit a limited amount of historical reconstruction.

Changes in Guambía, like those occurring throughout the Colonies, are often related to developments in Spain. Several of these affected the nature of the institutional relationships between the Indians and their colonial masters. In Spain, the Hapsburg kings incurred large

financial burdens and tried to remedy their problem by demanding larger payments from encomenderos. They demanded half the annual income of each encomienda from 1687 through 1965, and reinstituted the policy for a two-year period beginning 1703 (Haring 1947:66-7). Under this policy the encomienda of Juan Alvarez in Guambía reverted to the Crown because of the encomenderos' failure to pay the required tributes (Archivo Central del Cauca, Sig: 26-79 [Col. -c I-17t]). In addition, decrees issued in 1701 and 1720 directed all encomiendas to revert to the Crown when its holder died (Haring 1947:67). Under this regulation the encomienda in Guambiano territory held by Manuel de Belalcazar reverted to the Crown after his death in 1720 (Archivo Central del Cauca 1737 Sig.: 38-29 [Col. - c II 7t]). The last encomienda in Guambía was returned to the Crown in 1729 by Agustín Fernández de Belalcazar (Otero 1968:17).

In order to maximize returns from the Colonies the Crown took over the direct administration of the lands and Indian labor. Corregidores or alcalde mayores assumed the administration of the pueblos and collected the tribute for the royal treasury. For the Indians, the cure was worse than the ailment. The new representatives of the Crown, because of their limited appointments and low salaries, often increased the exploitation of the native population. They increased the use of forced labor, exacted illegal tributes, charged excessive fees and fines in judicial suits, and required the natives to buy, at inflated prices, objects which were often unnecessary or useless to them (Haring 1947:67, 133).

During the late 17th century, the Crown passed additional laws to protect the Indians from the widespread abuse of their persons and

usurpation of their lands. Recognizing that the attempt to reduce Indians to village life, which had been Colonial policy since 1503, was not effective, the Spanish rulers instituted the system of communal land holdings, resguardos and parcialidades, which took into account the territorial claims and leadership structure of the natives. On the reservations, rights to the land belonged to the group as a unit. The territorial integrity of the reservation was protected by law and the sale and rental of land was prohibited. The territorial demarcations of the reservations generally paralleled the earlier encomienda divisions. Non-Indians were prohibited from residing within the reservation. The distribution of land to the Indians was made to the native cacique or leader in his capacity as representatives of a social group. The size of these groups varied considerably. In some instances, a reservation consisted of a single parcialidad, usually a localized section of a tribe, and in others it consisted of several such units (Rodriguez 1949:276-7).

Each reservation was divided into several zones. One zone consisted of territory divided into lots to which individuals could obtain usufruct rights. Another zone was set aside for communal fields for pasturing animals and included wooded areas to provide materials for construction and firewood. A third zone was designated for the production of cash crops: corn, onions, and wheat, to supply the towns and urban areas (Aguirre 1961:Vol. I:195). As the Indians increased in numbers and integrated economically into the larger society, communal lands were gradually assigned to individuals demanding usufruct privileges.

The same legislation established a system of native government, the cabildo or Indian council. Although there was some local variation, the Indian government generally consisted of a governor, a first and second magistrate (alcalde mayor and alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables or deputies (alguaciles). The Governor and alcaldes shared the decision-making authority. The job of the alguaciles was to transmit orders from the higher authorities and administer punishments such as whipping and imprisonment in stocks. Elections for these offices were to be held annually.

In Guambía and other neighboring reservations the office of captain (capitán) was added to the cabildo. This official was not responsible to civilian authorities, had life tenure, and greater power than the elected officers. "The captain was, therefore, like the original hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group" (Hernández de Alba 1946:926-7). These actions, though forcing some changes in the native way of life, had the general effect of preserving the social and cultural integrity of the tribal and subtribal units.

The reservation of Guambía and the neighboring ones of Quizgó, Pitayó and Quichaya (the last two inhabited by Páez speaking groups) were established in 1700. In that year the Real Audiencia de Quito, in the name and by order of "His majesty King Felipe V gave to the Indian pueblos of Pitayó, Quichaya, Guambía and Quizgó, ... represented in the person of cacique Juan Tama, the rights to the lands which later constituted the Indian reservations of the same names" (Min. of Agriculture 1960). The boundaries of the reservations of Quizgó and Guambía are described in the escritura N. 703, dated May 5, 1881 (Archives, Ministerio de Gobierno, 1883).[2]

Although the reservation lands were initially given over to Juan Tama, by 1731 the cacique of each of the four reservations was recognized by the authorities and responsible for collecting tributes (Archivo Central del Cauca 1731: Sig. 32 10 [Col. II 7t]). The cacique or captain responsible for collecting the tribute was personally exempt from taxation. The amount of tribute paid by each adult Indian male to the officials was 7 patacones (Archivo Central del Cauca 1801: Sig.: 67 13 [Col-C II 19t]). This sum was among the highest in the province, especially when compared with the tributes paid by Indians in the neighboring province of Páez who paid a mere 20 reales per year (Arboleda 1948:69). The relatively high tribute required of them suggests their standard of living and agricultural output was probably higher than most other Indians in the region.

Population Growth in Guambía during the Colonial Period

The population of the four reservations located in the territory of Guambía, now known as the municipality of Silvia, was very small during the Colonial period. Census lists are rare, and though the names of the caciques of each are listed, the name of the reservation (or parcialidad) is not. This reflects the persistence of the pre-conquest pattern of referring to places by the name of the cacique or capitán. The chart below is the most complete census list available in the archives in Popayán for the territory of Guambía during the Colonial period.

TABLE 1.

Social Organization in Guambía: 1731
(Archivo Central del Cauca 1731: Sig.: 34 68 [Col-C II 7t])

Cacique	Husbands*	Wives*	Children	Totals
Juan Calambas	17	22	58	97
Luis Cantero	18	21	43	62
Gonzalo Paz	-	-	-	32
Cayetano Tombe	-	-	-	67
		T o t a l		258

*Widowers and widows are listed as "husbands" and "wives." Bachelors are listed as "children." All men married or over 18 years of age, however, would have to pay tribute.

From the above table it is not possible to tell which of the caciques was the chief authority in what is today Guambía. All surnames listed except Paz are used by Guambianos. It is likely, however, that Juan Calambás was in charge of Pitayó, one of the two Páez parcialidades in the territory. This would leave either Cayetano Tombe or Luis Cantero as cacique of Guambía proper, and the other in Quizgó. Since the population figures between them differs by only five (62-67) the figure 65 will be used as a base point. There were, however, other Guambianos (as opposed to Quizgó Indians) living on repartimientos and, later, haciendas. In addition, the rather low figure may be partially the result of the diseases which caused many deaths during the previous century.

We must now shift from population figures to lists of tributors which include all married men and all single males over the age of

eighteen. Estimating that 25 per cent of the total population falls into the category of those paying tribute, then we have approximately 65 such persons in the four parcialidades in 1731. About sixteen would have been of the Guambiano tribe. Comparing the above with the 1807 list (Archivo Central del Cauca 1807 Sig.: 67 13 [Col-C II 19t]) which contains 221 tributors from the Indian groups, we find an increase of 340 per cent in population over a 76-year period.[3] Using 25 per cent as a basis for estimating the tributor/population ratio, the total number of inhabitants on the four reservations would be 877. Of this total, assuming no change in relative proportions at this time, the parcialidad of Guambía would have 258 residents in 1807. This is twelve years before the Battle of Boyacá on August 7, 1819, the date celebrated as Independence Day in Colombia. The rate of growth was maintained, and by 1890 there were approximately 1200 Guambianos on the reservation.

INDEPENDENCE (1819) THROUGH 1890

During the wars of independence the Indians of Southwest Colombia were divided in their loyalties. The Pasto followed the Royalist units. The Guambianos' neighbors, the Páez--led by a Calambás--fought with the revolutionary forces. Simón Bolivar crossed through Guambiano territory, and some fighting occurred there. The Indians did not participate as soldiers but were made to supply food and shelter to the combatants. Stories about the war indicate their reaction to the events was one of fear and withdrawal.

Reservation Policy: Dissolution and Integration

Developments following the establishment of the Republic of New Granada (Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador 1821-2) worked against the

interests of the Indians. During the Colonial period the Church and Spanish administrators had often intervened on their behalf and represented their interests against those criollos who wanted to control the Indians' land and services. After the revolution the Indians lost support of the Crown, and the political influence of the Church decreased.

Immediately following consolidation of the Republic, some laws were passed correcting some of the abuses suffered by the Indians during the Colonial period. These included return of lands illegally obtained, full citizenship and the right to education, protection against exploitation by church officials, and the elimination of tributes and forced labor (Decreto de 1820, articles 1, 3, 8, 9, 14; Ley de 1821, Article 1; in Balcázar 1954:5-11). The laws had little effect, however, in preventing the exploitation of the indigenous population.

The main thrust of the new legislation was the gradual dissolution of the reservation system. The new criollo aristocracy wanted to abolish reservations and allow local landlords to increase their holdings. They also wanted to foster the development of a class of small landholders. In addition, the reservations were, correctly, seen as institutions which contributed to the maintenance of Indian culture and therefore as barriers to the development of a national cultural identity. The destruction of the reservation system was, thus, part of the overall policy of "civilizing" the Indians and integrating them more fully into emerging political, economic and religious institutions.

The undermining of the reservation system began as early as 1820. Simón Bolivar, then President of Colombia, declared that upon return of the land which rightfully belonged to the Indians, each

family should be allocated as much land as its members could cultivate. Land not distributed was to be rented to the highest bidder (Decreto de 1820, July 5, articles 1, 3, and 4; in Balcazar 5-6). Twelve years later details of the distribution process were specified and included safeguards prohibiting the sale of parceled land for a period of ten years (Ley de 1832, March 6, in Ibid:35-6). When the new regulations were implemented and land divided among the native inhabitants, breakup of the indigenous communities quickly followed. Fals-Borda (1955:20) describes the sequence of events in a community north of Bogota.

> The saucites . . . lost their communal title to the land; each individual became responsible for his own plots and for the subsistence of himself and his family.
> This land distribution was, indeed, a democratic measure, but it proved to be unrealistic. . .
> Unable to use their landlord apprenticeship to good advantage, Saucites . . . sold plots to local hacendados and sundry speculators at less than the assessed value of the property; misery asphyxiated many peasants. . .

Implementation of national policy, however, was slow and subject to modification by local authorities.

From 1849 through 1885, conflict between Liberal and Conservative forces was especially intense. Attitudes and policy towards the indigenous population were part of this conflict and had an effect on developments in Guambía. In 1849 the Liberal Party came to power under the leadership of General José Hilario López. Grouped around him were young professionals strongly imbued with the ideas of British economic liberalism and political views inspired by the revolutionary events of 1848 in France. In a rush to consolidate their position they pushed through a variety of reforms designed to increase the scope of political participation and strengthen the egalitarian aspects of society

(Helguerra 1969:227-8). Among these were the abolition of slavery, secular control over church affairs, and a lifting of all restrictions on the sale of Indian land. The latter increased the pace of large scale usurpation and purchase of land by latifundistas and the subsequent decline of Indian communities.

Federal Decentralization and Conservatism in Cauca

In 1853 a new constitution was passed which decentralized much of the governmental structure. Under the presidency of a Conservative, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez (1857-61), the decentralization of powers increased, and in 1858 New Granada became the Granadine Federation made up of six nearly sovereign states (Ibid:229-30). The liberal Constitution of 1863 increased the fragmentation of power and its dispersal into the hands of state and local officials while extending, in theory at least, the liberal principles of equal human rights (Ibid:230).

While most of the country was responding to concepts of equality and democracy prevalent in European intellectual circles, Cauca in the middle of the 19th century was the bastion of the Conservative forces. According to the Liberal governor of Cali at the time, Cauca

> presented such a picture of Spanishness and colonialism that an impartial observer would not have found much difference between its civilization and that of fourteenth-century Spain--the Spain of the military orders, holy miracles and infernal spirits, privileges for the few, oppression of the majority, and the fatal rule of the nobles and the friars (Mercado, 1853).

Ironically, the colonial structure and medieval world view of the Caucanos were beneficial to many indigenous groups in the region. In most of the nation the policy of division resulted in deculturation and increased poverty of the indigenous population. In Cauca, the

Conservative legislature under the laws of the Granadine Federation nullified provisions of the 1850 law. They declared that until further notice purchases of reservation land made under that law were void and they were to continue functioning as communal entities (Ley 90 de 1859, articles 10 and 11. In Balcazar 1954:61). One of the consequences of the Conservative Indian policies pursued by the Cauca Legislature is that the Departamento (State) presently has fifty-four reservations--more than any in the nation.

The 1859 Law also sanctioned many earlier provisions dealing with reservation government. It limited the period of cabildo service to one year and recognized the right of outgoing officials to name their successors. It supported the cabildos' authority to punish "moral" offences, prohibited the sale, mortgage and rental of reservation land, and assured them the right to legal protection (Ibid:57-63).[4] Under these latter provisions the Guambianos, in 1883, obtained an escritura for the reservation. The titulo protected boundaries, but this was after some of their territory had been usurped by aggressive Whites. The opposition of the Cauca Legislature to the national government's policy of division continued until 1886 when a new constitution, the one which, with amendments, is still in force today, was passed.

The Usurpation of Guambiano Land

Actions of the Cauca Legislature, while protecting the reservation from the national policy of dissolution, did not prevent White encroachment on lands belonging to the Guambianos. Several large haciendas were organized in territory which had originally been part of Guambía. The Indians' struggle to maintain their territorial integrity

became an important feature of their political life during the years following independence. It was not until 1966 that full title to the land (more binding than the escritura of 1883) was obtained.

Otero (1968), whose historical monograph focuses on developments in the White community and is generally uncritical of the treatment of the Indians, mentions some of the actions by which Indian land was taken. For example, Marcelino Rodríguez, testifying in 1848 against an Indian wanting to rebuild a house on the outskirts of town, states:

> Since 1820 I know this town [called "Silvia" since 1838] and I have heard it said that its founding is very old. I have also heard that in the time of Governor Nieto [of the Province of Popayán] all the Whites in the area were obliged to build homes in the town, and that the Whites never paid the Indians any rent for the land on which their houses were located; only a school tax (in Otero 1968:26-7).

Of greater significance is the usurpation of large tracts of land which today are haciendas belonging to some of the most powerful families in Colombia. The story of the loss of this land to the Whites continues to circulate in Guambía. Below is a version obtained from one of the old political leaders. It is included not only for its historical value but because the Guambianos want it recorded.

> The Story of the Theft of Guambiano Land by White Men in the 19th Century. "Long ago all the land south of the river Piendamó [from Peñas Negras ?] to the stream called Rio Molino [Mill River, later changed to Quebrada de Fajardo] formed part of the reservation of Guambía. The stream is called "Mill River" because long ago a stone mill was established there, and with that begins the story of the fight. I do not know why they built a mill since at that time there was little wheat cultivated here [it was built by the Indians to help pay their taxes to the Church]. Nevertheless, it was built, and used by many who came from various parts of the Province of Popayán to have their wheat ground. These people had to ask permission from the Guambiano Cabildo to pasture their pack animals on reservation land. Such requests were always granted.

Under this pretext they kept asking for additional land and soon began to cultivate some of it. In this fashion the Whites began to gain possession of the land. The Cabildo, noticing what was happening, refused to rent any more land. And the fight began.
The Cabildo of the reservation, realizing that the Whites would not return land to the community once they had rented it, initiated litigation to recover the area usurped by the Whites. The papers went to Popayán, to Bogotá, and the Indians attending to this matter had to make many trips and return trips. This was because the White authorities did not attend to Indians quickly and because the Indians at the time were very ignorant. The authorities deceived them with stories and made them make many useless visits. The only White man to help them was a man named José Edubije Sánchez.
The afore-mentioned papers went from office to office and were delayed for a long time. Finally they heard that in Bogotá there had been a decision in favor of the Indians. Upon hearing the news they were going to get their land returned, the Guambianos were very happy. When the word got out that the papers were in the mail from Bogotá--which in those days was carried by horseback on mountain trails--the Whites left Silvia to meet the courier and stole the papers from him. Shortly afterwards, the Whites produced a document showing that they had won the case and that the Indians had lost the land.
Since the cost of all the trips by the Indians was expensive, they were forced to sell even more of their land to the Whites who had forced them to make the trips in the first place.
These lands were sold from one hacienda owner to another and form the present-day borders of Guambía.
It is said that the titles to the land granted by the King are to be found in the archives in Quito, but some say that these too have been removed by the Whites."

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN GUAMBIANO SOCIETY: THE COLONIAL PERIOD THROUGH 1890

The military conquest and epidemics in the 16th century had a devastating and, perhaps, traumatic effect on the Indian population of the Popayán Valley. Many groups were annihilated while others were substantially destroyed. The ensuing 355 years of contact with Hispanic culture and social institutions resulted in many changes in

those Indian societies which survived the conquest. Most of them underwent a period of deculturation which was followed by a gradual process of acculturation to the Colombian peasant way of life. This process occurred with most groups, even those living on reservations. The Guambianos and Páez, while affected, were in many ways exceptions to this general trend.

The resistance of the Páez is not difficult to explain. To begin with, they were fierce warriors and fought savagely against the Spanish for many years after the Colonial government was established in Popayán. More importantly, they were a numerous people inhabiting some of the most inhospitable terrain in the region--rugged, poorly suited for agriculture, with a cold and wet climate.

In contrast, the Guambianos were less isolated, their soil and climate was well suited to agriculture and, soon after the conquest, were located on encomiendas. This same sequence of events in other areas of southwest Colombia invariably resulted in the deculturation-acculturation process described above. Although many changes in Guambiano society and culture did take place over the centuries, the striking aspect of their situation is the extent to which they have been able to preserve so many aspects of their tribal culture and organization while incorporating many new elements and adjusting to the political, religious and economic demands of the ruling groups. They are truly an exception to the general course of events in this part of Colombia, and are the only remaining group in this part of South America whose culture is fundamentally Andean and who were not conquered by the Incas (Rowe 1954:155).

A summary of Guambiano society is offered at this point because Douay's (1890) account of their culture is the earliest systematic presentation available[5] and because the late 19th century was a significant turning point in Colombian and Guambiano history. In 1886, Colombia's modern Constitution was adopted and many changes, including policy towards the Indians, began to bring the people and regions together as a nation.

Early in the Colonial period changes in material culture and foods were introduced by the Spanish and adopted by the Indians living on the encomiendas. Wheat, onions and garlic, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens provided new sources of food and material for clothing. The encomenderos required "their Indians" to wear more "civilized" dress. Then men adopted white knee-length linen pants, over which they wore a wider version of the traditional poncho. They began to make and wear tightly woven straw hats (Hernández de Alba 1946:941-2).

The female dress at this time combined the traditional shawl (manta) which covered the back and breasts, with two ankle-length skirts made of wool, worn one over the other. The skirt worn underneath was white and the one above black (Ibid:942; Douay 1890:766). The skirt was secured at the waist by 2"-3" wide chumbes, which often were decorated with geometric and naturalistic designs. The woman's hat was made of dark blue cloth, had a round brim, and was lined with cloth in alternating bands of yellow and red. They no longer used adornments of gold and tumbaga but wore various types of silver jewelry, including large earings, and necklaces which hung down to their waists. They also wore necklaces made of colored glass beads with silver ornaments (Douay, 1890:766). Both sexes continued to use pouches of hemp called

jigras or guambías. The men used a small woolen pouch, decorated with colored triangles, for carrying cocaine.

Horticultural techniques remained basically the same, with the major development being the introduction of more efficient metal points added to the traditional digging sticks. Horses were adopted for personal use and the transportation of goods. Neither horses nor oxen were employed as draft animals. Whereas many Indian communities in the Andes and Meso-America began to use the ox-drawn plow the mountainous terrain in Guambía did not allow wide-scale use of this technique and the traditional slash and burn method of soil preparation continued.

The pre-conquest settlement pattern of small groups of houses dispersed throughout the territory was still typical. The population increased gradually, but some of the traditional Indian lands were usurped by Whites and turned into large haciendas. A small number of Indians chose to remain on the haciendas. Douay (1890:757) explains the reluctance of those Indians to leave in terms of their desire to remain living and working on the land of their ancestors.

The aboriginal two-room mud and straw house, and the circular one for menstruating women, continued to be used. Although forts were no longer constructed, the Indians held their large feasts in a communal house on the outskirts of town. Reciprocal labor exchange and large mingas were still basic to the organization of economic activities including planting, harvesting, house-building and life crisis ceremonies.

Population on the reservation of Guambía grew from 65 in 1731 to 258 in 1807, and to approximately 1200 in 1890. Population density was still low, and communal land was available for allocation to those who needed it.

The Guambianos adopted Christianity and participated actively in many Catholic religious festivals. The priests' practice of adjusting the Church's cycle of religious activities to native patterns, incorporating native concepts into Catholic doctrine, and their indifference to many aspects of the native religious system, facilitated the development of a syncretic pattern and the preservation of many indigenous beliefs and practices. The Indians' understanding of Catholic doctrine was severely limited because few of them had more than a rudimentary knowledge of Spanish. The compadrazgo system was introduced by the clergy and used for baptisms, marriages and other ritual events. The Indians sometimes chose Whites and Mestizos as god-parents for their infants, whereas Indians always served as padrinos at marriages.

Music and dance continued as important aspects of their culture. The guitar and tiple (12 strings) were added to their inventory of musical instruments, and Colombian melodies were sometimes played during festive occasions along with the Indian music.

The practice of burying personal objects in graves stopped, probably because of widespread grave robberies. Instead, the elderly hid valued items which they expected to utilize after death. The custom of abandoning a house after the death of its owner ceased and it was ritually purified instead. The extent to which this and other beliefs and practices are pre-Colonial, or introduced after the Conquest through contact with other Indians and Whites, is difficult to determine. In spite of their many differences, the Guambiano system of magic and curing is similar to that of the Páez, and may be partially derived from the latter's system. Even today, the Guambianos view the Páez as having greater supernatural powers, and frequently use them for sorcery, curing,

and housecleaning rituals. Thus it is probably accurate to view their system of curing, withchcraft and magic as a synthesis of a process of diffusion which began before the Conquest and continued throughout the centuries following.

Other important changes resulted from the elimination of cannibalism and warfare. Traditionally, these activities were part of their political-religious and class system. Warfare was an important aspect of intercommunity ties, tribal leadership and social mobility. By preventing these activities from occurring, the Spanish undermined the traditional basis of support for social inequalities of power, prestige and privilege. It also closed off the customary path for social mobility-military prowess.

The decrease in the numbers of Indians (conquest and disease), their spatial mobility (reservations), the power of the leaders, and restrictions on polygynous marriages, undermined the traditional supports of the indigenous system of social stratification. In pre-Conquest times, marriages, at least among the ruling class, followed a pattern of class endogamy. By the latter part of the 19th century the sanctions for this marriage rule were either substantially reduced or non-existent, and persons with a "noble" heritage began to marry individuals of a "lower" class. As Douay (Ibid:761-2) notes, the violation of the endogamous marriage rule led to an even greater loss in the prestige of the upper class. Thus, as a consequence of 350 years of exploitation and rule by outsiders, the degree and kind of social inequality within Guambiano society decreased. This tendency, although dominant, was by no means the only one reinforced by Hispanic rule.

The introduction of the cabildo system gave outside support to an authority structure similar to the traditional one, thus mitigating against some of the structural changes following the elimination of warfare. Nevertheless, the system imposed by the Spanish was devoid of the supernatural supports of the indigenous system and restricted the scope of authority of political officials. The new system differed substantially from the earlier one with respect to its role in allowing for and supporting social inequality.

In summary, the effect of three and a half centuries of alien rule was not particularly favorable to Guambiano society. Much of their population and territory was reduced. They were forced into a network of economic, political and religious institutions controlled by persons indifferent or hostile to their interests. At the same time, however, they continued to speak their native language, continued to wear distinctive Indian dress, maintained a world view which was still basically tribal in outlook, and continued to perform many activities in a fundamentally indigenous way.

GUAMBIA: 1890-1940

In 1890 the Guambianos were an exploited Indian tribe with a primitive technology, a surplus of land, marginal to a cash economy, monolingual, and with little awareness of events outside the region. In 1971 the Guambianos control much of their own marketing, use chemical fertilizers and gas generated threshing machines, do not have enough land, are linked to the nation and world by buses and transistor radios. They own stores, buses, typewriters, and coffee farms. They borrow from banks, teach in local schools, work as government extension agents,

send their children to high school and college, and are represented in the Municipal Council. Two Guambianos have been to New York, and one has studied in Israel. Almost everyone is bilingual. Through all of this they have maintained much of their tribal structure and culture, and continue to value the persistence of their indigenous community.

Colombia began the 20th century in civil war. It was not an inter-regional conflict but a political war in which Liberals and Conservatives throughout the country fought for control of the government. Fighting occurred on Guambiano soil but the Indians maintained a neutral position, feeding and caring for soldiers on both sides.

Early in the century ties between the reservation and Colombian society began to increase. A White secretary was appointed to the cabildo to record land transactions and enforce other provisions of reservation and Colombian law. The growing urban population stimulated the demand for their agricultural products, and they entered into a monetary economy as consumers.

During the 1920's a school staffed by Catholic nuns was established in the vereda of Pueblito. Some early graduates of the school are still today among the wealthiest and most powerful men on the reservation. Other schools were organized during the following decades and Guambianos, in and out of schools, learned to speak Spanish.

Indian-White Conflicts

During this period Guambianos and the Whites in Silvia had several serious conflicts. The Whites made various attempts to usurp reservation land. The Guambianos fought these through the courts and

were often successful. They hired lawyers, and made trips on horseback to Popayán and Bogotá to present their case. One group made a trip to Quito to obtain a copy of the original title to the reservation but did not find it.

Whites were illegally renting reservation land and owned all the local stores. Most trade and commerce was carried out through White merchants and middlemen (negociantes) who resold the Indians' produce at profits ranging from 200 to 400 per cent. During the 1930's, after a White tenant tried to get title to her land, the Guambiano leadership began a seven-year struggle and forced all Whites except those married to Guambianos off the reservation.

About 1930, the merchants in Silvia with the support of local politicians tried to force the Guambianos to wear pants in lieu of their white shorts and blue kilts. They even tried bribing the Indian leaders to assist them in getting others to change. Finally the municipal council issued a decree making the native costume illegal. Again with professional help the Indians were able to have the statute annulled.

GUAMBIA: 1941-1971

Ecological and Demographic Changes

One of the major changes affecting practically every aspect of Guambiano life during this century was the growth of the reservation population and the subsequent decrease in land available for distribution. The population grew from about 1500 at the turn of the century to almost 4000 in 1940 and to over 7000 in 1971. Land which, during the early part of the century was available to those willing to clear

it, was by 1940 controlled by individuals and redistributed among their heirs. As more communal lands were parceled out, property values increased, and competition for this scarce resource resulted in frequent and serious conflicts. While many increased their holdings by hard work and careful investment of surplus, some used their political position and engaged in illegal transactions to acquire additional land. Communal lands used for grazing were parceled out, and very little remains. The few areas left are hours from most homes and are very wet most of the year. Trees used for firewood and construction were cut down, and soil erosion and infertility are now major problems.

Changes in Economic and Social Organization

A class system based on control of large land holdings emerged during the century, and economic stratification became a permanent feature of social organization. Wealth became linked with political power, though not enough to cut off poorer persons with leadership qualities from obtaining high political office and prestige. Even in the economic sphere it was possible, until recently, for a man who worked hard, invested wisely in animals and had some luck, to increase his holdings. Renting and working half-shares became a common practice within the reservation.

Other developments related to population growth included a greater tendency towards local endogamy resulting in a decrease in the role of kinship as a link between various neighborhood (vereda) units. At the turn of the century the adult population was small enough so that marriages, funerals and religious festivals would bring a large

percentage of this group together. Older informants note that in the past the Guambianos were more united. This gemeinshaft quality diminished as their numbers increased, and formal ties (especially marriage) and interpersonal relations with individuals from distant veredas are minimal.

National Politics: La Violencia

In 1948 following the assassination of the popular Liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, Colombia once again erupted into civil war. This was a murderous affair known as La Violencia in which the Army acted as an arm of the Conservative government. Several hundred thousand persons were killed, and in the early 1960's groups organized against the government were still operating in the eastern region adjacent to the reservation. During La Violencia, Silvia, a Liberal town, was occupied by the Army, and many of its illustrious citizens were molested and thrown in jail. The Guambianos, who were compadres with some of these men and cooperated with them by voting for Liberal candidates, were also bothered by the troops. Conservative Army officials trying to establish control in the region tried to enlist the support of Antonio Valencia, a popular ex-governor of the reservation. Valencia was one of the few politically informed Indians and a staunch Liberal. When he refused to assist the Conservatives he and a friend were taken to Silvia and murdered. The story of this event is fast becoming a legend in the Guambiano community.

Change in the 1950's and 1960's

The changes which began early in the century emerged on a large scale during the 1950's and 1960's. New elements were added, the rate

of change increased dramatically, and new patterns of relationship emerged. Rowe (1954:140) estimates that during his stay there in 1947 and 1948 only 19 per cent of the population could carry on a conversation in Spanish. By the late 1950's the majority of the population spoke Spanish, and by 1971 only about 10 per cent could not converse in Spanish. This facilitated economic transactions and allowed much greater numbers of Guambianos to travel throughout the region.

The Municipal government during the 1940's and 1950's reduced the cabildo's authority to punish legal and moral infractions. Whipping and locking transgressors in a stock were gradually replaced by fines which were not nearly as effective in making violations public. The element of public shame was absent.

As land on the reservation was distributed the price per hectare climbed to double and triple that of non-reservation land. Consequently many Guambianos began purchasing small coffee farms (fincas) in adjacent municipalities.

While many of the developments during this century resulted from a slow cumulative process of change, many events were directly and indirectly the result of development agencies and programs.

Development Agencies and Projects

During the 1920's an all-weather road was built between Silvia and Piendamó. Motor transportation became more frequent by the middle of the century and commerce between the regions increased substantially. Some Guambianos began to sell their produce in Piendamó, Popayán and other markets in the Cauca Valley. Additional schools were built, and

in 1959 the Ministry of Education got permission from the Indians to construct an Indian school on the reservation. A team of extension workers operates out of this unit.

The Ministry of Agriculture opened an office in Silvia in the late 1950's, and the Division of Indian Affairs later began a program of extension and community development. In 1962 Albert Wahrhaftig and I, both Peace Corps Volunteers, became part of the Indian Affairs Commission. The construction of access roads to reservations was a major focus of our work. During our stay a road to one Guambiano vereda (Cacique) was completed and another begun (to Pueblito).

The roads were built mostly by the manual labor of the Indians using the traditional system of mingas (communal work). The flow of goods and services accelerated rapidly with the new roads, and several Indians purchased buses. Others opened stores on the reservation, and many took over the traditionally White man's role as middleman. These developments along with the details of the road project are discussed further in Chapter IX.

Other events of importance during the past few decades include: the opening of an Agricultural Bank (Caja Agraria) in Silvia which the Indians use for loans and savings, the formation of local community action committees, the organization of several cooperatives, the electrification of one vereda, scholarships at the local high school, a Guambiano seat on the Municipal Council, the appearance of The Virgin in the vereda of La Campana, and a victory in the struggle to obtain legal title to the reservation.

The Protestants

A major conflict developed during the 1940's when a Protestant Evangelical group began converting Guambianos in the vereda of Puente Real. Opposition from the Priest in Silvia, the nuns, and the Archbishop in Popayán was strong. Physical violence erupted on various occasions, and harrassment continued into the early 1960's. In recent years the anti-Protestant sentiment has diminished considerably and Protestants now serve in the cabildo. A school and small church function in the Protestant section of the reservation. In 1971 there are between 300 and 400 Guambianos who consider themselves Protestants (evangélicos).

Agrarian Reform

One of the most unusual events of the past decade was the purchase of a hacienda by a group of Guambianos. The project was initiated by a young Indian who spent six months in Israel studying cooperatives. He organized the hacienda tenants, and they obtained a loan from the Agricultural Bank and began to work the hacienda as a cooperative. Unfortunately, poor administration and supervision of the project by the Agrarian Reform Corporation (INCORA) led to additional conflict in the community, and the program failed to meet many of its economic goals.

Some of the Indian leaders in this project have been recently politicized by radical extension agents employed by INCORA. Invasions of other haciendas are now frequent and have been partially successful.

Summary: The 20th Century

In short, the 20th century has been a period of rapid and in many ways radical change in the content and organization of Guambiano

society. Problems caused by an exploding population have to a certain extent been mitigated by other developments. Technological improvements made it possible to farm more intensively, and output per hectare has improved. The value of agricultural products has increased, and Guambianos are well integrated into a regional and national economy. New economic opportunities were grasped by some Indians, and new forms of association supplement, and have partially replaced, traditional institutions. The cabildo has had some of its authority reduced, but it has grown in size and has modified its activities to keep pace with most of the shifting internal and external demands.

In spite of all the changes the Guambianos maintain their native language, an indigenous style of clothing, and continue to carry out many activities in a fundamentally indigenous manner. Their successful adaptation is related to their utilitarian approach to technological change, a flexible social organization, and their sophistication in dealing with the outside world. Most important, however, is their strong desire to maintain their tribal integrity as Guambianos.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Information presented under the heading THE CONQUEST is a synthesis of material contained in the following sources. Primary sources: Castellanos (1881); Andagoya (1884, 1892); Ciezna de León (1895, 1945). Secondary sources: Arroyo (1907, 1957); Vergara (1958); Hernández de Alba (1944, 1946, 1948); Otero (1952); Mosquera (1855).

2. There is an interesting historical footnote to the establishment of these reservation lands which illustrates one of the sometimes tragic, sometimes comic, legacies of Spanish rule. To illustrate this in the context of the Guambiano situation one may go back to legal documents the Guambianos have used to support their claims in various disputes with Whites and neighboring Indian groups. The records of the Real Audiencia de Quito refer to orders issued by King Felipe V in 1696, 1698, and 1700, which orders legalize and turn over to the Indians in the person of Juan Tama the reservation lands of Guambía, Quizgó, Quichaya and Pitayó. This would be a simple matter except that during the period indicated, and until November 1700, Carlos II was the King of Spain, and Felipe, who succeeded Carlos II, was at the time merely the Duke of Aujón--with no authority over events in the colonies. Felipe V was not installed as King until February 1701, almost a year after the reservation had been formally turned over to the Indians (T. de Wiesinger and Echeverry 1964:30-32).

   The errors in these documents and the lack of precision in the delineation of the boundaries in the titles have contributed to the confusion and problems the Guambianos have encountered as they defended their territorial claims in courts not especially sympathetic to their position (Ibid:32).

3. Part of this increase might be due to a policy of more efficient collections which the Crown attempted in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

4. In 1873 the laws of Cauca were modified to allow for the division of reservation land if a majority of the adult population agreed to such a course of action (Ley #44, Oct. 17, 1873, Article 20. In Balcazar 1954:77). The office of secretary was also added to cabildo. No one occupied this position in the Guambiano Cabildo until 1913, when a White man was appointed to serve by the Mayor of Silvia.

5. I have heard that there is a manuscript of Ciezna de León's somewhere in Spain which has a full report on the customs of the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes as he encountered them shortly after the Conquest.

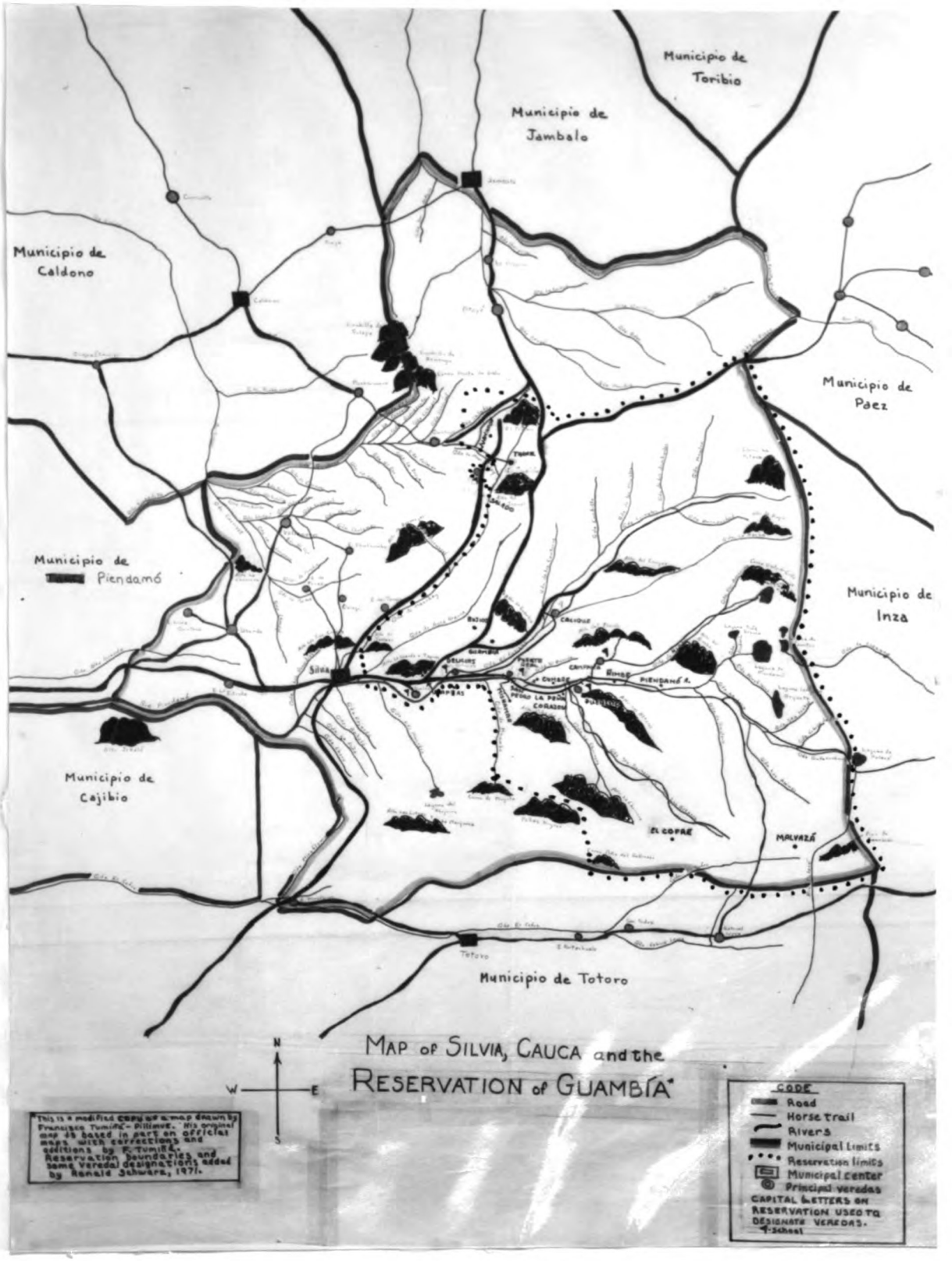

Figure 3: Map of Silvia and the Reservation of Guambía.

V. THE CONTEMPORARY SETTING: ECOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

GUAMBIA AND ITS BOUNDARIES

Guambía is the name of an Indian reservation in the municipality of Silvia, Department of Cauca, Colombia. West of Guambía is another group of Guambiano speaking peoples, the Quizgueños. The Indians in Quizgó live within a few kilometers of Silvia and have changed many traditional ways to become more like the neighboring White communities. To the north and east Guambía is bounded by reservations of Páez speaking peoples. The eastern border formed by the Páramo de Las Delicias, divides Silvia and Guambía from the municipality of Inzá. The region is cold, wet, uninhabited, and almost 4000 meters high. To the south is the municipality of Totoró which includes the reservation of Totoró, Paniquitá and Polindara. To the east is the "urban center" of Silvia and several large haciendas.

The Haciendas

The haciendas are owned by Colombians who spend most of the year in Popayán or Cali. All the haciendas use Guambiano labor, and on Las Mercedes and Ambaló there is a resident Indian population. Ambaló has its own school, and the relationship of the Indians to their absentee landlord is reminiscent of the colonial situation. Although some farming is done on the haciendas they are more important for beef and dairy products. Fighting bulls are raised on two haciendas, and those of Las Mercedes owned by the Piedrahita family are among the finest in

South America. One of the haciendas bordering the reservation was purchased by its former tenants with a loan from the Colombian Agricultural Bank (Caja Agraria). It is now run as a cooperative supervised by employees of INCORA (National Institute of Agrarian Reform). The membership includes former tenants and Guambianos from neighboring veredas.

The Urban Center of Silvia and Other Markets

The town of Silvia serves as a market center for only part of the goods produced on the reservation. Guambianos directly market much of their produce in Popayán, Piendamó, Morales, Santander and other towns in the Cauca Valley.

The Silvia market and local stores supply the Indians with most of the items they need. Municipal, Departmental (State) and Federal agencies have offices in town and provide a wide range of legal, educational and extension services. The Church and, on rare occasions, the cemetery in Silvia are used by Guambianos, although they have their own parish and cemetery on the reservation. Recreational facilities in Silvia include a movie house, a bull ring, soccer fields, and a strobe-lighted discotheque. These are used by the White inhabitants, students, and tourists who frequent the town during July, August, December and January. Several Indians are enrolled in the local high school.

ECOLOGY AND CLIMATE

The reservation of Guambía occupies approximately 6000 hectares (one hectare equals 2.471 acres) on the western slopes of the Central

Cordillera. Reservation land ranges in altitude from a low of 2500 meters in the western part, to a high of 3982 meters in the eastern section. About 40 per cent of the total is cold, damp and relatively flat grassland referred to as "páramo." It is poorly suited to agriculture and used mostly for grazing cattle, sheep and horses. Potatoes and ullucos are planted in the lowest parts of the páramo. The remaining land consists of rocky mountains and cliffs. Steeper slopes are more common in the upper eastern section.

The hills and mountains are sculpted by numerous small streams and several rivers flowing in all directions. The larger rivers, Cacique, Hacha, Michambe and Agua Blanca all empty into the Piendamó River which bisects the reservation along an east-west axis. The River Piendamó flows by the town of Silvia and down the mountain until it reaches the Cauca River. All the valleys, rivers, creeks and hills form a complex topography. There are depressions, caves, waterfalls (some several hundred feet high), marshy grasslands and small stretches of relatively flat valley bottoms. Trails and paths crosscut the landscape in all directions joining homes with fields, roads and neighboring households. Roads from Silvia penetrate the lower regions of the reservation and have been extended to reach Indian settlements.

The slopes are covered with old volcanic ash and form a sandy, clay-like cover. The soil is of average fertility and slightly acidic (Ph 5-2 to 5-5). Topsoil averages from four to six inches in most parts and is well suited for the cultivation of wheat, potatoes, onions and garlic (1967 Minagriculture). The level of fertility in many parts has diminished rapidly during the past few decades, and erosion has

become a problem. This change is the result of: (1) the exploitation of the upper slopes and consequent destruction of the natural vegetation; (2) the traditional method of cultivating with, rather than across, the incline; and (3) the increasingly intensive use of land which previously was allowed to lie fallow for from five to ten years. The introduction of contour farming and fertilizer has helped alleviate some of the problem.

The climate is generally cool and varies according to the time of day, season and altitude. The average daily temperature is between 7° C. and 15° C. (45° F. and 59° F.) (Instituto Agustin Codazzi 1969). On sunny days the temperature reaches into the high 60-degrees F., and frost forms in the upper sections on cold nights. Rainfall is plentiful, averaging between 300 cm. and 400 cm. (118 inches to 157 inches) a year in the municipality (Ibid:1969).

The Guambianos divide the year into summers and winters; normally there are three of each (Rowe 1954:140), but recent climatic shifts have increased the seasonal variability. The winters are marked by clouds, precipitation, and cooler, more stable temperatures. Summers are sunny, windy, and have warm days and cold nights. The Guambianos distinguish between two types of precipitation, aguacero and páramo. "Aguacero" refers to the normal type of rainfall, and "páramo" to the heavy wet fog which saturates the area with moisture. The charts below give a general picture of the climatic cycle on the reservation. There are annual variations with respect to the onset of each season and the characteristics of the transitional period. The cycle varies in different parts of Guambía but the pattern is the same. In general,

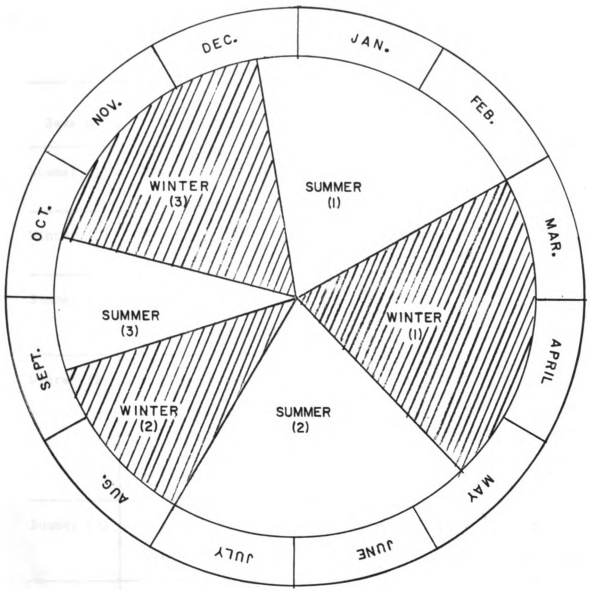

FIGURE 4: Seasonal cycle in Guambía.

TABLE 2

Climate in Guambía

Season	Sun and Rain	Winds	Temperature	
			day	night
Summer (1)	Mostly sunny, rain one or two days a week.	calm	warm	cold
Winter (1)	Sunny mornings, frequent afternoon rains.	moderate W→E	cool	cool
Summer (2)	Little rain, frequent clouds, occasional paramo.	moderate to strong E→W	warm	cold
Winter (2)	Highly variable. Some sun, frequent clouds, paramo for brief periods daily, some rain.	moderate SW→ NE	warm	cool-cold
Summer (3)	Mostly sunny, occasional rain.	strong and shifting S→N, W→E	warm	cool
Winter (3)	Mostly cloudy. Rain and/or clouds every afternoon	moderate to calm W→E	cool	cool

the upper parts receive more moisture and are colder.

The climatic cycle determines the rhythm of agricultural activities in Guambía. Since this frequently changes, the following examples are presented to show ways in which climatic variation affects the lives of the Guambianos as individuals and as a community.

In 1966 the "third" summer lasted almost a month longer than expected. Since wheat planted at this time requires water, the fields planted in September and early October received less than usual. During the harvest in 1967 several Indians attributed their diminished yields to the extended dry season during planting. Such events may result in having to reduce expenditures. One informant reported he would have to postpone constructing a new house unless he could get a bank loan to make up for the loss suffered. In 1965 the "first" summer was so prolonged that potato crop throughout most of the reservation was threatened with almost total loss. This required concerted action, and money was raised for a special mass which was held to bring rain. In addition, the aid of several shamans--some local and others brought in from neighboring reservations--was enlisted to help bring about a change in climate. Ritual activities were performed by these persons on the mountaintops, and within forty-eight hours the rains came.

House buildings, weddings and large-scale cooperative work days are usually scheduled for summer when the weather is warm and sunny.

Technology and Ecological Change

Profound ecological changes have taken place on the reservation since the conquest. Early innovations following the arrival of the Spanish included steel tools and domesticated animals. These, together

with the territorial restrictions and the traditional slash and burn practices of the Indians began to modify the plant cover and chemical composition of the soil. The rapid increase in population from 1500 in 1900 to more than 7000 in 1971 added to the rate and intensity of ecological transformation. Today, land is used for cultivation which until a generation or two ago, was either neglected or used to pasture animals. Trees which previously covered much of the territory have been cut down for firewood and construction purposes. The only large trees in inhabited areas are eucalyptus, planted during the past thirty years. Removal of much of the natural plant cover coupled with the traditional practice of planting in vertical rows contributed to the erosion of the rich topsoil.

These developments led to new pressures, goals and conflicts. At the same time land was becoming increasingly scarce on the reservation, the needs of the growing urban centers for agricultural products were increasing. To meet the new demands adjustments in the traditional technology and economic organization were needed and a new balance between man and land had to be achieved. Some of the problems remain to be solved, but contact with more technologically advanced systems and the activities of many extension workers have facilitated adaptation to the altered conditions. During the 1930's Guambianos began to use fertilizer to improve their crops. In the past ten years agricultural extension workers have introduced contour farming, improved seeds, and have reduced the practice of burning off the plant cover.

Patterns of Land Use

The character of the land and the way it is used varies with the altitude. The diagram below presents a simplified cross section of

the reservation from east to west. The western part of the reservation is the most diversified and agriculturally productive of the two sections.

Land use, in general, corresponds to altitudinal differences and may be divided into three major zones. Zone A is warmer and more fertile than the other two. It is the only zone in which corn, a traditional Guambiano staple, is grown. In Guambiano the word for a stalk of corn is atsí, which also means "left." The association of lower-left-west is important in other contexts. Wheat, introduced by the Spanish, is also concentrated in Zone A, although there is some produced in the lower portions of Zone B. The land in Zone B is higher, colder, wetter and generally steeper than in Zone A. The production of potatoes, ullucos, onions and garlic is concentrated in this zone.

The highest region, Zone C, is generally unsuited for agriculture. Traditionally, it was used only for grazing animals and as a source of firewood. It is a "dangerous" area, inhabited by supernatural forces located in trees, animals and lakes. A person must ritually cleanse his hands with leaves before venturing into the zone. The region is especially dangerous during the winter months. Women must exercise greater caution than men and are prohibited from visiting the zone while they are menstruating. Besides the danger of illness, the females risk becoming impregnated by the spirits of the yash (borrachero) tree.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Potatoes, onions and garlic are major crops produced throughout the reservation. Both are grown for domestic use and for sale to non-Indians. Potatoes are planted two or three times a year and are

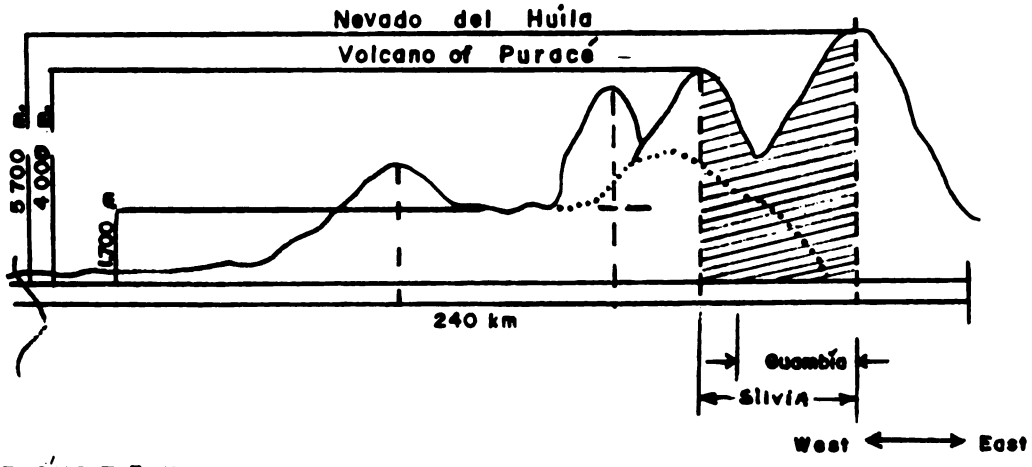

FIGURE 5: Topographic profile of Cauca.
Ratio vertical to horizontal 1:10

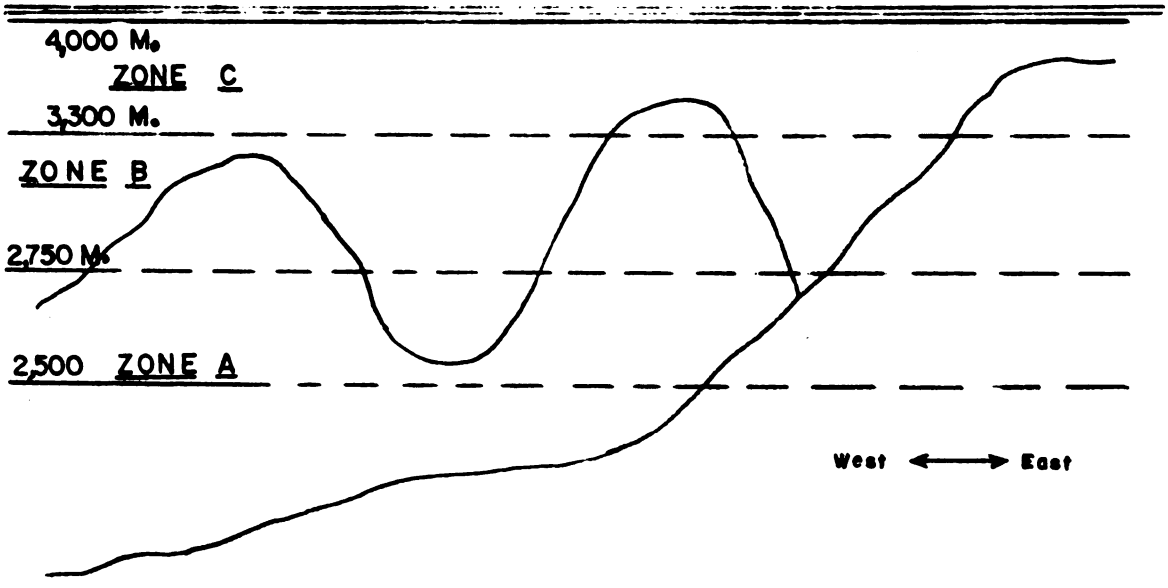

FIGURE 6: Agricultural zones in Guambía.

Zone A 2.500 - 2.750 m. Zone B 2.750 - 3.300 m
Zone C 3.300 - 4.000 m Not drawn to scale

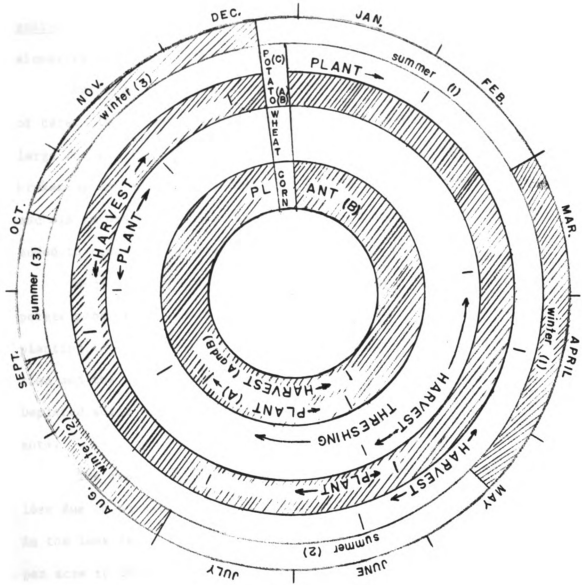

FIGURE 7: Agricultural Calendar: western (lower) Guambía.

harvested within four to six months, depending on the type and region in which they are planted. The rule of thumb is the higher the field the longer the time needed to ripen. Three types of potatoes are grown: guata, colorada and ica purace--the latter recently introduced by missionaries and Peace Corps volunteers.

Potatoes, compared to other crops, receive a substantial amount of care. In preparing a piece of land it is first cleared of weeds and large rocks. Then the soil is turned over and the large chunks of dirt broken up and formed into rows with raised beds about thirty inches wide and six inches high. The fields are weeded several times, and soil is added to cover the potatoes.

Much of the extension help the Guambianos received focused on potato production. Most Indians now use chemical fertilizer when planting, and fumigate the plants several times before harvest. Fumigation and the use of fertilizer are a necessity rather than an option. Depleted soils and new seed varieties require the use of chemical nutrients.

The results of these innovations have reduced the frequency of loss due to parasites and plant disease, made satisfactory crops possible in the less fertile areas, and in numerous instances increased the yield per acre to double or triple the previous level. The major barrier to the adoption of these modern techniques is economic rather than cultural or psychological.

Guambianos take pride in the way their fields look, the quantity of the harvest, and the size of the potatoes. After harvesting, the potatoes are sorted by size. The largest are worth more in market

and most are sold. The smallest are kept for home use.

Onions and Garlic. Onions, and in smaller quantities, garlic, are also produced throughout the reservation. They are more important to the economy of the upper section where corn and wheat are not cultivated. For about six months of the year, a hilltop view of the lower veredas is a patchwork of green, brown and yellow fields; the upper veredas are almost always a sea of green from the stalks of onions, garlic and leaves of potato plants.

All households have a garden adjacent to them. Each adult and adolescent female has at least one garden. They market the produce as they wish, although much of it is consumed in the home. Besides the onions and garlic, most gardens have some coles, arracacha, cabbage, and occasionally other vegetables. Onions and garlic are less seasonal than the other major crops, and some are always available for consumption or sale. They are important to each household since they guarantee a minimal cash supply throughout the year. The sale of ten to twenty bunches (wangos) usually brings in enough cash to purchase the salt, panela (blocks of brown sugar), rice, coffee, bread and matches to last a week or two.

In the upper section of Guambía onions are cultivated on a larger scale as a cash crop. They serve the same economic function that wheat does in the lower region.

Unlike the production of potatoes, the growing of onions is a relatively simple matter. It does not require the raising of beds, chemical fertilizer or fumigation. Once the ground is cleared, part of mature onion plant with its stalk halved is placed in a hole two to

three inches deep, and covered. The gardens and fields are weeded regularly, usually by the females. Ashes from the kitchen fire and leaves of weed (lengua de vaca) are sometimes added to the gardens. During the past years there was a dramatic rise in the price of onions from 1.00-1.20 pesos a "bunch" in 1967 to 2.50-3.20 pesos in 1970. This was causing a minor boom, and many Indians began planting onions in fields previously used for other crops.

Corn, Beans and Melons. Corn is grown exclusively in the lower part of the reservation and is a highly valued food plant. Fresh, ripe corn is available only during a few months of the year and is considered a treat by the Indians. Corn is the basic ingredient in chicha, an alcoholic beverage which earlier was consumed on a regular basis. Today, chicha is more important as a special beverage, used in conjunction with ceremonial occasions such as weddings and mingas.

One variety of corn is planted in late December and January and has a six-month growing season. The other, planted in July and August, takes about ten months to grow. Both are normally harvested in July and August. The hybrid corn seeds are planted in raised beds without the use of fertilizer. Beans and peas are frequently planted in the same beds as the corn. The seeds for the beans are put in the same hole as those for the corn, and the peas spaced between them. The bean and pea plants are often fumigated, and the plots are weeded several times during the year. A small number of mejicanos, a variety of melon which grows to the size of a watermelon, are frequently planted in the same plot. The planting and harvesting of corn is carried out only by those who will later consume it, whereas potato and wheat plantings

often involve neighbors and kindred. After harvesting, most of the corn is left to dry. When the kernels are hard the women rub them off the cob with their fingers. They are stored and later prepared by boiling. In some instances corn is sold or exchanged for other items but this is always with other Indians on the reservation.

Wheat and barley production is concentrated in the lower section of the reservation and is an important source of cash income. Many families living in the upper section have a plot of land in the lower part of Zone B or Zone A where wheat and barley grow well. The planting, and to a lesser extent the harvesting of these crops, is a cooperative effort. Fifteen to twenty is an average for planting, but I participated in mingas where as many as fifty individuals were in the fields. The planting season is from late September to mid-November.

No chemical fertilizer is used, nor is the wheat or barley fumigated. A few families have recently begun to use a weed killer in wheat plantings and say their yield has been improved. The plants grow close together and no weeding is done. After eight to ten months they are harvested, tied in bunches and hung from porch and ceiling to dry. Six to eight weeks later the dry plants are threshed in one of the privately owned machines. The old method of threshing by hand and horses has been completely displaced by the modern method. The cooperative aspect of this activity is maintained, since machine threshing requires the labor of from fifteen to twenty persons. They are needed to transport the machine and generator, to feed the kernels into it, collect the grain and remove the chaff.

All the barley produced is sold, whereas some wheat is always kept for household consumption. There are two water-powered mills on the reservation, owned by Indians that do the grinding in return for one-fifth of the flour produced. Guambianos without pressing financial needs store some wheat until December of January when the price increases from 25 to 40 per cent of the September rate.

Ullucos, a root plant, is produced for sale and home consumption by most Indians. It grows well in the colder parts and usually is planted in a field previously used for potatoes. It requires little care. It is an important crop because it can remain unharvested though fully mature with little danger of rotting. It is harvested when needed for consumption or cash sale. Like onions and garlic, ullucos provide each family with a measure of security during periods when there is little to eat or sell.

Other food plants grown in smaller quantities include coles, arracacha, brown beans, lima beans, linaza, string beans, beets, cabbage, lettuce, carrots and radishes. The last six garden vegetables were introduced recently by extension workers, missionaries and Peace Corps volunteers. Although some families have added these vegetables to their diet, most are reluctant. They do not like the taste and prefer to market rather than consume them. Coles and arracacha are used mostly as food for animals. The lenaza plant yields oil-producing seeds and is another source of cash income. Many women also grow a few medicinal herbs in the gardens near their homes.

TABLE 3

Utilization of major agricultural products (1967 Agricultural Extension Agent of the Ministry of Education. Indian School, Guambía).

Crop	Per cent sold or exchanged	Per cent consumed
Potatoes	65	35
Ulluco	60	40
Corn	-	100
Onions	90	10
Garlic	94	6
Wheat	50	50
Barley	100	-
Lima beans	-	100
Brown beans	-	100

THE NON-AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

While agriculture is the basis of the Guambiano economy various non-agricultural activities are also important. Over the centuries changes in the relative emphasis placed on the various non-agricultural pursuits have shifted. Hunting has declined, some Guambianos now fish, and other enterprises associated with a cash economy have become common. The domesticated animals brought by the Spanish have played a role in the Guambiano economy for the past four centuries and are integrated into other aspects of their culture and social life. The increased monetization of the local and regional economy and the introduction of new forms of transportation have increased the value of some animals while the importance of others has declined.

Domesticated Animals

Horses and mules are used primarily as pack animals. Today, most goods from the reservation to surrounding towns and cities are transported by bus. The work of the animals is limited to carrying the goods from the fields to houses and/or the road. Horses are also ridden, but only a few wealthy men use them exclusively for this purpose. Pack animals provide an additional source of income to their owners who rent them to other Indians.

Cattle. Most families have at least a few head of cattle and all but the poorest families, a cow. Several families own more than twenty head, and anyone owning ten or more is considered wealthy. Some milk is sold, some made into cheese and then sold, and the rest consumed. A new cheese factory in Silvia has stimulated milk production and the price paid to Indians is on a par with urban factories.

Cattle are an important form of savings and investment. Twenty to thirty years ago cattle would normally be slaughtered for special meals during various ceremonial events. Their cash value has increased steadily over the past two decades, and now they are rarely killed for consumption. It is not unusual, however, to find an animal dead or seriously hurt from a fall. When this occurs the meat is distributed to family and friends. During my stay in Guambía, animals were slaughtered for a few weddings, mortuary ceremonies, a Saint's Day celebration, and festivals sponsored by outgoing political officials. Cattle are sometimes sold to middlemen who visit the reservation, and in Silvia on market day.

Oxen are never used as pack animals but a few are now trained to pull plows. Cattle are kept mostly on the higher parts of the mountain slopes and in the páramo. Cows about to give birth and those nursing calves are kept in fallow fields. If the plot is unfenced the animals are tied to stakes which are moved periodically.

Guambianos take good care of their cattle. Each person in the family is responsible for the care of his own animals, though parents often send their older sons to check them. They are vaccinated and given injections when ill by government extension workers or by one of the Guambianos who has the equipment. Cattle theft has become a serious problem as their value has increased. When they are missing, neighbors and police in surrounding towns are alerted, and the males in the family put aside other work to search for them. Diviners are consulted when animals are lost or believed to be stolen, and they are usually successful in helping locate them. Loose cattle are sometimes

a problem because of the damage they do to planted fields. When this occurs the cabildo may be called on to help arrange a settlement.

Sheep. Most families own a few sheep. The wool is sheared once a year in June or July. After cleaning, washing, dyeing and spinning, it is used to make much of the clothing worn by the Indians. Like cattle, they are grazed in the paramo and sometimes slaughtered for special feasts.

Pigs, raised by many families, are sold and consumed. Households generally limit themselves to one pig, fattening it on weeds and garbage. Most are slaughtered, cut into strips, fried and eaten during the month of November beginning with All Souls Day (November 2).

Guinea pigs (cuyes), common to most Andean Indian groups, are still kept by most Guambiano families. Their importance as a source of food has declined, as alternatives have become more readily obtainable. The guinea pig is an "Indian" food and never consumed by local Whites. The cuyes run loose in the kitchen and feed on leaves of wild plants, coles and arracacha. Several families also raise goats, bees and rabbits.

Chickens. In Guambía and throughout Colombia chicken is expensive and considered a special dish. Almost every Indian family owns a few chickens. They are usually allowed the run of the house and perch on nearby trees and bushes; a few persons have constructed coops. Chickens and eggs are important as mediums of exchange in Guambía and Silvia. They are rarely consumed by the Indians but are often served to outsiders. Chicken and chicken soup are frequently prepared for sick persons and always served to women after they have given birth. Ducks, geese and turkeys are raised by a few families.

Dogs and cats are common household pets. In contrast to the lean, maltreated, frightened dogs found in most Latin American villages, the Guambiano's dogs stand out as relatively healthy and mild tempered. Dogs sometimes accompany men to the fields and are always taken on hunting trips. They are given Spanish names and have no special importance in Guambiano tradition. Cats, however, traditionally have had a special place in Guambiano culture. God is believed to have cats which accompany him as dogs follow people. Cats were given human names and in the past were buried with a special prayer.

Hunting and Fishing

Most males still hunt, usually during January and February when the páramo is free from heavy mist and rains. Hunting is less important to the economic system now due to the decrease in forest land and the increased time spent in agricultural production. There are many small animals in the hills, and armadillo is a favorite quarry. Mountain lions and bears are now rarely seen but the results of earlier kills hang from some porch rafters in the upper veredas. Dogs, traps, and occasionally guns are used in hunting. Some birds are hunted, mostly by young boys using a small blowgun with pellet ammunition, and slings.

Up till twenty years ago fishing played no role in the economy (Rowe 1954:141). During the 1950's the government seeded the rivers and lakes on the páramo with trout, and fishing has become a popular pastime among the boys. Tourists sometimes visit the reservation to fish in the lakes and rivers. A few Indians make money by renting horses and serving as tourist guides. Occasionally Whites from Silvia

use dynamite and nets to get fish from the rivers, though this practice is illegal.

Berries and wild fruits are picked when encountered, but play a very minor role in the economy.

Illegal Distilling

Next to coffee the most popular beverage on the reservation is aguardiente, made from sugar cane and flavored with anise. The production of aguardiente is government controlled and its sale an important source of state revenue. The legal beverage has doubled in price over the past six years and is too expensive for most Indians (20-30 pesos a liter in 1967) when large quantities are needed. Most aguardiante consumed on the reservation is obtained from one of the more than thirty illegal distilleries which operate intermittently. A liter of the local beverage costs from five to eight pesos with discounts given for large orders often placed for special celebrations. The quality of the illegal brew varies substantially but some results are close to the legal product. Aguardiente during the 20th century has replaced chicha as the major alcoholic beverage consumed in Guambía.

Several manufacturing methods are used, most of them learned from Whites in the areas where sugar cane is grown. Dried anise buds are usually added to the liquid to give it flavor. The operation is simple and profitable, but requires the cooperation of several persons. Sentinels are sometimes stationed outside the house to watch for officials whose job is to crack down on illegal production. The fine is 100 pesos for each liter of illegal aguardiente found. The officials know

who the producers are, but since production is on an intermittent basis they must rely on Indian "spies" for information as to when a large quantity is being produced. Some Indians, after being caught, have discontinued aguardiente production while others have absorbed the loss and kept right on manufacturing it.

Chicha, an alcoholic beverage made from fermented corn, is the traditional drink of the Guambianos. Its use has declined but it remains an important part of ceremonial events like weddings and large mingas. The traditional manufacturing process involved forming a cake of moist corn kernels which was briefly cooked in the ashes of the kitchen fire. Then the men, women and children masticated the corn, spitting the mixture into a large bowl where it was left to ferment (Douay 1890:769). Today the corn is ground in a cast iron grinder.

HOUSE TYPES AND CONSTRUCTION

The home is the center of a wide range of secular and sacred activities. It is a place where people eat, sleep, weave, are born, married, cured, and die. Two types predominate: a traditional two-room, straw-roofed, wattle and daub model, and a more modern type of adobe with baked tiled roof. Several have walls of pounded earth (tapia), and recently a few brick-walled homes were constructed. Some houses have roofs of corrugated tin or molded asbestos. The construction of a house requires a considerable cash investment for most Indians. Often more than four years elapse from the time the adobes are started until the full set of doors and windows are in.

TABLE 4

Materials used in house construction

	WALLS			ROOFS		
	Adobe	Wattle and daub	Brick or tapia	Tile	Straw	Brick and pounded earth
Number of homes with	39	8	3	33	12	5
Per cent	78%	16%	6%	66%	24%	10%

At the turn of the century all the homes were of the wattle and daub type. In the mid-1940's "most" houses were of this type (Rowe 1954:193). Today they represent less than 20 per cent of the total. This shift is indicative of the increased flow of cash and information into the Guambiano community. More than 40 Indians work part time as adobe makers, construction supervisors (maestros) and carpenters. These skills were acquired by Guambianos during work periods off the reservation.

The old style house in Guambía normally had two rooms. Most Guambianos now have homes with at least three or four rooms.

The most commonly used floorplans are L and U designs. New homes are frequently built adjacent to old ones. Serviceable items from old houses are often employed in the new construction.

Building a Home

The first step in planning a new home is the selection of a building site. Normally the land is owned either by the person or his

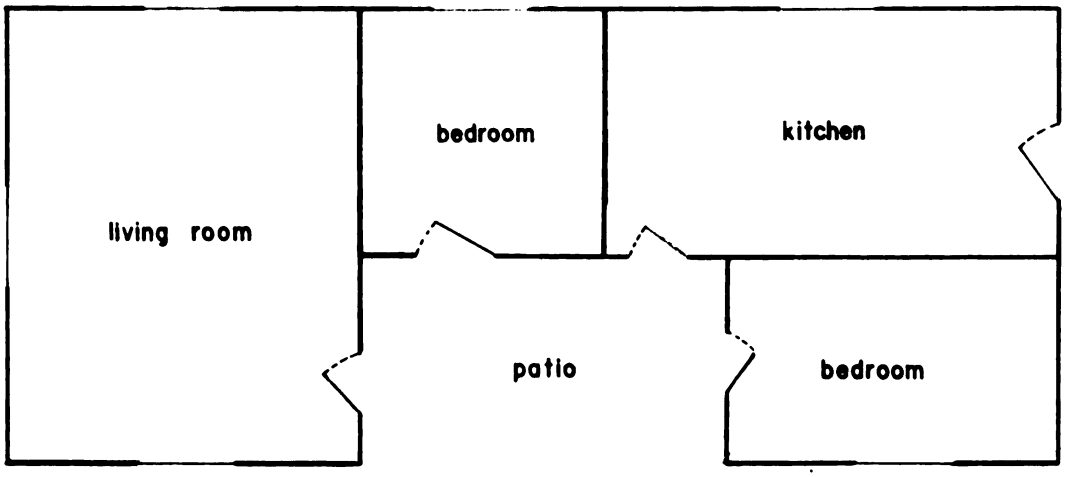

FIGURE 8: Floor plan: one fireside unit.

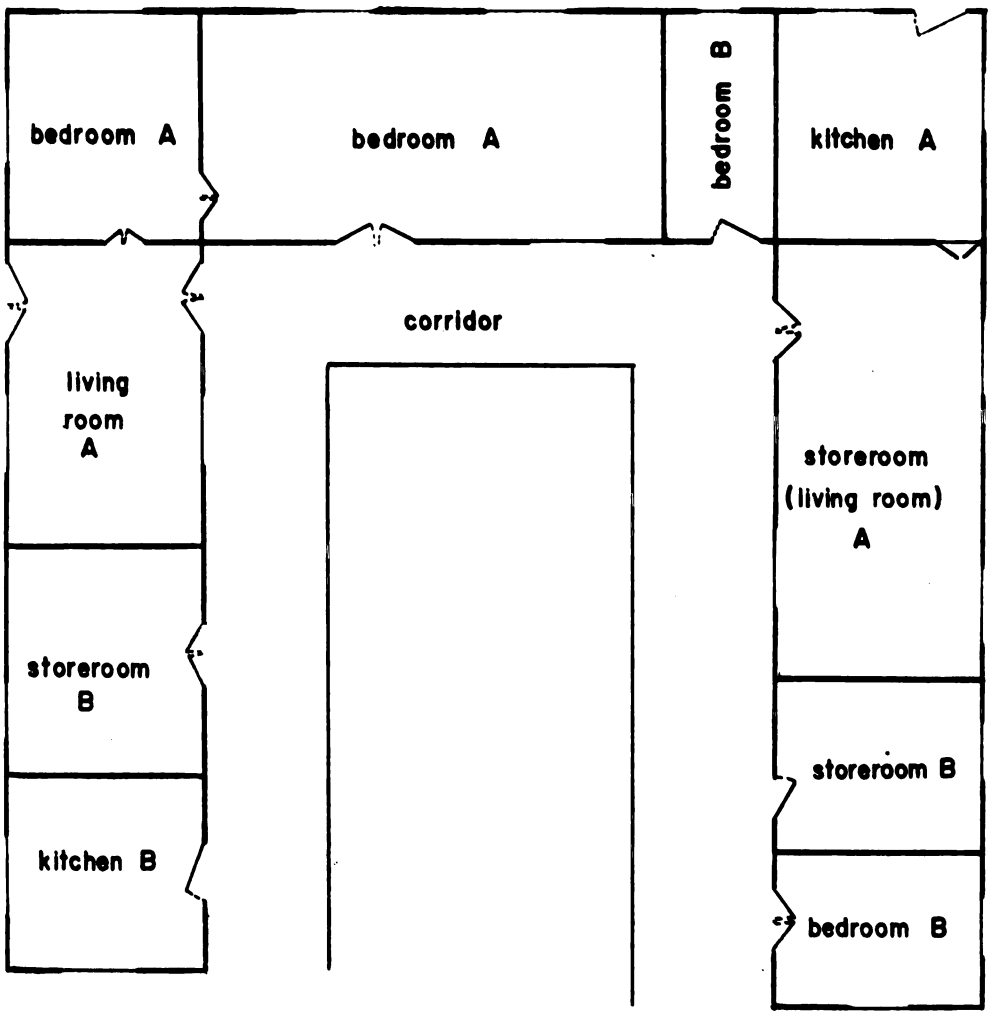

FIGURE 9: Floor plan: two fireside units.

TABLE 5

Size of Guambiano homes								
Number of rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	T o t a l
Number of homes	3	8	10	22	3	3	1	50
Per cent of total	6%	16%	20%	44%	6%	6%	2%	100%

father. After the initial site is chosen it is customary to invite a diviner to determine its suitability. The diviner may suggest changing the location or, more likely, he performs a brief "cleansing" ceremony on it as a precautionary measure.

There are many levelled plots on the reservation which are said to be old Pijao house sites. The Pijaos, greatly feared by the Guambianos before the conquest, are still believed dangerous if their remains are unearthed. Some Guambianos spend weeks levelling a house site rather than use one suspected of being of Pijao origin. Others will use the Pijao site but only after "cleansing" it. My neighbor in the vereda of Cacique avoided a Pijao site but accidentally uncovered a burial urn. Since then he has been visited on several occasions by a Pijao spirit.

When the site is selected the owner contracts a builder who advises on the number of adobes, tiles and other materials needed. He contracts a person to make adobes or, with the aid of other members of

the household, he makes them himself. The adobes are stacked, covered and left to dry for six months to a year. Construction is delayed until wood and roofing materials are purchased.

Most houses are built during January and February, or June and July, when the reservation is relatively dry. Kinsmen and neighbors assist in building the walls and roof. Men who are too busy to "acompañar" on weekdays frequently send their sons. Between five and twenty persons normally help on a weekday, and the turnout doubles and triples on weekends. Men bring tools, and their activities are organized by the owner and his construction "maestro." Activities I observed on one Saturday minga included: fifteen to twenty men and boys laying adobes; two boys on horses circling around a mud hole mixing cow dung and straw for the mortar; two boys with wheelbarrows transporting the mixture to those laying adobes; several old men squaring off logs for beams; two men bringing roof tiles on muleback from Silvia; and several persons cleaning the chagla poles used to support the tile roof. While we were working on the house about ten women were across the road preparing the evening meal.

Women may assist one another in the kitchen even though no male from their household is working on the new house. The atmosphere during these housebuilding mingas is relaxed and an occasion for conversation and joking. Older men tease the young men and boys about their girlfriends, and the latter reciprocate with sarcastic comments. The owner feeds those who attend and towards the day's end will sometimes pass around a few bottles of aguardiente. In addition to the meals provided the workers they are given food to bring to their families. All bring pots to the building site for that purpose.

As the house nears completion the number of participants at the mingas increases with the largest number arriving on the last day. Most who helped during the earlier stages of construction return for the final day to participate in the festivities. The drinking begins while the tiles are being put in place and continues till the following morning, interrupted briefly by a two-liter bowl of potatoes, onions, rice and corn. After the final tile is located the maestro performs a brief ritual to protect the house from misfortune. He circles from left to right (counter-clockwise) in each room, throwing aguardiante with his right hand into the corners and where the walls and ceiling meet. Often a family moves in once the basic structure is finished. The rest of the work is done by a carpenter (often the same person who supervised the construction) and the occupants of the new house.

There is a variety of options left to the home builder, and the choices made, to a limited degree, are indices of his relative economic status. Wood floors are the most expensive and are preferred in the bedrooms. Ceramic tiles (some with colors and designs) and cement are also used for floors in the house and patios. Pounded earth floors remain the most common type and with few exceptions are found in all kitchens. From the standpoint of health and comfort dirt floors are preferable to tile and cement floors which are cold and damp. In many of the wattle and daub homes windows are simply small openings in the walls covered at night with wood, cloth and/or cardboard. Most homes, however, have wooden shutters covering the openings. Some are crudely constructed--a few pieces of wood nailed together--and others have well-made Spanish style doors and windows. A few homes have pane glass

windows. The doors are now secured by various types of locks, and only the poorest families use rope or wire.

After the basic house is completed the walls are covered with a mixture of mud, straw and cow dung, which leaves a smooth surface. The outside is usually whitewashed and bands of color painted around top and bottom. Red and blue are the most common colors with the red strip painted around the bottom. More elaborate decorations and Spanish names are sometimes painted on outside walls. Last to be added but absent from most homes are ceilings and whitewashed interior walls. Artistically inclined Guambianos paint designs on interior ceilings and walls. Family "portraits," calendars and religious pictures are also used as decorations. Rooms are sometimes added years after the basic house is constructed. A special plant is usually hung over the front door to protect against misfortune. If it wilts or dies it is interpreted as a sign of impending misfortune.

Rooms, Furnishings and Utilities

The most important room in a Guambiano house is the kitchen. It serves as dining room, living room, bedroom and storeroom. Placed around the kitchen fire are pangus, low stools shaped from a single block of wood. The style of the pangus is of a shape nearly universal in tropical South America (Rowe 1954:144). Each member of the household usually has his own. Cooking is done over a wood fire around which three ceramic cylinders (pingus) or rocks are placed. Meals are prepared in pots balanced on these ceramic pieces or hung from wires suspended from a ceiling beam. Ceramic pots and bowls are rare in

Guambía today, and most cooking is done in large aluminum pots. Wooden bowls and spoons are common, but porcelain covered metal bowls, cups and spoons predominate. These items are stored on shelves located in a corner of the room. A metal grinder attached to a small table, a bed, a few chairs and a bench or large flattened log are often found in the kitchen.

The largest room in the house, the sala, is used as a storeroom, bedroom, and for ceremonial events. A few chairs and a bed or two are usually placed in the sala. The traditional bed, still used by many older people, is a dried cowhide placed in a corner of the room, on the floor. A crude bed made up of planks placed over saw horses and covered with a cowhide is also used. Today, western style beds and straw filled mattresses are becoming popular. Some Indians own blankets but most cover themselves with old ruanas and skirts. Good clothing and ceremonial garments, jewelry, personal papers and other small items are stored in wooden boxes kept in the bedroom.

Other items found in Guambiano homes include: kerosene lanterns, Coleman lanterns, sewing machines, transistor radios, typewriters and record players. In the vereda which has electricity, all the homes have at least one light bulb, and several have hot plates. Two Indians own movie projectors, and one has a movie camera, tape recorder and loud-speaker system.

A source of running water is within thirty yards of most homes. Water is carried to the house in large pots by the women and children. Several groups of men in various veredas have built small aqueducts to bring water within a few yards of the kitchen doors.

Approximately half the homes have latrines within ten to twenty yards of the house but they are rarely used.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Guambiano dress during this century has undergone continuous modification. Although major changes are few, each generation seems to add its own distinctive touch to the costume. It is impossible to designate a single mode of dress as characteristic for the whole society at any one time; there are always some older persons who refuse to adopt the new items. For example, during my first visit to the reservation in 1962 there were still some older men who continued to use the white shorts which were typical of 18th and 19th century clothing. Once a new item is introduced, however, the tendency is for most of the population to accept it.

A dramatic change in dress styles occurred around the turn of the century when the men began weaving flat, circular hats which take a slightly conical shape when worn. Both sexes adopted this style of hat. Another dramatic change was the adoption, by the man, of blue kilts worn over the white shorts. This occurred during the 1920's, and the cloth was the same as that used by the females for their shawls. The story of how this innovation was introduced gives some interesting insight into the pragmatic nature of Guambiano personality and the process of cultural change.

Guambiano men frequently spent the early part of the morning weaving the slim, flat braids for the hats. To protect themselves from the cold they often wrapped their legs in the blue cloth the women used

for shawls. One younger man decided he liked the warmth and continued to wear the cloth in the fields while working. He was strongly ridiculed but soon others began using the material in a similar fashion. The style spread to other parts of the reservation and was soon the accepted fashion for men. Similar stories were told to me about the adoption of shirts, felt hats, red scarves, rubber boots and sneakers.

During the late 1930's there was a scarcity of primary material for the hats, and the men began using the modern-style felt sombreros. Other changes in men's clothing include the use of shirts, red handkerchiefs (tied around the neck), wool sweaters, leather belts, leather sandals with old tire bottoms and, recently, rubber boots, leather and plastic shoes, and socks. The red handkerchiefs were replaced in the 1950's by red woolen scarves made by Otavalo Indians.

Changes in women's dress during this century included: adding blouses made by seamstresses in Silvia and dropping the white underskirt. The women now use two of more black skirts and sometimes add a crocheted woolen skirt beneath these. For most of this century women wore the same conical style hat as the men. Today most wear felt hats identical to those the men wear.

White beads brought to the reservation by the Sibundoy Indians replaced the old style necklaces as major items of adornment in this century. A kilo or two are worn regularly, but on ceremonial occasions or when going to town many females wear up to seven and eight kilos of beads. Old style jewelry is still worn on special occasions, but inexpensive earrings and rings made in Japan and the U.S.A. are also used for adornment.

In 1962 most women went barefoot, but by 1970 the majority were using basketball-style canvas sneakers, blue being their favorite color. Women continue to wear the blue shawl, and for ceremonial events and visits to town often use a red cloth beneath the blue one.

Both sexes continue to use pouches (jigras) of cotton, wool or hemp. The man's pouch is smaller and decorated with small triangles in red, blue and green. It is worn in front, under the poncho, or on the right side. The female's jigra is larger, never decorated, and worn around the shoulders with the pouch resting on the back. The pouches are called war (scrotum) and are also referred to as "Guambías."

NEW SOURCES OF INCOME

Wage Labor

The Guambianos increased involvement with the larger society over the past twenty years has resulted in a sharp increase in economic opportunities on and off the reservation. Many Indians leave Guambía to assist in the coffee harvest in the semi-tropical region to the west. Some poor families move as a unit for a few months, and husband and wife work as wage laborers. Teenage boys and young men in their early twenties make up the other large group doing this type of work. Among the former, the reason for leaving the reservation is basically economic--they need the cash and wage labor on the reservation is intermittent and pays poorly. The boys' and young men's motives are more complex. Many see it as a chance to assert their independence from their parents. The money they earn enables them to obtain machetes, clothing and transistor radios without asking their parents for the cash. For some it is the only way they could obtain these items.

The desire for adventure and experience are also cited as reasons for working temporarily off the reservation. For young men whose parents are wealthy the "experience" is more important than the economic factor. Boys accompany their friends and share their experiences. Occasionally the adventure is brief and terminated because of maltreatment by the work foreman or Mestizo laborers. Poor food and the inability to adjust to the hot, humid climate are also given as reasons for returning early.

Guambianos are highly valued as workers by many hacienda owners. They are characterized as reliable, hardworking and honest, and are often asked to stay on as year-round employees. These offers are sometimes accepted for a year or two, but in most instances the Guambianos return to the reservation and the company of their family and friends.

The practice of wage labor is becoming increasingly common on the reservation. The daily wage, which includes meals, has increased from two pesos a day in 1962 to four pesos in 1967, and in 1971 some Guambianos were getting up to seven pesos for agricultural work. Many Guambianos now use a "contract" system rather than pay daily labor. A man will receive between 300-500 pesos to clear a one-hectare field.

Guambiano Coffee Farms

More than 100 Guambiano families have purchased small coffee farms during the past fifteen years, and the numbers increase each year. Often a group of related families combine resources to buy a coffee farm. Once a family establishes itself in a lowland community the owner may serve as a broker in the sale of neighboring farms to other Indians.

Small communities of Guambianos have recently developed in several nearby municipalities.

Indians from Guambía, rather than local Whites or Mestizos, work for the Indian owners if extra labor is required during the coffee harvest. This pattern is related to the Indian's distrust of Whites and the latter's view that working for Indians is degrading. Another reason is that wages paid by Indians to other Indians is less than half demanded by Whites. Although room and board are provided to Indian workers, the food comes from the reservation and the lowland farm, and thus does not involve any cash expenditure.

Life in the lowlands is different in several respects from life on the reservation. Some males continue to wear Guambiano clothing, but most wear long cotton pants. These are cooler than the wool skirts and provide more freedom of movement and better protection from mosquitos and other insects. Women continue to wear Indian dress, although the number of skirts and mantas are reduced to a minimum. Frequently, Guambianos who have spent extended periods living off the reservation continue to wear alien dress when they return to Guambía. Most, however, change back to the traditional clothing after a few days or weeks of ridicule by friends and neighbors. Statements like "when's your White girlfriend coming to visit you?" are made to those who persist in wearing pants.

Spatially and socially the family in the coffee region is more isolated than in Guambía. Even in areas where several Indian families own land the distance between homes is greater, often exceeding a quarter of a mile. Visiting and reciprocal labor exchange occurs much

less frequently. Within the household, however, the pattern of life changes very little. Most cooking continues to be done over fires on the floor even though stand-up stoves are available. Low benches and "banquitos" arranged in a circular fashion are used rather than chairs and tables. There is a change in diet since yuca and tropical fruits like coconut, pineapple and oranges are more readily available.

Most coffee produced on the farm is marketed. The rest is consumed and given to neighbors and relatives when the family returns to the reservation. Other crops cultivated on the farm include: sweet manioc (yuca), plátano (a small, sweet banana), sugar cane, oranges, pineapple, coconut, lemons, limes and peppers. Hemp (fique), a good cash crop, is also raised, and most families have a cow and some chickens.

Employment with Government Agencies

Two Guambianos have relatively good paying jobs with the federal government. One is a school teacher in the vereda of Pueblito. The other, who received six months of training in Israel, works for the Division of Indian Affairs as a cooperative extension agent (1965-1970). He was instrumental in arranging the acquisition of the hacienda by the Indian tenants. A few Indians have permanent jobs with the government, and others do government work on an intermittent basis. They work as agricultural helpers, carpenters, carpentry instructors, laborers on road construction projects, and bulldozer operators. These jobs pay from eight to twenty pesos a day.

Buses and Middlemen

Since the road system on the reservation has been improved, several groups of Indians have purchased buses. Initially, White drivers from Silvia were hired, but most were quickly replaced by Indians. Since these buses provide regular services to Silvia and other surrounding towns and cities, many Indians now market their goods directly instead of selling to White intermediaries. Also, the number of Indian middlemen and the volume they handly have increased substantially since direct bus service was initiated. Indians who have become middlemen are generally those with little land of their own. A few women have adopted this role.

Marketing of Craftwork

A few Indians sell traditional style straw hats, ruanas, skirts, chumbes (decorated woven belts) and jigras to store owners and hotel managers in Silvia and Popayán. These are resold to tourists. Hats and chumbes are sometimes sold to other Guambianos. A few Indian women in need of funds sell their silver jewelry to Whites in Silvia. In most veredas there are females who work for others as weavers for two or three pesos a day and meals. They do not make the entire garment but are employed solely to fill in the woof after the warp has been prepared. Women who do this are from the poorest families. Several women weave small saddle rugs.

Before metal bowls and pots became popular, Guambiano women would make these items from clay. Especially important were the large jars used to ferment and store chicha. Many old jars are still in use but

new ones are purchased in the market. Only a few old women continue ceramic work, which is limited to the small cylindrical pingus used to support pots around the kitchen fire.

Local Stores and Cantinas

Guambianos obtain most of their goods in Silvia and from vendors who visit the reservation. During the past ten years, however, there has been a sharp increase in the number of local stores and cantinas owned and managed by Indians. There are now more than thirty stores, including four consumer cooperatives, owned and managed by Guambianos. Wives and children help in the selling, and most stores are open all day. Indians from all economic levels operate stores but it has been especially important to those with little land as a path to economic advancement.

The price of most goods sold in reservation stores are 10-30 per cent higher than in Silvia. Only the co-op stores organized by Peace Corps volunteers and Colombian officials sell goods at prices competitive with those in town. The cost of many items varies from store to store. For example, a pound of rice sells for 1.20 pesos in one store and 1.80 pesos in another; lard costs 4.00 pesos in one and 5.00 pesos in another (1966-1967 prices).

Credit is usually available but most payments are made in cash or kind. Eggs and onions frequently serve as mediums of exchange. This type of transaction is called a "trueque." In terms of retail value the seller receives more for the product than if cash is paid. For example, a pound of coffee costs 4.00 pesos or 6 atados of onions

TABLE 6

Items Sold in Stores in Guambía

Foodstuffs	Other Goods	
*bread rolls	cigars	rubber boots
*salt	*cigarettes	shovels
*rice	*matches	baras
*coffee	notebooks	machetes
*panela	pencils	flashlights
*lard	ink	light bulbs
margerine	*batteries	*candles
noodles	*hand soap	kerosene
*canned tuna	*detergent	white gas
*eggs	*alka seltzer	
*soda pop	*aspirin	
*beer	various stomach remedies	
*sweet wine	*horseshoes	
*aguardiente (home made and legal types)	*horseshoe nails	
cinnamon	screws	
*cominos	nails	
bananas	sewing needles	
*hard candy	fungicides	
*chocolate bars	sneakers	
*flour	sandles	

(*) Starred items are those most commonly found. Others are available only in some stores.

(retail value 6.00-9.00 pesos). Even if the store owner resells the onions at wholesale prices he benefits from the trueque.

BUYING AND SELLING

Guambianos are linked to the Colombian economy through various trading channels: itinerant traders, stores and regional markets. Guambiano families use all of these systems, often within the same week or

month. For those with coffee farms the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros)is an additional channel and links them to an international market.

Travelling Salesmen

There are two types of itinerant traders. White and Mestizo middlemen who exchange hard goods, staples and sometimes cash for agricultural products and animals (large and small), are seen every day throughout the reservation. Most of these men and women are from Silvia, Usenda and Inzá. Many have frequented the reservation for twenty years or more and have compadrazgo ties to Guambiano families. Another group of traders are Indians from the Sibundoy Valley in Putumayo. They are the sole source of supply for the white bead necklaces worn by the Guambiano women. Beads originally come from the San Blas Islands off the north coast of Colombia. In addition they sell needles, thread, dyes, medicinal herbs and drugs. The latter items are sold to the local shamans.

Stores in Silvia

Stores on the reservation and in Silvia are important exchange points. Those on the reservation are comparatively small and generally restricted to items with a high turnover. In Silvia the stores are large and sell a full range of hard and soft goods. In Antonio Lozada's one can buy everything from cloth for Indian mantas to Delmonte peaches and Campbell's cream of asparagus soup. Many Indians have close ties to the store owners, some reinforced by a compadrazgo bond. Credit is

often given between harvests and paid for in kind rather than cash. Ten years ago there were almost twice as many stores in Silvia as today. Many have folded because of competition from stores on the reservation and in the cities. This decline in Indian trade with stores in Silvia is also true of their relations with itinerant White and Mestizo traders. The pattern of diminishing exchanges with the traditional market channels is related to the Guambiano's increased involvement in the regional market organization. New roads and buses have stimulated this change.

Daily trade takes place in Silvia on a relatively small scale in thirty-five stores--all owned by Whites and Mestizos. Every day a few Guambianos are in town buying small quantities of foodstuffs, medicines and items of clothing. Those who shop in town on non-market days often do so to avoid social activities (especially drinking) and expenditures of the Tuesday market. They shop on other days to avoid seeing persons to whom they owe money or because they cannot afford to buy drinks for friends and compadres whom they are sure to encounter on market day. When a group of Indians makes large purchases in Silvia on non-market days it is because someone has died or is to be married.

Market Day in Silvia

Tuesday is market day in Silvia. It is a colorful event in which two to four thousand people participate, depending on the season. It is not, however, as diverse or colorful as Indian markets in Mexico, Guatemala and Ecuador. Indians from seven neighboring reservations attend, but only the Guambianos, Quizgueños (who wear Guambiano style dress) and a handful of Sibundoy, Otavalo (Ecuador) and Riobamba (Ecuador) Indians use distinctive dress.

Late Monday night and early Tuesday morning buses from surrounding highland and lowland communities converge on Silvia. Traders bring a wide range of manufactured goods and foodstuffs. The market is more or less arranged in sections where certain types of goods are sold. The Sibundoy Indians have a monopoly on most herbs, and the Otavaleños and Riobambeños market sweaters, scarves and ponchos. Between five and thirty persons compete in most categories.

The largest group of sellers in a single category is the Guambianos who bring small quantities (from 20-50 wangos) of onion and garlic to obtain cash for needed supplies or special purchases. Guambianos and other middlemen also sell potatoes and ullucos. A wide range of fruits and vegetables are sold in the market by White, Mestizo, Mulatto and Black traders. They sell limes, oranges, pineapple, bananas, carrots, stringbeans, cabbages, tomatoes, manioc, chile peppers and other assorted vegetables. Guambianos usually limit their purchases in this category to hot peppers, limes, oranges, and manioc. Haggling is part of the transaction, but the Guambianos are less skilled in it and less persistent than townspeople. It is also customary for the seller to add another item or small quantity of the product once the cash is handed over. This is called a ñapa, and if not given will often be requested by the buyer.

About a quarter of the marketplace is occupied by stands filled with pants, shirts, hats, belts, cloth, blankets, ponchos, saddles, harnesses, and other items of textiles and leather. Near them are stands with manufactured hard goods: hand tools, nails, grinders, machetes, knives, pencils, pens, flashlights, and pots and pans of all

sizes. Lining the passageways are tables with boots and shoes; candles, cigarettes and matches; bread and other baked goods; tamales, coffee, chocolate, rice, and tables with a variety of small manufactured items--from pocket knives to pictures of The Virgin. A small section is occupied by about ten people selling blocks of brown sugar (panela),and there are stands selling hot food. Off to one side are men who sell rope and sacks of hemp. There is an enclosed section where beef, lamb pork are marketed. Meat is also sold in other parts of town and can be obtained on most days of the week. Guambianos occasionally purchase meat but most is bought by townspeople. An area adjacent to the market is set aside for trade in livestock. Indians sometimes participate in transactions here, usually to sell cattle, a horse, or sheep.

Most Guambianos come to town to make purchases and to socialize. Some, however, bring several sacks of produce which they sell to middlemen who meet them several blocks east of the marketplace. These buyers haggle and compete with one another for the Indians' products. An Indian not satisfied with the price being offered may store his goods in a local warehouse and either hold it for the following week or sell it later in Popayán or in one of the other regional markets.

A great deal of buying and selling takes place outside of the marketplace. All the stores and cantinas are filled with Indians. There are pitchmen hawking cloth and medicines from the back of small trucks.

In addition to the thousands of purely economic transactions which occur each Tuesday in Silvia, market day provides the setting for a whole range of other activities. A quasi-carnival atmosphere is created by an array of magicians, performing monkeys, talking birds,

shooting galleries, a roulette game, ubiquitous lottery salesmen guaranteeing instant wealth, and occasional music and singing by Protestant missionaries.

On Tuesday Guambianos receive medical attention at the health clinic, get their teeth pulled, attend mass, fix dates to get married, have children baptized, arrange for technical assistance from the extension agents, take care of legal matters with municipal officials, and check to see if they have received any mail. The Indian cabildo also meets in Silvia each Tuesday to hold hearings and resolve disputes. Request for their services are brought to their attention at this time.

Market day is a time for a great deal of informal socializing, and Guambianos take care to look clean and neat. Before leaving their house they wash all the exposed parts of their bodies and outside of town rinse off mud which may have splattered their calves. Their clothing is usually relatively clean and new. Women, especially those looking for a husband, wear as many strands of beads as they can, often as much as six kilos.

A great deal of drinking occurs on market day. Heavy drinking of aguardiente always follows baptisms and is part of political meetings. Most, however, is social drinking that develops when Indians have money to spend and encounter friends, kin and compadres. Those wishing to escape getting too inebriated make their purchases quickly and return on an early bus. After the noon hour the chances of leaving town without consuming at least some aguardiente is slim.

Some Indians never leave Silvia on Tuesday, and others spend the night drinking at a store on the reservation. The older pattern

of two days of drinking has, however, declined substantially since the roads were constructed to the reservation. When I was in Guambía in 1962 and 1963 the trails and stores were always full of drunken Guambianos, their wives waiting patiently at their sides. Today, buses deposit the Indians near their homes passing by most tiendas. The Tuesday afternoon landscape is different now, and the women seem quite pleased with the change.

Regional Markets

Although the Guambianos do some of their marketing and most of their shopping in Silvia, they also do business in regional markets. A small number of Guambianos have traded for decades in surrounding towns. In the past they travelled for days on foot, horse, and on the train which runs between Popayán and Cali. Today, roads and buses make transportation easy, and more than one hundred Indians make frequent visits to markets in Piendamó, Morales and Popayán. Hundreds of others make occasional visits to these markets, usually after harvests. In addition to the towns mentioned, Guambianos regularly attend markets in Totoró, Tunía, Timbío, Carmel, Santander, Caloto, Corinto, Pescador, Mondomo, Suárez, Cajibío and Inzá.

One important consequence of this increased involvement in regional trade is that Guambianos now have much greater knowledge of prices and price fluctuations. This information is rapidly communicated within the reservation and has substantially improved the Indians' bargaining position with visiting middlemen. Those middlemen I spoke to complained about how their margin of profit had dropped and that they were sometimes forced to sell at a loss just to obtain cash for new purchases.

MARKET PLACE ORGANIZATION IN SILVIA: A CRITIQUE OF ORTIZ'S MODEL

Ortiz (1967) has developed a model for Colombian rural market organization which is designed to distinguish it from markets found in other parts of the world: Africa (Bohannan and Dalton 1962), China (Skinner 1964-5), and Mexico (Malinowski and de La Fuente 1957; Foster 1948). The bulk of Ortiz's field work was carried out in an Indian region adjacent to Silvia, but he also obtained data from the Silvia market, and his model is intended to apply to the situation there. In the following section the major features of Ortiz's (1967) model are outlined and critically discussed using information I gathered in Silvia.

Import Market Place Organization

Market place organization in Colombia, unlike Africa and medieval European organizations, is not embedded in a network of social, political and religious ties. There are, however, some socio-economic constraints limiting the relatively free flow of goods and services into a community (Ortiz 1967:402). The chain of market places is organized around the import of goods, there is a minimum of horizontal trading, and "export trade is forbidden by local authorities" (Ortiz 1967:402. Italics Mine.). Market day provides an opportunity for friends from different parts of the reservation to see one another. Drinks are exchanged with friends, kin and compadres, but the economic transactions themselves do not bring the people into close contact with one another. Sales in the market are for cash and rarely involve credit arrangements (Ibid:402).

> Sellers belong to a different social environment, class and income group from buyers. The transaction and the bargaining relation stress the existing social distance rather than diminishing it. There is only one common element in the relationship: that the preference to sell the product overlaps with the peasant's preference to buy it. (Ibid:402).

In general Ortiz's description of the structure and organization of the "import market" is applicable to the situation in Silvia. However, his statement that "export trade is forbidden by local authorities" (Ibid.:402) reflects special conditions of the Inzá region markets and even there may be a temporary situation. Colombian law allows municipal authorities to tax but not restrict the export of produce except under certain conditions and for limited duration. The region of Tierradentro where Ortiz did most of his field work was frequented by forces opposed to the government and under direct Army control or strong Army influence during the past twenty years. This and the shortage of locally grown food supplies (Ibid:403) allowed either for legal control on the export of goods or extra-legal restrictions enforced with the cooperation of the Army. The mayor in Silvia on various occasions tried to impose a similar ban on the export of products, but they have always been quickly rescinded before or after legal action was threatened. Even when these restrictions were enforced in Silvia they were limited to the flow of goods on market day and did not prevent the export of produce to other regional markets during the rest of the week.

The second aspect of Ortiz's model which is not appropriate to the situation in Silvia deals with the Indians' refusal to sell cash crops in the market.

> Indians bring food for sale at the San Andres market only when they desperately need some cash; they never sell their cash crops in the square (Ibid:397).. . .

> The Indians explain their refusal with reminders of the criticism which a member of the community undergoes when he is seen to be selling at the market place too often; he is said to be greedy and irresponsible and as a sanction cooperation is withdrawn, labour exchanges are stopped and food is not loaned or sold to him when he needs it. (Ibid:401. Italics mine.)

Ortiz is referring to Páez Indians, linguistically and culturally distinct, poorer and more isolated from national institutions than the Guambianos. Guambianos, in fact, regularly sell onions and garlic in the market to obtain cash needed to buy staples. While maintaining patterns of reciprocity and corporateness with respect to the organization of work on the reservation Guambianos do not interfere with how and when an individual disposes of his surplus. Sanctions in the form of withdrawing support and ostracism occur only when a person fails to cooperate with family and neighbors and/or refuses to participate in community work days. As long as these patterns are maintained he is free to market to whomever and wherever he pleases.

LOANS

Guambianos are often in need of cash for seed, fertilizer, medical expenses or to pay off a previous debt. When possible they borrow money from a member of their family or a compadre. These are usually short-term loans involving small sums, usually from twenty to one hundred pesos. They are repaid at the next harvest or sooner. No interest is charged in this type of transaction, but the borrower sometimes incurs an additional expense when purchasing aguardiente consumed when the loan is made and/or when it is paid back.

Many Indians have close ties with wealthy persons in town from whom they borrow money. In some instances this loan is also interest

free, but the Indian always brings gifts of food to his creditor's house to supplement the repayment. Many individuals in town advance money to Indians in return for a fixed amount of some agricultural product, usually potatoes or wheat. Guambianos whose relatives or friends cannot or will not loan them money may also borrow from loan sharks in Silvia. Here the interest rates are high, from 10 - 20 per cent monthly. Increasingly, Indians use the Agricultural Bank (Caja Agraria) for loans related to the purchase of seed, animals, tools, fertilizer and house construction. A few borrow from banks in Piendamó and Popayán.

Indians are extremely reliable in repaying loans. Their rate of default at the bank in Silvia is less than 5 per cent, and the bank officers consider them the best credit risk in the region. I made five loans to persons while doing field work and actively had to seek repayment in only two cases. The others sought me out when they heard I was getting ready to return to the United States.

SUMMARY

The Guambianos are involved in a subsistence and cash economy. Some cash transactions take place on the reservation, but reciprocal labor exchange, cooperative work and food sharing dominate the local economic picture. They produce part of the goods they need to feed, clothe and house themselves but depend on various trading channels to supply them with other basic items. They obtain most items within the municipality, but there are not enough inhabitants to consume all their surplus production. Until recently most of the trading was done

locally with White and Mestizo middlemen who made substantial profit on goods obtained from the Indians. This pattern modified as the roads and buses facilitated communication with other regional markets. In response to this and diminishing economic opportunities locally, an entrepenurial group of Indians has emerged. This outward commercial extension has been complemented by the establishment of Guambiano owned stores on the reservation. These stores now help supply the Indians and keep scarce capital in Guambiano hands. In addition many Indians have purchased farms in the surrounding area and supplement farm income with jobs in the public and private sector.

VI. THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

Guambía is a rural component of the municipality of Silvia. It is divided into 19 veredas (rural neighborhoods, villages or hamlets). Bonds of kinship and compadrazgo extend beyond veredal boundaries and have a political function insofar as they contribute to the integration of the reservation population.

The purpose of this chapter, is to describe the structure and organization of behavior related to the problems of making a living and socializing children. It is divided into three parts: kinship, compadrazgo, and the division of Labor.

PART 1. KINSHIP

Social life within the vereda is organized around nuclear families, fireside (or domestic) units, households, extended kin groups, and residential clusters (my designation of sub-units of a vereda). These are analytical distinctions, and in fact the units are overlapping and frequently coterminous. For example, the nuclear family is sometimes the fireside group and the household. By "nuclear family" I mean the husband-wife-children (offspring or adopted) unit; "fireside (or domestic) unit" refers to those persons sharing a kitchen and cooking on the same fire; "household" refers to a group living under a single roof but which is sometimes composed of two or more domestic units occupying separate kitchens. Less than ten per cent of the households contain two kitchens and such an arrangement is usually a temporary one,

lasting only until the occupants of the second kitchen build their own home. The "extended kin group" are those persons within the individual's network of kindred with whom he maintains an active relationship. The "residential cluster" refers to households within a limited radius of a person's home, usually within a few hundred meters, who are considered "neighbors (vecinos)."

The Guambianos consider both male and female members necessary for a domestic unit to function properly. This holds for the children's generation as well as the parents'. With two exceptions, one male living alone and one all-female group, all the fireside units in my sample contain both male and female members. Ideally, labor in the domestic group is divided equally (latá-latá) among the adult members. Females, however, contribute more to the economic and domestic tasks: caring for children, weaving clothing for all family members, cultivating their own gardens and helping their husbands in agricultural activities.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The nuclear family made up of husband, wife and unmarried children (legitimate offspring or adopted), and living in their own house, is the most common type of domestic unit. While this pattern is the most typical (31 of 82 cases), the majority of fireside units contain additional members,--usually children's spouses, grandchildren, siblings and/or a widowed parent. Within the more inclusive groups the nuclear family is recognized as a distinct entity, but those who share the same fire cooperate extensively in agricultural and domestic activities. This is the fireside unit, and I use it rather than the nuclear family

as a basis for discussion. When part of a fireside group establishes it's own kitchen, even if it is only in another room in the same house, the extent of cooperation with the original fireside group declines substantially. My sample of fireside units, taken from the veredas of Pueblito, Cacique and Mishambe, contains 475 people (approximately 6.6 per cent of the reservation population), 95 nuclear families, 12 widows, 7 widowers, 4 unmarried women with children, and are organized into 82 fireside units. The number of persons in these units range from one to thirteen, and the average size of the fireside group in each vereda is between 5.76 and 5.86.

TABLE 7

Size of Fireside Units in Guambía

Vereda	* Number of Persons in Fireside Unit (FSU)													Total FSU	Total Persons	Average per FSU
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13			
Pueblito	1	0	3	3	3	4	1	3	3	1	0	0	0	22	129	5.86
Cacique	0	5	5	6	5	6	8	1	3	1	0	2	1	43	248	5.77
Mishambe	0	1	2	1	5	2	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	17	98	5.76
TOTAL	1	6	10	10	13	12	12	5	6	4	0	2	1	82	475	5.79

*The sample is based on the following:
1. Pueblito (1970), 22 of 62 fireside units.
2. Cacique (1970), 43 of 232 fireside units.
3. Mishambe (1967), 17 of 43 fireside units.

An interesting comment on the household size is that an examination of the figures for these veredas in the 1949 Census (Tumiñá-P., Hernández-V. et al. 1949) reveals approximately the same average number of persons per fireside unit (5.8) as I found when I carried out my investigation twenty years later.

The statistics reflect the large number of households with only a single married couple which are formed when extended families divide into component nuclear families. Fireside units with only one married couple characterize 54 of the 82 fireside groups. When two or three married couples share the same fire (13 and 5 cases respectively) they normally contain parents with a married child (or children) and their young offspring. Domestic units with three married couples are temporary arrangements and considered, especially by the younger women, to be unsatisfactory.

Though patrilocality is the norm for early post-marital years, there are five cases of husbands moving into their wife's father's home. Other categories of persons found in fireside groups include siblings, some married and with children, and various types of in-laws (e.g. WiSb, WiSbCh). The tables below summarize various features of the composition of fireside units in Guambía.

TABLE 8

Composition of Fireside Units

Fireside units with:	Vereda				
	Pueblito	Cacique	Mishambe	Total	Per cent
No married couple	3	5	2	10	12.2%
One married couple	15	30	9	54	66.3%
Two married couples	3	6	4	13	15.8%
Three married couples	1	2	2	5	6.1%
Three generations	8	8	10	26	31.6%
Adopted children	7	2	3	12	14.6%
Siblings of head of FSU*	6	7	1	14	17.0%

*FSU -- Fireside Unit

The table below presents in more detailed form the relationship of the major categories of residents to the head of the fireside unit.

TABLE 9

Household Composition

Status of head of FSU	Status of others in relation to FSU head	Veredas Pblto.	Cq.	Mis.	Tot.	Per cent
Married male	wife, no children (+)*	2	3	0	5	6.1
	wife, unmarried children	8	19	4	31	37.8
	wife, unmarried children +**	3	6	4	13	15.8
	wife, So=SoWi,*** (+)	1	5	4	10	12.2
	wife, Da=DaHu, (+)	1	0	0	1	1.2
	wife, So=SoWi, Da=DaHu (+)	1	2	0	3	3.7
Widower	unmarried children (+)	1	0	0	1	1.2
	So=SoWi, (+)	0	1	2	3	3.7
	Da=DaHu, (+)	1	1	0	2	2.4
Widow	unmarried children (+)	0	3	1	4	4.9
	So=SoWi, (+)	1	1	1	3	3.7
Male (never married)	(+)	3	2	0	5	6.1
Female (never married)	+ (compadre)	0	0	1	1	1.2
	Totals	22	43	17	82	100.0

* (+) indicates there may or may not be others attached to the group.
** + indicates there are definitely others attached to the group.
*** So=SoWi and Da=DaHu are used to indicate married couples.
Cq=Cacique; Pblto=Pueblito; Mis.=Mishambe.

(+) usually refers to ChCh, Mo, Fa and/or siblings. Other categories of persons attached to the units in the sample include: BrWi, BrDa, SiSo, SiDa, BrSoWi, BrSoSo, BrSoDa, WiBr, WiBrWi, WiBrDa, WiDaHu, WiSiDa, WiMoSiDa, DaSoWi, plus the following persons born to women while they were unmarried: WiDa, WiDaDa, SoWiDa, DaDa, and DaSo.

Ecological and Cultural Factors

Although the average number of persons per fireside group is approximately the same for all veredas sampled, and examination of the above charts indicates differences between them in terms of the categories of persons making up the units. These are found in the number of married couples, units with three generations, and siblings of the head of the domestic group. Approximately 59 per cent (10 of 17 cases) of the fireside units in Mishambe contain three generations; in Pueblito the figure is 36 per cent (8 of 22 cases), and for Cacique 19 per cent (8 of 43 cases). With respect to the inclusion of siblings in the domestic unit, only 6 per cent (1 of 17 cases) of the fireside groups in Mishambe have such an arrangement, while the corresponding figure for Pueblito is 27 per cent (8 of 22 cases) and 16 per cent for Cacique (7 of 43 cases). How are these differences explained?

Initially, the factors I considered were: (1) ecological differences; (2) local variation in residence rules, and (3) differences in wealth. Preliminary investigation showed ecological differences to be significant, but residence rules were interpreted consistently, and economics was a secondary rather than primary factor. As I considered the results along with other information about these veredas, it became clear that in addition to ecological variations there were cultural differences among them which could be related to patterns of household composition.

In Pueblito ecological conditions support the continuation of three-generation and multiple sibling units. Pueblito is crowded. The terrain is very steep and there is relatively little flat or gently

sloping land. Houses are often constructed adjacent to old ones and rarely more than thirty meters apart. Building a house in this vereda invariably involves using good income producing onion gardens which the owners are reluctant to part with even for their own children. The choice for many married men here is either to continue living with their parents or siblings, or moving to another vereda which may include having to purchase a plot of land suitable for a house and garden. These factors result in there being a higher incidence of extended and joint families than would otherwise occur.

In contrast to Pueblito, houses in Mishambe and Cacique are relatively dispersed, land is less steep and there is more of it. In spite of these similarities, Mishambe and Cacique dramatically contrast with one another in terms of household composition. Families in Mishambe tend to be organized "vertically," three-generation families with fewer members representing each generation. In Cacique the emphasis is more "horizontal," two-generation units with more persons in each generation.

Explanation of these differences lies not in ecology, which is similar, but in cultural variations at the veredal level. The differences center around the relative emphasis on hierarchical vs. egalitarian values and the way they are manifest in family organization. In Mishambe, one of the more "conservative" veredas, the emphasis is hierarchical and the pattern of family life characteristic of how Guambianos say it used to be in all part of the reservation. In Mishambe 59 per cent of the households have three generations represented.

In contrast, Cacique is one of the most "progressive" veredas. Social relations there tend to be more egalitarian and this appears

to be reflected in it having the lowest percentage of three generation households (19 per cent). In Cacique cooperation in agricultural work, house building and communal activities is common and normally involves larger numbers than in other veredas. Political affairs there are handled in an open democratic fashion, and wealth is of minimal importance in selecting persons to serve as higher officials (alcaldes) in the cabildo. While causal relationships are difficult to establish, it seems the emphasis on egalitarianism in Cacique and the tendency for sons to build their own homes soon after marriage are related to both ecological and cultural factors.

Another difference between these two veredas, and one which cannot be answered with the limited statistical data I presented, is: why is it that Mishambe, with the highest percentage (59 per cent) of three-generation families, has the same average number of persons per household as Cacique (where only 19 per cent of the fireside units have members from three generations)? The statistical differences reflect the fact that only four units in Mishambe contain more than two children of the unit head, whereas in Cacique 21 of the 43 domestic units have three or more children. Why should this difference occur?

While it would take more investigation than I have carried out to answer the question properly, I believe it is again related to cultural differences in the veredas. In this case I refer to abortion and infanticide. The data I have on these traditional Guambiano practices suggest they occur more frequently in Mishambe than in Cacique. The abortions sometimes succeed and occasionally result in the death of the mother as well. This not only leaves less children but a lower number of fertile women available for reproductive purposes.

THE DEVELOPMENT CYCLE

The kinds of domestic arrangements discussed in the previous section come about as the unit moves through phases of development and responds to a variety of internal and external pressures. Within a few years after the individual reaches puberty occasional sexual relations with members of the opposite sex are established. The liaisons are often temporary, and as long as the couple is discreet and the girl does not become pregnant there is little interference in their activities.

When a relationship lasts for several months or if the girl gets pregnant, the parents of one or both partners soon find out about it. Sometimes the children themselves inform parents of their activities. The question of marriage is then discussed in what appears to be a sincere and frank atmosphere. Parents ask the children if they intend to marry the person, or, if a boy has relations with several girls, which one he prefers. Children, in turn, may solicit opinions from their parents.

From the parents' point of view the important questions have to do with the economic standing of the potential spouse's parents and their reputation in the community. The families should be of a similar economic position. Guambianos say that when differences of wealth are substantial the marriage is likely to be marked by problems and conflict. A person is less desireable as a spouse (in-law) if: they have a reputation as being "lazy;" their family is known to have serious conflicts; and their family does not cooperate with others.

Since the boy normally brings his wife to live with his family, it is more important he and his parents agree on the marriage than it is for the girl and her family. Girls often take the initiative in proposing marriage, and if they cannot get their parents' approval may simply leave home and live with their boyfriend.

In the past, a period of trial marriage (amaño), where the girl lived with her boyfriend for a few months to a year, was a common practice. Guambianos still consider it important for the couple to know one another and have sexual relations before they marry. When this does not occur the relationship is criticized and people say the couple will have problems later on. If neither set of parents approves, the couple may elope temporarily and later return to live with one of their parents. In most cases, however, parents and children reach an agreement, and contacts are made between the couples' parents. The first contact is often informal, through an intermediary, and later directly by the boy's parents and the persons asked to serve as godparents. After marriage the couple normally resides with the boy's parents and form part of their fireside unit.

While patri-virilocal residence is the norm there are times when a young man is invited to live with his wife's family. Such moves are related to one or more of the following circumstances: (1) the girl's parents are much wealthier than the boy's; (2) the male is an illegitimate child; (3) the girl's parents have no male children living with them; (4) the girl's father is poor and there are no other children living with them; and (5) the boy's parents do not like their daughter-in law. Matrilocal residence which results when a poor young man moves

in with his wealthier in-laws is criticized, the assumption being he married the girl merely to get land.

Returning to the usual pattern of an initial period of patrilocal residence, we find that the son continues to work closely with his father while his wife assists his mother in the domestic chores and in the fields. As a wedding present, or soon after the marriage, the father gives his son the use of a piece of land, and a cow or two. The bride's parents may also give the couple use of some land and/or an animal.

As long as the son remains in his father's house he and his wife are subject to the father's authority and spend a great deal of their time and energy working for him. The father in turn supplies food and in general manages the affairs of the entire group.

If younger unmarried brothers live at home, it is understood that the older brother will eventually establish a separate fireside unit. Such a move requires capital and while a father may give his son some economic help, the latter usually earns additional cash through temporary wage labor off the reservation (usually accompanied by his wife), and/or by entering into "half-share" arrangements with relatives or neighbors.

As long as no serious problems exist among members of the fireside group the couple may continue this arrangement for more than ten years, although the normal period is less. Eventually, however, the elder son and his family must leave. Economic factors play a part in the decision--his income from crops and animals and the availability of credit--and many moves are made smoothly. The most common reason cited

for establishing a separate home or kitchen, however, is a dispute among members of the fireside group. While brothers may not get along, in only one case I know was this the cause of leaving the natal home. Arguments between female members of the household usually underlie fission in the domestic group. Mothers-in-law sometimes dominate their sons' wives and have them do the bulk of the work. In other cases disputes between sisters-in-law precipitate a split. This is not meant to imply that male siblings live in harmony but rather that, in spite of the conflicts, households usually remain united until one of the women decides she's had enough.

When the decision to leave is made the son asks his father for a plot of land on which to build a house. Usually the request is granted and the father pays for some of the material and helps with the construction. If a father refuses, the son may ask another relative to give or sell him some land. In other cases, the son may get the adobes ready and build a house on land owned by his father even though he does not have permission. There is little the father can do since the cabildo in these situations will support the son, justifying the son's actions on the basis of services the boy performed for his father. Often new "homes" are merely rooms added to the father's house. Once a new home is constructed the son and his family continue to work with his father, though on a reduced scale.

The process of growth and fission continues, and while parents are in their middle years they are often living with at least one married child and his family. The process of fission stops with the youngest son who, after marriage, remains in his parent's home.

Often the youngest son builds a new house his parents move in with him. If, however, he is living in his parents' home when they die, he inherits the house, and his share of the inheritable wealth is normally slightly larger than that received by his siblings.

Since most sons build a house on their father's property, one finds clusters of homes in Guambía occupied by patrilaterally related kinsmen. Most men build in the vereda they were born in, and a move beyond veredal limits is considered a distant one.

A Case Study: The Development Cycle

The case below is presented to illustrate the process of growth and fission in the development cycle in Guambía. The family discussed lives in one of the more crowded upper veredas.

Stage I: Ego, the oldest of four children, is living in his father's home with: his father (1), mother (2), his father's mother (3), two sisters (4) and (6), and two brothers (5) and (7). They constitute a single fireside unit.

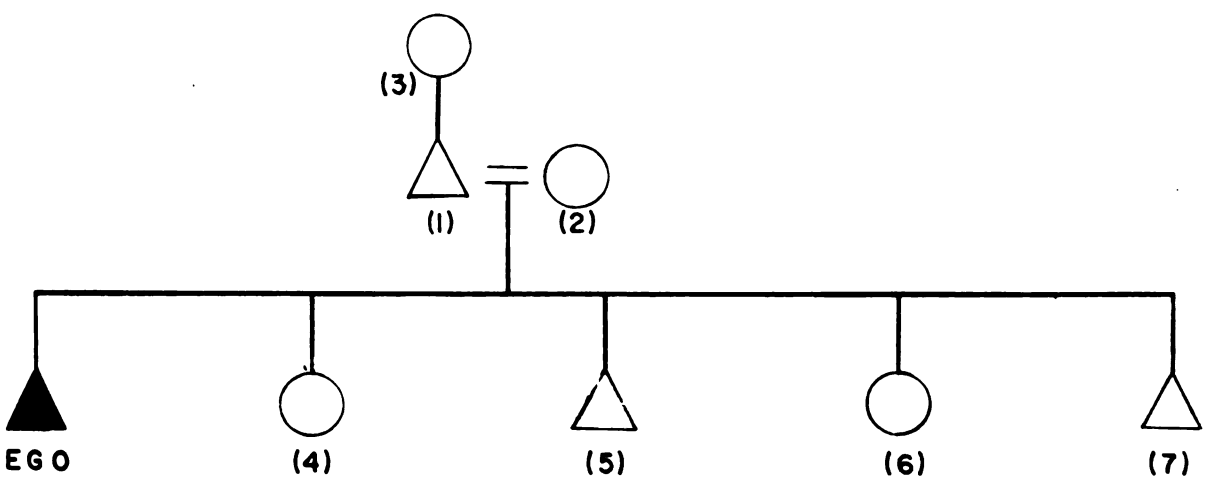

FIGURE 10: Development cycle: Stage I

Transition to Stage II: Ego marries; his wife (8) joins the fireside unit; three boys and a girl are born to the couple but the girl dies. Both sisters marry and go to live with their husbands' families. A brother (5) marries, his wife (9) comes to live with him; they have a daughter, but several months later both mother and daughter die.

Stage II:

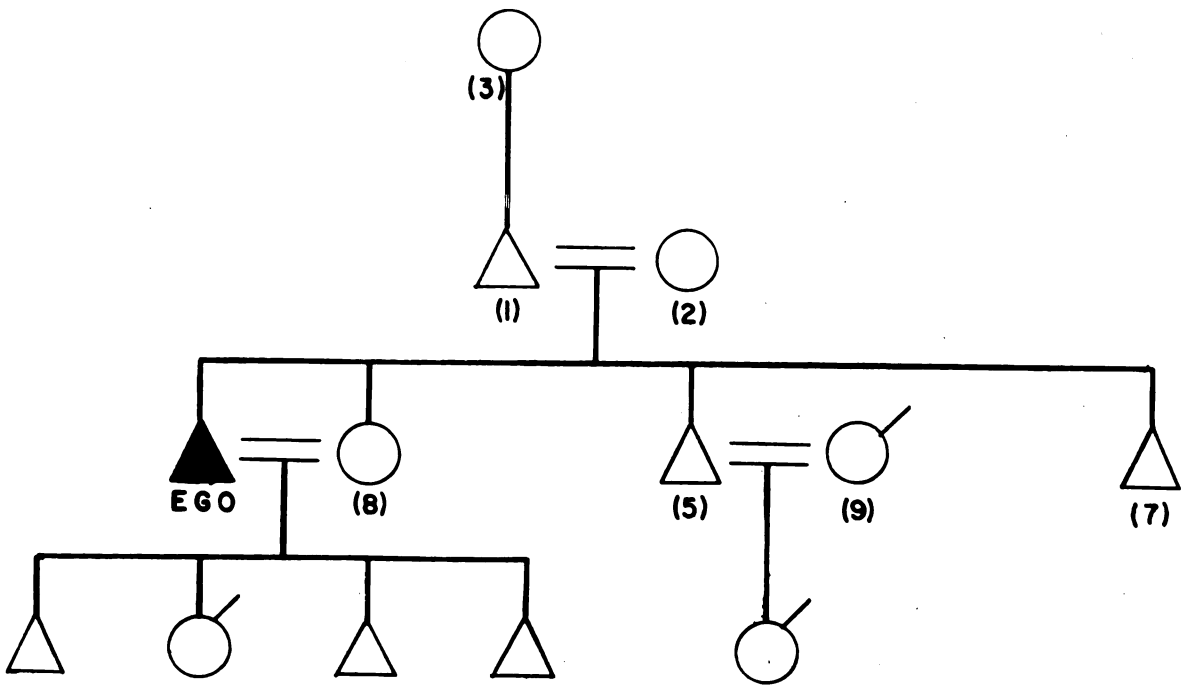

FIGURE II : Development cycle: Stage II.

Transition to Stage III: Ego's father (1) dies; his brother (5) remarries, his wife (10) joins the fireside unit, they have three children but two die; Ego's youngest brother (7) marries, his wife (11) comes to live with him, they have five children but two die. Ego's father's mother dies. Ego's wife gives birth to a girl but she dies. Stage III is the maximum point of growth for this fireside unit and includes three nuclear families and one widow for a total of fourteen persons.

Stage III:

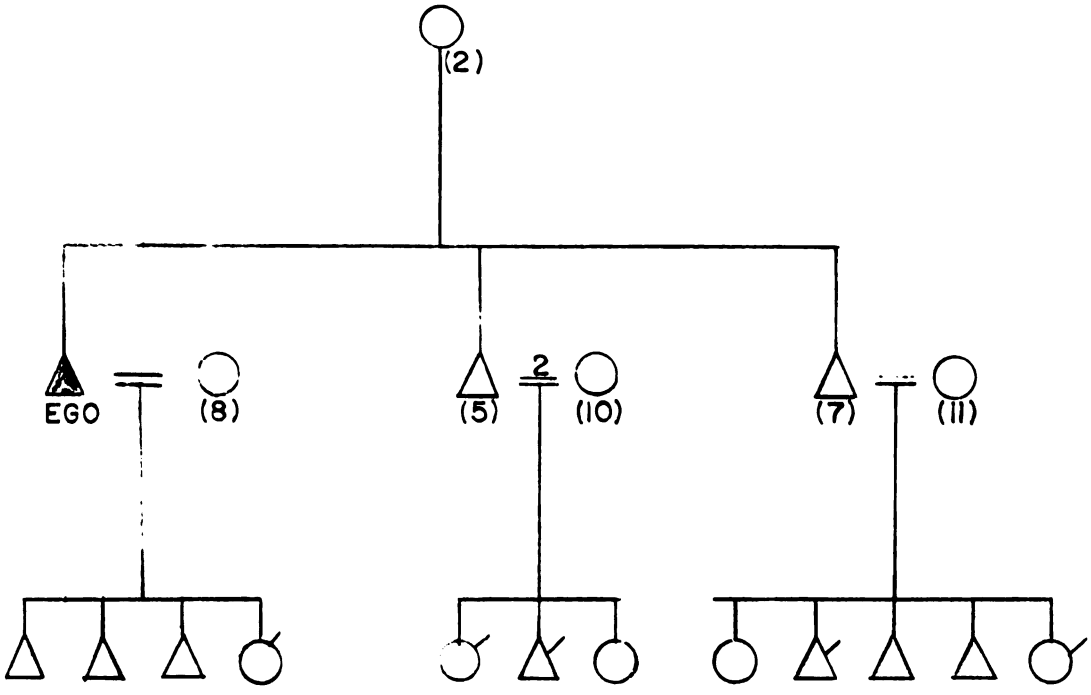

FIGURE 12 Development cycle: Stage III

Transition to Stage IV: At the urging of his wife, Ego builds a separate house about 100 meters from where they were living (household "A"), and establishes an independent fireside unit (household "B"). At this point they have been married twelve years. Since there are no women other than Ego's wife in household "B," they ask her brother who has three daughters to let them adopt the youngest.

Stage IV:

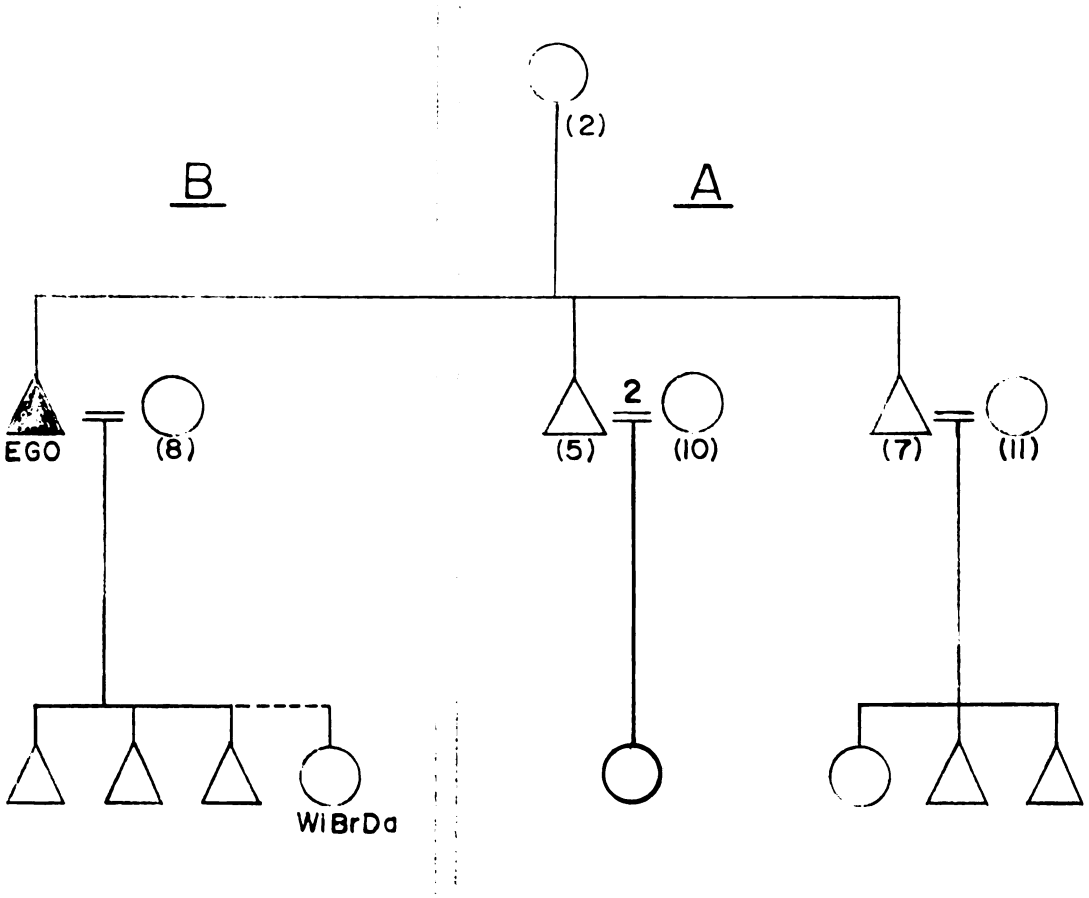

FIGURE 13: Development cycle: Stage IV.

Transition to Stage V: Ego's brother (5) and his second wife (10) build a separate kitchen in household "A". Two more children are born to the couple and one dies. Several years later they build a separate house (household "C") adjacent to the one they were living in (household "A"). Ego's oldest son (12) marries and his wife (13) joins the fireside group (B); they have three daughters but one dies. Ego's youngest brother (7) and his wife (11) stay in the original kitchen (household "A") and his mother continues to live with them. One more child is born to the couple. In Stage V there are three separate household.

Stage V:

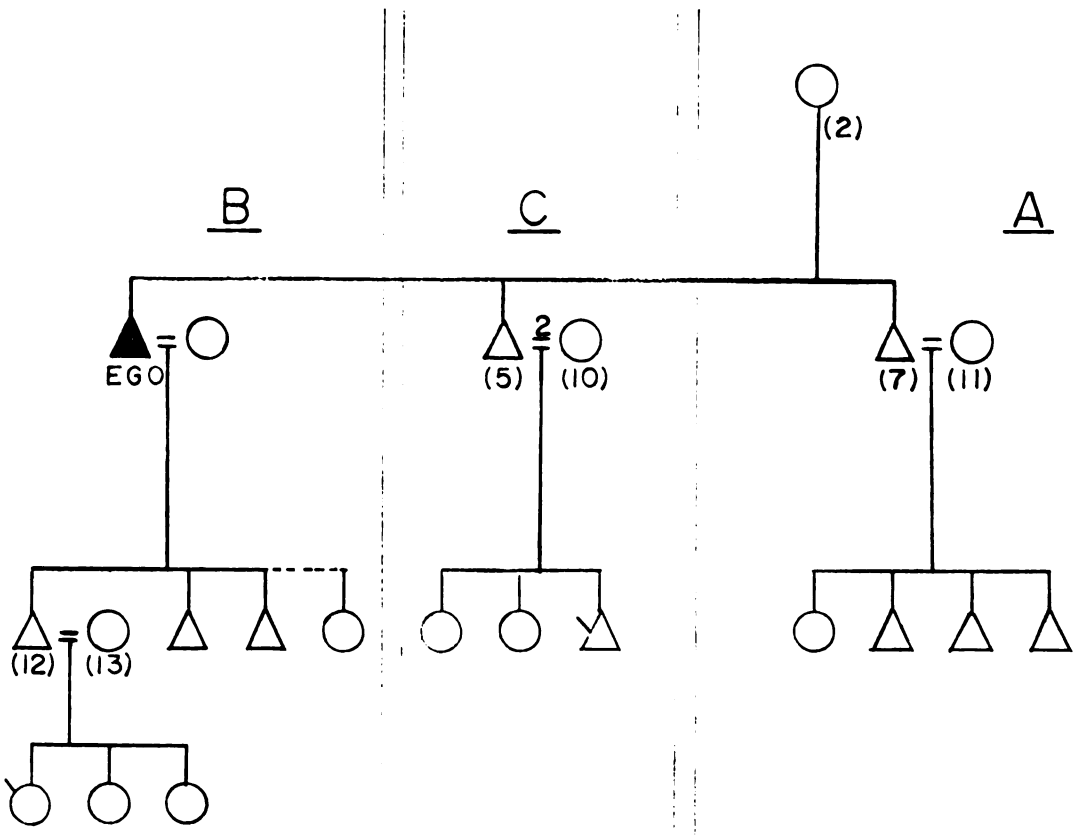

FIGURE 14 Development cycle Stage V

TABLE 10

Development Cycle Statistics in a Case Study

	Additions			Losses		Living in FSU			
	birth	adoption	marriage	death	marriage	A	B	C	Total
Stage I	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	8
Stage II	5	0	2	3	2	10	-	-	10
Stage III	9	0	2	7	0	14	-	-	14
Stage IV	0	1	0	0	0	9	6	-	15
Stage V	6	0	1	2	0	7	9	4	20
Totals	20	1	5	12	2	----------			

Remarriage

A man or woman whose first spouse dies will often remarry. It is a common practice when the person is less than middle-aged and I was told of a widower in his seventies marrying a widow several years older than he. There are also cases of men and women outlasting as many as four spouses. Remarriages, especially when both partners are widowed, are viewed favorably; in Guambía it is always better to live "acompañado." Also, widowed persons, unless they remarry are dependent on others, usually a younger person, to carry out some of the essential household activities. This is especially true for a widower who needs a woman to cook and weave his ruanas. Dependence on a member of the younger generation is an uncomfortable situation for widowers and frequently leads them to marry again.

There are cases of widowers marrying young girls (first marriage) and of widows marrying young men (first marriage). Such events are mildly criticized and joked about, but in both instances it is the female who tends to be the subject of the comments. The young wife of a widowed man is said to have married in order to get the first wife's clothes and gargantilla (a white bead necklace). A widow marrying a young man is kidded about having married one of her children: "Is that your son you are walking with?"

Such criticism is related to the notion of equality (latá-latá) which is expected in a marital relationship and is also linked to religious beliefs. Guambianos believe that when a person dies they are reunited in the afterworld with their first spouse. Thus an individual marrying for the first time and marrying a widow or widower will find himself alone (unaccompanied) in "heaven." Besides old age and extreme poverty, another barrier to remarriage is having a reputation as being lazy or namik (angry, serious, untalkative). Very authoritarian types (especially in the case of females) and men who are heavy drinkers are also at a disadvantage in finding a second spouse.

DAILY ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRESIDE GROUP

A typical day for the Guambiano female begins before dawn. After waking, the wife or daughter-in-law goes to the kitchen and rekindles the covered embers left from the previous day's fire. She brings fresh pots of water to the fire and prepares sweetened coffee for breakfast. While the water is heating she mixes a batter for corn or wheat cakes, or begins peeling the potatoes for the morning stew. The other women of the family soon arrive in the kitchen to help in these tasks.

After the women have been working, but before sunrise, the rest of the family gets up. Some men go to nearby fields to milk their cows. In the past they would spend part of these early morning hours weaving hats for themselves and family. If there are no cows to milk the men busy themselves in a nearby garden, get agricultural products ready for market, or clean and sharpen tools. Mornings are usually cold and damp, and upon finishing their chores the men enter the kitchen and sit on a solid hand-hewn bench (pangu), warming themselves until the coffee is ready.

If all the family is present the head of the household is served first, then the other men according to relative age. If, however, a younger man enters the kitchen first and the coffee is ready, he is served before the others. If others were invited to help in the day's activities they arrive between 6:30 and 7:00 and are served with the rest. After coffee, the women serve the stew of onions, potatoes, ullucos, salt and corn (when available). The food is served in large metal bowls. Salt and dish of oil, onions and hot peppers are passed around for those who wish to add it to the stew. Soon afterwards the men accompanied by some of the women of the household leave for the fields. One or two women may stay behind for a while preparing a large pot of coffee and some arepas. These are later carried to the place of work and served at midday. From September to June one or two of the school age children (between seven and thirteen) leave to attend classes; the rest help at home or in the fields.

The women and children who stay at home work in the kitchen cleaning, preparing the evening meal, and taking care of the young children.

Women spend their time working in a garden near the house, spinning wool, or weaving. They also feed the chickens, dogs and, if there is one, the pig. White tradesmen selling bread and housewares, and/or buying onions and chickens, often break up the woman's day, as do visits by kin, neighbors and in-laws.

Those in the field work under the direction of the owner and spend the time clearing land, weeding, planting, or harvesting. Women bring their infant children with them and occasionally stop to nurse them. Slightly before midday one of the females starts a small fire and heats the coffee. When it is ready, work stops and all gather in a comfortable place to eat. After resting for an hour or so they resume work. Then in the late afternoon, if there is a source of firewood near, a few persons cut enough for a load or two. This is tied together and carried by the women on their backs. Even if there are animals to carry some of the wood or products harvested, women will always carry ten to twenty kilos of something with them. For a woman to be seen without something on her back while returning from the fields would invite immediate comments from the neighbors. Men, on the other hand, simply carry their shovel on their shoulder and walk home while the women follow with the wood or potatoes.

When people return from the fields they clean themselves, enter the kitchen and immediately are served coffee and bread. The returning women attend to children they left at home, and help in domestic chores. Sometimes the evening stew is immediately served. Other times, after having coffee and resting a short while, men and women utilize the remaining daylight to attend to other duties, usually moving animals

from one place to another, or simply checking on them to make sure they have not gotten out of the fence and into someone's crops. When they return the meal is served.

In the evening the family stays around the fire where they talk about crops, marketing, purchases, marriages, local disputes, sicknesses and death. Today, national politics, especially the agrarian reform, are also subjects of conversation. If someone owns a transistor radio it is usually on at this time. Visits between neighboring households are common during the evening hours.

Young children move around the kitchen and are picked up, hugged, laughed at, and played with by many of those present. Women nurse their young children, swaddle them, and put them to rock in hammocks strung in a corner. If not otherwise occupied, the women spin wool or "finger-knit" pouches (jigras) of hemp. An additional round of coffee or agua de panela (brown sugar and water) is served between eight and nine o'clock, and the families are asleep soon afterward.

On Tuesdays, one or more members of the household go to Silvia, if not to sell products, at least to buy a few items needed for the following week. Several hundred Guambianos go to Silvia each Tuesday, and many men (about one in five) take their wives and/or children with them. In Silvia, Guambianos meet friends, relatives, compadres, sit and talk with them on the grassy park in the plaza, share aguardiente with them or go to drink at one of the numerous small bars in town. By noon many return to the reservation by bus, and by 4:00 PM the last buses full of the most inebriated make their final trip up the mountain. Some continue drinking into the night.

Saturday is another special day. Five or six busloads of Guambianos travel to the market town in Piendamó to sell potatoes, onions and other products. Saturday is also the day for community and private mingas. Groups of from ten to twenty Guambianos are frequently seen on Saturdays working together in the fields and on new homes. If the cabildo has sent out word, groups of from ten to one hundred and fifty men and boys work on the roads, paths and bridges. Saturday evening men and boys drink in the local bars, play bingo or sapo (a ring toss game), and listen to the radio. If there is a wedding dance in the area, they may attend that. Men and women visit their friends and relatives, sit around the fires, drink, eat and exchange gossip.

Sunday is a day of rest but a good deal of work continues. Men tend the animals, sharpen tools, get their hair cut, and organize things in the house. The women spend their free time spinning, weaving, and washing clothes, beads, and their babies. If there are several married women in the home one of them may "get the day off" and visit her parents or other relative in a nearby vereda, usually bringing one of her children with her. Men stretch out on a soft patch of grass to relax and visit with friends and relatives. Young men and girls "dress up" and go for walks, and sometimes keep prearranged meetings.

Special foods are prepared on Sundays, usually a soup made with milk, brown sugar and ground corn (mazamorra de maiz) or melon (mazamorra de mejicano). This is served to all visitors. Some Guambianos go to mass in Silvia, in the vereda of Las Delicias or in the vereda of La Campana. Relatively few are regular church goers, and attendance slacks off substantially when the weather is wet.

Other recurrent events which break up the routine of the domestic group are the cycle of religious festivities, the Taita Puro festivities in November and going on one of the annual pilgrimages to visit famous Virgins and Saints. These pilgrimages are big social events and Guambianos prefer the ones at Las Lajas in the Department of Nariño, Nátaga in the Department of Huila, and Buga in the Department of Valle.

The members of the fireside group also are the structural unit essential to successful performance of a continuous round of cleansing activities following a female's menstruation. There is often and additional cleansing for the house every three to six months, more or less as a prophylactic measure.

THE STRUCTURE OF KINSHIP

The extended kin group in Guambía is an "ego-focused" one as opposed to an "ancestor-focused" (Fox 1967:164) group, and may be referred to as ego's "kindred." In such a system, similar to what we have in the United States, no two persons except siblings will have the same kindreds.

Consanguineal Kin

Kinship terminology is a mixture of Guambiano, Spanish, Páez (?) and, according to John Rowe (1954:146), Quechua words. The native classificatory system remains basically intact but reference terms for many positions have been influenced by Spanish kinship terminology. In a few instances additions to the native system are fully integrated into it. Spanish terms (e.g. tío) are replacing native terms for some

positions, and older native terms are rarely used by young people. There are several relatives for which two or three reference terms may be used. In the charts below I list the oldest term together with alternatives. A full list of terms in historical perspective and their range of application is presented in tables 11 and 12.

Terms for lineal and collateral relatives are shown in figure 15. It should be noted that terms for brother and sister are relative to the age and sex of the speaker and that nuchak with the appropriate prefix is reciprocal between siblings of the opposite sex. Mayor (Spanish: older) is added to refer to all older siblings, wendɬ to those that follow, and s̈abey to the youngest of each sex. The same modifying terms are applied to offspring but only the oldest of each sex is mayor, those following are wendɬ, and the last of both sexes, s̈abey. If there are only three children in the family the middle one is referred to as tɬwɬtag (the one in the middle) nus̈kay (or nimbas̈).

Reference terms for grandparents' generation have twice in this century been influenced by the Spanish system. The first change, auelǒ and auelá, are modified from the Spanish abuelo and abuela. Today the tendency is to use papa señor for grandfather and mama señora for grandmother. Within one set of options, grandparent and grandchildren use reciprocal terms: auelǒ and auelá. In the Spanish system abuelo(a) refer to grandparents only, and nieto and nieta are used for grandchildren. The reciprocal use of auelǒ and auelá among alternate generations suggests that in the past tata s̈ur and mama s̈ura (or s̈ur and s̈ura) were also reciprocal, and I have heard s̈ur and s̈ura used in a joking sense to address grandchildren.

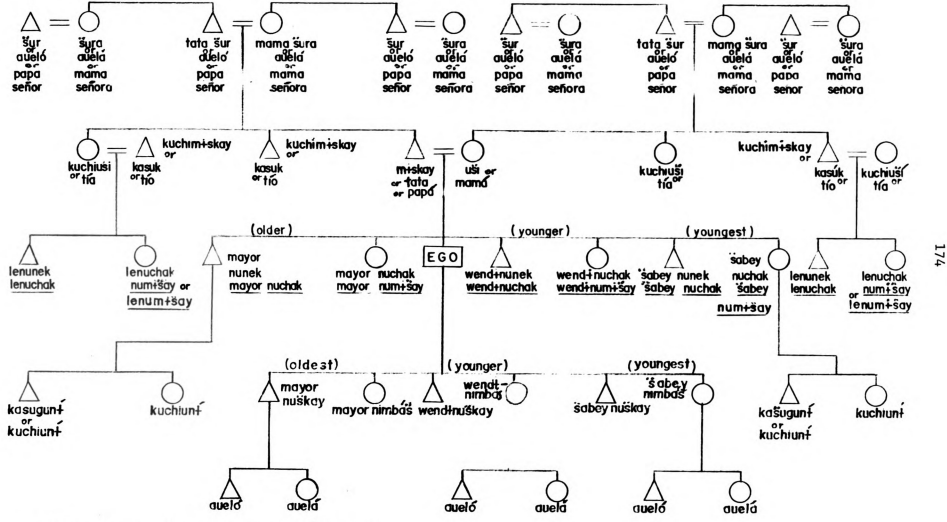

FIGURE 15 : Lineal and collateral relatives.
Underlined terms used by female spearkers, ego's generation.

Whereas the above discussion refers to replacement of native terms with Spanish ones, the use of the Spanish term for "older (mayor)" to refer to elder siblings and the oldest child represents in my view a modification or addition to the traditional Guambiano system. There is no Guambiano term equivalent to "older" and no way of referring to such a person without use of the Spanish adjective mayor. This is in sharp contrast to the two Guambiano terms wendɨ and ëabey used to refer to younger siblings and children. The attention given to people and events that "follow" or "come last" is a ritual aspect of many areas of Guambiano culture including politics and religion, and I view these distinctions in the kinship system as another example of this theme or principle. In addition to the terms shown in table 11 Guambianos often use unɨ (child) to refer to their offspring.

Cousin terms for male speakers follow a normal Eskimo pattern, distinguishing between siblings and cousins and making no distinction between cross and parallel cousins. Cousin terms are formed by adding le (distant) to the regular sibling terminology. Females use the same principles in reference to male cousins, but female cousins are referred to by the same term used for sisters (numɨëay).[1]

In the second ascending generation there is an inconsistency reflected in the different sets of terms with respect to distinguishing between lineal and collateral relatives. In the oldest system tata (or taita) and mama are added before ëur and ëura to denote lineal relatives. In the two other systems, however, no distinction is made between lineal and collateral kin in this generation.[2]

TABLE 11

Guambiano Kinship Terms

Fa - Father	So - Son	El - Elder
Mo - Mother	Da - Daughter	Yo - Younger
Pa - Parents	Ch - Children	Yst- Youngest
Br - Brother	Hu - Husband	(m.s.) - male speaking
Si - Sister	Wi - Wife	(f.s.) - female speaking
Sb - Siblings	Sp - Spouse	

Terms in parentheses ( ) are either Spanish or derivatives of Spanish terms.

Oldest terms	Alternatives	Range of application
mɨskay	tata, taita, (papá)	Fa
üšĺ	mamá	Mo
(mayor) nunek		ElBr (m.s.)
(mayor) nuchak		ElSi (m.s.), ElBr (f.s.)
(mayor) numɨšay		ElSi (f.s.)
wendɨnunek		YoBr (m.s.)
wendɨnuchak		YoSi (m.s.), YoBr (f.s.)
wendɨnumɨšay		YoSi (f.s.)
šabey nunek		YstBr (m.s.)
šabey nuchak		YstSi (m.s.), YstBr (f.s.)
šabey numɨšay		YstSi (f.s.)
nuškay		So
nimbáš		Da
(mayor) nuškay		Oldest So
(mayor) nimbaš		Oldest Da
wendɨnuškay		YoSo

TABLE 11 (Con't.)

Oldest terms	Alternatives	Range of application
wendɨnimbáš		YoDa
šabey nuškay		YstSo
šabey nimbáš		YstDa
tata (taita) šur	(aueló) or papa señor	FaFa, MoFa
mama šura	(auelá) or mama señora	FaMo, MoMo
	(aueló)	alternative for FaFa, MoFa; FaFaBr, FaMoBr, MoFaBr, MoMoBr, SbChSo, SoSo, DaSo.
	(auelá)	alternative for FaMo, MoMo; FaFaSi, FaMoSi, MoFaSi, MoMoSi, SbChDa, SoDa, DaDa.
	papa señor	alternative for FaFa, MoFa, FaFaBr, FaMoBr, MoFaBr, MoMoBr
	mama señora	alternative for FaMo, MoMo, FaFaSi, FaMoSi, MoFaSi, MoMoSi
šur[1]	(aueló) or papa señor	FaFaBr, FaMoBr, MoFaBr, MoMoBr
šura[1]	(auelá) or papa señor	FaFaSi, FaMoSi, MoFaSi, MoMoSi
kuchimɨskay or kasúk	(tío)	FaBr, MoBr, FaSiHu, MoSiHu
kuchiuší	(tía)	FaSi, MoSi, FaBrWi, MoBrWi
numɨšay or lenumɨšay[2]		FaSbDa (f.s.), MoSbDa (f.s.)
lenuchak		FaSbDa (m.s.), MoSbDa (m.s.), FaSbSo (m.s.), MoSbSo (f.s.)

TABLE 11 (Con't.)

Oldest terms	Alternatives	Range of application
lenunek		FaSbSo (m.s.), MoSbSo (m.s.)
kasugunɬ		BrSo, SiSo
kuchiunɬ		BrDa, SiDa, alternative for BrSo, SiSo

1. Used only in lower veredas. Upper veredas use tata (taita) šul and mama šulya for grandparents' siblings.

2. Used only in upper veredas.

In the case of remarriages Guambianos terminologically distinguish adopted parents and children by the use of pana or panab in front of the normal kinship term. Half-brothers and half-sisters are classified as cousins. Adopted children are referred to as nuranik nuškay or nuranik nimbaš.

Examination of the terms used for consanguineal kin shows the following variables to be significant: (1) sex of the referent; (2) sex of the speaker; (3) relative age; (4) generation, and (5) lineal or collateral kin. Generation is the most important variable reflected in all terms used for consanguineal kin. Sex of the referent is reflected in all terms used for consanguineal kin. Sex of the referent is reflected in all terms except for nuchak (sibling of the opposite sex). This term is used reciprocally between brothers and sisters, and the sex of the referent is understood to be different from that of the speaker. Relative age is important in ego's generation, and special modifying terms are employed to differentiate between siblings older than ego, those younger, and the last born of each sex. Relative age (or birth order) is also used in distinguishing the oldest child of each sex from those that follow, and the last born from the rest.

Lineal relatives are differentiated from collateral ones in ego's and the first ascending generation, and with one set of terms (šur, tata šur; šura, mama šura) in the grandparent generation. There is an exception to the lineal-collateral distinction with respect to female speakers who extend sister (num±šay) terms to female cousins.

There are no native terms for the third ascending generation, but when pressed for one some Guambianos give a modification of the

Spanish terms: pisoaueló and pisoauelá (Spanish--bisabuelo and bisabuela). Pisoaueló and pisoauelá are also used for the third descending generation. Some informants use the Guambiano adjective le (distant) rather than piso in front of aueló and auelá.

Since the brother and sister terms exhibit more complexity than the others they merit some additional attention in order to determine what aspects of the culture they might be related to. One of their functions is to distinguish the sibling group from other relatives. The term express a sentiment of solidarity of those descended from the same parents, who, even after marriage, continue to help, visit, and have a responsibility towards one another. The use of different terms by male and female speakers I view as having a rhetorical function underscoring the different roles of each sex and relationships among siblings of the same sex as opposed to those with siblings of the opposite sex.

Political and religious situations sharply differentiate male and female roles. Those associated with domestic and economic activities, however, are much less sharply defined, especially among children. Within this context the use of different terms by male and female children provide some basis for sexual identification and differentiation during a period when roles are minimally, and often not at all, related to sex.

With respect to the use of terms identifying relative age of siblings, the functional relationship seems rather straightforward. Older siblings, in fact, have authority over younger ones, and if one or both of the parents die, the oldest ones assume the authority and

responsibilities of the deceased parent(s). Distinguishing the youngest sibling from the others reflects his special status as responsible for care of his parents when they are old and his favored position in claiming inheritance.

The female's extension of sister terminology to cousins of the same sex is the only instance where different principles of classification are used by siblings. These differences I view as socially and psychologically related to rules and activities surrounding residence and inheritance which emphasize the male line. The tendency in Guambía is for patrilaterally related cousins (male and female) to grow up together, frequently in the same household. Before marriage cousins of the same sex, and roughly the same age, spend more time with one another than with siblings who are much older or of the opposite sex. It is accurate to say that "sentimentally" cousins of the same sex and age are "siblings." For female cousins who upon marriage move to their husband's home there is little in their adult life which merits a change in sentiment or behavior toward one another.

The situation is different for males on two levels: first, they continue living close to one another and, secondly, there is the element of competition for land and prestige. From a psychological perspective the need for differentiation would seem to be greater among those continuing to live in proximity to one another. Also, terminological differentiation of cousins from siblings would tend to reinforce "voluntary" as opposed to "obligatory" aspects of cooperation among adult males. The community expects brothers to work together, but among others, even other kin, it depends on "good will"

(buena voluntad). Thus the distinction between cousins and siblings maximizes the network in which "free choice" rather than "necessity" determines mutual aid. Also, in inheritance it is the brothers who have the most claim to their father's land, and there is often conflict in determining who gets what. Keeping cousins in another category would seem to reinforce the boundaries and minimize possible disputes over inheritable property.

It is important to underscore that while I am a "sentimentalist" with respect to understanding and explaining kinship terminology, I do not, consciously at least, make any claim for existential priority or causal relationships in the above discussion. My aim is solely to point out areas where there seems to be a functional relationship between terminology, cultural rules and behavior.

Affinal Kinship

When a Guambiano marries his (her) status changes within his own family and he acquires a set of affinal relatives. These changes are expressed in kinship terminology. Though post-marital residence normally brings the woman to her husband's home, affinal terminology is fully bilateral--the same range of affinal kin for both husband and wife.

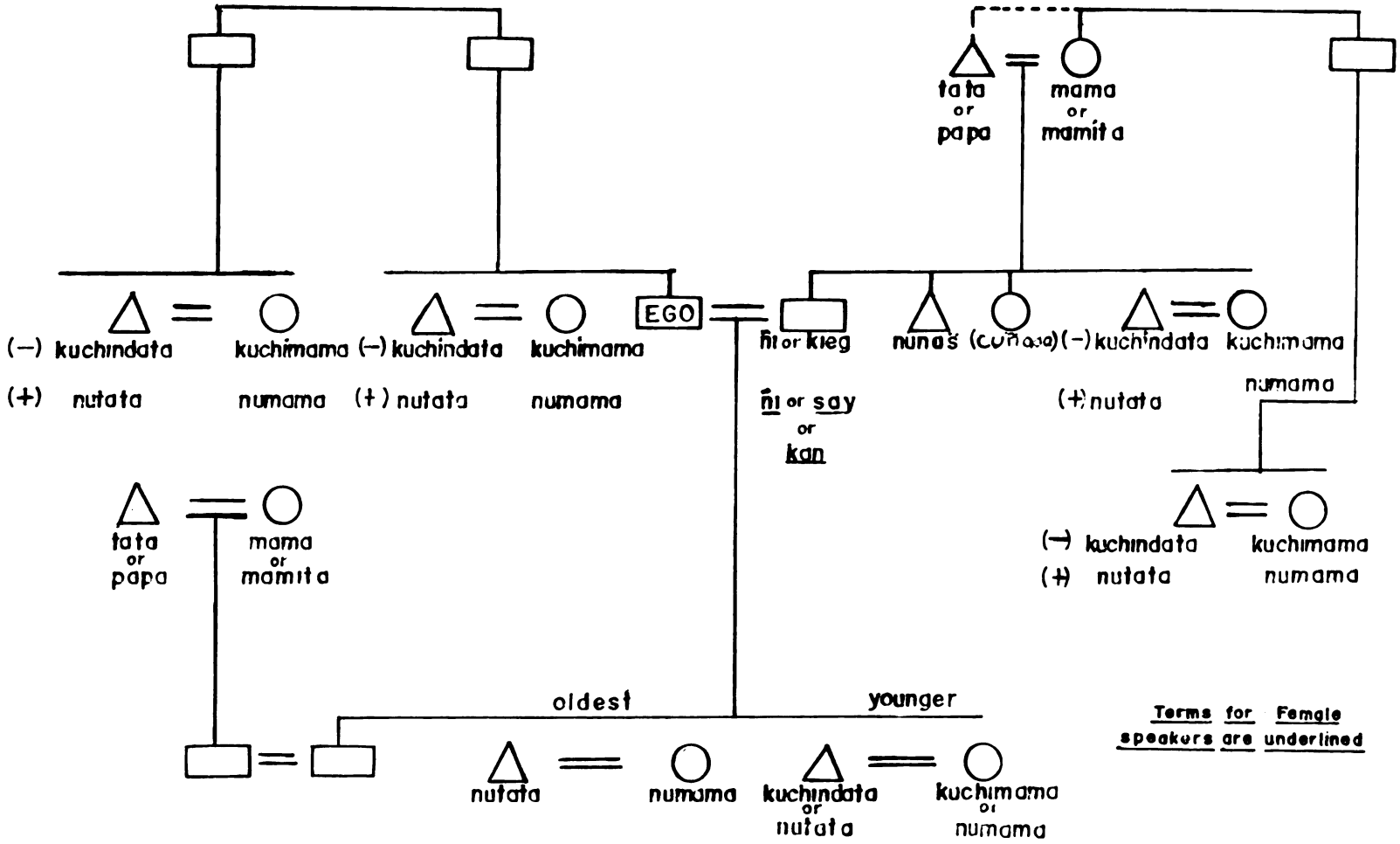

FIGURE 16: Affinal terms. mamita is a variant for female in-laws, replacing numama kuchimama and, mama.

nunaš is a variant for: Si Hu, SpSiHu, female cousin's husband, spouse's female cousin's husband

TABLE 12

Guambiano Affinal Terms *

Oldest terms	Alternatives	Range of Application
tata	(papa)	HuFa, WiFa, ChSpFa
mama	(mamita)	HuMo, WiMo, ChSpMo
ñi, or kieg		Hu
ñi, or šay, or kan		Wi
kuchindata		YoBr, YoSiHu, PaSbSo(-), PaSbDa(-)Hu, SpYoBr, SpYoSiHu, YoSo, YoDaHu, SpPaSbDa(-)Hu.
kuchimama	(mamita)	YoSi, YoBrWi, FaSbDa(-), PaSbSo(-)Wi, SpYoSi, SpYoBrWi, YoDa, YoSoWi, SpPaSbSo(-)Wi.
nutata		ElBr, ElSiHu, PaSbSo(+), PaSbDa(+)Hu, SpPaSbDa(+)Hu, SpElBr, SpElSiHu, Eldest So, Eldest DaHu. Variant for YoSo, YoDaHu.
numama	(mamita)	ElSi, ElBrWi, PaSbDa(+), PaSbSo(+)Wi, SpPaSbSo(+)Wi, SpElSi, SpElBrWi, Eldest Da, Eldest SoWi. Variant for YoDa, YoSoWi.
nunáš		SpBr(single). Variant for SpBr, SiHu, PaSbDaHu, SpPaSbDaHu, SpSiHu.
(cuñada)		SpSi (single).

*Unless otherwise noted categories of persons in the "range of application" column are assumed to be married.

The terms tata (or papa) and mama are used for spouses' parents and children's spouses' parents. In the first instance (spouses' parents) the use of tata (or papa) and mama are consistent with the principle that a person uses the same terms as his spouse in referring to and addressing members of ascending generations. There is, however, one slight shift in that in referring to one's own parents the final vowel is accented (e.g. papá, mamá). This emphasis is dropped in referring to spouses' parents.

In the second case (children's spouses" parents), the use of tata (or papa) and mama is an expression of formality and respect. The fact that their children are married to one another does not bring the sets of parents "closer" to one another. If anything, the girl's parents are wary that her mother-in-law and father-in-law are not treating her well, and are sometimes angry because they no longer have her services.

In general, affinal terminology reflects the changed status of the married person and the importance of relative age or junior-senior status. In addition they express the close ties, frequently activated, among in-laws of the same generation (see Table 14 on the composition of exchange labor groups). The variables which characterize the system of affinal kinship in Guambía are: (1) generation, (2) sex of the referent, and (3) age. The age variable may be subdivided into three categories: (a) age relative to ego--for consanguineal kin in ego's generation, (b) age relative to spouse--for spouse's siblings, and (c) age relative to other siblings (birth order) for ego's children.

The core of the system is based on the older-younger distinction contained in the prefixes nu (big) and kuchi (little). Married

siblings and cousins younger than ego are referred to as kuchimama (females) or kuchindata (males); those older than ego are referred to as nutata or numama. The complementary term is used to refer to and address their respective spouses as well. The same principle applies to spouse's married siblings in which case it is age relative to the spouse which determines the appropriate term.

Nutata and numama are used for the oldest married children "because they are the oldest," implying the greater respect parents should have for their senior offspring.

The application of affinal terms occurs gradually as children, siblings and cousins achieve marital status. The terminology is used only after the person marries (except nunaš). Thus, while a cousin or brother may address his married kin as nutata, the latter would continue using the consanguineal term as long as the other remains single. The exception to this is nunaš, which is used to refer to male in-laws regardless of their marital status. It should also be noted that unless the kinship relationship is clear to the listener consanguineal terms continue to be used in reference. All terms except nunaš, cuñada, kieg, šay and kan are used in address as well as reference.

Although rules applying to the use of affinal terms are interpreted consistently, there are situational factors governing their actual usage. For example, Guambianos find it incongruous and humorous for a young man of eighteen whose younger sister is married to a man of twenty-five to address his brother-in-law as kuchindata (implying subordination). In such cases, and when the in-laws or married kin are of roughly similar age, the tendency is to use nutata and numama (implying seniority) on a reciprocal basis. More data than I have, however, would be needed to establish the extent to which these and other modifications occur.

The system of affinal terms in contrast to much of the consanguineal system has only recently begun to be influenced by the Spanish system. Some Guambianos now use cuñada (Spanish term) to refer to an unmarried sister-in-law. This is an addition to the system, since there is no Guambiano term for spouse's unmarried sister.

The other change is the use of mamita (Spanish: little mother") which is replacing both numama and kuchimama. This leveling of hierarchical distinctions among female affines, both within and between generations, may be interpreted in two ways. First, the fact that many of the younger women have attended school and feel differently about their status in the household. They no longer accept the traditional subordinate status to the extent their mothers did. Secondly, the use of "mamita" reflects the egalitarian emphasis in structure and sentiment which is greater among females than among males. Hierarchy is much more important among men in the symbolic (political and religious) world they manipulate. Male dominated situations, while not

necessarily reflecting any permanent hierarchy, are usually structured into superordinate and subordinate relationships. Thus, I view the reciprocal use of mamita between female in-laws and sisters as an expression of the sentiment of equality which today, and perhaps to a large extent in the past as well, characterizes the relationship among them.

Summary

The system of kinship and affinity in Guambía has shown a high degree of stability. While outside influences are clearly reflected in some of the terms used today, the categories and system of classification have remained relatively unchanged for at least the past century and probably much longer. My reasons for suggesting that much of the system is at least several centuries old are: (1) before the 1940's few people on the reservation spoke Spanish; (2) though population was continually expanding it was below 4000 until the 1940's and there was sufficient territory to allow for growth without forcing any major changes in patterns of relationship, and (3) other groups in the region which might have had some cultural and linguistic effect on the Guambianos were destroyed during the conquest, and contact among remaining indigenous tribes of the region was reduced. The only exception to the above--which is important to note since their influence is significant in other contexts--is the Páez, neighbors of the Guambianos to the north and east. One informant stated that the terms "tatá" and "mamá" were taken fron the Páez.

Native terms which have shown the highest degree of stability are those used to refer to siblings, children, spouse, and cousins.

Some Spanish words have been added to the system, e.g. mayor and more recently papa señor, while others have replaced, or function as options to, Guambiano terms (e.g. aueló, tío). The affinal terms remain essentially indigenous, but recent additions, cuñada and mamita, reflect Spanish influence, a general drift towards greater equality of male and female, and a leveling of superordinate-subordinate relations.

BEHAVIORAL ASPECTS OF KINSHIP

Guambianos enjoy being with other Guambianos. They rarely work or travel alone, they do not drink alone, they criticize people who eat alone, and during wedding celebrations none of the principal actors urinates or defecates alone. The concepts of linjab (accompaniment) and latá-latá (equality) are central to interpersonal relations in the kin group as it is in all aspects of social relations in the Guambiano community.

The Quality of Interpersonal Relations

My comments on relations between kinsmen deal with struggles and conflicts as well as with the kinds of obligations and positive aspects of behavior. Before pursuing these matters in detail, however, I feel some general comments on the quality of interpersonal relations in Guambía are necessary.

Leaving aside references to tropical forest communities whose diversity makes generalizations impossible, the impression one gets reading about villages in Mexico (Foster 1967; Lewis 1951) and Central and South America (Gillin 1947; Adams 1959; Fals-Borda 1955;

Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. 1961) is that interpersonal relations are brittle, filled with tension, and at the root of a great deal of concern and anxiety. References to gossip, criticism and envy are made to underscore and describe many situations and leave the reader with the notion, often explicitly stated, that life in the family is rather unpleasant, sad, and stoically endured. Risk to one's self-image is minimized by ritual formality and a defensive strategy, thus limiting the number of significant relationships. While some of the descriptions and comments made about these communities are applicable to relations in Guambía, it would be very misleading to discuss them without noting some major differences. Visitors to the Guambiano reservation in the 19th century (Pérez de Barradas 1943; Douay 1890) and 20th century (Hernández de Alba 1946; Lehmann 1945, 1946b; Rivet 1946, Rowe 1954; Reyes 1945) have been quick to point out the basically open and friendly disposition of the people there. Guambianos are quick to laugh, ready to lend a hand to someone in need, and are a trusting and non-violent group of people.

In many ways the contrast between life in Guambía and the neighboring village of Silvia where I lived for a year (1962-3) is greater than that between the U.S.A. and Colombia. In Colombian towns and cities, as in much of the United States, one is frequently concerned about the security of person and property. The possibility of theft is omnipresent, and open conflict and aggression all too often involve the use of knives and guns. To protect yourself you lock your door, and have a maid or live in an apartment house with a doorman. In Guambía, at least until recently, few doors had locks, direct physical aggression involved fists only, and the incidence of theft and murder within the

community was very low. While the possibility of negative sanctions is certainly a factor in maintaining order, the major one seems to be the high degree of respect Guambianos have for other people and property. Though they are aware of the danger in trusting outsiders they are quick to accept them after a short period of time. They prefer to trust others.

Principles of Social Behavior

Anthropologists writing about bilateral systems and kindred (Fox 1967; Freedman 1961; Murdock 1960; Davenport 1959; Foster 1967) note that the wide range of relatives and overlapping networks provides the individual with a good deal of "flexibility" in determining which ties become socially significant. Guambianos, while maintaining the ideal of family unity and cooperation of kin, are quick to point out that people get along with some relatives and not others. Within the fireside unit and among members of a nuclear family there exists a strong obligation to support and work with one another. Beyond that range, however, sentiment and circumstantial factors rather than structure *per se* determine who an individual works and socializes with. In all aspects of behavior, including relations within the family and in activities such as weaving and house building, the notion of "voluntary" action is crucial. For example, a man works with his cousin because he "wants to (*tiene voluntad*)" and a woman weaves because she "wants to."

Underlying the structure of social relations are the long term struggles for survival, wealth and prestige. On a day to day basis

activities evolve around crops, marketing, sickness, and marriage, occasionally punctuated by death, witchcraft, physical violence, adultery, incest, abortion, theft, and suicide or murder.

In addition to the themes of equality and accompaniment the principles guiding social relationships in Guambía are the authority of old over young and of male over female. Elder males in the community are addressed as kasuku. For males whose contributions to the community have been especially noteworthy, usually those who have held high political office, the term taita is employed. Males and females in higher positions expect the obedience and respect of those with lesser status but in turn are expected to reciprocate by providing support and leadership.

Relations Within the Fireside Unit

Interpersonal relations within the domestic unit are based on a few principles which, in accordance with the activity being performed, become temporarily dominant. The father can demand the immediate attention and services of any member of the fireside group. Parents' influence over children continues even after the latter marry, and especially while they share a single kitchen. The mother's dominance over the children is second only to her husband's, and with respect to many decisions for the home she is in control. Other principles are equality of household members who are roughly the same age, and a generalized respect for all persons regardless of age or sex.

Although hierarchical principles are important in many situations, and are always a latent factor, the general impression one gets after

observing family life is one of a high degree of equality, respect, and personal freedom. Members of the domestic unit share ideas and opinions, organize activities together, care for one another's children, and during the non-working hours come in and out of the kitchen as they please. Children enter into conversation with and offer opinions to elders, and they are listened to. Frequently, women and children would correct or add to information presented to me by the household head. High value is placed on the individual and on letting him do what he wishes. Even seemingly involuntary behavior, such as getting well from an illness and dying, is sometimes framed in terms of willfulness (voluntad).

In contrast to the picture presented above there are homes, and situations in all homes, where fathers are authoritarian and control carefully the behavior of other members. In addition, the atmosphere in the home often becomes stressful after children marry and begin to have children of their own. Splitting into separate fireside units tends to restore peace to the household.

Within the family the concept of personal ownership of property is important but tempered by the obligation to share and cooperate. Males own most of the land, but widows control their husband's property, at least until the children are fully grown. In addition, women normally have some land and animals of their own. Animals, tools and clothing are personally owned. Tools are freely borrowed by family members, and if it is clear the owner has no need for the tool there is no need to ask permission. Clothing is also borrowed, but permission should be obtained in advance. Unless the individual has a pressing

need for the item loans are readily granted. Cooperation in agricultural work is frequent, but in all cases the owner of the property has the right to dispose of the harvest as he or she wishes. A portion of one's earnings are for personal use, but a major part is contributed to the maintenance of the household.

While there is a clear division of labor between husbands and wives in some activities, the couple spends a good deal of time together at home and in the fields. Infants are carried to the fields and attended during the day by their mothers. Children between three and six or seven years old are sometimes taken to the fields but more often are left at home with a relative.

Disputes Between Husbands and Wives

Guambianos fully expect that husbands and wives will have occasional disagreements. Though some men still beat their wives, Guambianos say that the use of physical force within the family has declined substantially during the past forty years.

Explanations for husband-wife arguments given to me by men center around: women not having meals ready on time, not taking proper care of the children, not weaving clothing for the family, not responding to husband's demands, and leaving the home to make visits without first getting permission. Women get mad at men for arriving very late from the fields, for spending excessive amounts of money on aguardiente, and for getting drunk too often.

Other disputes involve sexual matters and the belief (or knowledge) that adultery has been committed. There are women, single and

married, who are known to have sexual relations with men "for a gift," and others who are simply "very hot." Adulterous women are criticized and gossiped about and, up till fifteen years ago, were stripped and whipped by cabildo officials. Men were punished for adultery when the partner was married, but they received a less severe punishment out of recognition that they "worked for the community interests."

Extra-marital relations with single girls or willing women are often engaged in by younger married men, and their activities become the subject of joking and kidding between them. A woman who suspects (or knows) her husband has frequent relations with another female will often consult a shaman. The shaman either prepares herbs to be added to the food to keep the man from continuing these activities and/or uses sorcery to harm the offending female. In general, women rather than men are blamed for taking the initiative in establishing extra-marital relations. There are various instances of women physically assaulting other women with whom their husband were having affairs.

Parents and Children

Husbands prefer male children, wives prefer females, and both seem to derive a great deal of satisfaction in watching children grow up. Children are important as sources of labor in and outside the home, and early in life participate in activities essential to the organization of a household. Not having children is viewed as an unfortunate situation, and childless adults are said to appear in the afterworld in the form of a mule. Guambianos recognize the dangers of having too large a family and use various methods of population control including abortion and infanticide.

Children help in domestic activities, run errands and take care of their younger siblings. Most seem to enjoy helping their parents but on occasion refuse to comply with adult demands. Their refusal may be met with a repetition of the demand, but frequently parents will respect the child's wishes. As children reach adolescence there is marked change in their attitude and behavior with respect to performing activities associated with childhood. They are ashamed to run errands to local stores, adolescent boys stop carrying younger siblings, and both sexes pay more attention to clothing and adornment.

Some conscious training of children occurs with respect to elimination, language learning, walking, weaving, farming, and some domestic tasks. There is no fixed timetable, however. Children are not "forced" to learn, and Guambianos readily acknowledge that some children learn things faster than others. They expect the child to do what he is able "when he wishes to (cuando tiene la voluntad)."

Children in Guambía have an important role to play in family life. At a relatively early age (12-15) they are given resources (animals and/or small plots of land) to begin earning money to meet some of their own needs (especially clothing and tools). Adolescent boys have a good deal of personal freedom and spend much of their time with brothers, cousins and friends of a similar age. Adolescent girls are somewhat more restricted in their movements. and mothers are responsible for keeping watch over their behavior. Adolescent girls, however, manage to find time to meet boyfriends, and as long as they are discreet and do not get pregnant no fuss is made over these relationships. If a girl's relationship(s) become the subject of community gossip her parents will take care to assure she is accompanied on trips outside of the home.

Two aspects of parent-child relations in Guambía which in my mind sharply distinguish family life there from most other Latin American families are the extent to which children participate in and know about almost all areas of life, and the relative absence of fear. While fathers may on rare occasions hit their children there is, in general, little physical punishment. Child beating is criticized, e.g., "Why did you have children--so you could hit them?" Most punishment is an immediate verbal reprimand which is usually a great embarrassment and brings the child to tears. In short, the high level of interpersonal tension and social distance between members of a nuclear family found in many Latin American villages is not characteristic in Guambía. There the home is a relaxed and pleasant setting to be in. It is a place of love and security, not tension and fear.

Stories about little spirits (kalyim) and modifications of Spanish folktales are part of the socialization process. They are directed at keeping young children from straying too far from home and emphasize values of family loyalty and hard work.

Children are responsible for the care of their parents as they become old and widowed. Ideally, the care of aging parents is the responsibility of the youngest son and his wife. If most offspring are young, older children share the obligation of looking after the remaining parent, at least until the youngest male is married and able to manage things on his own.

Old widowed parents continue to play a significant role in the household. Unless they are sick they work as equals with their children and grandchildren in the fields and kitchen. People in their

sixties and seventies who are no longer strong enough to perform the heavy agricultural work do whatever they can to help around the home.

Sibling and Cousin Relationship

Brothers and sisters grow up playing together, sharing responsibilities, and sleeping in the same bed with their parents until they are six or seven years old. As they get older each sex spends more time with the parent, siblings, cousins, and friends of his own sex. Household composition and residence patterns result in most children having a pool of cousins with whom they begin to spend a great deal of time. When children reach adolescence they are discouraged from being seen alone with cousins of the opposite sex. This is done to keep them from developing strong feelings toward one another which might lead to sexual relations and possibly marriage.

While seeking friendships with others of their own sex, brothers and sisters spend much time together at work and around the fire. There is little basis of competition between sexes as there is among males. Close ties often develop between male and female siblings, and these often continue after each is married. A married sister whose husband does not treat her well may seek support from her brother.

Relationships between sisters and female cousins are generally very close in Guambía. They play, work, go to school and share secrets with one another. When they are past puberty the may serve as intermediaries in helping to arrange each other's meetings with boyfriends. Marriage reduces the amount of time sisters and cousins are together but relationships are maintained through visiting and sometimes

exchange labor arrangements. Sisters and female cousins leaving their natal vereda after marriage occasionally find themselves living near one another in which case their close ties are maintained. Husbands, however, are often wary of their wives spending too much time with sisters and cousins and suspect they aid their wives in making arrangements to meet old boyfriends.

The situation is different among male siblings who are in a competitive situation because of the father's control of and their need for land. While disputes between brothers often lead to a severing of ties, they also bring some brothers closer together. Brothers often form "coalitions" with one another and work in opposition to a third and/or fourth brother. Many brothers long after they are married continue to work, travel, drink, and in general spend a lot of time together.

The eldest male sibling is viewed as a father surrogate and shares in the responsibility of running the household. If the father dies while there are still unmarried children at home he becomes responsible for them and may be referred to by his youngest siblings as papa. He assumes responsibility for helping to pay for his younger brothers' marriages and is the person to whom his sisters' prospective in-laws must address themselves.

Adoption and Illegitimate Children

Adoption of children is a frequent and uncomplicated affair. When a couple is childless or have children of one sex only, or an unmarried girl with a child, to give them a child "as a gift (regalar)."

In other instances a young man wishing to marry a girl who has had a child by another man may ask her to give the child away before they marry.

In return for receiving a child the couple makes some "gifts" to the parent(s), usually items of clothing, blankets or a young animal. While giving children away is not uncommon, the parents or girl who do this may be criticized, especially if they do it a second time. The adopted child generally becomes a permanent member of the family with full rights to inheritance. In a few instances, however, children return to their natural parents, who compensate the couple who cared for the child, usually by giving them an animal. In addition to obtaining children from other Guambiano families there are several cases of adoption involving children from the neighboring Páez tribe, and one from the peripatetic Sibundoys.

Within Guambiano society adoption can be seen as serving various social functions: (1) reducing the size of large families; (2) balancing the male/female ratio (latá-latá) among children in a home, thus providing each parent with at least one child of each sex to accompany the parents in work activities; (3) providing an opportunity for bastard children to be raised by a full set of parents; (4) keeping bastard children from interfering with the possible future marriages of their mothers, and (5) making it possible for childless couples to raise a family.

Other Kin and Neighbors

Grandparents, aunts, uncles and in-laws are an important part of a person's social world. Many social and economic relationships involve

persons outside the domestic unit, and these are normally established with other kinsmen.

Grandparents have especially warm relationships with grandchildren and display a great deal of affection for them. Grandparents frequently give grandchildren small gifts, and, if they can afford it, land and animals when the children are older. Grandparents often take care of grandchildren when the parents are away from home. If grandparents are still active in agricultural work they are often accompanied by grandchildren.

There is a reciprocal joking relationship among alternate generations. Most kidding is of a sexual nature, for example: (Grandparent with grandchild, to third person) "This is my girlfriend; when she grows up we are going to get married." Or (others, to grandchild and grandparent of opposite sexes walking together) "Who's that you are walking with, your boyfriend?" Or (grandparent to grandchild) "Let's go to my house and go to bed."

Guambianos usually spend part of their childhood around the same fire with uncles and aunts. They often work together, and these relationships sometimes continue after the nephews and nieces marry. Favorite uncles and aunts may be asked to serve as godparents to a couple's baby, or at marriage.

Another group of persons who play an important role in a person's life are the in-laws. A married woman carries on many day-to-day activities with her mother-in-law and her husband's siblings and their spouses. Close relationships sometimes develop (or may already exist) among sisters-in-law and/or with their husband's mother, but the situation is often unpleasant for younger women. Mothers-in-law and older

sisters-in-law have authority over the younger woman in the house, and some choose to exercise it regularly. Interpersonal problems among women in a fireside group often lead to a woman's asking her husband to build a separate house.

Complaints about mother-in-law--daughter-in-law relationships suggest there are differing notions of proper behavior with regard to these roles. On the one hand mothers-in-law are often accused by daughters-in-law of being domineering and uncooperative in domestic activities. They say their mothers-in-law pass on too much work to them. Mothers-in-law, on the other hand, complain that their daughters-in-law do not work as hard as they used to (which is true). There are, of course, many households in which these relationships run smoothly.

Men sometimes help members of their wife's and sisters' families, occasionally establishing working ties with them and exchanging household visits. There is an avoidance relationship among siblings-in-law of the opposite sex, and being seen together on several occasions results in criticism and gossip.

Neighbors form another category with whom close ties frequently develop. Mutual aid and visiting characterize the relationship.

Regardless of the normal relationship with aunts, uncles, in-laws and neighbors, events such as house construction and funerals bring them all temporarily together. "Accompaniment" in these activities is obligatory even when there is an active dispute among them.

PART 2. COMPADRAZGO

In addition to the bonds of kinship, affinity and residence, the Guambianos utilize the fictional kinship (compadrazgo) system to increase, reinforce and formalize social relationships. The compadrazgo system is common throughout peasant and tribal communities in Latin America, and Mintz and Wolf (1950) have shown how variations in the system are related to differences in social organization. The situation in Guambía, however, is somewhat different from the communities they discuss, both in terms of the nature of compadrazgo and community type, and I shall utilize my material to modify their conclusions.

PRINCIPLES OF COMPADRAZGO IN LATIN AMERICA AND GUAMBIA

The basic principle of compadrazgo is the sponsorship of an individual or couple by another person or persons, with the consequent establishment of formal ties among them and members of their family. In Guambía there are two major types of compadrazgo and two lesser ones. The major types are the compadrazgo de óleo (godparent of the holy oil or anointment) performed by the priest in a regular church baptismal ceremony, and the compadrazgo de matrimonio established at the Catholic marriage of a couple. Of the two minor types, one is the compadrazgo de agua (water) in which the chosen godparent personally baptizes the child with water within hours after birth. This is a preventive measure for the child's spirit (mɨsig) lest the child die before baptism in church and thus be condemned to limbo. The other minor type is the compadrazgo de confirmación, which occurs at the child's first confirmation. Respect among compadres and the requirement to greet one

another when passing hold for all compadrazgo ties regardless of when they were established. The major ones, however, are considered more serious. Ceremonies such as the first hair cutting and nail cutting are practiced in Guambía. While there is sponsorship of these events by adults, they do not result in the establishment of compadrazgo ties as they sometimes do in other Latin American communities (e.g. Fals-Borda 1955; Gillin 1947).

Anthropologists writing about compadrazgo in Colombia (Fals-Borda 1955:197; Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. 1961:170-30) and in other parts of Latin America (Foster 1967:75-85; Lewis 1960:66-68; Mintz and Wolf 1950) are in agreement as to the kinds of structural relationships established by the ritual sponsorship. Foster (1967:76-77) summarizes the basic structure as follows:

> In all forms of compadrazgo the terminology is the same. The sponsoring persons, the godparents, usually a married couple but occasionally an unmarried pair, and sometimes a single individual only, are known and addressed as the padrinos (padrino=godfather; madrina=godmother). The sponsored person, the godchild, a single individual except in marriage, is called ahijado ("godson") or ahijada (goddaughter"). In addition to these ties, the godparents and the parents of the godchild also enter into a new formal relationship; they become compadres, or co-parents. A male in this relationship is called and addressed as compadre, while a female is called and addressed as comadre. (Italics his.)

These relationships may be diagrammed in the following manner:

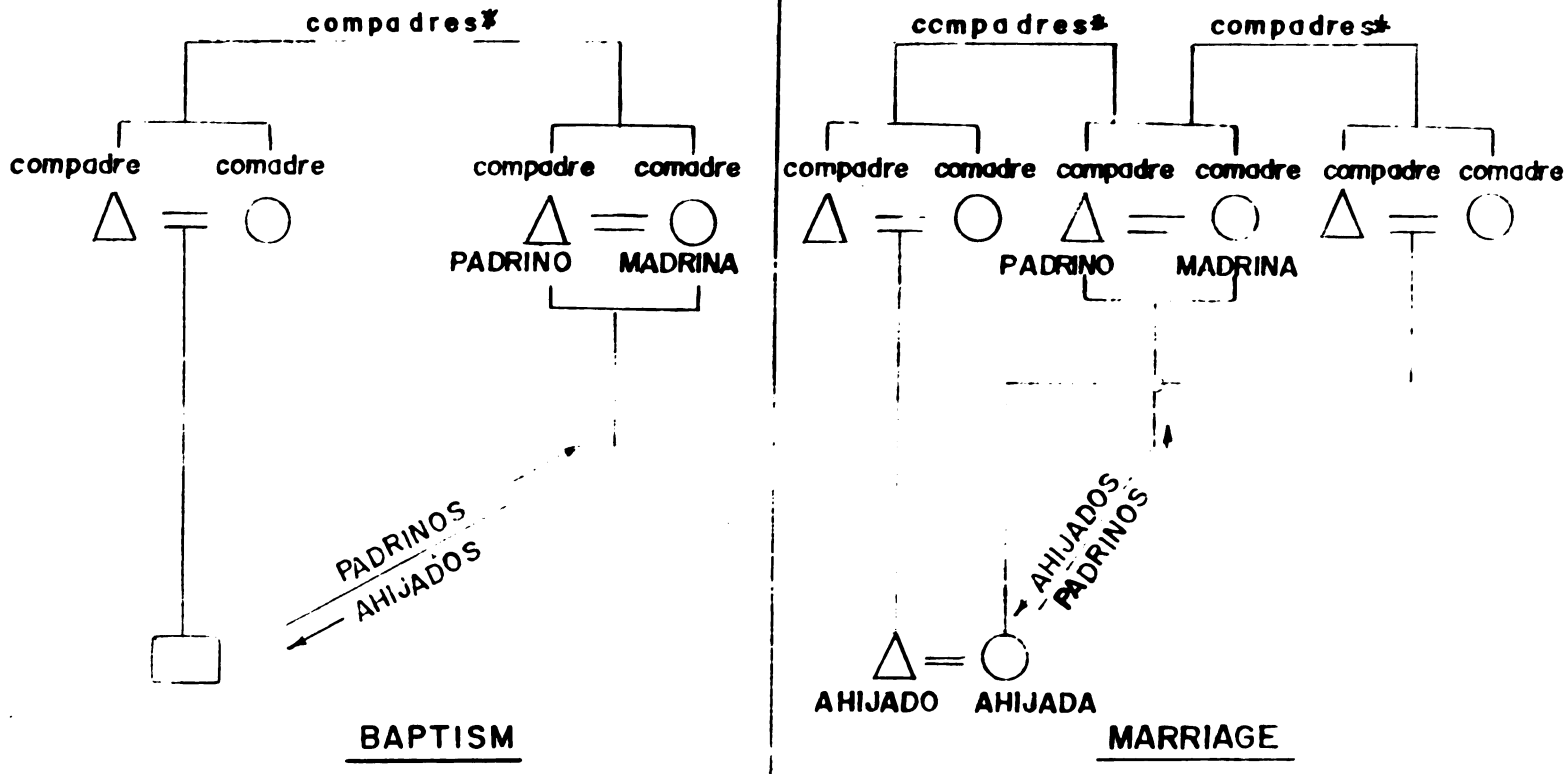

FIGURE 17: Compadrazgo: Normal pattern found in Latin American Communities.
lower case letters - reciprocal terms used within a single generation

UPPER CASE LETTERS — terms used between godparents and godchildren.

*Compadrazgo terms are used between couples and not among spouses.

FICTIVE KIN IN GUAMBIA

In Guambía the principles presented above are used but the system is extended to cover a larger number of persons and there are terminological changes. These are diagrammed in Figs. 17 and 18. One extension also found in some Latin American communities (e.g. Foster 1967) is that of compadrazgo with siblings of either partner. This occurs when a sibling of the parents of the initiate, or a sibling of the godparents, is present at the event and voluntarily participates in the handshaking ritual which ends the ceremony. In Guambía a fictional kin relationship is always established among the children of the sponsoring parent and the initiate'(s) parents. In addition, the initiate and his siblings and the children of the godparents refer to one another as hermanto and hermanta, the terms being reciprocal among sibling groups.

In referring to godparents, Guambianos use native terms instead of the Spanish "padrino" and "madrina." Different terms are used according to the kind of event (baptism or marriage) in which ties were established. To refer to godparents formed at baptisms the godchildren and their siblings use mutaptata and mutamama. These terms are also used by the godparents' children to refer to the parents of the initiate. The prefix muta (or mutap) means "to carry in one's arms." Earlier in the century the terms for godparents were mutamɨskay and mutabüsi.[3]

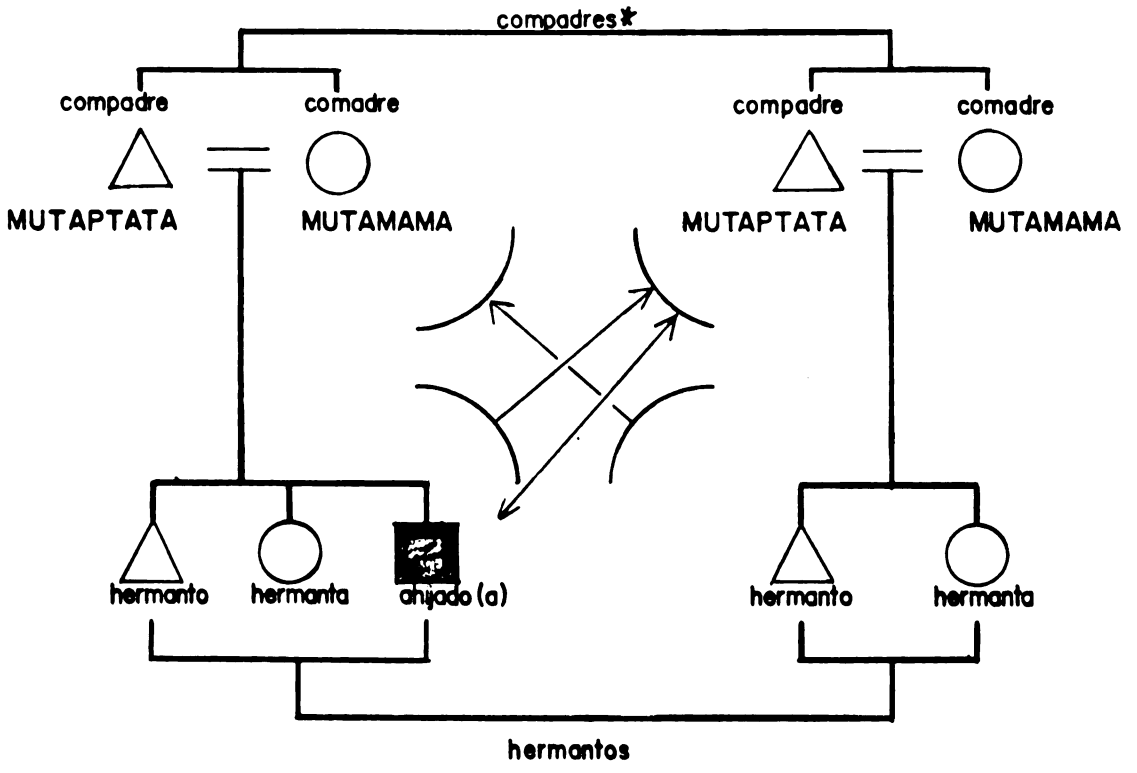

FIGURE 18 : Compadrazgo in Guambía: Baptism.
Lower case letters: terms used within a single generation.
UPPER CASE LETTERS: between generations.
*Possible extension of compadrazgo to siblings.

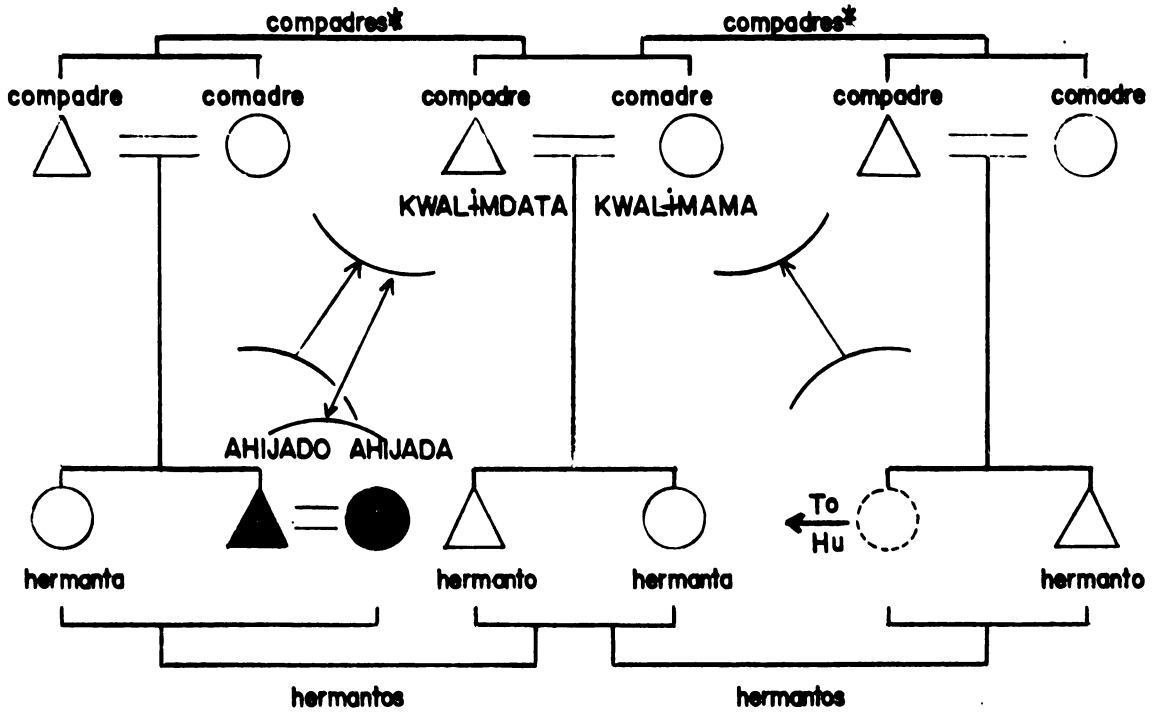

FIGURE 19 : Compadrazgo in Guambía: Marriage.
Lower case letters: terms used within a single generation.
UPPER CASE LETTERS: between generations.
*Possible extension of compadrazgo to siblings.

For godparents who serve at weddings, godchildren use the term kwalɨmdata and kwalɨmama (father and mother "of the day"). In marriage the ties between hermantos, compadres, etc. extend equally to the bride's family as they do to the bridegroom's, even though it is the latter's parents who choose the godparents.

Ideally, a spiritual bond is established among those individuals linked through these fictive kinship ties. According to Church doctrine the function of godparenthood is to guide the religious upbringing of the godchild. Anthropologists writing on compadrazgo in modern Latin America (Foster 1967:75-77; Mintz and Wolf 1950) suggest that while the custom derives from the notion of spiritual parenthood, "emphasis seems to be rather on ritual co-parenthood; the compadre-compadre relationship outweighs the godparent-godchild relationship" (Mintz and Wolf 1950:355). While this assertion generally holds for compadrazgo ties established in Guambía at baptisms, it is not equally applicable to those formed at marriages. After the wedding dance in Guambía godparents give "advice (consejos)" to their new godchildren. They share responsibility with the parents of the couple for maintaining domestic tranquility and sometimes play an active role in mediating family disputes. In addition, the reciprocal joking relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extended to include godchildren's children.

Regardless of the occasion, the bonds established in ritual co-parenthood ideally result in a more formal and serious relationship between the persons involved. Compadrazgo relationships are said to increase in importance if an individual is a godparent to two members

of the same family. In their ideal form godparent-godchild ties also imply mutual assistance in work activities. This aspect is not seen by the Guambianos as essential to the relationship but rather as a function of the "good will (buena voluntad)" of the individuals involved. Godparents sometimes ask godchildren to assist them in agricultural work, and both feel the obligation to help one another in house building.

It is customary for individuals linked through compadrazgo bonds to greet one another respectfully. This often results in an invitation to drink together, and it is impolite to refuse such an offer. This factor is taken into account when selecting compadres, heavy drinkers being less desirable.

SELECTION OF GODPARENTS

The process of choosing godparents and asking them to serve is one which the Guambianos do not enjoy. Shame is sometimes involved, and there are stereotyped jokes which an individual being asked to act as a godparent may direct at the person soliciting his services. For example: (Prospective godparent of baptism to child's father) "Your work finally produced results? (ya resultó el trabajo?)." Or, (prospective godfather of marriage to the bridegroom's father) "Your son now wants to be warm when he goes to bed? (Su hijo ya quiere dormir caliente?)."

More significant for understanding the embarrassment Guambianos feel on these occasions is the relative lack of material reciprocity in the arrangement. Unlike other situations in which there is an

immediate return for goods and labor services, or only a brief delay, these aspects are not a part of the compadrazgo system. Insofar as the system is one of exchanges it is more a matter of the godparents spending time and money in return for respect and prestige.

In selecting godparents the Guambianos use different criteria according to whether the child is going to be baptized or married. This question has either not been raised by anthropologists studying compadrazgo, or it is simply not a factor in any of the communities they have considered. Mintz and Wolf (1950) refer to sixteen monographs published between 1937 and 1950 and do not take the matter into account. Monographs published more recently (e.g. Foster 1967; Fals-Borda 1955; Lewis 1960, and Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. 1961) which consider the question of compadrazgo selection make no reference to the possible use of differential criteria in selecting compadres for different occasions. Perhaps the matter is not important in these communities, but the evidence in Guambía indicates a significant difference in the kinds of persons and the way in which they are recruited for the various godparenthood roles.

Baptism

In selecting godparents for baptisms Guambianos choose Whites as well as Indians. Sometimes a couple, or the father accompanied by a female relative, simply brings the baby to Silvia and seeks out a suitable White or Guambiano to serve as godparent. In these cases the godparent(s) purchase either a baptismal dress or small item of clothing, and pay for the baptismal certificate. After the ceremony they purchase

a small bottle of aguardiente, sweet liqueur, or wine which is then consumed. This latter purchase is matched by the godparents' new compadre. In these instances the relationship comes to little more than the formalities of greetings and an occasional invitation to drink. However, if the godparents are Guambianos and the godchild dies, the former are obligated to purchase the funeral dress, share in other funeral expenses, and participate in various activities precipitated by the death of the godchild. Reciprocally, when a godparent dies the godchildren are expected to accompany the mortuary services and burn candles in the deceased's home. Even if the godparent, godchild or compadres live far from a fictional kinsman who dies, the family of the deceased is obligated to inform them and they have the duty to accompany the dead person and his family. Once established, compadrazgo ties are permanent and not broken when godchildren die.

For baptisms Guambianos select Whites from Silvia, including temporary residents such as extension workers and teachers, and other Guambianos, normally those from another vereda. The reluctance of Guambianos to select compadres of baptism from among their neighbors reflects the general seriousness with which compadrazgo ties are regarded by the individuals and the community at large.

One of the reasons for looking for a child's godparents outside the vereda is to avoid aggravating difficult situations which tend to occur between persons living near each other. In Guambía most of the disputes, fights, criticism, gossip etc. are localized. Disagreements, arguments and fights are more or less recognized as regular features of community life, but if compadres are involved, then community

criticism is particularly strong. Fights between compadres are particularly reprehensible because their relationship, unlike that among other kin, is entered into voluntarily. It is said that compadres who fight will appear before God as goats and punished for their behavior. Thus, one of the most important criteria in selecting godparents for baptisms is the negative one of refraining from too many local compadrazgo ties which might prove difficult to maintain properly.

Some compadres, including Whites and other Indians, are selected because of their higher economic position. Borrowing money from compadres (and sometimes from godparents) is a common practice, and thus large landowners, local merchants and bus drivers are frequently selected. In Silvia and on the reservation there are individuals with over fifty godchildren.

Within the group of those compadres selected for utilitarian reasons are local curanderos and pharmacists. There are also instances when Guambianos select compadres of baptism from among the kin group. This is done only when the relationship between them is already a good one and they are secure in feeling that there will be no future conflicts. Such ties often are established among uncles and nephews and in-laws. In all cases the terminology of the co-parenthood system replaces any pre-existing terms used in reference and address. An uncle who becomes a compadre is subsequently referred to and addressed as "compadre." While my view is tentative, I believe that one reason Guambianos establish compadrazgo ties with kin and in-laws is to reduce the hierarchical distinctions found in consanguineal and affinal terminology.

Marriage

Selection of a couple to serve as godparents for a marriage is a more serious matter than choosing compadres for baptisms, and is a subject of discussion for the entire family. Godparents for a marrying couple are usually Guambianos living in the same or adjacent vereda. Underlying the selection process is the knowledge that the godparents will share in the responsibility for the behavior of the couple and thus on occasion will be intimately involved in emotional affairs of the entire family. The most important criterion used in the selection process is the reputation of the couple within the community. People whose marital relationship is free from conflict, who get along well with their children, kin and neighbors are considered ideal godparents. A couple with a tarnished history of family relationships has less prestige, and thus their effectiveness in setting an example and reconciling differences is diminished. Another factor is the behavior of the godchildren which the couple already has. If godchildren live without marital strife the godparents are given part of the credit, and their value as potential godparents for others increases.

Relative wealth is also a factor involved in the selection of godparents for weddings. This may be subdivided into poverty with respect to potential compadres and the economic standing of the family sponsoring the wedding. A family which is very poor and so cannot afford to sponsor a large wedding feast may seek compadres from Silvia. Such weddings are not followed by a ceremony on the reservation, thus sharply reducing the cost of the event. They simply have the service in Silvia, go briefly to the house of the White godparents, have

something to eat and consume several bottles of aguardiente before returning to the reservation. If the godparents are Guambianos a feast and dance always takes place on the reservation.

Economics sometimes plays a role in a couple's refusal to serve as godparents. The pre-ceremonial activities of godparents for a wedding take several days and involve expenditures of a few hundred pesos. Thus, while poorer couples are sometimes asked to serve, the tendency is to select persons whose financial position is solid enough for them to help in some of the wedding expenses.

PART 3. THE DIVISION OF LABOR

The system of socioeconomic roles in Guambía is relatively undifferentiated in comparison with many other tribal and peasant communities. There are no true specialists whose individual or household economies are exclusively dependent on the specialty. Bus owners, carpenters and government employees all cultivate some land. There is division of labor by age and sex but the categories are general. Activities usually associated with one sex are sometimes performed by members of the opposite sex. Older informants, however, stress that in the past the differences were more rigidly enforced. The decline in sexual differentiation occurrred as the community was increasing in size, participating more fully in Colombian institutions, and learning skills which enabled the Indians to perform activities previously carried out by non-Indians. In short, sexual differentiation in traditional economic activities has decreased as new economic roles have developed and specialization increased. Guambianos continue, however, to organize many agricultural activities within the traditional framework of reciprocal and cooperative labor.

AGE AND SEX

Almost all the people of Guambía are farmers who till the soil and tend livestock. For some, specialties are primary occupations, but for most they play a secondary role. As soon as a child is able, usually when he is six or seven years old, he begins to contribute to the household. Young boys and girls help carry water and firewood,

tend animals, and assist in the fields with small tools made especially for them. Children of both sexes aid in taking care of their younger siblings. Infants are swaddled and carried under shawls on the backs of their older siblings. Some differences in socialization begin between four and six years of age. Boys then spend more time with their fathers, and girls generally accompany their mother. It is not unusual, however, for a girl to accompany her father or other male relative while her mother stays home.

Young boys assume greater domestic responsibilities when there is no female to assist the mother. They stay home to assist in the cooking and care of younger siblings if their mother is busy in the fields.

Boys help in agricultural work, in house building and on community projects. Many begin travelling outside the reservation and work in coffee and sugar cane harvests and other cash-paying jobs. By adolescence a female can perform all of the necessary domestic activities and soon masters the skills involved in spinning, weaving cloth, and knitting jigras. She is often given a plot for a garden and uses the produce to buy weaving materials, jewelry and items of clothing for herself.

The next change of status occurs when a person marries. In the past couples married while they were still in their early and middle teens. They wait a little longer today, but most marriages still occur while the partners are in their teens or early twenties. After marriage men become more serious about economic affairs and are eligible to hold political office. A woman must adjust to a new home,

cultivate her own garden and produce clothing for herself, her husband and her children. If, as is usually the case, she moves in with her husband's family she helps her in-laws in the kitchen and fields.

Women are more limited than men in the choice of secondary occupations. A few become mid-wives, and others help tend store if their husbands own them. A few single and widowed women are part-time traders. The most common specialties for women, both of which are low-status occupations, are weaving and agricultural wage labor. Weavers are paid two to three pesos a day plus meals to fill in the woof of looms on which the warp has already been readied.

There are several retarded mutes on the reservation. They maintain themselves by performing simple tasks such as weeding or cleaning freshly shorn wool. They are not paid in cash but fed and given old clothing in return for their services. In Guambía everyone is part of the community, no one is left out and there are no rewards for laziness.

The table below provides a general guideline to the division of labor in Guambía. It shows the men and women sharing tasks related to agricultural production and dividing most responsibilities in other areas. Affairs relating to the welfare of the vereda or the reservation are basically male activities.

TABLE 13

Division of Labor in Guambía

ACTIVITY	Men	Women	Children
Domestic			
fetch water		x	x
clean house		x	x
prepare meals		x	x
serve meals		x	
clean pots and utensils		x	x
get firewood	x	x	x
feed small animals		x	x
fetch horses	x		x
Handicrafts and construction			
clean, dye and spin wool		x	x
weave ponchos, skirts, chumbes		x	
"finger knit" pouches (jigras)		x	
weave hats	x		
carpentry (looms, bancos, etc.)	x		
make adobes	x		
Hunting, production and commerce			
hunting and fishing	x		x (male)
clear fields for planting	x	x	
plant, weed and harvest crops	x	x	x
fumigate plants	x		
buy and sell in market plaza	x	x	
market major crops in bulk	x		
buy and sell large animals	x		
buy and sell land	x	x (rare)	
milk cows	x		
own stores	x		
tend store	x	x	x
manufacture aguardiente	x	x	
work for government agencies	x		
obtain credit from banks	x		
purchase clothing	x	x	
purchase beads and jewelry		x	
do wage and contract labor	x	x	

(continued)

TABLE 13 (Con't.)

ACTIVITY	Men	Women	Children
Political activities			
membership in cabildo	x		
use services of cabildo	x	x	
vote in cabildo elections	x	x	
participate in municipal and national politics	x		
Religious activities			
attend mass	x	x	x
attend weddings, funerals, wakes	x	x	x
make pilgrimages	x	x	x
organize Saints Day festivals	x		
make offerings to souls		x	
chant prayers (rezanderos)	x		
curing	x	x (rare)	
house cleansing	x		
Other			
play musical instruments	x		
dance at special ceremonies	x	x	
drink at local bars	x	x (rare)	
use services of extension agents	x	x	x
visit relatives	x	x	x

THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Events during the past fifty years have modified Guambianos' attitudes towards work and certain aspects of labor organization. Nevertheless, a tribal pattern continues in many activities.

Until recently, Guambía was a "little" or "gemeinschaft" community. As my older informants say, "we were more united." Economic exchanges were strongly tied to the prevailing pattern of social relationships. A person who had more than others was expected to share part of it, and the community was small enough to exert social pressure to get conformity. Today the community is much larger, more involved in activities outside the reservation, and there are many new ways to spend surplus.

Symbolic Aspects of Food

Food is highly valued in Guambía. It is used as a medium of communication in many contexts and has symbolic as well as economic functions. Gifts of food are regularly given to kin, fictive kin and neighbors. Everyone entering a household is seated and given something to eat and drink. Meals are always served to those who accompany agricultural, house-building and ceremonial activities. Even when a person is paid in cash for a service rendered he is still fed at the end of the day.

Gifts of food and drink are part of the process of asking another to do you a favor. They are also given to repay a favor and express gratitude for help which can never be fully reciprocated. Douay (1890: 759) remarks how even the old and very poor Indians he aided never failed to bring him something.

Guambianos consider it bad manners to refuse an offer of food. However, by accepting food or some other gift, the receiver becomes a "debtor" and is obliged to comply with future demands for his goods and/or services.

Today the symbolic aspect of food exchange is more important than its economic or nutritional function. Before technological improvements resulted in a more regular supply of food, the semi-annual periods of scarcity were times of real hardship for most Guambianos. Wealthy persons and others wishing to improve their standing in the community used their surplus to sponsor cooperative labor parties (mingas) during these "periods of hunger."

Prestige and Accompaniment

Guambianos emphasize the importance of hard work. Having plenty of land and cattle does not assure a person of prestige. A poor person who works hard and shares what he has with others is held in higher esteem than one who, though richer, is viewed as lazy or selfish.

The organization of economic activities varies seasonally and according to the tasks to be done. Attending to livestock, marketing, care of the crops, and handicraft production are shared by members of a household. Guambianos are rarely seen working alone. If the wife does not accompany her husband to the fields one or more of the children goes with him. It is not just a matter of not liking to be alone (which is true) but of being afraid of being alone. Many fields are an hour or more walk from home. Since getting to these fields involves hard climbs, they stay late to accomplish as much as they can during the

daylight hours. This often results in part of the return trip being made after dark when dangerous spirits are more active. Unaccompanied persons, moreover, are the most vulnerable to attack. Thus, people prefer to take someone with them when working in these distant fields in order to prevent encounters with malevolent beings.

Types of Reciprocal Labor

A large part of agricultural work involves persons outside the household in some form of reciprocal labor exchange. Erasmus (1965), in a discussion of reciprocal farm labor in Latin America, distinguishes between "festive" and "exchange" forms of reciprocal labor. His categories are applicable to the situation in Guambía.

> The distinctions made between exchange and festive labor concern the degree of obligation to reciprocate labor as well as the quantity and quality of the food and/or drink served the workers. In the first case the obligation to reciprocate is strong and food or drink provided are usually considered ordinary fare. A day's labor is expected in return for each day given; and if one is unable to meet an obligation due to sickness etc., he must send someone in his place. . . At festive labor parties the host wines and/or dines his worker-guests in extraordinary fashion, and his obligation to reciprocate their labor is not only weaker but in most cases obviated (175).

The concept of symmetry in these exchanges is part of the "ideal" model rather than descriptive of the "real" pattern.

Exchange Labor Groups

Most activities related to the production of agricultural goods involve labor exchange among persons who are kindred and/or live near one another. Depending on the time of year Guambianos spend one, two

or three days a week working with others. Exchange labor takes place on all normal work days, whereas festive labor is usually organized for Saturdays. Labor reciprocated in an exchange agreement does not have to be for the same tasks. For example, help in a planting may be reciprocated by aid in clearing a field or a loan of horses. Guambianos mention the ideal of symmetry and reciprocity in the exchange agreements. However, the inequalities in land holdings and/or labor needs among individuals in labor exchange networks result in an assymetrical pattern of exchanges. Those with large holdings utilize the services of more persons more often than those with little land.

Unreciprocated labor is sometimes compensated by gifts of food or sharing part of the harvest with those who helped in the cultivation. Today hired labor and work contracts are replacing the traditional arrangements for some. Another new practice is the combining of exchange and hired labor in a single work group. Payment in cash or kind discharges the payee of further obligation to reciprocate labor. In short, one pattern emerging in Guambía as it becomes more closely involved in a monetary economy, is similar to what Foster (1967:217) calls "patron-client" contracts.

> "Patron-client" contracts . . . tie people (or people to beings) of significantly different socioeconomic statuses (or orders of power), who exchange different kinds of goods and services.

In Tzintuntzan described by Foster (1967) and other Meso-American communities (e.g. Vogt 1969), these "patron-client" contracts operate almost exclusively between villagers and non-villagers (Foster 1967:217). In Guambía, however, these contracts have been established between

wealthy persons and their poor neighbors and between the new group of Guambiano traders and wage earners (government employees and other specialists) and their poorer neighbors. The traditional pattern of exchange labor appears to persist most strongly among the middle economic groups who continue to earn most of their livelihood farming.

Another difference between Guambía and other societies in Latin America practicing labor exchange deals with the role of women in these groups. Erasmus (1965:176) states that in exchange labor groups the women generally prepare the food and "may reciprocate among themselves for this purpose." This is true for house building and festive mingas, but in exchange labor groups Guambiano women participate as equals and generally do an equivalent amount of work. A man who cannot attend another's work party may send a mature female member of his household to replace him.

Exchange labor groups in Guambía usually have from six to twenty participants. They normally include persons from one to seven families in addition to those from the sponsor's household. Kinship and residence are the major principles along which these groups are organized. In my analysis of exchange labor patterns of 31 families almost 75 per cent of the 320 persons involved were related to the sponsor through descent or marriage ties.

TABLE 14

Composition of Exchange Labor Groups in Guambía

	KINDRED				NON-KIN		
Type of relationship	Descent		Marriage		Fictive kin	Neighbors, no kin ties	TOTAL
Generation: relationship to household head	same	other	same	other			
Number	80	77	69	11	26	57	320
% of total	25.0	24.1	21.6	3.4	8.1	17.8	100%
% of total	49.1		25.0		8.1	17.8	100%
% of TOTAL	74.1				25.9		100%

Within the bilateral descent group most exchanges are between ego and siblings, siblings' children and patrilateral kin (FaSb and FaSb Ch). In most cases they are ties between individuals who at one time or another lived in the same or adjacent households.

Affinal kin makes up one quarter of the participants in these labor exchange groups. In contrast to the multigenerational participation within the descent group category, exchanges among affinal kin are concentrated among those of the same generation. This reflects the tendency for siblings to cooperate after they establish independent households, and the custom of bringing spouses to assist in the work.

In the case where the participants are fictive kin these ties were usually established among neighbors already involved in a reciprocal exchange agreement. The addition of the fictive kin bond makes the relationship more permanent and serious.

Festive Work Parties: the Minga

Guambiano society has always allowed for various types of structured inequality. The social class distinction characteristic of earlier days was followed in the twentieth century by an emphasis on material possessions and land. In itself, however, control of large amounts of land and goods does not automatically result in respect and prestige. Prestige and influence continue to be related to traditional norms of distribution of goods and/or service to others. The organization of festive work parties (mingas) is a traditional institution for limited redistribution of goods and is used by rich and poor to demonstrate their community spirit and acquire prestige.

The festive work party or minga is a form of labor organization common to many Indian, Mestizo and Black communities in Latin America (Beals 1966; Fals-Borda 1955; Faron 1961; Foster 1967; Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. 1961; Stein 1961, and Whitten 1965). Although mingas are organized to get some task accomplished (e.g. a field cleared or planted), serious questions have been raised as to whether it is the most efficient or "economical" method (Erasmus 1965:179). Faron (1961:41) suggests that the symbolic and integrative functions might be more important than the economic aspects--at least among the Mapuche. Guambianos agree that large mingas are expensive and inefficient. They prefer exchange, wage and contract labor to the minga, which today occurs less frequently and generally on a smaller scale. In the past, mingas were often organized outside of any larger ceremonial context. Today they are almost exclusively held in conjunction with special occasions in which the host or sponsor is required to make a large expenditure (e.g. weddings, funerals, etc.). Drum and flute music which accompanied the workers to the fields and as they worked are rarely part of these events today.

Organization of the Minga

In this section I concentrate on mingas in which agricultural activities are involved. Those related to house construction and community projects are dealt with in the sections about those activities.

Cooper (1946:701) and Faron (1961:41) suggest "invitation," "communal work" and "feasting" as stages in the organization of a minga. Their categories are useful for my purposes, but I add "preparation" as an additional stage preceding the others.

Preparation for a minga may begin from a few months to a year before the event is scheduled to occur. Extra quantities of food are planted and a calf or lamb is purchased and fattened. Decisions are made about what land is to be worked, what is to be done to it and how much seed will be required to plant it. Large quantities of firewood are collected. In the weeks preceding the minga the sponsor places his order with one or more of the local aguardiente manufacturers, and the family prepares the chicha. Large quantities of the following items are purchased: coffee, panela, salt, rice, bread, lard, matches, candles and cigarettes. Arrangements are made by various members of the household to borrow cups, plates, pots, spoons, beams (used as benches) and lanterns.

During the final phases of preparation household members invite family, friends and neighbors to participate (acompañar) in the minga and evening's festivities. The proper method of invitation involves visiting a person's home. In fact, the process is less formal, and chance encounters on trails, stores and in Silvia provide opportunities to invite others. Special visits are often made, however, to the homes of godparents, musicians and prestigious individuals (e.g. ex-governors). In mingas sponsored by outgoing political officials (alcaldes and governors) the alguaciles (deputies) assist in making the invitations. The number of households contacted varies considerably according to the quantity of work to be done. From 30 to 150 families are normally informed.

On the morning of the minga participants arrive at the sponsor's home between 7:00 AM and 8:00 AM. They are served coffee, two rolls

and a small bowl of stew. Between 8:00 AM and 8:30 AM they leave for the fields led by the sponsor. They are met in the work area by others who did not go to the morning meal, usually individuals who live close to the plot being worked for whom the fifteen-minute to an hour walk to the sponsor's home is not worth the trouble.

Men assisting in the minga bring their own tools. While the men work in the fields their wives and daughters go to the sponsor's home and help prepare the evening meal. Some bring small quantities of firewood with them. Most spend the day peeling potatoes while others are busy readying the other ingredients, fetching water, and watching over the boiling pots. When meat is included in the menu, the animal is killed the day before, and on the day of the minga it is cooked and chopped into small pieces. The killing, cutting and chopping of the beast are done by males.

Work in the fields is supervised by either the sponsor or a male member of the household. The work done during the minga is usually physically demanding--preparing a field or planting wheat. The men form a single line at the bottom of the slope and compete with one another as they work their way to the top. There are periodic rests, and those who finish first relax while the others complete their sections. At midday the men rest for about an hour. A group of women arrives and serves coffee and two rolls to each participant. They leave and return several hours later to serve chicha.

During the afternoon a group of men commissioned by the sponsor periodically gives aguardiente to the workers, two shots in succession. No one refuses (except some Protestants) although they may not finish either drink. The work and intermittent drinking continue until about 4:00 PM.

The atmosphere during these mingas alternates between serious, hard work carried out in a competitive spirit, and informal moments when the workers rest, talk, and occasionally joke with one another. As the day progresses and drinking increases, the atmosphere becomes more relaxed, and participants converse while wielding a shovel or metal digging stick. When the work is finished the remaining aguardiente is consumed at the site.

Some men go directly to the house where the eating and drinking continue, but most return to their homes to clean up, rest, and change clothes.

Between 6:00 PM and 10:00 PM the musicians (who come early) and some who assisted in the fields arrive at the sponsor's home. They are seated on raised boards placed around the perimeter of the sala (living room). The sponsor appoints a group of men to attend to the guests. They serve aguardiente and bring two-liter bowls of food to the guests. They take the bowls, when each person finishes, and serve them coffee and two rolls. While others are eating, the men continue to drink aguardiente, chat and joke. Older men tease the younger about their work habits and girlfriends. The younger men respond with remarks about the others' age, "girlfriends," sexual desires and capacity.

Between 8:00 PM and 9:00 PM the musicians begin playing. They continue until dawn, with only brief intermissions, when they are served aguardiente. Several veredas have musical groups (conjuntos) that use modern instruments--guitars, tiples and mandolins. They are played in another room independently of the drum and flute group.

Between 9:00 PM and midnight, relatives and neighbors who did not participate in the day's work arrive for the evening's festivities. The late arrivals are mostly boys, young men, and aguardiente peddlers (10-20). The vendors are of all ages and both sexes and include some Whites from Silvia. They bring legal and illegal aguardiente, matches and cigarettes, and occasionally set up stands to sell hot empanadas. All who attend are given something to eat and drink. Those who did not work during the day, however, receive less aguardiente and are served a one-liter bowl of stew. They are expected to bring most of their own aguardiente or purchase it from the vendors present.

By midnight several people are usually drunk enough to begin dancing. Guambiano and varieties of Colombian dances are performed. The native dances involve groups of men dancing with groups of women. Men frequently lock arms, face one another and dance a modified form of a Colombian pasillo or bambuco. Dancing and drinking continue throughout the night though fist fights occasionally interrupt the festivities. The cursing which accompanies these fights is often in Spanish. In most instances the participants are too drunk to do much harm to one another, and in the twenty odd fights I have witnessed, only one man was really well clobbered. Women do not get involved in these skirmishes, but on rare occasions fight with one another. Their battles are vicious and almost always are about men and accusations of adultery and/or "romantic" witchcraft. Many participants in these festivities pass out during the night and after a rest of an hour or two get up and continue drinking.

During the night the young girls wash the dishes and have the job of getting water from the nearby waterholes and streams. They

make arrangements to meet and/or are met by young men on their trips from the kitchen. At sunrise the leftover food is served to those still present and most go home after this meal. There is always, however, a hard core of from twenty to fifty men who continue the festivities into the afternoon and evening.

THE ROLE OF THE MINGA IN GUAMBIANO SOCIETY: CASE STUDIES

The minga, or festive labor exchange, is associated with many aspects of Guambiano life. They are held in conjunction with marriages, death, religious celebrations, community work, and for personal projects like house building and planting. In the past they were part of puberty celebrations for females and cultivation of land for the church. The increased cash value of agricultural products, new economic roles, and the availability of a wide range of material goods contributed to the decrease in the size and incidence of mingas. It is cheaper to use labor exchange, contract or wage labor than to go to the expense and time of organizing a minga. In spite of these developments the minga continues to be an integral part of Guambiano social life. The reasons for this lie in its relationship to a complex of related sentiments and activities with strong historical roots.

Earlier I discussed the theme of "acompañar" as central to Guambiano culture and social life. "Acompañar" is related to prestige and status because it is by accompanying others and reciprocating help given that a person acquires esteem from his fellows. In spite of the changes which have affected the organization of work in Guambía, the tie-in of "accompaniment," reciprocity and prestige persists. The

minga represents the most direct expression of this complex of themes and sentiments.

In order to analyze the social and psychological functions of the minga in Guambiano society I present two cases which illustrate the various ways this custom relates to different situations and individuals.

Case 1: Antonio

Antonio is the second of three brothers who range in age from 21 to 29 years. The oldest and youngest brothers live together in their dead father's house, and Antonio lives in a small two-room wattle and daub house of his own. All are married and have children. Together they share rights to a medium-sized plot of land (about 1½ plazas) in the vereda of Cacique. They are relatively poor and work frequently with others in exchange labor arrangements and for cash. They work more for others than others for them. The brothers are well thought of by others in the vereda. The eldest served in the cabildo, and all participate actively in community projects. They are mild-mannered and have no major conflicts with others in the vereda.

A year before the minga the field was used for corn, and wheat was the logical crop to be planted next. They organized a minga to do the planting and invited their friends, family and neighbors to acompañar. Fifty-four men helped in the field and about thirty-five women worked in the kitchen and on the patio. Among the participants were members of the wealthiest and most influential families of the vereda. Aguardiente and chicha were served during the minga, and a large fiesta, attended by more than 250 people, was held at night.

Two musical groups, one modern, the other traditional, played throughout the night, and the dancing and drinking continued until dawn. The serving of food and drink followed the traditional pattern but no meat was included in the stew.

Why did the brothers decide to sponsor a minga and what was accomplished by the event? One purpose was to get the work done quickly. Without extensive help it would have taken them the better part of two weeks to finish, and it is a hard, tedious activity. Scheduling the work on land held in common among them facilitated the sharing of expenses and pooling of other resources.

Just as important was their desire for self-respect and the esteem of others. Sponsoring a minga demonstrated to the community that they were men of "good will (buena voluntad)." Respect of others is an important personal goal. Sharing what they had, expressing their "buena voluntad" and having others acompañar gave them a good deal of satisfaction. The fact that wealthy and influential persons attended was clear evidence of the high regard others had for them. The success of their minga illustrates the extent to which prestige and wealth function somewhat independently of one another in Guambía; one need not be rich to have a festive minga.

Case 2: José

José is one of the most educated persons on the reservation. He spent six years in schools outside of Guambía and served two years in the army. He has a moderate amount of land, most of which was purchased with money he earned working as an extension agent with the

Division of Indian Affairs. His father is one of the few Guambianos who travel to distant markets on a regular basis, and neither his father nor brothers participate actively in community activities. Ten years ago his immediate family and their close relatives were among the poorer families of the vereda. The increase in the value of agricultural products and José's job with the government improved their economic standing during the 1960's.

José's job limits the time he can spend on the reservation and he rarely helps others in agricultural work. He does, however, provide legal, medical and veterinary services (which he learned in school and the army) to many persons in the vereda. He drinks a lot, has a personal feud with one of the local leaders, and is a notorious liar. His family background, experiences off the reservation, occupation and aggressive disposition make him somewhat of a deviant socially and psychologically in the community. He is aware of the negative and ambivalent feelings others have about him. His heavy drinking is probably related to this awareness and is a way of coping with it.

In 1967 José decided to sponsor the local Saint's Day festival. Normally a group of men get together to organize this event and divide expenses among them. José took on the full burden alone. Two animals were slaughtered for the feast, a band of White musicians from Usenda supplied the music, and the Priest led the procession to the templete of The Virgin. More than 110 men attended the minga and over fifty women helped with preparation of the meal. José purchased more than 100 liters of aguardiente for his guests. The fiesta continued until the afternoon of the following day. More than 300 persons attended the various activities related to the celebration.

Why did José decide to sponsor the fiesta and what role did the minga play in the affair? At one level his sponsorship of the event relates directly to the tie-in between redistribution of wealth and prestige. Up till then his special knowledge of the world outside the reservation and his ability to manipulate that world had made him an important person in Guambía. Though he did provide some needed services he was distrusted by others, especially those with some degree of power, and by sponsoring the fiesta he was attempting to acquire prestige through traditional institutions.

Besides the obvious difference between sponsoring a Saint's Day Festival and a festive minga, both involve cooperative agricultural work. Focusing just on the economic aspects of these events we find a number of important differences with respect to the cooperative labor feature and the motives of the participants.

In the first case (Antonio), getting a substantial amount of agricultural work accomplished was important. The sponsors and the participants put in a full day's labor. Costs were shared among the three brothers and no animal was slaughtered. The return in labor done in the wheat planting came close to balancing the expenses involved in sponsoring the event--or at least that's what two of the brothers I spoke to thought about it.

In José's case the agricultural work played a much less important part in the day's activities. Although more than 110 men assisted, their motives were more varied and differed in some respects from those attending the wheat planting. Some participants were there because they were family and neighbors, others because José had done

them a favor in the past, but there was a third group who fitted into neither of these categories. No one told me they went to José's minga because they wanted a good meal with plenty of meat, nor did they tell me they went because they expected him to distribute lots of aguardiente and chicha. However, other informants interviewed a few days later said the desire for food and alcohol contributed substantially to the large turnout. Besides the matter of food and drink, a few persons I interviewed suggested others may have attended for "insurance" reasons. Although they had never asked José for a favor, they accompanied during the minga so that if the need for his services developed they would feel more at ease in asking for his help.

Summary

In both cases the sponsorship of a festive minga was related to the desire for prestige and security that come from demonstrating a willingness to share what you have with others. It is a social event which brings large numbers of individuals together in a situation combining work and recreation. Tasks performed during a minga are often physically demanding. Guambianos feel better working with others, and the drinking and competition that are part of the festive minga take the edge off some of the drudgery. The importance of the agricultural work varies substantially from case to case. In the case of Antonio and his brothers the exchange of labor came close to balancing their costs. In the case of José the labor return was from 10 to 20 per cent of his costs (his estimate). The reasons for sponsoring mingas and the motivations of those attending show some variation from case to case, but the desire for prestige and self-respect is involved in both instances.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. The system has changed in Pueblito and other upper veredas. Women here distinguish cousins of both sexes from siblings.

2. The lineal-collateral distinction in what I have noted as the oldest system in the second ascending generation is to my knowledge only used in Cacique. Even there my information is not completely consistent, and in all other areas of the reservation from which I have data no distinctions are made between persons in the grandparent generation. I believe it is accurate to say that ŭr and ŭra (or ŭl and ŭlya) are the oldest terms and refer to PaPa and PaPaSb.

3. This tends to support the statement made by one informant that "tata" and "mama" are additions to the Guambiano system. They are probably taken from the Páez or Quechua speakers.

VII. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The 20th century brought several important changes in the organization of political activities in Guambía. During previous centuries, and in the early part of this one, lifetime captains directed most of the political affairs on the reservation, including the allocation of usufruct rights and the selection of cabildo officers. There was no scarcity of land, and most critical matters dealt with by political leaders had to do with moral offenses, communal activities and protecting the reservation from encroaching Whites.

In this century the political power of the captains declined and the position was gradually eliminated. They were replaced by a more active and increasingly numerous cabildo and an influential group of ex-cabildo officials referred to as "interesados." The most important development during the century which had a tremendous impact on political affairs was the growth of the reservation population and subsequent decline in the amount of land available for cultivation and distribution. Increasingly the role of the cabildo became one of supervising the allocation and registration of land holdings. As the proportion of unclaimed land diminished, the activities of the cabildo dealt increasingly with the transmission of property rights to heirs and the sanctioning of land transactions such as purchases and mortgage defaults--although such transactions were illegal. During the past thirty years the cabildo has become increasingly involved in settling disputes arising out of conflicting claims on land holdings and the transmission of property.

RIGHTS TO RESERVATION LAND

All land rights in Guambía are usufruct rights. By law, reservation land in Colombia may not be sold, rented or mortgaged to outsiders or other Indians on the reservation (Art. 7 of Law 89 of 1890, in Balcazar 1954:117). The legal framework for reservation affairs has remained relatively constant for centuries but the government until very recently has done little to enforce provisions relating to land transactions short of its sale to non-Indians. During the last century and early part of this one, Indians often rented land to Whites. Mortgaging, renting and selling--usually under the pretext of selling improvements (mejoras)--were, and continue to be, common practices.

Before 1890 the only permanent land a person had was his home and surrounding garden. The rest belonged to the community. Lots were allocated by the local cacique (captain) for a two-year period. There was sufficient land to permit an individual to cultivate as much as he desired. In this context, economic status was dependent mostly on a person's ability and good fortune.

By 1970 this pattern was radically altered. The major factor causing the change was the growth of population from 1500 in 1900 to approximately 7030 in 1970. Taking the maximum estimate for land suitable for cultivation at 3000 hectares, the hectare per person average declined from 2.00 in 1900 to 0.43 in 1970.

TABLE 15

Changes in the Man/Land Ratio in Guambía *

Year	1900	1913	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Population	1500	2100	3100	3830	4700	5750	7030
Average number of Hectares** per Person	2.00	1.43	0.97	0.78	0.64	0.52	0.43

*Based on an estimated size of the reservation as 6000 hectares of which a maximum of 50 per cent is suitable for cultivation. The actual figure is closer to 40 per cent and the ten per cent is added as a corrective factor to account for inaccuracies in the map used to estimate area and the difficulties in calculations stemming from the uneven topography.

**One hectare = 2.471 acres.

Government policy after 1890 also contributed to the change in the man/land relationship. The main thrust of government policy was abolition, which could be accomplished once reservation land was divided among families. Prohibiting the sale, rental and mortgaging of land among residents was a secondary concern. The role of the White secretary appointed to the cabildo by municipal officials in 1913 was to encourage Indians to obtain adjudications for their holdings. A document of adjudication gives the holder the right to maintain permanent control of his land and transmit it to his heirs. The government wanted to have land registered as individual holdings in order to lay the foundation for future dissolution of the reservation.

Although the government in Cauca did not follow through on the policy of abolishing the reservation, obtaining adjudications became a permanent feature of Guambiano economic and political life. Since the statute prohibiting the sale of land within the reservation was never effectively enforced, some individuals, most of them ex-governors and ex-alcaldes, were able to acquire substantial holdings. The table below shows the distribution of lots to which individuals have title. They represent approximately 50 per cent of the total parcels distributed, and about 80 per cent of them have been fully legalized by the mayor of Silvia.

TABLE 16

Adjudications from 1903 - January 1964 (Robalino 1964:32)

Number of lots	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	14
Number of persons with each	1383	702	330	175	75	102	28	16	27	14

The number of persons asking for adjudication documents increased very gradually during the first sixty years of this century. In the thirties, forties and fifties most cabildos attended from thirty to fifty claims per year. During the past decade this rate has more than doubled and during the past few years has averaged over 100 per year.

Guambianos cite two major reasons for going through the expense and bother of getting their claims legalized: (1) it enables them to obtain bank loans, and (2) it gives them additional legal protection for their land against those who might seek to take it from them. As

conflict over land became a regular feature of social life, outside authorities were frequently involved in bringing about a settlement. These authorities, mayors, judges and Indian Affairs officials, tend to support litigants who have legal title to the land in question, and in general this practice applies even in those cases where the land was acquired illegally (e.g. purchase).

Possession,[1] Acquisition and Transmission of Land

The norms governing the possession, acquisition and transmission of land rights are a mixture of tribal custom and Colombian law. In the 20th century the legal codes governing reservation affairs increased in importance. The basic provisions, however, were not fully understood by most Guambianos until after the Division of Indian Affairs established an office in Silvia in 1962. Today, although many are not fully aware of the laws, the cabildo secretary, other cabildo officers and many many ex-officials do possess such knowledge, and anyone in doubt knows whom to ask.

During the early decades of the century the information gap worked in the best interests of educated Indians and those who had held high posts in the cabildo. They often obtained legal sanction for land illegally obtained, sometimes through payoffs to the White secretary, other times by getting adjudications for land over the legal five-*plaza* limit (one plaza = 80 M. x 80 M.).

The cabildo is obligated to distribute land to anyone who meets the following conditions: (1) is a member of the reservation, (2) is over 18 years or married, and (3) is not in possession of enough land

to meet the needs of his family (Decree #74 of 1898, Department of Cauca in Balcazar 1954). The importance of these regulations has diminished since all good farm land is now distributed. Persons with physical or mental defects are prohibited from holding land. White men or women with spouses who are members of the reservation do not have the right to obtain adjudications even of land belonging to their spouses. In practice, however, the cabildo has ignored this regulation and granted usufruct rights to these persons when their Indian spouse died. In addition, the law discriminates against the children of mixed marriages when the Indian partner is female. Legal status is transmitted through the male line which allows individuals whose father was a member of the reservation to inherit land, but prevents transmission of property if only the mother is a member of the reservation. Today there are no families in Guambía in which the father is White and the female Indian. And I know of only three families in which a Guambiano male has a non-Indian wife.

From about 1930 to the present most land has been obtained through purchase and inheritance. It is now sold only to meet some pressing financial need such as medical expenses or a mortuary ceremony. A wealthy individual frequently arranges to pay for all the funeral expenses of a poor person in exchange for rights to a piece of that person's land after he dies. Land is also lost by individuals unable to repay debts and mortgages. Lots are obtained by exchanging animals or another parcel for a desired plot. This is done when a person wants a piece of land adjacent to some he already owns, or wishes to get land in a different climatic zone. Invasion of communal land and invasion

of another person's property were methods used in the past but are rare today. If the invasion went unchallenged for at least ten years the individual asked the cabildo formally to adjudicate the land.

VEREDAS

The residential group which may be viewed as having a political or quasi-political character is the vereda. Distribution of most positions in the cabildo is done according to veredal composition, and many communal activities are organized within this unit.

Vereda is the Colombian word used to denote a rural neighborhood. It refers to either a large cluster of homes and surrounding fields or a bounded area in which homes are scattered, each family living on its own plot of land. Both patterns are found in Guambía. In areas where the terrain is steep the cluster pattern predominates. In sections having a larger proportion of gently sloping land, distances between households tend to be greater.

Veredas are units officially recognized by the Colombian and Indian governments. Each has a name, and within the municipality a Guambiano generally identifies himself as a resident of "Pueblito," "Cacique," "La Campana," etc...Veredal boundaries are normally defined, ending at a river or the edge (filo) of a string of mountains. There is ambiguity about some boundaries, and except for persons who served in the cabildo, most Guambianos are only clear as to where their vereda and those bordering on it begin and end.

Each of the nineteen (1970) veredas in Guambía is represented in the cabildo by at least one alguacil (deputy) who communicates messages to the residents about work-days, meetings and other special events.

Some of the larger veredas have local Virgins for which annual fiestas are held; most have at least one store (tienda), and five have primary schools. Veredas range in size from 232 fireside units (Cacique) to 14 fireside units (El Cofre); most have between 25 and 90 such units. To provide a more concrete idea of the veredas and the nature of variations among them I offer a few brief sketches of those with which I am most familiar.

MISHAMBE is located midway between the town of Silvia and the upper vereda of Piendamó Arriba. The full range of Guambiano staples, including corn, wheat, onions and potatoes are grown there. Mishambe begins near the major road to the reservation, and most homes are located within a half hour's walk from it. All homes are on the western slope of a mountain. The Mishambe River separates the vereda from a neighboring hacienda. Houses are relatively dispersed, and most are separated from their neighbors by 50 to 150 meters. There is no school, but three small stores provide residents with the needed commercial items. In addition to working their own plots, twenty-two families are affiliated with the hacienda Cooperative which is under the supervision of the Colombian Agrarian Reform Corporation (INCORA). Their affiliation with the Cooperative, which is a radical organization, is not so much a matter of their modernization but relates to the fact that many of them used to work on the old hacienda and they have many kinship ties with families there.

Guambianos from other veredas and outsiders familiar with the reservation view Mishambe as one of the most conservative or backward

(atrasado) veredas. It is one of the few areas where I found frequent cases of individuals of both sexes who could not speak Spanish. The people of Mishambe tend to be less receptive to outside ideas than most others, and in the areas of dress, curing, music, and family organization, show a strong bias towards maintaining traditional ideas and patterns of behavior.

The political importance of Mishambe was substantial during the 19th and early 20th century when one of the four reservation captains lived in the vereda. The power of the captains diminished in this century, and when Mishambe's captain died the vereda came under the jurisdiction of alcaldes (magistrates) from neighboring upper veredas. In 1963 the cabildo increased the number of alcaldes to four, and the following year leaders from Mishambe and Puente Real worked out an agreement with the cabildo to have the new position reserved for their area. Since then one alcalde in each administration has been from either Mishambe or Puente Real.

EL CACIQUE, the largest of the eighteen veredas, is relatively isolated from the others and in my sample has the highest rate of veredal endogamy. Cacique is in the lower western part of the reservation and its soil and climate are favorable for a full range of agricultural products. Houses are located on both sides of the Cacique River.

The settlement pattern is a mixture of clustered homes five to fifty to one hundred and fifty meters apart. Cacique is one of the most progressive veredas and first in adopting many technological innovations. For example, the Caciqueños accepted the Ministry of

Agriculture's offer of a threshing machine after other veredas rejected it; they gave the greatest support to road building projects in the early 1960's, and many leaders of recent cooperative, union and community action movements are from this vereda. Cacique has eight small stores, most of which double as bars; a school constructed by the Indians; a templete for the local Virgin, and a wheat mill. Practically all the inhabitants are bilingual, and approximately ten men between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five wear White men's clothing full time. Two families own buses which serve the vereda.

There is a traditional rivalry between the people of Cacique and political leaders residing in the upper veredas. The Caciqueños consider them to be rich, greedy and against change. Those in the upper veredas view Caciqueños as capricious, irresponsible and interested only in themselves. Funds and machinery for road construction have been the focus of conflict between these areas for the past ten years and in the Spring of 1971 led to a secessionist movement in Cacique. Only the intervention of a high official from the National office of the Division of Indian Affairs prevented the separation into two reservations.

EL PUEBLITO, one of the oldest upper veredas, is surrounded by steep slopes, and all homes are located on the southern side of the Piendamó River. The 62 fireside units are crowded into a limited space between the river and mountains. Most homes are within twenty meters of another and frequently closer. The vereda is located above the 2900-meter altitude level which limits major crop production to potatoes, ullucos, onions and garlic. The road to this section, begun in 1963, reached Pueblito in 1969, and in 1971 was extended to several other veredas to the east.

In the early part of the century Pueblito was merely one of several clusters of homes located between the bridge (Puente Real) and the Quebrada de Río Claro. Today it has four stores including a well managed consumers' cooperative outlet, a primary school and electricity. The impetus and organization of these projects are due in large measure to an educated Guambiano, now the local schoolteacher. This man lived with the anthropologist John Rowe in Popayán in 1947-48 and served as his informant (Rowe 1954).

Several cabildo governors over the past fifteen years have been hand picked or at least "suggested" by the teacher, and his influence in policy decisions affecting the reservation is great. This concentration of power in the hands of an individual who never served in an official capacity in the cabildo is not viewed favorably by some leaders in his and other veredas. He is often at the center of political conflict and presently (1971) is using his influence against the movement led by Guambianos in Cacique who want to work with the Agrarian Reform Agency.

LA CAMPANA is a twenty-minute walk east from Pueblito and is located on the other side of the Piendamó River. It is notable for the presence of a Catholic missionary school and an abundance of resident ex-governors. The final selection of candidates for the governorship is held here annually and of the thirty-one governors Guambía has had since 1940, thirteen were from La Campana. It is a wealthy, politically conservative and very Catholic vereda whose leaders are strong antagonists of the Protestant group and in the early 1960's were actively against the construction of the road. Today these leaders are working with those of Pueblito in opposition to the program of agrarian reform.

There are several stores in La Campana, and a festival is held here annually to celebrate the appearance of The Virgin witnessed in 1961.

PUENTE REAL, located in the center of reservation, is the focus of Protestant missionary activity. A Protestant chapel and school operate here. Violence directed towards Protestant Guambianos was frequent in the late 1940's when the mission began, and continued intermittently during the 1950's. Some hostility against their presence continues, but Protestants are now generally accepted and serve in positions of authority in the cabildo.

LAS DELICIAS is important because of its two schools. One is a multi-purpose complex, operated by the Federal government, which serves as a boarding school for Indians (girls only) from other reservations in Cauca. It operates as a day school for Guambianos of both sexes,

and a team of extension agents in literacy, agriculture, health and home economics operates out of this complex. The other is a Catholic missionary school run by nuns and is the oldest school on the reservation. Most present reservation leaders were educated here. For five years, from 1965 to 1969, the school had a resident priest who held weekly mass and conducted funerals, occasional baptisms and marriages.

Upper and Lower Veredas

Throughout the following pages I frequently refer to "upper" and "lower" veredas. These are my categories and not the Indians'. The Guambianos use "upper" and "lower" to refer to veredas but only in a relative sense; if you live in Pueblito, Peña de Corazón is a "lower" vereda. My distinctions, however, are not entirely arbitrary. While the matter requires additional investigation, my research revealed that a combination of ecological factors, networks of kinship, political interests and linguistic patterns united large areas of the reservation into situationally flexible but nevertheless identifiable groups. Some of the ecological differences have already been discussed, and in this chapter I consider some of the political differences between these areas. It should also be noted that a few veredas (e.g. Mishambe and Puente Real) are, ecologically speaking, "lower" veredas, yet they have been classified as "upper" in this chapter. My reason for this choice is that until recently political affairs there were organized under the supervision of upper vereda political officials, and in other areas of social behavior and outlook they had more in common with the upper veredas than with neighboring lower ones.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE VEREDA SYSTEM: 1900-1970

The most significant change in this century is the growth of the reservation population from approximately 1500 to more than 7000 in 1970. This section deals with two aspects of the political response to this population change: the establishment of new veredas and the addition of low-level positions in the cabildo (alguaciles). Developments indicate areas of stability in certain aspects of Guambiano social organization and reveal a strategy of adaptation which facilitated the maintenance of tribal unity. The process of veredal growth seems also to be related to a need for identity at a level beyond that of the family or network of kin, yet within which relationships are primarily of a personal rather than bureaucratic nature.

In addition, new veredas provide a setting in which new and younger leaders emerge.

The Growth of Veredas

During the early part of the 20th century the settlement pattern in Guambía consisted of isolated households, usually with several nuclear families and small clusters of households widely separated from one another, 200-500 meters apart. There were only five veredas in Guambía, each of which encompassed large sections of the reservation. For example, the region referred to as "Piendamó" during the early decades of this century was a single vereda stretching for almost five kilometers on both sides of the Piendamó River. Between thirty and fifty households were dispersed throughout the area and serviced

by a single alguacil. It took him from four to six hours to visit these homes. Today (1970) the same territory as divided into nine veredas, contains more than 300 households, and is represented in the cabildo by 12 alguaciles. The table below presents a synopsis of the growth of veredal units in Guambía.

TABLE 17

Veredal Growth in Guambía: 1913-1970

	1913	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
UPPER VEREDAS	PIEMDAMO	Campana Pueblito	Campana Pueblito Ñimbe	Campana Pueblito Ñimbe Piendamó Peña Cor. Cumbre	Campana Pueblito Ñimbe Piemdamó Peña Cor. Cumbre Malvazá	Campana Pueblito Ñimbe Piendamó Peña Cor. Cumbre Malvazá Cofre San Pedro
	MISHAMBE	Mishambe Puente R.	Mishambe Puente R.	Mishambe Puente R.	Mishambe Puente R.	Mishambe Puente R.
LOWER VEREDAS	GUAMBIA LA VIEJA	Guambía	Guambía Delicias	Guambía Delicias Bujio	Guambía Delicias Bujio Tapias	Guambía Delicias Bujio Tapias
	EL CACIQUE	Cacique	Cacique	Cacique	Cacique	Cacique
	EL SALADO DE LOS GALLINAZOS	Salado	Salado	Salado	Salado Tranal	Salado Tranal Juanambú

In some instances veredas were established by the division of older ones. Ñimbe, for example, was part of La Campana, and El Tranal was a section of El Salado. Some of the newer veredas were organized in regions which until recently had no permanent settlements, El Cofre and Malvazá, for example.

As the cultural and administrative influence of Colombian society became an important feature of life in Guambía, Indian place names for places were replaced with Spanish ones. This shift coincides with and is related to the demands of the national government for registration of land holdings and the desire of Colombian officials to incorporate the reservation into the national administrative and tax structure. At the turn of the century the present day vereda of La Campana was known simply as "Almendra chak," place of the Almendras, and El Pueblito was "Morales chak," place of the Morales. Before La Cumbre was established as a vereda it was known as "kalym gulli," the hollow of the little spirit. In other veredas Guambiano place names were retained, e.g. Ñimbe.

The usual process by which a settlement establishes itself as a vereda has been a gradual one. Several conditions are generally met before an area requests to be considered as a vereda. To begin with, there are normally from ten to twenty homes in the area. Second, there is an alguacil with sole responsibility for residents of the vereda. The naming of an alguacil tends to precede any split and is a de facto recognition of the administrative separateness of the settlement. Finally, there must be some action by residents to have the cabildo recognize the veredal status of the area. This is normally done in

the recording of land titles so that adjudications read "vereda of . . . . . ." as opposed to using just a place name. Recently, a more formal procedure which includes a written document (memorial) has been introduced to give official recognition to a new vereda.

Political Aspects of Population Growth

I now return to a discussion of the relationship between the growth of population, number of veredas and low-level positions in the cabildo (the alguaciles). I will demonstrate that the growth of veredas and increase in the number of alguaciles reflect elements of stability as well as change and show how these are related to themes or principles operative in Guambiano society.

TABLE 18

Political Aspects of Population Growth

	Year					
	1913	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Number of Veredas	5	7	9	13	16	19
Population	2100	3100	3830	4700	5750	7030
Number of Alguaciles	6	14	15	16	22	27
Average number of persons per vereda	420	443	425	361	359	370
Average number of persons per alguacil	350	221	255	294	261	260

The above table shows there is a clear pattern of growth in the number of veredas and number of alguaciles which roughly follows the increase in Guambiano population. While the figures cited above reveal a pattern of growth, the two lines, which present averages of persons per vereda and persons per alguacil, show relative stability. On the one hand, there is a tendency which is incremental and linear, and on the other a sequence of numbers which suggest that organizational aspects of the society involve flexibility, stability of social units and political structure.

Guambiano population has more than quadrupled during the 20th century. The number of veredal units and political positions have undergone a roughly proportional increase. The stability reflected in the ratios presented is more than just a statistical accident or the result of the application of formal rules of social organization to increasing numbers of inhabitants. There are no explicit rules governing either the formation of veredas or the numbers of persons an alguacil should represent. Each case is worked out in terms of itself and takes into account the special circumstances and needs of those involved in making the demands. In the case of the alguacil the process works from either the top or the bottom. In some instances the alguacil indicates to his alcalde that there are too many houses and people for him to cover efficiently, and the alcalde may add another. In other cases the alcalde takes the initiative in adding an alguacil.

This informal and pragmatic approach to veredal and cabildo growth reflects one of the key features of Guambiano social organization, its flexibility. Guambianos take into account the needs of

groups and individuals, and adjust the system to meet changing circumstances. It is the flexibility of the system which has been among the more constant elements of their society during this century.

The tendency for stability in the size of social units and system of representation may also be related to the question of sentiments and social mobility or the desire for prestige. Except for the largest vereda, Cacique (which is actually divided into localized groups), veredas are "little communities." Bonds of kinship, affinity, compadrazgo and those established through working together and participating in ceremonial events, link members of a vereda together in a multiplex network. The inhabitants know one another primarily as individuals, human beings with idiosyncratic qualities. Leadership and prestige within this group is a function of performance. Within the vereda a person's skill as a political leader or religious specialist is tested and evaluated. Command over material resources gives a person an initial advantage insofar as it reflects the results of his labor, but wealth is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for prestige and power. These are reserved for those who work with and for others and serve community interests.

Accompaniment, Equality and the Pattern of Veredal Growth

The organization of new veredas can also be viewed in relationship to the two dominant themes in their society, linjab (accompaniment) and latá-latá (equality). Events such as funerals, weddings, festive work-days and house construction ideally include all members of the vereda. As a vereda increases in size the frequency of these events

is greater and it becomes difficult for a person to participate in all of them. Guambianos feel strongly about accompanying those sponsoring the events and are uncomfortable when they do not attend. The source of discomfort may be shame or guilt or fear of being criticized by others for not attending. As I see it, one of the functions of the increase in the number of veredas is to limit the size of each, thus reducing the frequency of events when accompaniment is expected. As the number of obligatory events are reduced, so is the frequency of non-compliance and the negative social and psychological consequences that would follow. It is important to note that I did not find a single case in which the desire of members of a newly settled area to become a vereda was met with opposition.

The tie-in of equality (latá-latá) and the pattern of veredal growth may be seen at two levels; the individual and the social. In an old established vereda not only is there no land, but political power is relatively concentrated in the hands of those with several decades of service and leadership experience. In contrast, in a newer and smaller vereda a person is likely to be nearer his fields, the cost of land is lower, and the potential for acquiring prestige and power within the vereda is greater. In Guambía it is invariably the younger adult men who move from their natal home and take up residence in a less populated area. In so doing they become part of a social unit where others are closer to themselves in age and social rank. Opportunities for recognition and power within a new vereda are greater than in the more established ones.

At the social level, the initiative in recruiting additional members and obtaining recognition as a vereda is also related to the desire to obtain independent and, formally at least, equal status within the reservation social system.

THE CABILDO SYSTEM

Civil affairs of the reservation community are managed by the *cabildo*. The cabildo officials are responsible to the reservation community, the mayor of the Municipality of Silvia, and to various branches of the departmental and national government. The present cabildo (1970) consists of a governor, four *alcaldes* (magistrates), 27 alguaciles (deputies), and two secretaries.[2] Except for the secretaries, whose period of service is not fixed by law or custom, all officials serve for one year.

A general model of the cabildo structure is depicted below.

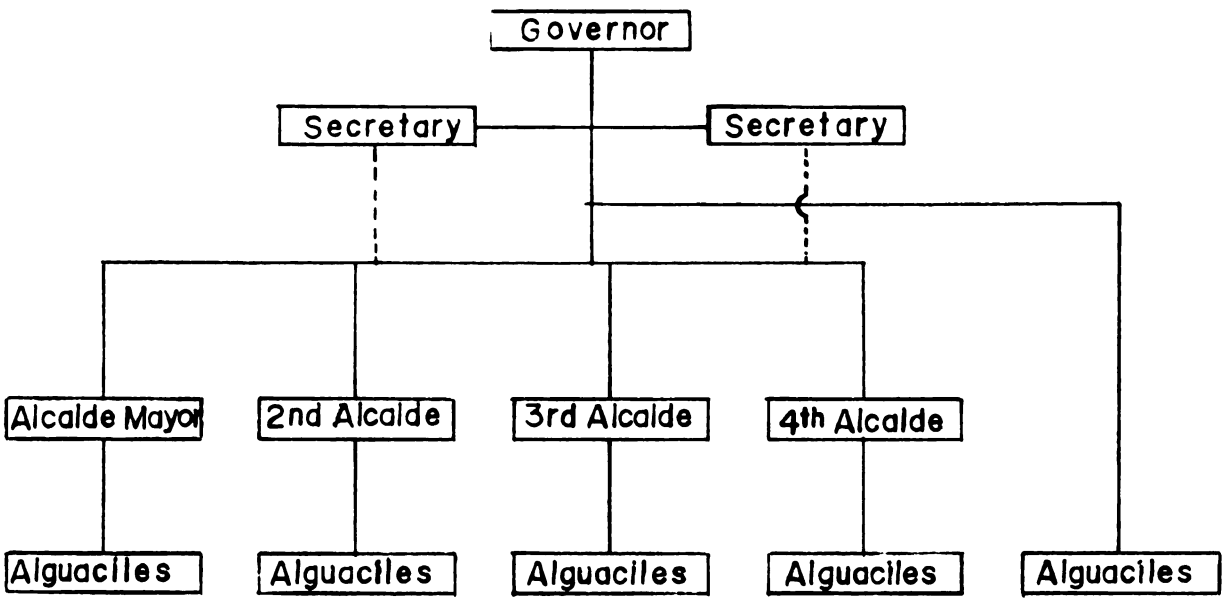

FIGURE 20: Formal organization of the Cabildo

The lowest position in the cabildo is that of the alguacil. One alguacil is designated as "first alguacil (alguacil mayor)" but no other distinctions of rank are made among the rest.

All alcaldes are ranked from first through fourth (mayor, segundo, tercero, and cuarto). In principle the ranking indicates relative importance. If the governor is incapacitated or off the reservation the alcalde mayor assumes his position temporarily. This principle does not hold in the event of the death of a governor--which occurred once in 1956--when the defeated candidate for governor replaces him. Although there are ritual aspects of behavior related to cabildo ranking, the distribution of aguardiente, for example, no alcalde has authority over another. Each is responsible for his own region and they all work together in political activities throughout the reservation. More important than ranking in determining political influence is the personality and legal and oratorical skills of the office holders.

The governor and the four alcaldes each have a number of alguaciles (ranging from two to nine) directly under their authority. Those working for the governor, in addition to their normal responsibilities, are used to transmit messages to the alcaldes. The number of alguaciles assigned to each alcalde varies in relationship to the area the alcalde is responsible for. This organizational feature varies from year to year. It depends on which vereda the governor is from, the willingness of an alcalde to assume responsibility for additional veredas, and the relative confidence the governor has in the alcaldes in his administration. The table below gives some idea of the shifts in the organization of cabildo positions.

TABLE 19

Composition of the Cabildo[2]

	Year			
	1961	1966	1968	1970
Vereda of the Governor	Campana	Campana	Pueblito	Cumbre
# alguaciles of Gov.	4	5	5	5
Vereda/Alcalde mayor	Pueblito	Pueblito	Piendamó A.	Campana
# alguaciles/Alc.Mayor	7	4	3	5
Vereda/2nd Alcalde	Cacique	Mishambe	Mishambe	Puente Real
# alguaciles/2nd Alc.	8	3	5	2
Vereda/3rd Alcalde	Salado	Cacique	Cacique	Cacique
# alguaciles/3rd Alc.	4	9	7	7
Vereda/4th Alcalde	---*	Salado	Salado	Salado
# alguaciles/4th Alc.	---*	4	5	8

* In 1961 there were only three alcaldes in the cabildo.

Although there is some variation in the area and numbers of alguaciles assigned to each alcalde and the governor, there is a stability in the distribution of offices. With few exceptions the governors and the highest ranking alcalde come from upper veredas. In addition,

older veredas exercise strong control in maintaining a pattern of distribution which favors their region. The table below lists the residential veredas of the governors and alcaldes of Guambía over the past twenty years.

TABLE 20

Residence of Governors and Alcaldes from 1951-1970

Year	Governor	Alcalde Mayor	2nd Alcalde	3rd Alcalde	4th Alcalde
1970	Cumbre	Campana	Puente Real	Cacique	El Salado*
1969	Campana	Pueblito	Mishambe	Cacique	El Salado
1968	Pueblito	Piendamó A.	Mishambe	Cacique	El Salado
1967	Campana	Cacique	Pueblito	Puente Real	Los Bujíos
1966	Campana	Pueblito	Mishambe	Cacique	El Salado
1965	Campana	Pueblito	Mishambe	Cacique	El Salado
1964	San Pedro	Campana	Puente Real	Cacique	El Salado
1963	Pueblito	Pueblito	Campana	Cacique	El Salado
1962	Cacique	Pueblito	Campana	El Salado	
1961	Campana	Pueblito	Cacique	El Salado	
1960	Pueblito	Campana	Cacique	El Salado	
1959	Campana	Peña Corz.	Cacique	El Salado	
1958	Pueblito	Peña Corz.	Guambía	El Salado	
1957	Ñimbe	Puente Rl.	Cacique	El Salado	
1956	Campana	Pueblito	Cacique	El Salado	
1955	Ñimbe	?	?	?	
1954	Pueblito	Piendamó A.	Cacique	El Salado	
1953	Pueblito	Piendamó A.	Cacique	El Salado	
1952	Campana	?	?	?	
1951	Ñimbe	Mishambe	Cacique	El Salado	

Some names of the veredas listed above are shortened. The complete names are: Cumbre = La Cumbre; Pueblito = El Pueblito; Campana = La Campana; Piendamó A. = Piendamó Arriba; Puente Rl. = Puente Real; Cacique = El Cacique; Peña Corz. = Peña de Corazón.

*El Salado and the adjacent veredas of El Tranal and Juanambú form a complex which is known to most Guambianos only as El Salado. Whereas information on other veredas was checked with informants from the area, the El Salado designations are based on information in official documents.

The Distribution of Power and Authority Among Veredas

The table above indicates that not only do the upper veredas control the governorship (19 out of 20 years), but that 85 per cent (17 of 20) of the governors were from three veredas: Campana (8), Pueblito (6), and Ñimbe (3). Only twice since 1913 (1918, 1962) have persons from lower veredas held the governorship--both of these were from Cacique. Also significant is that all but two of the last twenty governors were from veredas established before 1940.

The emphasis on the authority of upper (eastern) over lower (western) and of older over younger is also reflected in the ranking and distribution of the alcaldes. With one exception (1967) the alcalde mayor is from an upper vereda, and the two lowest ranking alcaldes are from lower veredas. In addition, only one of the 62 alcaldes[3] since 1951 is from a vereda organized after 1950.

The principle of distribution of power and authority reflected in the above table 20 indicates a superordination of upper (eastern) veredas and a subordination of lower (western) veredas. In addition, the authority and power of older veredas over younger ones are also exhibited in distribution of governorships and alcaldes. The latter tendency, older veredas maintaining political control, requires little explanation if one assumes that once a group of individuals acquire power they will act to increase, legitimize and defend their superordinate position. The same assumption can be used to support the asymmetrical relationship of political status among upper and lower veredas. There are, however, additional frames of reference which, while not explaining the asymmetry, do help to widen our understanding

of its relationship to other dimensions of Guambiano culture.

The association of upper and east with greater political power and authority is a structural principle that can be traced back to pre-conquest times. During the late 14th and 15th centuries, when the Guambiano-Coconuco tribes were organized into the Pubén Confederation, the political military leader of the group, Cacique Calambas, resided in the mountainous region to the east of the urban center (now Popayán).

Another way of viewing the situation involves the analysis of the relationship in Guambiano culture of space, body and sex, to power. In the lower, warmer, western section of Guambía, control over events related to meeting human needs is primarily physical. In the Guambiano world view, power increases as one ascends upwards (and eastwards). As one ascends, human control becomes less direct, and intellectual, oratorical and magical skills (men's skills) become more important. Politics, in short, is "heady business" and it is not surprising that the most skillful and powerful politicians live in the upper, eastern veredas.

Qualifications for Office

Service in the cabildo is for a one-year period, and a man must be married in order to hold political office. A few exceptions to this rule have occurred at the level of the alguacil to which several bachelors have been appointed. Occupants of higher offices are always married and a man who is widowed or separated from his wife is excluded from service. This rule is supported by the Guambiano belief that only after marriage is a man fully an adult. In Guambía the word for

an older male (late twenties and up) is kɨlimatisina which means "old youngster" or "old adolescent." There is also the practical consideration that without a wife to take the added responsibility for economic affairs, attending to claimants and visiting cabildo officials, and weaving additional ponchos, a man would be unable to assume the duties of office.

In Guambía the relationship of widowhood to cabildo service frequently provides an opportunity for joking and a motive for postponing remarriage. In 1970 I was with one ex-governor (1968) interviewing an elderly widower who had served as governor in 1950. After the interview the younger said, "Why don't you find a new wife, then we can make you governor again; I'll even serve as your Padrino."

In another case a widower postponed a second marriage until he completed a new house and accumulated additional capital. He knew that shortly after his remarriage he would be named to serve as governor. This was in 1966. In 1968 he remarried, and in 1970 he was the governor.

Symbolic Aspects of Political Office

Membership in the cabildo is symbolized by a one-meter staff (bara) made of a hard black wood (chonta) and decorated with silver bands. This same wood was used by Guambianos centuries before in the manufacture of weapons. On the first Tuesday of the year the governor of the outgoing cabildo hands his bara to the incoming governor in a symbolic transfer of political authority. Cabildo officers are expected to be well dressed on all occasions when they act in an official capacity. Wives of cabildo officers must weave ponchos for their husbands and have at

least four new ones completed for a cabildo-sponsored Christmas celebration held in Silvia. Other aspects of clothing worn by cabildo members include new hats and sandals. Even today as rubber, plastic and leather shoes are gradually replacing sandals as standard footwear, Guambianos acting in an official capacity tend to wear the sandals.

General Activities

Each Tuesday the cabildo meet in their "office," a section of a bar in the eastern part of town. There they sign documents, listen to old and new disputes, and plan activities for the coming week. Part of the day is spent in the office of the mayor of Silvia and/or the office of one of the judges. When the Division of Indian Affairs had an office in Silvia (1962-66), the cabildo would also appear there to discuss matters with Colombian and United Nations officials.

During the Cabildo meetings the two secretaries are busy typing documents and soliciting signatures of the interested parties and members of the cabildo. There is often a great deal of noise and confusion as individuals argue their cases before the cabildo, and others whose cases have been attended to go from person to person, bottle in hand, pouring shots of aguardiente and demanding its consumption. I tried to make a point of having a large breakfast on Tuesday to sustain my mind and body through these affairs, which often lasted from ten in the morning until four or five o'clock in the afternoon.

Except for the secretaries, no member of the cabildo receives remuneration for the loss of time and money incurred during the year of service. Occasionally the governor orders the alguaciles to take up

a collection to help defray costs of special trips to government offices in Popayán and Bogotá. While these collections take some edge off the economic loss, ex-governors and alcaldes estimated their cost of service at between one thousand and seven thousand pesos ($50-$350). In Guambía occupying a political office is indeed service, and they refer to it as a year of "suffering."

THE CABILDO OFFICERS

The Alguacil

Alguaciles are under the authority of the alcaldes and the governor. Each has responsibility for from fourteen to forty-five households. The alguacil works under the direct supervision of either an alcalde or the governor and spends part of his time accompanying this person on official business. They serve as human links in a communication network that ties cabildo officers with one another and with the residential components of the reservation. They assist higher officials in organizing and supervising community activities such as road construction and bridge, road and school repair.

Alguaciles do not initiate political action. They have no authority to make demands on the services and resources for others unless such authority is specifically delegated to them by alcaldes or the governor. Among their most important duties is as witnesses to the adjudication of land titles and resolution of interpersonal disputes. They are responsible for making sure parties and required witnesses are present for land distributions and other political events. They carry out

technical aspects of measuring land, marking its boundaries, and recording these on a sketch map. The results of these activities are given to the secretary and used in writing up adjudication documents. Most alguaciles act as observers while higher officials engage in discussion and interrogation. As they acquire experience in political matters some alguaciles begin to participate actively in these proceedings.

Higher officials often develop a close relationship with one or two of the alguaciles and regularly discuss matters with them. Most alguaciles, however, though proud of serving in the cabildo, are simply not interested in much that occurs. Many, if not most, would rather use the time to take care of their personal affairs. For those individuals who are interested in politics and, for whatever reason, choose to use the political arena to increase their prestige and power, serving as an alguacile operates as a training ground. They have the opportunity to observe experienced officials in action, to become familiar with the way in which cases are investigated and settled, and to demonstrate to others their interest and skill in handling political affairs.

The Alcalde

The Guambiano word for alcalde is karubig which means "he that orders (el que manda)." Alcaldes are responsible to the governor but exercise a good deal of autonomy in handling affairs in their area. Governors also rely heavily on the advice of the alcaldes in dealing with matters in their regions. Citizens' demands for cabildo services are normally channeled through the alcalde unless the governor lives in the same vereda.

Serving as an alcalde provides an individual with a significant opportunity for acquiring prestige and power. It is, however, time consuming, frustrating, emotionally and physically demanding, and occasionally an anxiety-ridden job. And their wives suffer with them.

Almost daily people arrive at the house of the alcalde. They solicit advice, ask to have the cabildo supervise a land distribution, and ask for assistance in settling interpersonal and family conflicts which have not been resolved through other less official means. The alcalde must listen to these, give advice, decide which ones to deal with himself and which he must bring to the attention of the governor. His wife is expected to provide at least coffee and something to eat for each visitor, and when other members of the cabildo are in the area on official business she serves meals to all.

Alcaldes attend to the daily visits and weekly cabildo meetings, and spend from one to three days a week on official business--usually the supervision of land distribution and community work projects. Whereas alguaciles participate in only a portion of these events (though ideally they too should participate in all), alcaldes are expected to accompany the governor in all of his official activities.

Alcaldes sometimes ask for and almost always receive permission to be absent to attend to personal matters. The surprising thing to me, however, was the extent to which they met their obligations to the governor and the community. Whereas no more than one-third to one-half the alguaciles were normally present on any given occasion, all four alcaldes were usually there, and rarely less than three. Governors often delegate authority to the alcalde to deal with matters in his

region that require only administrative action (e.g. marking boundaries).

Issues brought to the attention of the alcalde are often of vital and emotional concern to families. Arguments over land, animals, boundaries, marital fidelity, and domestic obligations, some of which involve or threaten to involve physical violence, are ones which he confronts regularly. It is difficult and sometimes impossible for the alcalde, even with the help of the others in the cabildo, to bring about a solution which satisfies both parties. More likely, neither will be completely happy with the result. Thus, not only does the alcalde end the year with less wealth than the otherwise might have, but with a few less friends and some new enemies. And the enemies are not to be taken lightly. It is consistent with the Guambiano way of interpreting events for persons harboring ill feelings towards another to seek some sort of revenge, either through the direct use of force or indirectly in sorcery.

An alcalde who "suffers" through his year and does his job conscientiously does, however, merit the esteem of his fellows and becomes a man who may unapologetically continue to participate in political affairs of the reservation.

The Governor

The individual on whose shoulders the burden of responsibility for political affairs rests is the governor. He is subject not only to the demands and circumstances described above for the alcalde, but he also has to judge what course of action to pursue when the other

officials disagree or when no consensus is established. In addition he is the official who from the standpoint of outside authorities represents the interests of the entire reservation community. His signature is required on all documents including bank loans made from a special Indian loan fund. He is responsible for organizing community work projects and religious events such as All Souls Day and Christmas celebrations. In addition he is expected to give support to local activities organized by each of his alcaldes and to accompany them for at least part of the day. In the past the governor had the authority to order whippings (administered by the alguaciles) and to confine individuals to a stock in Las Delicias. Civil authorities in Silvia divested the governor of this authority but gave him the right to levy fines on individuals who failed to heed a request to appear before the council, or who failed to comply with its decisions.

Material wealth in the form of land and animals is not a prerequisite for any cabildo position. Some poor individuals have served in the top position and not infrequently as alcaldes. Dividing the reservation into poor, average, and wealthy groups, however, the assertion that governors tend to be "rich" is unavoidable. There are several ways of looking at this phenomenon. First, the fact that a person is wealthy is to a limited extent attributed to his skill, industriousness, and good luck. Even if a person is fortunate enough to have received a substantial inheritance, it requires substantial effort and good management, skills (and luck) to maintain a high output and a decent level of profit. Thus, being rich indicates to a certain degree that a person may have some of the qualities needed to serve the community.

Secondly, the ethic of sharing is strong in Guambía. Individuals who do not accompany others and who fail to invite others to accompany them are the subjects of gossip, ridicule, disdain, scorn, and, in extreme cases, ostracism. Service in the cabildo is another way of sharing, and those who have more are expected to make a greater return in one way or another.

Since the time and expense of serving as governor is greater than that of serving in the other offices, the economics of the position serves as a limiting factor in the recruitment of those with little reserve capital. I must point out, however, that while serving as governor and in other positions has some "leveling" effect, the economic significance of this for the distribution of wealth in Guambía is negligible. The governor may become a bit less wealthy and/or his rate of increased production temporarily slowed, but there are no cases where this service has resulted in a change of economic status.

As material resources in Guambía increased in value, customary practices associated with holding office have been modified to reduce economic loss. Here I refer to the fiesta organized by each outgoing alcalde and the governor. This includes a large minga, an all-night party, and the slaughter (for consumption) of at least one ox or calf. Before 1930 it was customary for the governor and each alcalde to sponsor a separate fiesta--their highest single expense of the year. Since then officials have occasionally combined efforts, divided costs, and in some instances simply failed to organize the event. Now, only the governor is obligated to sponsor this fiesta, although wealthy outgoing alcaldes continue to organize separate ones.

There is another way in which the role of the governor may be distinguished from other officials, especially from those closest to him in authority. While the analogy exaggerates the role requirements to a certain extent, one way of viewing the differences in the positions of governor and alcalde is to consider the governor as a combination judge and jury foreman, and the alcaldes as the prosecuting and defense attorneys. Ideally, the governor seeks consensus. He is often, however, faced with differences of opinion based on differing judgments as to the facts of the case and motivations of the participants. Much of the questioning is done by alcaldes, as the litigants and other interested parties present their arguments. Once these are heard, the governor generally asks others in the cabildo for their opinion as to what course of action would be appropriate. What is sought is a solution that is equitable taking into account the circumstances of the action, the economic position of those involved, the particulars of the event, Guambiano norms, and legal principles codified in reservation law. The governor is often the last to speak, and though he ultimately pronounces the decision, the course of action selected usually reflects the consensus or widest area of agreement of other cabildo members.

The Secretary

Before 1913 there was no cabildo secretary. From 1913 through 1959 the secretary of the Guambiano cabildo was a White man from Silvia, appointed by the town's mayor. During the past eleven years the position has been occupied by Guambianos, and since 1964 the

responsibilities have been divided between two secretaries--one from the vereda of Cacique and the other living in Peña de Corazón who works in the cooperative store in Pueblito.

The official duties of the secretary include transcribing and registration of land holdings, the recording of resolutions relating to interpersonal conflicts, and the writing up of petitions to government agencies for material and technical assistance. The secretary does not take minutes of cabildo meetings except for those pertaining to selection of candidates and election results. Both secretaries have portable typewriters and attend the weekly cabildo meetings. They may on occasion accompany the cabildo during one of the frequent visits to the site of a land distribution, but this is rare and not required of them.

In addition to official duties, secretaries acting in a private capacity are used by many persons in need of documents. They ask them to type petitions to challenge cabildo decisions, to solicit loans, and to transact affairs directly with agencies of the municipal, departmental and national governments.

Unlike other cabildo officers who serve for one year, the period of service of a secretary is indefinite. The custom of appointing Guambianos to the position began in 1960, and since then one has served for seven years, one for one year, and the two presently occupying the position have held it since 1965 and 1967 respectively. Secretaries are important in the operation of the cabildo because of their handling of the administrative details and their extensive experience with political matters. They are the most well informed

members of the cabildo, both with respect to the application of reservation law[4] and in detailed knowledge of specific cases. The latter is especially important since cases are often carried over from one administration to the next.

The opportunity for illegitimate use of the office of secretary is relatively easy since cabildo officers rarely read the documents they sign. In the past White secretaries frequently were bribed and apparently, with rare exceptions, did little to discourage this practice. Cabildo officials were sometimes the very persons who did the bribing. In return for a cash payment White secretaries would modify boundaries to include territory to which a person had no legitimate claim, and would sanction transactions that had not gone through the proper administrative procedures (e.g. not notifying kin and adjacent landholders). Several cases brought before cabildo officials I worked with had their origins in these incorrectly written documents. Since Guambianos have assumed the secretarial roles this type of corruption has been virtually eliminated. Errors in documents still occur, but now it is almost always due to claimant and witness lying and to occasional deals made between cabildo officers and private individuals--usually relatives. In these cases the secretary, even if he has evidence to dispute a claim being made in an official document, must nevertheless transcribe it according to the desires of the governor.

The key to understanding the shift in the behavior of secretaries lies not so much in the change from Whites to Guambianos, though that is part of it, but in the integrity of the Guambianos who have held

the position. With the exception of one questionable individual who held the post for a year, the Indians who served and are serving as secretaries are intelligent, honest men whose economic status is in the middle level or lower. Their presence in the cabildo, in my opinion, serves as a check against the abuse of power by officials who might be tempted to use the power of the office for illegal purposes. The secretaries are men who want respect and esteem, but they are not ambitious for power.

THE INTERESADOS

The interesados, or "interested ones," are individuals who occupy a political status, who help make and implement decisions but who hold no official position in the cabildo. Most interesados are ex-cabildo officials, normally persons who served as governors and alcaldes. The number of persons identified as interesados varies with the vereda where the question is asked, and with the informant. There are, however, between forty and fifty persons who make up what might be called a "core group" of interesados. These are individuals who participate in the decisions with regard to candidates for political office and deal with matters of reservation-wide significance. In addition to this core group each vereda has its own group of interesados. These include local members of the core group and others--again usually ex-cabildo officials--who take an active part in local political affairs but whose political status is not recognized outside their vereda or locality.

Whereas support for political positions in the cabildo is based in part on legislation dating back to the colonial period, support for

the position of interesado is based almost entirely on legitimacy:

> . . . a type of support that derives not from force or its threat but from the values held by the individuals formulating, influencing, and being affected by political ends (Swartz, Turner and Tuden 1966:10).

In addition to their role in candidate selection and policy formulation interesados serve as consultants to cabildo officials in cases under litigation and in obtaining aid from government agencies. Also, persons making demands on the cabildo may channel these to an interesado who is a kinsman, friend or neighbor, rather than go directly to the alcalde or governor.

RECRUITMENT TO POLITICAL OFFICE

During my period of service in the Peace Corps when I worked with the Division of Indian Affairs in Silvia (1962-63), and in 1966 when I was in the early phase of my research, I spent much of my time participating in and observing political events. I became friends with members of several cabildos, and a few served as informants for a wide range of topics. They spoke of times they remembered when the cabildo's authority was greater and whipping was used to punish violators of the legal and moral code. Several showed me the four-stranded leather whips used in their day of cabildo service, and remarked on the decline in prestige associated with holding political office. Since my observations on the functioning of the Guambiano cabildo led me to conclude it was still a strong and well organized group, I became interested in how it was that in spite of the erosion of authority the institution continued to serve vital community needs in an effective manner. It did not take long to determine the answer to this question, which had

to do with the dedication, oratorical skill, and intelligence of the political officials and the actions of the interesados.

The next question I had to deal with, and one on which I spent a large part of my time in 1967 investigating, was how they recruited men into the cabildo and why, given the demands of service in time and energy, men accepted or sought office.

In addition to my observations I interviewed between forty and fifty men about their recruitment into the cabildo and their role in the selection of new members. The investigation revealed that in varying combinations and degree the following factors were related to political recruitment: a desire for prestige and power, a desire to serve the community, a sense of obligation to the community (a man ought to serve if asked), a sense of obligation to the cabildo (they have helped me and/or my family and I must return the service), a concern or fear over negative social sanctions (withdrawal of cabildo support in the future, criticism, ostracism), and the threat of monetary sanctions (fines imposed through the mayor's office in Silvia). The relative importance of each varied significantly with regard to the person and position involved.

The major requirements for political office are that the individual be male and married. Women do not hold political office, and the whole notion of women in the cabildo is dismissed without much comment by women as well as men. Guambianos living on neighboring haciendas and other adjacent areas are not eligible to hold office--the man must be a resident of the reservation. Individuals not born on the reservation and/or whose parents are not Guambianos are permitted

to hold office if they at present reside in Guambía. Guambianos sometimes adopt Indians from other tribes, and one of the most famous governors of the reservation, Antonio Valencia, was born to Páez parents but reared by a Guambiano family. There are no economic requirements to holding office and informants stress that anyone is eligible, rich or poor. In fact, though alcaldes and alguaciles represent all economic levels, governors tend to be wealthy or at least above average.

Previous service in a lower position is a prerequisite to holding higher office. Alcaldes are normally selected from those who have already served as alguaciles, and governors from among the available ex-alcaldes. From four to twenty years (usually from five to ten) elapses before a man returns for another year of service.

Since 1879 fourteen governors have occupied the office of governor twice, and three have held the position three times. During the past ten years, however, no governor has held the position for more than a single term. And in no case has any official ever succeeded himself in office. Alcaldes and alguaciles may, after a period, repeat a term in the same office but this is rare.

The prerequisite of previous service in the next lowest position is sometimes waived. Individuals with no experience as an alguacil have served as alcaldes, and men whose only previous experience in the cabildo was as alguacil have been elected to the governorship.

Elections have been part of the selection process since 1913. Except for the 1966 election (discussed below) and one other year, they have been a formality: a ratification of the <u>principal</u> candidate (as opposed to the <u>suplente</u>) selected in caucuses by outgoing cabildo

members and the interesados. In the early part of the century and before, captains (capitanes) played a key role in deciding who held political office.

Recruitment of Alguaciles

Alguaciles are selected by outgoing alguaciles. In November each alguacil tells his alcalde or the governor his choice for his replacement, and this name is included on a list presented to the new cabildo. The new alcaldes and governor may make some changes but the list generally remains intact.

Some men look forward to serving as alguacil. Many, though married, are still living with their parents and siblings and can spend time with the cabildo without having much effect on the household economy. For others, serving in the cabildo is more a matter of obligation, something the community expects of them and another aspect of life which simply must be endured. No one, even those who want to be in the cabildo, expresses this sentiment to others or actively seeks appointment.

Occasionally men try to escape cabildo service. The smoothest way to avoid serving is to minimize or eliminate the possibility of a personal encounter with the alcalde-designate in the area. Protocol demands that each high official personally invite those named to accompany him during the coming year. Usually this involves a visit to the alguacil's house and the sharing of a bottle of aguardiente with him and his family. There is a stylized speech in which the higher authority humbles himself in asking the younger man to share the work and suffering, adding that "after all, it is only for a year."

A man knowing he is on the list and wishing to avoid or postpone cabildo service has several alternatives. If he has the support of others in the household they may tell the alcalde or governor-designate their son (brother, husband) is not home. Since Guambianos do not like to lie and do not like liars, a preferred strategy is for the young men to flee the house if he sees the higher official approaching or hears his voice. A more extreme course of action, but one which is sometimes used by a man wishing to avoid any category of office, is to leave the reservation until the date for swearing in of the new cabildo (first week in January) passes. Most go to a farm off the reservation owned by family or friends. Most recalcitrants, however, are eventually cornered, even those who go to the lowlands. Once confronted with the plea for their assistance few are able to refuse the request. And those who continue to resist may ultimately find themselves taken physically to the mayor's office where either they agree to serve or are fined. Few higher officials, however, go this far, preferring to replace the individual with someone else.

The prestige of the persons named as alcaldes and governor affects the disposition of alguacil with respect to serving during their administration. If the individuals named to serve in high offices are already men of prestige and power they encounter little difficulty in getting young men to accompany them for the year. To serve with a man of importance gives the person a sense of pride. Also, persons named as alguaciles are more disposed to serve when one or more of their friends are also on the list. Regardless of the circumstances and disposition of the individual towards cabildo

service, some resistance is always exhibited and the higher authority is required to "persuade" his followers to accompany him. It is a ritual aspect of recruitment, and occurs for all positions.

The authority of the alguacil to designate his successor is important to his role. It provides a major area of support for the position and affects the alguacil's ability to mobilize other married men to work on community projects. A married man with no cabildo experience who does not cooperate with the alguacil, either through labor or contributions, puts himself in the position of being named by the incumbent as his replacement for the coming year. This course of action is sometimes made explicit to the uncooperative individual, usually in a casual encounter when both have been drinking: "Next year it's going to be your turn to suffer." Between one quarter and one third of the persons whom I asked about motives for selecting replacements indicated that lack of cooperation on the part of the other was a factor in their decision.

For many Guambianos, even those with no political aspirations, serving as an alguacil is an interesting and often enjoyable experience. They visit veredas far from theirs, develop new friendships, learn the procedures involved in registration of titles and other transactions, and develop ties with officials whose support they may need at some future date. While on official business alguaciles are under little or no pressure in their role as witnesses and observers. They have a great deal of time to converse with the other alguaciles, and mutual joking and kidding occur whenever they are together. Friendships made during cabildo service are sometimes continued, and

occassionally formalized in compadrazgo ties. All persons in a cabildo, regardless of the position, refer to and address one another as compañero (companion) after their period of service. During the year, however, only alguaciles refer to and address one another as compañero.

Recruitment of Alcaldes

Selection of alcaldes is a more serious affair than the recruitment of alguaciles. Potential candidates are the subject of discussion among the interesados and cabildo officials as early as August. In October and November the interesados in each area hold caucuses to select candidates for the position and formulate work plans and political demands for the coming year. Except for the caucus in the uppermost veredas (La Campana, Ñimbe, Piendamó Arriba and Pueblito) where the final decision of candidates for the governorship is made, selection of the local alcalde is often the most important aspect of these meetings. Men who know they are being considered for the position usually do not attend.

The interesados and cabildo officials from the area discuss the suitability of the candidate. They talk about his participation in community affairs, his willingness to serve, his past performance as an alguacil and his ability to initiate and continue work on communal projects. They want a man who is a hard worker, who is honest, who cooperates with and has the respect of his neighbors. They want a man whose relations with his family are free from scandal and conflict, who "speaks well" and has the intellectual capacity and integrity to deal with political matters justly. Needless to say, few men meet

all these criteria but, as I mentioned earlier, they seem to do a good job in selecting qualified men.

Unlike the selection of alguaciles where willingness to serve is an irrelevant concern, it is important, though not always crucial, in selecting the alcalde. For the interesados, the alcalde is their link to the governor and the man responsible for organizing the community to work on projects they are interested in. Also, the alcalde's influence on the governor has some effect on the amount of support the latter gives to their community programs. The interesados have enough experience and common sense to recognize that men who do not share their interest in these matters and who do not want to serve make poor alcaldes. Men named to be alcaldes, though sometimes men of limited economic resources, often want the opportunity to serve and the prestige which follows when such a role is performed well.

While most alcaldes are selected on the basis of competence and willingness to serve, there are cases of alcaldes who neither aspired to the position nor were well suited for it by skill, reputation or disposition. Factors related to the naming of such men include the lack of available candidates with the talent and willingness to accept the position, and the availability of wealthy individuals who in the recent past have been recipients of services of the cabildo--settling disputes, registration of land holdings, and the securing of loans. Their selection and acceptance are related to the principle of reciprocity. With others unavailable these men are "persuaded" and cajoled into service.

Recruitment of the Governor

The selection of a governor ideally involves a discussion similar to that for an alcalde. In fact, however, three additional factors play a role in his recruitment. One is the wealth of the person. Whereas alcaldes are often men of few or moderate means, governors during the past twenty years have had more than an average amount of land and animals. Secondly, though the rhetoric of the interesados is that neither money nor residence is important, governors invariably come from the oldest veredas in the upper section. As I noted in an earlier section, 17 of the past 20 governors have been from La Campana, El Pueblito and Ñimbe. Taking this back to 1913 we find that during the entire period from 1913 to 1970 only two governors were from lower veredas (Cacique in 1962 and 1918), and a total of 55 were from the Campana-Pueblito-Ñimbe-Piendamó Arriba area. The remaining ten were from the Puente Real-Peña de Corazón-San Pedro-La Cumbre area, all upper veredas.

In addition, there is a kinship aspect to political recruitment at this level. While the large network of bilateral and affinal kin makes the influence of kinship on political recruitment difficult to determine, forty governorships since 1913 have been distributed among eight families. The table below gives some idea of the extent to which the governorship is concentrated among certain families. In addition to the bonds diagrammed below there are numerous affinal links among these and other families of ex-governors. There are four families in which son, father and grandfather have all been governors. Ties of fictive kinship (compadrazgo) also reinforce and extend the network of persons who have occupied the office.

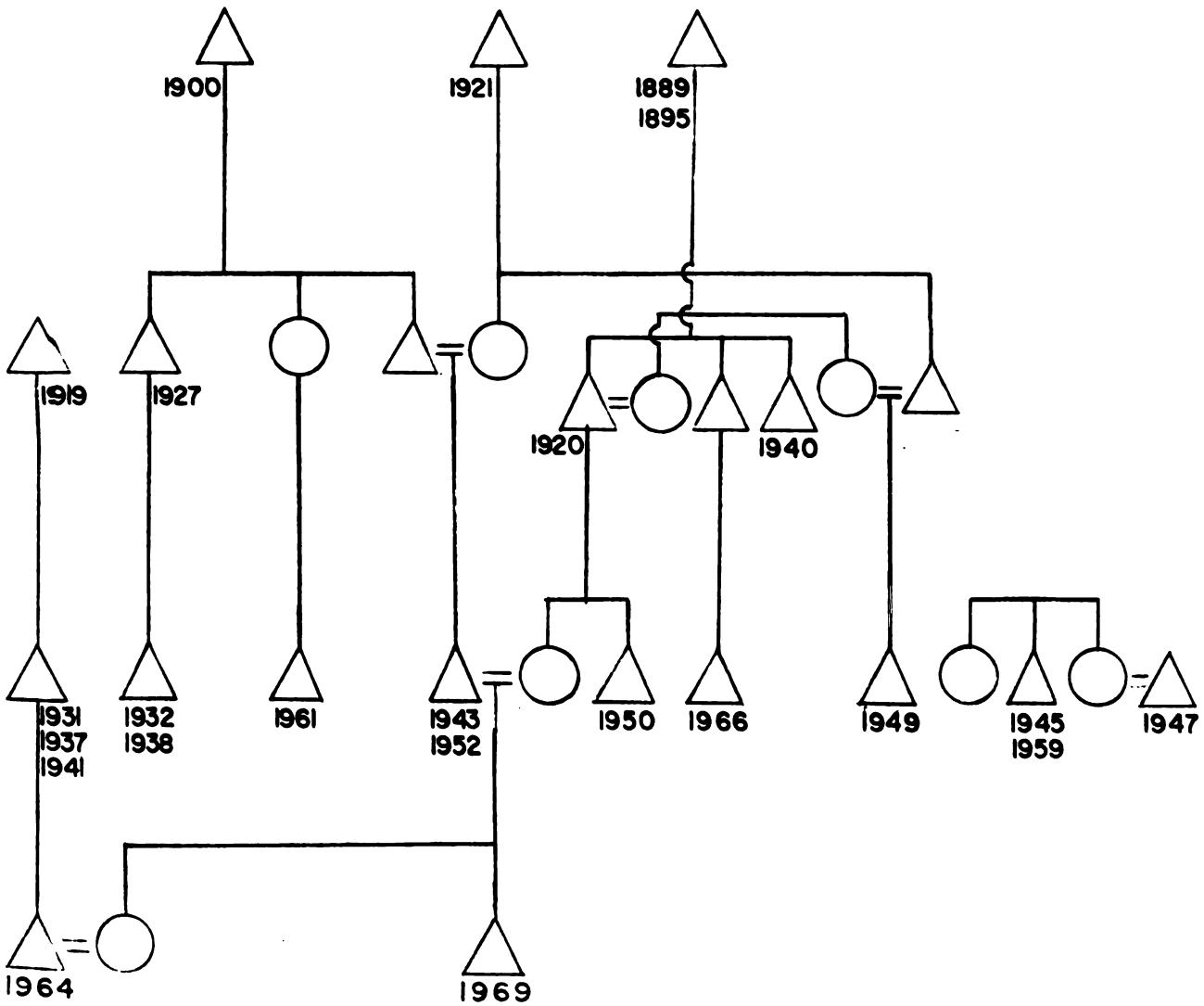

FIGURE 21: Some kinship ties among governors of Guambía. Dates indicate the year(s) in which the person held office.

Candidates for the office of governor are selected by the interesados and cabildo officers of the upper veredas. The names of the preliminary candidates are passed on to all cabildo members and to interesados in other veredas. After a period of informal discussion two meetings are held in each section of the reservation. The first is attended by cabildo officials of the area and the local interesados. The second is a public meeting, but participants are mostly men with at least a year of cabildo service behind them.

In 1966, in the vereda of Cacique, between twelve and fifteen persons attended the first meeting and at the second there were 35 to 40 men present. They discussed the candidates for alcalde and reviewed the qualifications of the preliminary candidates for governor. In the past they usually accepted the principal candidate chosen in the upper vereda caucus. On several recent occasions, however, the men from Cacique opposed the principal nominee. In 1965 they questioned his integrity and competence, and believed he would be of little help to them in matters relating to local problems--primarily additional government funds for the road. They tried to persuade the interesados of the upper veredas to change the principal candidate but were unsuccessful. Consequently, most of the votes in Cacique went to the alternate candidate (suplente), who, to everyone's surprise, but especially his, won the election. This was only the second time anyone could remember that the suplente had become governor. The following year Caciqueños also refused to support the principal candidate but could not obtain enough votes to secure his defeat.

The final official selection of candidates is made at a meeting in a private home in the vereda of La Campana. Present are members of

the cabildo (mostly just those from the upper veredas), ex-governors, ex-alcaldes, and the teacher from Pueblito. Interesados from any part of the reservation have a right to participate, and are sometimes invited. Some years, however, they simply do not inform persons from lower veredas of the reunion, even those in the cabildo.

Traditionally the meeting opens with the governor stating his term of office is coming to an end and that it is for the people to decide who will replace him. The meeting is opened for nominations, and potential candidates are again discussed, taking into account the opinions of the interesados in the other veredas. Discussion continues until a consensus is reached, and meetings sometimes last through the night. Two candidates, a principal and suplente, are selected with the understanding that the former is to be elected governor.

Anyone who has not yet served as governor and who participates in this meeting is considered a potential governor for some future date. For example, three of the men present at the forementioned 1966 meeting were at the time ex-alcaldes. By 1971 all were ex-governors. Thus it seems that the price of political influence is service. For those who want to participate in the power politics of the reservation, serving as governor is a type of rite de passage. As for those who must serve as governor but who have no long-term interest in reservation politics, well, "you only suffer for a year."

Issues of community interest are also discussed at the nomination meetings. The most important of these during the past ten years have been roads, obtaining title to the reservation, and the agrarian reform program. Thus, when the new governor takes office he is more

or less committed to initiate or continue programs decided on by the interesados.

Persons being considered for the governorship are normally not present at the nominating meeting. They are informed either verbally or in writing about the decision and are then visited by a delegation made up of members of the cabildo and several interesados. The reaction to being informed of the nomination is characteristically negative: "I'm not smart enough," "there are others who are more qualified," "I am in debt and have much work to do on my farm." Even those who expect the nomination and have resigned themselves to serving, go through the motions of refusal and self-abnegation. A good governor is always humble. Bottles of aguardiente are brought out and the candidate is reassured of his competence, reminded of his obligations, told that it is the people who want him to be governor, and is pledged the support of the interesados. In some instances resistance is not simply a ritual of refusal/acceptance but a serious effort to escape the burdens of office. One nominee in the late sixties whose only previous service was as an alguacil refused the appointment, and several letters and visits were necessary to convince him to accept. Another instance, also in the late sixties, involved a candidate who threatened to sell the reservation to the agrarian reform corporation (equivalent in the upper veredas to selling to the devil, and legally impossible) if he was elected governor. He added that he would not serve unless he got two thousand votes, not impossible but unlikely in a community where total votes cast average less than 500. He won with less than four hundred votes and served his term.

The final act of the nomination meeting is to set a date for the election. In recent years it has been held on the Sunday of the fiesta of The Virgin held in La Campana. The fiesta is attended by Guambianos from all parts of the reservation, which facilitates the work of the interesados in gathering large numbers of votes for the principal candidate.

After being notified of his election and repeating his feelings of doubt about his capabilities, the governor-elect reviews the list of those selected to accompany him as alcaldes and alguaciles. He may decide to make some changes at this time. He then visits the house of each alcalde, and those alguaciles directly responsible to him, offering them aguardiente and asking them to accompany him.

On the first Tuesday in January the incoming and outgoing cabildo officers go to the mayor's office in Silvia and sign a document listing them as officers. The bara is passed from the old governor to his replacement and, accompanied by their respective cabildos, they retire to a local bar for an afternoon of drinking.

The cabildo officials "suffer" through their year of service. The momemtum generated by the demands for their services combined with the dedication of a few and the vigilance of the interesados keep the organization functioning for another year.

THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT: CASE STUDIES

In this section I present a summary of several cases which may be viewed as a sample of the kinds of conflicts brought to the attention of the cabildo and how they are resolved. I was a witness to

the first three cases, and information on the fourth was obtained in several interviews.

Case 1: A man stabs his brother-in-law. Juan and Manuel, the latter married to Juan's older sister, were in a bar on the reservation when Juan made a remark about Manuel's handling of a mortgage arrangement. Manuel, who is considered an angry (namik) type, with one jail term behind him, took a swing at Juan, and a fight began. Guambianos normally use fists, but Manuel drew a pocket knife and stabbed Juan six times in the chest. There was no intent to kill, and the knife only entered about one-half inch in each wound. Juan was prepared to take the case to Silvia and have Manuel thrown in jail. Before this could happen Manuel went to his padrino, an influential ex-alcalde, and asked him to get the present alcalde to intervene. He admitted his guilt and said he was ready to settle on a friendly basis (por las buenas). His padrino arranged a meeting in which the brother-in-law, the alcalde, two alguaciles and a secretary were present. At the meeting Juan was persuaded to settle the matter directly with Manuel and not get the community involved with the police. He settled for sixty pesos. Both signed a document stating they would refrain from further fighting and that the next man to start a fight would pay a fine of 200 pesos.

Case 2: Returning land to its heirs. Sam, a man with substantial land holdings, purchased a plot of land from an old woman who often worked for him as a peon. He allowed her to use the land while she was alive, but when she died he used it to pasture his sheep. Her daughters, away much of the year working on a neighboring hacienda

were unaware of the deal their mother had made. Several months after the old woman's death Carlos, the adopted son of one of her daughters, found out about the sale and tried to return the money to Sam. Sam refused and Carlos went to the alcalde claiming he and his aunts had rights to the land and that the sale was made without their knowledge. The alcalde took the case to the cabildo, and the governor decided to intervene. The cabildo agreed with Carlos and his aunts, saying that since this was the only piece of land left in the family the old woman had no right to sell it without consulting her daughters.

Sam argued that the woman had spent the money, had use of the land until she died, and had made the sale voluntarily. He added that Carlos, who was pressing the claim, had lived off the reservation for many years and earlier had sold a piece of land given to him by his uncle. The cabildo agreed this was relevant, but that only one-quarter of the small piece was for him and the rest for the woman's daughters. The cabildo divided the land among the four and told them to return Sam's money.

Case 3: Neglect of domestic obligations. María is a young woman married to Thomas, a widower and much older than his wife. María, without her husband's permission, frequently came home after dark and sometimes stayed away all night. Thomas beat her when she persisted in staying out. Since this failed to change María's behavior Thomas asked the cabildo to intervene. María was escorted by several alguaciles to the next meeting of the cabildo in Silvia and asked to explain her behavior. She said she had been at her parents' house (only partially true) and had stayed away because her husband beat her (true, but after

the fact). Her parents, who were not very fond of her husband (he was poor and this was his second marriage), defended their daughter and supported her story that she was with them. Members of the cabildo who knew that on occasion she had committed adultery reprimanded her, not for the latter but for not meeting her domestic obligations. "If you wanted to stay with your parents why did you marry?"

They told her to return to her husband and obey him. This was the second time the case had been before the cabildo, so María was made to sign a document stating she would pay a fine of 500 pesos if she remained away from home at night. The husband promised he would refrain from beating his wife if she stayed home.

Case 4: Taking land that does not belong to you. Felipe, an ex-governor, bought a large piece of savanna (páramo) land from his brother-in-law, also an ex-governor. The land borders a large plot which had been kept as communal land by earlier cabildos and used for pasturing animals. Felipe invited his nephew, the governor and the rest of the cabildo to supervise the distribution of the land which he divided among his three children--seven parts to the youngest son, five parts to the oldest son, and one part to his daughter. In showing the cabildo where the boundaries were, however, Felipe included a large portion of the adjacent communal land. Apparently no one in the cabildo was aware of the communal status of part of the land (if the governor was, he was not likely to tell anyone), and the boundaries Felipe designated were included on the map used in drawing up the adjudications. Several days later as the secretary was typing the necessary documentation, an ex-alcalde in casual conversation asked

him about the adjudication he was working on. The secretary showed him the map, the ex-alcalde recognized the area and informed him that part of the land "belonged to the community" and could not have been purchased. The secretary said he must follow the boundaries according to map given to him by the governor. Both agreed, however, that something had to be done.

The ex-alcalde then went to the man who was governor when he was in office. The ex-governor in turn informed the man slated to be governor for the coming year. The ex-alcalde and the nominee met with the secretary and suggested he complete the documents as ordered, but that he inform the mayor's secretary in Silvia and have him withhold action on the document until the new cabildo took office. He agreed, and several months later, when the papers were forwarded from the mayor's office, the new governor refused to sign them. When Felipe asked why they refused, the governor asked him to produce copies of the original adjudications granting the land to the seller. After a delay of several months Felipe asked the cabildo to visit the land and distribute it according to the boundaries of the purchase. This was immediately done.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. My use of the terms possession and ownership must be viewed in the context of Colombian law. Indians "possessing" or "owning" reservation land do not have the right to sell the land but rather the right to use it and pass it on to legal heirs.

2. These and all figures on cabildo size are based on an analysis of documents in the cabildo archives. They refer to the number of persons actually participating in official political action, and do not always coincide with the number of persons appointed in December and early January to serve in the cabildo. Only persons whose names appeared on official documents in the archives are listed.

3. Data from 1952 and 1955 (six alcaldes) is missing and thus the figure used is 62 instead of 68.

4. All secretaries have participated in courses organized by the Division of Indian Affairs which deal with Laws governing the reservation, services offered by the various agencies of government, how to obtain resources from them, and election procedures.

VIII. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND RITUALS

Among the categories traditionally used by anthropologists to organize material on social and cultural life "religion" and "ritual" are perhaps the most problematic. As Nadel (1954:7-8) notes:

> Whichever way we propose to circumscribe the province of things religious, we are bound to encounter a border zone which defies precise allocation on this or that side of the boundary. . . What we set out to do is describe everything in a particular culture that has a bearing on religion. And since "religion" is precisely one of those words which belong to the more intuitive portions of our vocabulary, and hence cannot be given a sharp connotation, we have no choice but to feel our way towards the meaning it should have in given circumstances.

Taking the broad view that "religion" has to do with supernatural beings and powers and their relationship with man and other natural phenomena, then all of life in Guambía is in one sense "religious." The supernatural is an implicit dimension of life, and the origins of and reasons for specific concepts and practices are often vaguely understood and sometimes not at all.

Since a full discussion of Guambiano religious beliefs and practices are beyond the scope of this thesis, my treatment is limited to major beliefs and summaries of recurrent ceremonial events.

The information presented is based on: (1) myths and legends recorded in Nuestra Gente (Hernández de Alba and F. Tumiñá-P. 1949); (2) personal observation of ceremonies, and (3) interviews about religious phenomena and ritual events. Except for the myths, which few inhabitants today are able to recite, the perspective presented

is that of a "layman" rather than a religious specialist. There are variations in the rituals I observed and in informants' descriptions and explanations of supernatural phenomena and rituals.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

There is a superb book by Gregorio Hernández de Alba and Francisco Tumiñá-Pillimue (1949) which contains anecdotal descriptions of everyday life and a number of myths and legends about Guambía. They provide the best source of information available about what might be appropriately called the "mythical charter" for Guambiano society.

Mama Manuela Caramaya

Doña Manuela, about whom there are a number of legends, may be viewed as the mother of the modern day (Catholicized) Guambianos. In this context it is relevant to restate that at the time of the conquest several tribes in the Cauca Valley had chieftainesses (Andagoya 1864). The legend of Mama Manuela is presented in unabridged form.

> The old woman Cayetana is telling the story of best woman who has ever been mother of the people of Guambía: the one from whom those living today come and who several times saved her people; the one who for all, with respect, is Mama Manuela.
>
> Doña Manuela Caramaya lived in tears, the conquerers were nearing to take her land and crops.
>
> The soldiers, armed and hairy, were coming up their own path; thus she gathered much grass, called her guinea pigs which were big and black, and accompanied by her husband and children went to the cliff atop the plains of Nuyabalc on the large farm they called "the forest," known today as San Fernando.

> The conquerers, coming to get them so they could be baptized, were about to catch them when she opened the door of the cliff and entered with her husband and guinea pigs, but closed the door before the children arrived; the Spaniards had already caught them and were going to have them baptized.
>
> These poor young boys, never having tasted salt, upon eating it at baptism remained for a week without desire for food, which they found unpleasant, and passed their days vomiting until they finally learned to like things with the salt of the Kingdom. They were called Tombé and Tumiñá since those were the surnames they were baptized with, but no one remembers their first names.
>
> One Holy Thursday evening many years after the Conquest a man passing by Nuyablac was tired and fell asleep near the cliff, and at midnight was awakened by a noise which sounded like a door opening. It was the door of the cliff and from it came a man and his wife: in her arms she carried a bunch of grass and called and called saying tova, tova, tova, tova. Behind her in single file the guinea pigs followed in order to eat. It was Mama Manuela who had left to see her animals, those she had when she lived on these plains before the Spaniards arrived.
>
> Afterward the cliff closed again, sounding like a very large door when it shut.
>
> The guinea pigs existed until a few years ago under the large rocks one finds on the hacienda next to the hill Doña Manuela entered when the conquering men were going to catch them and give them salt to baptize them Christians.

Another Mama Manuela Caramaya legend tells of her saving her people from defeat at the hands of the Pijao Indians (Ibid:115-16): Mama Manuela, using magical phrases and her milk bush (lechero) branch, turned the cannibalistic invaders into frailejón plants. These plants are found today in the high páramo region of the reservation.

Other legends deal with:

Lightning--a dangerous phenomenon attributed to a naked, pimpled old man who uses a gold cane in his work (99-100).

Winds--Tombé was a vain, beastful man who with his sons became a powerful wind. This wind, though pure, carries sickness (contamination sucio) from person to person (103).

Origin of the Mountains, Rivers and Lakes

While this story appears to be an adaptation of the biblical acxount of Noah, it is more likely the indigenous version of the flood told to Andagoya in the 16th century (1865:66-8). The story is one of the few which continue to be told in Guambía today.

> Pedro de Urdimales. Of this Pedro, many things are told but what seems most important, since it was his greatest prank, is the following, . . .
>
> Long ago, here in Guambía where we are now, the land was very flat, like a table. Then this Pedro de Urdimales appeared and innundated everything with water. It caused all the people and animals to come up to this flat-topped hill. Their weight caused the hill to split away and it came to a stop at the point straight and distant from here that today is called the hill of Patía.
>
> This Pedro that caused the flood had a drum, and in it he put a man, a woman, and a pair of each kind of animal, male and female, saying it was for seed when all the people died.
>
> Over the waters he went without drowning, playing his drum and laughing. Later he dried the land and the waters disappeared taking most of the land away to the seas. The rivers sank, and because the water took the land, there remained these gullies, these canyons and the mountains of the world. All of this was, before this man Urdinales appeared, flat, very flat.
>
> One day, perhaps when he was old, Pedro told the people that he should be buried with a strong cord of hemp tied to his foot with the end of it sticking out of the earth. But when he died, the people, not trusting him, buried him in a stone coffin with only a single thin strand of hemp knotted to his little finger, and left only the tip of it sticking out over the surface of the earth.

They did right because Pedro was not dead, and when he moved his little finger and stretched the thread he made the earth shake. How would it have been had they attached the strong rope?

And Pedro is still forming rivers and swamps. If not, how could he walk on the water playing his drum? (Hernández de Alba and Tumiñá 1949:107-108. My translation.)

Origin of Cold Climate

The story presented below is one rich in symbolism and moral import. It shows the consequences of not allowing a daughter to have relations with men, the impregnating powers of the supernatural, transformations of cat-serpent-man, the responsibility of a mother (as opposed to grandmother) for her child, and the power of nature (water) over man.

Legend of the Lake

On land of the reservation of Quizgó, in front of a hill, there was a house. There, lived a woman and her daughter whose mother never let her go out alone. She did not want, perhaps, for her daughter to have love affairs or a family with a man. For this she was also made to sleep in a room which could only be entered after passing three well locked doors with three keys.

Curious men, watching, saw one night that a cat entered the bedroom of the girl, but they were mistaken since it was really a snake (serpent) that appeared to the men in the form of a cat.

Finally, after some time, the daughter gave birth to a baby boy but never let anyone, not even her mother, touch him. Then one day the young girl went to the woods to gather firewood. She left her son well-swaddled, saying to the old woman: "Take care, don't take the baby out no matter how much he cires; just swing the hammock." After a short while, the baby began to cry and would not stop no matter how much the grandmother rocked the hammock. She then took him out, put him on her knees and began to undress him when, in an instant, the boy became a snake and escaped the arms of the grandmother.

> The young girl returned and upon seeing the hammock empty asked her mother, and on learning the truth only remarked: "Well, if that's what it was, so be it." She then laid herself crosswise in front of the door, and at that moment fountains of water gushed forward from each part of the house and formed a lake.
>
> Much time later, the people wanted to remove the lake and open a canal,but the water left with such force that its violence killed many workers. When the pond was almost dry they found a fern that when picked would bleed, and for that reason they believed it was the mother of that baby boy-serpent.
>
> The waters that left formed another lake near the town of Ovejas. Still, even today, one finds the lake, and the people believe that if the grandmother hadn't dared let the child out of the hammock to become a serpent, then the land up to Quizgó would produce all the fruits of the hot country.
>
> But now, because of that, the cold wind blows. (120. My translation.)

SUPERNATURAL FORCES AND SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Guambianos believe in a variety of supernatural beings and powers which affect the course of natural and human events. In this category are such "natural" phenomena as the sun, moon, plants, winds, rain, rivers and rainbows. There are also a number of anthropomorphic spirits, including the Catholic "God (Dios)," Jesus Christ, the Virgin, a few Saints, the devil, little spirits, and souls of the dead.

Religious aspects of Natural Phenomena

The Guambiano concept of the world is that it is flat, square and static. The sun and the moon complement one another, and the moon is believed to follow the sun in a circular path around the earth. Direct exposure to the sun is dangerous to man, and looking directly at it is believed to cause blindness. The heat of the sun weakens

a person and thus is especially dangerous to those who are weak, sick or contaminated (sucio).

Too much sun is dangerous to crops, and its rays on paramo mist causes "dangerous" rainbows to form. Women and children exposed to a rainbow may become ill or pregnant. Appearance of a rainbow is a sign someone will die shortly.

The moon is good and bad, helpful and harmful. Exposure to a full moon is dangerous for horses and other animals but helpful to the growth of agricultural products as long as they are planted at the correct times.

Planting and Phases of the Moon

The relationship among types of food plants, phases of the moon, and "owners" of the seed exhibits a definite pattern.

Crops may be divided into two categories: root (potatoes, ullucos, onions and garlic) and stalk (corn and wheat). They may also be categorized according to the sex of the person who owns the seed (and is responsible for their growth); males are associated with potatoes, ullucos, wheat and corn, females with onions and garlic. This may be diagrammed as follows:

	Root	Stalk
Male	potatoes	corn
	ullucos	wheat
Female	onions	
	garlic	

Guambianos believe the moon is an "attracting" power. It "pulls" plants upward, towards itself. Thus the stalk plants (corn and wheat), for which height is desired, are planted at a new moon. The seed then has the benefit of several weeks of continuous "pull." Root crops, as a rule, should be planted when the moon is full or on the wane. With no moon the root plant would rot; with too much moon at an early stage, the plant would grow tall but at the expense of the root. If the rule applied consistently to all root plants, then onions and garlic ought to be planted at the same time as potatoes and ullucos. In fact, and in principle, the opposite is true. Root plants traditionally cultivated exclusively by women (onions and garlic), follow the same planting schedule as stalk plants (corn and wheat) associated with men.

Whether this is just another example of the structural opposition of male and female, and/or tied to the notion that the moon does not attact or "repels" female plants, I do not know. The relationship of moon-seed-sex is, nevertheless, evident, and is diagrammed below:

	Root		Stalk	
Male	potatoes	(-)	corn	(+)
	ullucos	(-)	wheat	(+)
Female	onions	(+)		
	garlic	(+)		

(+) new moon
(-) full moon or moon on the wane

Eclipses are dangerous to crops and a concern of the entire community. When they occurred in the past Guambianos left their homes and yelled "like roosters;" musicians came out to play their flutes and drums. They believed that failure to act would result in the end of the world. Some continue these practices but the extent of participation has declined. Eclipses are also taken as signs of an impending war or natural disaster (e.g. earthquakes).

Water Spirits. Pishín is the principle water spirit and there are several others, all "sons" of Pishín. These spirits are both good and evil, but water from the high páramo region is always dangerous. It may not be consumed, and fish caught there cannot be eaten. Water spirits are located in lakes, rivers, swampy areas, rain and mist. They are especially dangerous to menstruating women and may cause them to become pregnant. For this reason menstruating women must be kept at home and prevented from going near rivers or to the paramo. Violation of this endangers not only the female but others who may become ill from the water she contaminates with her "dirty" (pabɨ) blood.

Pregnancies, especially in unmarried women, are sometimes attributed to water spirits, and fetuses resulting from miscarriages are diagnosed in this framework. Spiritual impregnation is also used to legitimize abortion and infanticide.

Water spirits are dangerous to crops when they transform themselves into hail and frost. To prevail against this, Guambianos in the higher sections of the reservation put pieces of thread across the field, or crosses of straw in them.

One form of water is important for its curative power. This is urine, "water from the groin." Only men's urine has this power, and it is applied to cuts to stop the flow of blood.

Trees and Plants. Guambianos believe in the harmful and curative powers of a wide range of trees and plants. The borrachero (yash) and the lechero (latsɨ, milk-plant) trees have the power to impregnate women who are menstruating and who have not been "cleansed (purified)" since their last period. The borrachero is the more powerful of the two (it is found in the highest regions), and eating its leaves may cause death. The father of one of my hosts on the reservation died after he swallowed water in which borrachero leaves had fallen.

Powerful plants, including cocaine, are used by shamans to cure illnesses attributed to water spirits. Only men may handle these plants, and if touched by a female they lose their power.

Subterranean Spirits. The most important subterranean spirit is uré. He appears to people in the form of a pig and is said to frequently cause headaches (eating part of a man's soul?).

Anthropomorphic Spirits

There are a number of anthropomorphic spirits which affect events in the Guambiano world. Whereas the spiritual forces discussed in the preceding section are invisible (except uré, the underground spirit), those dealt with in this section appear in the form of humans, man-animal combinations, and as insects (moths and fireflies). In insect form they are viewed as transformations of an anthropomorphic spirit. In addition, the anthropomorphic spirits in human and part-human form

appear only to people when they are alone. Anthropomorphic spirits thus serve as supernatural supports to one of the dominant themes in Guambiano society, linjab or accompaniment. An individual will not be harmed by them while he is "accompanied."

There are three kinds of anthropomorphic spirits: the devil (nuguwaymansig), child-spirits or goblins (Spanish--duende; Guambiano--kalyím), and spirits (ghosts) of the recently deceased (Kwaymansig).

The Devil (nuguwaymansig) and Gold. There is only one nuguwaymansig. He lives in the still active, snow-capped volcano of Puracé located about thirty kilometers south of Guambía. He visits the reservation at night during the period between 9:00 and 12:30. Many Guambianos have had encounters with him, and accounts of his appearance show some variations. He is always depicted as a large man with a big black hat, and gold teeth that shine in the night. He sometimes appears seated by the side of a road or path, and on other occasions is mounted on a horse. He is described by some as having the right foot of an animal and the left foot of a man. A person who goes near the nuguwaymansig sees a skeleton face which is sometimes transformed into a pack of moths. This may cause the person to become ill, and death can result.

In addition to his personal appearances, the power of the nuguwaymansig is manifiest in gold. Gold belongs to the devil and is poisonous to man. If found, it may not be touched. When found, gold must be purified by burning, by leaving it exposed to the sun, or by a special Catholic mass (in which case the priest takes the gold). Guambiano shamans are not powerful enough to rid gold of its poisonous effect.

Products obtained from the sale or exchange of unpurified gold are contaminated and endanger all who come in contact with them. Even after purification the money received must be exchanged four separate times before it can be used to make a purchase. The relationship of the number four to purification and transformation is a structural principle and processual regularity which occurs throughout Guambiano religious and social life.

My view is that the beliefs attributing evil power to gold and linking it with the devil is a post-conquest change which reflects their experiences with the gold-hungry Spaniards. It is not difficult to imagine how their possession of gold was linked to shamans' explanations of the conquest. Another reason for this interpretation is that before the conquest Guambianos used yellow in their chumbes (belts), and the flag of the Pubén confederation was also yellow. Even today the beneficial (protecting or prophylactic) power of yellow is expressed in beliefs about urine and certain plants, and was used on the underside of the hat worn by Guambiano women during the 19th century (Douay 1890). The yellow side was turned upwards when it rained and worn permanently in this fashion by widows. This hat is still used in wedding ceremonies.

Ghost Spirits of the Recently Deceased (Kwaymansig). Kwaymansigs appear while a person is on the death bed and linger until the house, its inhabitants, his possessions and fields have been "cleansed." They are seen during the late afternoon as the sun is setting and around midnight. The male or female kwaymansig sometimes appears coming from fields carrying a bundle of wood or sack of food.

If the kwaymansig appears as a woman it is a sign a man will soon die. If the kwaymansig is a man, the unfortunate one will be a woman. They believe the ghost of the deceased, without malice, wants someone to accompany him to Puracé to share in the suffering.

Child-Spirits or Goblins (Kalyím or Duendes). The anthropomorphic spirits which have the greatest effect on daily activities in Guambía are the small childlike spirits referred to as "kalyím." They are the "owners" of the mountains and live in all parts of the reservation--in the paramo, along the banks of rivers and streams and near other sources of water.

The kalyím do not deliberately try to harm anyone unless the person is contaminated. But even an uncontaminated person may become frightened, faint and/or ill if he accidentally encounters one of these creatures. The kalyím may touch and accompany a person who comes near them, and a pain develops at the point of contact. They do not, however, enter the person's body.

The concept of the kalyím is closely tied to the many recurrent curing rituals. Ideally, everything in Guambía is cured as a preventive measure before use and again after it has been contaminated. Houses, tools, clothing and people undergo ritual cleansing by a religious specialist, and every member of the household must be cleansed four days after each woman in the household begins her period. A person who is contaminated "angers" the kalyím who then may enter the house and cause a person to feel pain or become ill. Anyone going to work in the mountain fields while he, or a woman in the family, is in a contaminated state will likewise cause the kalyím to act.

The kalyím take a negative view of the use of uncured tools such as machetes and may cause them to break. They may express their annoyance indirectly by causing a tree to fall on a man or by forcing an animal to have an accident. The kalyím are particularly mischievous with children and dogs. If adults do not watch them carefully the kalyím may lead them away and they are temporarily lost.

Diviners and curers are used both to prevent against misfortunes caused by the kalyím and to remedy illness attributed to them. According to Rowe (1954:151), Guambianos used to place plates of food in their gardens once a year as an offering to the kalyím identified with it. This was done so the garden would produce a better harvest.

There is also a spirit known as the "crazy" kalyím (loco kalyím). In contrast to the kalyím who merely touch and/or accompany the contaminated person, making him ill, the loco kalyím enter the body causing the person to become numb or paralyzed. A few Guambiano shamans have been able to cure this sickness but it is difficult, and penetration normally results in death.

Birds and Stars

Birds and stars have no power to affect human events although they are important indicators of the state of things and what will happen in the future. The type of bird, its direction of flight and/or the time it is seen or heard are related to the message. They signify good or bad fortune, sickness, death, rain and the coming of a visitor from a distant point. The movement of stars is used in divining, and indicates whether the time is propitious for a curing or cleansing

ceremony. A star moving towards a person from the east or north is an evil omen of an imminent death. Such a movement may also be a sign that sorcery is being practiced, and counter-sorcery must then be used. The movement of the stars is looked to as a sign the counter-sorcery is working.

CATHOLICISM AND THE ANNUAL CEREMONIAL CYCLE

The Catholic interpretation of God (Dios) is accepted by Guambianos, most of whom have been exposed to some religious training. A presentation of the Holy Trinity is part of the school curriculum, including those run by civil authorities. Almost all Guambianos have some idea of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. For most, however, the rituals and ceremonies of the Church are more important than its metaphysics. Attending mass, baptism, confirmation, church weddings, funerals, Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi and All Souls Day are socially significant events. San Pedro, previously an important part of their ceremonial calendar, is now poorly attended. This may in part be attributed to the addition of festivals on the reservation to celebrate local Virgins.

The Guambiano cabildo is responsible for getting the Indian community to support these events, and the political officials are part of religious processions led by the Priest. In the past the cabildo also supported the Catholic Church by cultivating a special plot of land on the reservation and caring for the cemetery. Today the Indians have their own cemetery on the reservation and no longer use the one in town.

Except for All Souls Day the beliefs and practices surrounding the religious festivals follow patterns established by the Church in Colombia and are similar to those found throughout Latin America. They include a mass, a religious procession in which statues of Jesus, Mary and/or saints are displayed and music played by a band from the mestizo village of Usenda or Silvia. Christmas, All Souls Day, San Pedro and the festivals for the veredal Virgins involve fireworks, drinking and dancing.

The Ofrendas and the Taita Puro Celebration

The month of November is a special one for Guambianos and integrated with the All Souls Day celebration which occurs on November 2nd. The celebration referred to by the Indians as Las Ofrendas (the offerings) centers around the belief that on this day the souls of those who are remembered return to their homes for a visit. On the night of November 1st a special meal is prepared for the souls and placed on a table lit by candles. This is left out all night, and the following morning Guambianos go to the cemetery, clean the graves of relatives, and sprinkle some aguardiente on them. The priest, accompanied by cabildo officials, leads a procession between the graves. They then proceed to the church where the women sit on the floor facing each other in a circle. In front of them are pouches (jigras) filled with potatoes, onions, and bread. On top of each jigra is a candle lit for a particular soul.

The women sit silently while the cabildo collects cash contributions from the men of the community. Afterward, a mass is held and

the contents of the jigras and the money is donated to the Church. The Indians return to their homes and a round of house visits begins. Hot chocolate, fried wheat cakes and pieces of fried pork from freshly killed pigs are given to all visitors. In a modified fashion these activities continue throughout the month of November.

Almost every Saturday in November there are one or more festive mingas. Mingas may include native music played during the walk to and from the fields and while the men are working. Music is said to make the spirits happy.

During the month some young men dress as White men, some as Guambiano women, and some wear masks. They make a straw man called "Taita Puro," put him on a mule and parade him through the reservation. It is a big joke and a time for a great deal of kidding and clowning. Rowe (1954:153) mentions that "To add realism, he [Taita Puro] is dressed in old clothes and furnished with sheep's intestines filled with water."

The costumed young men go from house to house feigning sorrow and lamenting the inevitable fate of Taita Puro, death at the stake. On the last day of the month Taita Puro is taken to a level hilltop, paraded around, danced with and placed on a cross. The young men dance with one another; a Guambiano male in western clothing pairs off with another dressed as a Guambiano female. The movements and patterns of these dances differ from those used on other occasions. They trace quadrilateral outlines within which circular movements and patterns occur. Finally, at sunset, a testament is read, Taita Puro is burned, and the celebration continues into the night.

This celebration may be classified as a "ritual of status reversal" (Turner 1969).

> By making the low high and the high low, they reafirm the hierarchical principle. By making the low mimic (often to the point of caricature) the behavior of the high, and by restraining the initiatives of the proud, they underlie the reasonableness of everyday culturally predictable behavior between the various estates of society (176).

The will and testament of Taita Puro is humorous, and its contents provide an interesting insight into some of the concerns of Guambiano social life. I was fortunate in obtaining a copy of one while in Guambía in 1962. Below are several excerpts from this document.

> . . . I Cornelio U. am going to distribute my inheritance among my children. I must do it now so they don't end up fighting for my underpants after I am gone. . .
>
> . . . For my daughter-in-law Elena, I leave this black sheep from which she should cut wool and make some skirts for herself. . . for my son Antonio I leave the brown horse which is very restless and wanders alone in the road. He must watch it carefully otherwise someone will rob it. . . For my son Joaquin, I leave 300 pesos so he can marry Clementina. . . for my son Ignacio, I leave a parcel of land near the cliff where he can keep his calf fenced in so it won't be robbed by the son of Samuel. . . for my son Jesus I leave the phonograph and 25 records so he can dance with his wife. . . For my son Antonio I leave 400 pesos so he can marry but if he can't find a woman he wants soon, he should marry the daughter of Felipe H. For my son Pacho C., I leave 600 pesos for him to buy a set of dentures because without teeth he is eating the kernels of corn whole. . . My son Juan S., though he is my youngest, turned out very bad. The last time I was sick he sold everything including my underpants. For that I leave him a pair of shoes and no more . . . For my son Manuel Y., I leave 2000 blocks of adobe so he can pay off the debt left by my father's parents . . . I Cornelio U. leave you all this inheritance. GOODBYE MY CHILDREN . . . GOODBYE FOR ALWAYS.

Two changes in the celebration of the November festivities should be noted. The first is the decline in the numbers participating. In 1962 I saw several hundred people in church and at the Taita Puro celebration. In 1966 and 1967 there were less than one hundred women in church and only rare parading of Taita Puro. The second change is the shifting of the burning of Taita Puro from the last day in November to New Year's Eve. This change was encouraged by the Priest who lived in Las Delicias during the mid-1960's.

RITUALS OF STATUS ELEVATION AND LIFE CRISIS CEREMONIES

Rituals of status elevation are ceremonies that occur as a person moves "upward" from one social position to another. Life-crisis rituals are a class of status elevation rituals which occur during critical moments of transition to publicly mark the occasion and impress on living members of the community the significance of the individual and the group. "These are the important times of birth, puberty, marriage and death" (Warner 1959:303).

In Guambía, life crisis rituals occur on those occasions mentioned by Warner, with the exception that there is no puberty ceremony for males. In addition, there are two ceremonies which may be referred to as status elevation rituals but are of such minor significance that they do not merit classification as life-crisis rites. These are the first hair-cut and first cutting of fingernails.

With the exception of the female puberty ceremony, life-crisis rituals in Guambía combine native and Catholic features. Sometimes these are blended together as in the prayers recited until the house

of the deceased is "cleansed," and in others the Catholic and native elements are separated, e.g. the church wedding and the native music and dancing which follow. "Cleansing (decontamination, purification)" is part of all life-crisis rituals, though more important in some than in others.

Contamination

The notion of contamination ("dirt"--sucio) is the key concept linking ritual behavior to their view of the supernatural world. "Dirty blood (pabɨ)" from a menstruating woman or from one who has just given birth is the major source of contamination. It can endanger other people and things that touch or come close to it. Other sources of contamination are the spirits (or ghosts) of the dead.

Two classes of rituals are performed by specialists in dealing with contamination. One is preventative, a prophylactic treatment; the other a purification process. Both, however, are related to the notion of "cleansing."

Birth[1]

Up till the time she is to give birth a woman works, but restrictions on her behavior begin an estimated forty days beforehand.[2] She is not allowed to cook, and her meals ("hot" foods) are prepared separately. For four consecutive nights preceding the estimated day of birth a shaman cleanses the house and the woman to keep harmful spirits from entering her. He passes a staff of chonta (like the one used by political officials but without the decorations) over her body four

times, moving it from right to left. The same procedure is repeated with a machete and a jigra containing several herbs.

Birth can take place in any room of the house as long as it is kept warm by a fire. The pregnant woman kneels on old clothes or sacks, or holds on to a rope suspended from a ceiling beam. She is assisted by other women of the household and usually a midwife (partera). Her husband may be present and sometimes aids by holding his wife. The umbilical cord is cut two finger lengths from the child's navel and tied with a red ("hot") yarn. Sterilized scissors and knives are used today to cut the umbilical cord but traditionally a special leaf was used. They believed that the use of metal would weaken the child.

Various techniques are used to help rid the woman of the placenta. The placenta is buried in a corner of the kitchen or on the patio surrounding the house. It is wrapped in a warm cloth and covered with ashes before being placed in the ground.

If twins are born, only one is kept; the other is given away to a relative or a neighbor.

There is a forty-day period (la dieta) following birth, during which time the woman must stay at home, refrain from cooking and is prohibited from eating certain foods. After birth, and again at the end of the dieta, the house and inhabitants are cleansed by a shaman.

Catholic aspects of birth include a ritual baptism immediately following birth, and a Church ceremony after the forty-day period. The first is performed by anyone present at the birth by sprinkling water on the child and making the sign of the cross over him. The second is done by the Priest in Silvia. Both baptisms are linked

with the compadrazgo system, but those who hold the child in church are more important.

The First Haircut and First Nail-Cut

When a child is able to speak properly (4-6 years old), a friend of the family is invited to cut the child's hair. The cutting is done by a person of the same sex as the child, and a gift, usually a chicken (also of the same sex as the child), is made by him to the child. The mother makes a small poncho (or skirt if the child is female), and from then on greater attention is paid to sexually appropriate clothing. The hair, for both men and women, continues to be worn short during adolescence and adult life.

The first nail-cutting also marks a stage of growth, and cuttings are burned in the fire to prevent their being used by persons or spirits wishing to harm the child. Guambianos continue to exercise care in nail-cutting as adults, and such activities are always performed in the house or on the adjacent patio.

Puberty[3]

There are no puberty rites for males, but the first menstruation is an important event for women. In the past it was marked by a ceremony in which the entire vereda participated, and a special circular straw hut was constructed for the young woman. It is still significant but neither a large fiesta nor a special house is involved.

The onset of puberty signifies the girl is able to give life, contaminate and marry. The puberty ritual symbolizes this actuality

and potentiality. The basic aspects of the ritual are: four days of isolation, a special diet featuring boiled potatoes (and in the past no liquids of any kind), the spinning of wool and finger-knitting of four small jigras. The stick with wool is called "child," and the Guambiano word for the finger-knitted pouches (war) also means "scrotum."

At the end of the fourth day the mother bathes her daughter with a preparation of herbs and water, some of which is also used to rinse her mouth. The mother dresses the girl in new clothes, and as they return to the kitchen she throws pepino fruits at the girl's back. In the kitchen the girl sits far from the fire and is served soup and hot chocolate. She puts some water in her mouth, lights some straw and blows four times into the fire and on a potato. Later in the afternoon pansy petals are put on her face, and the girl goes alone for a walk outside the house. Along the path she discards the pouches and stick with wool in four directions without looking at where they fall. That same afternoon, before the girl takes her walk, a shaman performs a brief cleansing ceremony. Eight days later the girl is permitted to return to work in the fields. In the past, when festive mingas were part of the ceremony, the young girl would sit in the doorway of her home serving each guest two shots of aguardiente followed by two small cups of chicha. A meal and dance followed.

The ritual activity and symbolism of the items used in the ceremony reflect the importance of this change for the girl and her family. She has new powers, a new social position and new responsibilities. Her family, especially her mother, must see to it she behaves appropriately.

Confirmation

A Catholic ritual of confirmation has recently been introduced on a large scale through the schools. It follows Catholic tradition and is loosely tied to the compadrazgo system. Both boys and girls participate in the ceremony.

Marriage

Marriage is more a secular and social event than a religious one. There are, nevertheless, a number of ritual aspects related to the "status elevation" of the participants, and these reveal a great deal about the structure of social life in Guambía.

To begin with, more than status elevation is involved. Marriage unites the couple and incorporates the bride into her husband's family and residential group. Though the bride's ties to her family of orientation are by no means completely severed, there is a qualitative shift in authority and rights to her services to her husband and his family. The secular and ritual aspects of the marriage ceremony reflect this structural change. In fact, since the female's procreative powers have already been socially acknowledged in the puberty ceremony, one might argue that for her the "lateral" rather than "upward" movement is the crucial one in marriage.

The entire wedding ceremony is organized and paid for by the family of the husband. The young man's father normally absorbs the bulk of the cost, but elder brothers, grandparents, aunts, uncles and other relatives usually contribute something. The persons assisting are generally patrilateral kinsmen living in a single residential

cluster. They are responsible for selecting the padrinos, organizing the minga, preparing the food, and are the major participants in the wedding feast and marriage dance. The major part of the affair takes place in the house owned by the bridegroom's father. Members of the bride's immediate family do not normally participate in any of these events.

Weddings are expensive. If an animal is killed the cost at today's rate of exchange may run as high as 200 dollars (4000 pesos), although 150 dollars is closer to the average. Once the economics of the event are worked out and the padrinos selected, a date is set for the wedding and the Priest in Silvia is informed. Several weeks pass, and the day before the wedding, usually a Friday afternoon, a small wedding party made up of the bride and bridegroom, the bridegroom's parents, the padrinos and others[4] go to Silvia. This group marches down the hill single-file with the bridegroom's father leading the way, all the men walking in front of the women, and the wedding couple in the middle. Today some go by bus. In Silvia they visit the priest, confess, and pay for the wedding service.

They arise early the next morning. The bride, bridegroom and padrinos put on special wedding clothing. The men wear white ponchos with blue stripes, and the women wear white skirts (also with blue stripes), red mantas and a special wedding hat. In addition the women wear 8-12 kilos of beads and up to fifty silver crosses. At 6:30 AM the couple are married in a brief church ceremony. They return to the house where they spent the night, breakfast, and by 10:00 or 11:00 the first of the two wedding tables is set up. The events which follow

express the complementary themes of accompaniment and equality in their fullest sense. They are underscored by a ritual show of humility and deference by the bride and bridegroom.

On the table are bottles of aguardiente, wine, a pot of chicha, a plate of cigarettes and one of cookies. Some alcoholic beverages displayed on the table are gifts from others in the wedding party.

The couple are flanked by the padrino and madrina, with men seated to the right of the women. Everyone in the party passes by the table (from the male side to the female side) and receives two shots of aguardiente from the first man (either the boy's father or another male member of the wedding party) and, ideally, one from the padrino, bridegroom, bride and madrina, in that order. Relatives and close friends often receive an extra drink or two. After drinking, each person takes a cigarette and cookie.

When members of the wedding party have finished, two men are posted at the entrance to the house. They invite all Guambianos and "friendly" Silvianos to accompany the couple at the table. No Guambiano, male or female, passes without being made to enter and visit the table.

Late in the afternoon, ideally accompanied by flute and drum music, the wedding party makes its way back to the house. If the bride's home is on the way, the padrino may make a brief stop and offer his new compadres something to drink. Normally, they just proceed to the house where a special wedding meal is consumed.

While the events described above are taking place it is common for the bridegroom's father to sponsor a large minga which is supervised by his brother or other male relative. These mingas are attended

from 15 to 100 or more men. While the men are in the fields, the women clean the vegetables (onions, corn, potatoes) and do the cooking. The men kill the animal and cut the meat into little pieces with their machetes.

Everyone eats and rests for several hours. About 9:00 PM the musicians begin playing and guests begin to arrive. Anyone who wishes to may attend the party. Everyone who comes is given coffee, bread and a bowl of food. Several persons are assigned the responsibility of making sure no one is left out--even if one wants to be. By 11:00 PM the couple and the padrinos, still dressed in their wedding costumes, go outside the house, wait at the door and, after being blessed by the bride's father, enter and take their places at a table similar to the one set up in Silvia. Again, everyone who is there including young adolescents must pass by the table to receive the drinks, cigarettes and cookies. Frequently those who attend bring gifts of aguardiente and leave them on the table as they pass by.

Outside the house vendors sell bottles of aguardiente, usually the home-made type. The flute and drum music continues, and occasionally another group of musicians playing guitars, tiples and mandolins are in an adjacent room entertaining. Young boys, and men when they get drunk, begin dancing with each other. The girls and women line the sides of the room which is lit by a Coleman lantern. The room is crowded, hot, smoke filled, noisy, and literally throbs to the sounds of the native music.

Between 3:00 and 5:00 AM the padrino decides it is time to begin the wedding dance. The major participants are the couple and the

padrinos, though they are usually accompanied by others from the wedding party. With lighted candles in their right hands the men and women form lines facing each other. The dance begins with a forward step with the right foot. They approach each other and fall back four times. Then they dance in separate lines with the men using a modified box step and the women shuffling their feet in a circular pattern. Other features of the dance include interlocking clockwise circles (like a do-se-do in square dancing) and changing sides. There are rest periods, and four separate dances (piezas) must be completed. In two of these the bridegroom faces his wife, and in the other two he faces his madrina; the opposite pattern holds for the bride and her padrino.

After the fourth dance the couple, the bridegroom's parents and several others from the wedding party go to a bedroom. Here the padrino lectures the couple on their responsibilities towards each other and to their in-laws. Following this the couple change into everyday clothes and retire. A day or two later they make a short visit to her parents' home where the young man assists his father-in-law in his work.

It is important to note that the state of inebriation of the participants sometimes affects the events. I have been at one wedding and have heard about others where the dance did not take place. If the padrino is too drunk to give advice (consejos) to the couple after the dance, it is done within the next few days. Also, the proceedings are often punctuated by fist fights among the male guests. Of the ten or more weddings I have attended, none passed without at least one scuffle. Few are seriously injured, however, which may be attributed to the lack of coordination resulting from the high level of alcoholic consumption.

Death

Death in Guambía is a sad and serious event. To be carried out properly, mortuary ceremonies require the participation of relatives, fictive kin, neighbors and friends of the deceased and his survivors. From five to nine days of concentrated activity follow death, and one month passes before the spiritual danger passes. Catholic and indigenous beliefs and rites are involved. The Catholic aspects include a mass, a cemetery burial, symbolism of the crucifix, prayers, and a four to nine day wake. Native elements include: two spirits (souls) of the deceased, food and behavioral taboos, contamination, purification, the use of diviners and a pair of shamans.

The family normally know in advance that one of their members is going to die. They are informed of this by the person trying to effect a cure. If they doubt his judgment they will consult a diviner. A coffin and a White man's suit or shroud (mortaja) are purchased beforehand in Silvia. The sooner the deceased is rid of his Guambiano clothes the easier it is to send his spirits away.

The day the person dies a bier is brought from the chapel in the Guambiano cemetery. The Priest is informed, and food is purchased. That night the deceased is dressed and put in a coffin, crucifix in hand, and laid to rest in the main room (sala) of the house. The head is placed away from the door, and a small altar is constructed behind him. On the altar are personal pictures, images of saints, identification cards, a cross, and some food and drink.

Family and neighbors arrive to help prepare the food, an activity now prohibited for the inhabitants of the household. They bring gifts

of food, firewood and cash (one or two pesos). Most women help in the kitchen and the men sit in the room with the deceased. Large candles brought by the ahijados are placed around the bier, and the rezanderos pray for the deceased.

The next morning a mass is held in the school in Las Delicias (or, rarely, Silvia), and the group led by the dead man's family proceeds to the cemetery. For an additional contribution the Priest will accompany the procession to the cemetery, and for the largest funerals part of the band from Silvia also attends. Small funerals are attended by about thirty people, and the larger ones involve more than one hundred.

If a child dies, then only the members of the immediate family and the padrinos attend. The dead child is referred to as an angelito (little angel) and is believed to escape "burning" in Puracé (the Guambiano hell). In the past the death of a child was followed by a dance in which members of the family passed it among them as they moved.

The deceased is placed in a lateral shaft grave or, more common today, in a Spanish-style cement tomb (bóveda). The head of the person faces north. When the body is placed in the grave the women of the family wail briefly, and after several minutes aguardiente and cigarettes are distributed. A period of mourning follows during which the survivors are prohibited from performing their normal activities. Prayers are said each night for a period ranging from four to nine days.

The above activities are carried out in a rather perfunctory manner. The concern manifested is related to the organizational and economic aspects of the event. The anxiety and tension generated by a

death in the family center more around the activities of the soul of the deceased and the ritual purification which follows the mourning period.

The Souls of the Deceased

The Guambianos believe a person has two souls, a mɨsig (a life-giving force) and a pirrmɨsig (sun spirit, shadow of the sun, or sombra de sol). Ritual activities following death are related to the dangerous powers of the souls and ultimately getting them to leave the world of the living.

While a person is alive the mɨsig may temporarily depart the body, usually in sickness, sleep or in sexual activity. Dreams are often interpreted as the experiences of the mɨsig when it is outside the body, and illness may likewise be attributed to such departures. The mɨsig is the more powerful of the two souls.

After death the mɨsig is referred to as the kwabmɨsig (dead soul, also kwabiguay) and is transformed into a moth or white or yellow firefly. These are dangerous to humans and may cause illness or death by attracting the souls of the living. Such creatures are always killed by Guambianos and thrown into the kitchen fire. The kwabmɨsig is the soul which goes to burn in the volcano of Puracé and later joins the souls of other Guambianos.

The pirrmɨsig (sun soul) keeps its human form after death and may appear to others as a ghost. This is the spirit referred to earlier as the kwaymansig (pirrmɨsig→death→kwaymansig) who may frighten others, causing them to become sick or even die.

The ritual activities described below are used to cleanse the house, possessions and family from the dangerous powers of these souls.

The Cleansing Ceremony

Contacting a Diviner. This may be the same person who determined the illness was to be fatal. The diviner suggests which shaman should be contacted to perform the first of two cleansing rituals.

Contacting the Shaman. During the week of mourning a male member of the deceased's family visits the house of a shaman. He brings a small gift of money, aguardiente, cocaine and cigars, and explains to the shaman the circumstances surrounding death. The shaman gives him an estimate of the items needed by him and his assistant. For example: three liters of aguardiente, ten huevos (literally, egg-size) of cocaine leaves, ten cigars, a package of cigarettes and thirty-five pesos.

Preparing for the Shaman. All the old clothes, blankets, the stool and bed of the dead person are put in one pile. Newer items of clothing, tools, plates and other articles in good condition are put in another pile. When the shaman arrives these are put outside the house. Food and drink are prepared for those who are expected to accompany the cleansing ceremony.

Arrival of the Shamans. On the designated night the shaman and his assistant arrive at the house. They are given a specially knitted jigra with a small amount of the items requested. They drink and begin masticating the cocaine, and inspect the house and the surroundings. A black staff (bara de chonta) used to "capture" the kwabmɨsig is located outside the front left corner of the house.[5]

Capturing the Spirit (kwabmɨsig). The two shamans drink, masticate and smoke for an hour or more, spending most of their time near the staff. Labor for the ceremony is divided between the chief shaman (muerɨvig) who captures the spirit and purifies the house and family, and the assistant (mɨrɨbig) who is mostly responsible for divination. The mɨrɨbig is the "one who feels," and it is this man who receives the signs (señas) used to determine the scheduling of events and whether an activity has been successful or must be repeated. A movement in the right foot means the ritual action will be effective and may begin. A feeling in the left foot means the shamans do not have enough power to capture the spirit and more cocaine and aguardiente must be consumed. The mɨrɨbig also works with the muerɨvɨg in other aspects of the ceremony.

Both shamans masticate, drink and blow (sopla) mouthfuls of the mixture towards the sky. When the time is right, the shamans, accompanied by a member of the deceased's family, proceed along the paths frequented by the dead man, and to his fields. They "sweep" the trails with branches of a thorny bush and a machete, blowing mouthfuls of aguardiente and cocaine along the way. After several hours in the paths and fields, they return to the house and continue the pattern of earlier activities.

Between 2:00 AM and 4:00 AM the dead person's family, including the remaining spouse, all primary kin and household members, sit on the front patio. The surviving spouse sits on the far left (closest to the chonta rod), and the others are arranged by sex and age: women to the right, men to the left, youngest child to the right in each sex

groupings. The principle of age and sex positioning in this ceremony is the reverse of that used in the marriage rituals.

The principal shaman (muerɨvig), his mouth filled with aguardiente and cocaine, goes first to the kitchen (normally located on the right side of the house) and with the thorny branches and machete sweeps and blows his way around the room in a counterclockwise pattern (the reverse of the pattern exhibited in the marriage dance). This is repeated in each room, moving from the right side of the house to the left. The activity terminates at the chonta rod at the left corner of the house. He then goes to the patio and blows four times into the head of each person, moving from behind the youngest female child on the right to the surviving spouse (or household head) on the left. The piles of old and new possessions are also cleansed.

These actions are repeated a second time and end with the burning of the pile of old clothes, bed and stool. The goal of these activities is to frighten the kwabmɨsig from people and places he may be lingering near and to get him to accompany the bara de chonta. The dead soul is believed to be afraid of the branches and machete and thus is swept towards the rod. If squeaky noises are heard in the house the spirit is said to be there and a brief search for other items takes place.

The diviner is consulted again, and when he indicates the kwabmɨsig is by the bara, then the house and its members are "refreshed." The chief shaman goes from room to room sprinkling a mixture of water, ground corn and herbs on things and people. Sometimes the members of the family are washed with this mixture. This part of the ceremony is also performed twice.

Though the above procedures are more or less standard, each shaman has his own special modifications and additions. Each of the eight house cleansings I attended was slightly different from the others. After this ceremony, which ends at dawn, the members of the family can return to the normal round of activities.

The Second Cleansing. Several weeks after the first cleansing and refreshing, a diviner is consulted to determine if the first was effective and who should do it the second time. If there have been no strange events, illnesses or noises since the first cleansing, then the same shamans are usually invited to return. Procedures used during the first ceremony are repeated, but attendance is generally limited to the immediate family and household members. The goal of this ceremony is to get rid of the other soul, the pirrmɨsig (sun soul, shadow). After this ceremony the family may use the items, fields and animals left by the dead man.

CURING, DIVINATION, WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY

Many aspects of curing follow the procedures outlined above in the house cleansing ceremony. The most recurrent ritual is the cleansing of a woman, her family and the house on the fourth day after menstrual blood begins to flow. Only one shaman is needed for this ritual which takes less than a half hour to complete.

Divination occurs whenever a person becomes ill. Once the cause is determined, a curer is contacted, though some diviners can also cure. The range of curing practices is varied and techniques are learned from many sources including pharmacists in Silvia, shamans (Guambianos and

others), books, and dreams. Some curers are herb specialists, others use massaging techniques, and some use antibiotic drugs and administer injections.

While most curers work to help people, Guambianos are suspicious of anyone who has a special relationship to the supernatural, and some of them are considered powerful enough to perform black magic or sorcery. The category of "sorcerer" is a rather ambiguous one, since it is true--figuratively and literally--that one man's soup is another man's poison. The technique employed by these sorcerers is a branch of "sympathetic magic" referred to by Frazer (1911-15) as "contagious magic." According to this principle of "Law of Contact or Contagion" the magician

> . . . infers that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not.

Accusations of witchcraft and sorcery are not unusual in Guambía, and the cabildo is often brought in to deal with these cases. Accusations and magic of this type are, with rare exceptions, among members of an extended family and/or in-laws. Sorcery is a serious matter, and an individual who believes or is told by a diviner that he is the object of such action must contact another shaman to employ counter-sorcery. Few Guambiano shamans, however, are believed powerful (or malicious) enough to be effective in the black arts, and outside shamans, usually from the neighboring Páez tribe, are called on when such services are desired. These outside sorcerers are greatly feared by Guambianos. They are also used to clean the houses of powerful men (e.g. ex-governors and shamans) who have died.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN MEDICAL PRACTICES

The Guambianos' relationship to western medicine and curing practices involves a set of problems and solutions that have implications for understanding stability and change. In 1961 a hospital was built in Silvia and carried out a program of preventive and curative medicine in conjunction with the Division of Indian Affairs. Doctors and nurses visited the reservation on an intermittent basis. Services of the hospital were also made available to the Indians. In spite of the lack of continuity in personnel and rural visits, many Guambianos were helped by these trained medical technicians. Attitudes towards western medicine began to change, and pills and injections were accepted as part of the inventory of "things that can cure." They have by no means replaced traditional medical practices, and consultation with doctors in Silvia was no more frequent in 1971 than it was in 1963; it has, in fact, declined. White doctors and hospitals are still a last resort even among those who are change-oriented in other areas of life. There are several reasons for this.

One reason is that since the early 1960's several Guambianos have learned to diagnose common illnesses and administer antibiotic pills and injections. One Guambiano received six months of training in the hospital in Popayán, another in the army, and a third did his initial learning with a pharmacist in Silvia and then had some "post-graduate work" with a respected shaman in the Cauca Valley. Another factor is the activity of two missionary-linguists who spend much of their time administering drugs to the sick. One of these has gone completely native and wears Guambiano clothing. A third factor is the expense of

going to doctors. Though consultation in the clinic in Silvia is free, the cost of medicine is expensive compared with the herbal treatments used by native shamans.

The major reason for the failure of the western medical system, including its technical personnel, to displace native methods and curers is, however, part of a larger context. Like other changes which have occurred in Guambiano society, western medicine is either added on to and/or syncretized with the traditional system. The reason for this was succinctly stated by a Guambiano curer to one of my students in the Spring of 1971; he said, "The White man doesn't know what his medicine can't do!"

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Esperanza Carvajal and Margret Howes were especially helpful in assisting in the collection of information about this aspect of Guambiano life. My observations were limited to two births and three focused interviews.

2. The reference to periods of time before birth reflects the ideal number of days which are calculated by a diviner. The important factor is that there are at least four days to allow for the proper number of rituals to be performed.

3. Margret Howes assisted me in the collection of data about this area of life.

4. Persons normally accompanying the wedding party in addition to those already listed are: siblings and padrinos of the bridegroom's father; a few of the bridegroom's siblings; the padrino of the padrino; and godchildren (of marriages) of both the father and the padrino.

5. All directions are from the perspective of someone inside the house looking towards the main entrance.

IX. DEVELOPMENT IN GUAMBIA

Throughout this thesis I have described changes in various aspects of Guambiano society and culture. Mentioned on several occasions was the fact that with an increasing population land previously available for the asking became a scarce and costly resource. The potentially disruptive pressures of a diminishing land base have been mitigated by a variety of developments during the past ten to twenty years. Improved agricultural technology has improved crop production. The nutritional needs of Colombia's growing urban population has driven up the price of agricultural and animal products. The increase in educational opportunities for Guambianos both on and off the reservation has given many the background needed to cope with the surrounding White community. And there is the transistor radio which has contributed to bilingual skills of most Guambianos today.

No single development, however, has had a greater impact both in terms of the Guambianos' relation with the larger society and, internally, in terms of the relationship of groups and political conflict than the construction of all-weather roads to the veredas of Cacique and Pueblito.

To briefly recapitulate the major changes in Guambía during the past ten years which directly or indirectly are related to the roads, there are:

-the purchase of buses by several Guambiano families;

-direct bus service from the reservation to Silvia and other regional markets; the increased flow of goods to these markets;

-higher prices for their products;

-more accurate information about market value of goods and price fluctuations;

-an increased number of Guambianos serving as middlemen in the marketing process;

-an increased number of Guambianos purchasing coffee farms in the neighboring lowland region (though using them mostly on a seasonal basis);

-employment with government agencies (mostly as workers on roads).

This chapter is not, however, about the economic aspects of the roads, nor about their impact on family and religious life. It is about the events which led to the building of the road and the effects of its construction on reservation politics. It is an attempt to shed light on <u>why</u> events happened the way they did. Central to the analysis are descriptions of the people and groups involved in making the decisions, the factors they considered, and the outcome of the choices. The information includes reference to intentions and reasons motivating the actors, as well as the dispositions which characterize Guambianos in certain kinds of situations. Insofar as social groups and cultural norms are part of the analysis, it is their relationship to the goals of the actors in the political field generated by the "problem" of the road that I am concerned with. It is, in short, a study of the <u>politics</u> of the roads in Guambía.

> The study of politics, . . . is the study of the <u>processes</u> involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement and use of power by members of the group concerned with those goals. (Swartz, Turner and Tuden 1966-7. Italics his.)

This chapter differs not only in content from the preceding ones but also in method, scope and structure. The first part is a variation of the "extended-case method" (Gluckman 1961), also referred to as "situational analysis" (Van Velsen 1964, 1967). Though I do not adopt his framework, Turner's (1957) notion of "social drama" and his use of sequential case studies have influenced my manner of presentation. In addition, Kenneth Burke's (1945) concept of the "dramatic act" which includes reference to act, scene, agent, agency and purpose, was used in organizing the material.

The case study may also be viewed as an illustration of the "community development" process. In the second section of the Chapter I consider the implications of the events described, together with other material, in order to examine some of the fundamental principles of community development.

I call this a case study in "development" rather than "change" because the construction of the road was, and still is, part of deliberate effort by employees of national and international agencies to implement a planned program of social action among the Guambiano tribe.

PART I: THE ROAD: A CASE STUDY

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Swartz (1968:6-18) in a discussion of "local-level" politics presents a set of operational definitions for "field" and "arena." Though his suggestions for a clarification of the terms are still open

to discussion and debate, I shall adopt his definition of them in the presentation of the case study.

> A field is defined by the 'interest and involvement of the participants' in the processes being studied and its contents include the values, meanings, resources, and relationships employed by those participants in that process (pp. 9).

The justification for the additional concept of "arena" is that it focuses attention on a social and cultural area which, though not immediately part of a political field, is "adjacent" to it and consequently establishes a more total context within which activities in the field may be examined. The arena depends:

> upon relations with participants in the field but it includes more than the field. In addition to the actors who populate it, the arena also contains the repertory of values, meanings, and resources these actors possess, together with the relationships among them and with the members of the field. Values, meanings, and resources possessed by the field participants but not employed by them in the processes which constitute the field are also part of the term (pp. 9).

All the actors in the case may be viewed as having a political status whether they are Indians or outsiders. All the outsiders involved in the case are part of a governmental structure and are thus referred to as "officials," "agents" or "development workers." Within the Guambiano community I distinguish members of the cabildo (political officials)from the interesados also referred to as "leaders." The latter occupy a political status but are not political officials.

The Establishment of the Andean Mission Program in Silvia

During the early 1950's the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations organized a special mission to deal with the problems of

integration of "tribal" and "semi-tribal" populations into their respective national communities. The aim was to develop a program for "integrating" Indian communities of the Andean countries without having them experience the loss of indigenous beliefs and customs which occurs when such communities are "assimilated" into the larger society (Rens 1961: 10). By the middle of the decade the Andean Mission was established as part of the International Labor Organization (ILO) with programs in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia--but not in Colombia.

In 1955 several educational and political leaders in the Department of Cauca asked the Colombian government to take preliminary steps to have the Andean Mission program extended to Colombia (Geneva 1959). Among the persons making the request were Julio Cesar Cubillos and Gregorio Hernández de Alba, both anthropologists, the latter having done field work among the Guambiano and Páez Indians (Hernández de Alba 1946; with Tumiñá 1949). Both were concerned that without better government protection the Indians in Colombia would continue to undergo a process of cultural loss and impoverishment. They were especially interested in groups living on reservations in Cauca and protecting their reservation status during a period of development and integration.

In 1955 and again in 1956 a U. N.--I. L. O. commission visited Colombia and surveyed the Indian situation in Cauca. They filed a report with the Colombian Government with recommendations for a program of Indian integration. The President of Colombia was then General Rojas Pinilla who has been described "as one of the most savage, venal, and altogether incompetent administrators in the history of the nation"

(Herring 1961:519). He took no action on the commission's recommendations.

In 1957 Rojas was thrown out of office and the following year Alberto Lleras Camargo, a reform oriented President was elected and installed in office. To take responsibility for Indian Affairs of the Nation President Lleras appointed an old friend and neighbor, Gregorio Hernández de Alba. Even before Lleras took office the U. N. was asked to resume consideration of Colombia's request, and within two months of his assumption of the Presidency the Andean commission was back in Colombia preparing a program of development for the Cauca region. The commission found:

> . . . that while the 60,000 indigenous rural population of Cauca possessed, on the whole, sufficient fertile land suitable for agriculture and pasture, their low standard of living, primitive methods of work and lack of technical knowledge were an obstacle for the development of the region and for the implementation of national development and rehabilitation plans (Memorandum on the Andean Indian Programme 1959:9).

The commission noted that the most immediate need was for the construction of primary and secondary roads in the regions inhabited by Indians in Cauca. The report states:

> A precondition of the application of a program of rehabilitation of the Indian reservations is the improvement of the system of roads in the Cauca region (Geneva 1959:23. My translation).

After listing the major roads needed the report adds:

> This system of roads must be completed by means of access roads to the reservations . . . in many cases it will be sufficient to stimulate the Indians' own initiative, who with minimal technical orientation demonstrate excellent aptitude for this class of work (Ibid:23-24. My translation).

In addition the report recommends that the first rural center be established in the Municipality of Silvia (Ibid:29).

Hernández de Alba requested that they include in the report a recommendation for upgrading the administrative level of the Chief of Reservations. Though the report does not specify such action (it would have been undiplomatic) it implies that close coordination with the Ministry of Government is needed and in their conversations with the President made such a recommendation (Hernández de Alba 1966).

President Lleras agreed to the change, and Hernández de Alba became the first director of the Division of Indian Affairs organized directly under the Ministry of Government (Decreto No. 1634 de 1960, Julio 11). This was an important shift since the Ministry of Government is the most powerful political branch of the government and all Department Governors are appointed through this office. Lleras organized all local level development programs through this Ministry, and sufficient budgetary support was provided to implement the Indian development program in Cauca.

In 1960 a regional coordinating office was opened in Popayán. In addition to Colombian officials a U.N. expert from Ecuador was assigned to assist in program development and implementation. The U.N. official, Gonzalo Pesantez-Reinoso is the most informed, competent and diplomatic development agent I have ever observed. His influence both with Colombian agencies and Indian leaders was great, and his participation in the program a crucial element in both initiating and sustaining the road building program during its early years.

In 1962 a rural commission was established in Silvia and began providing a wide range of legal and technical services to reservations in the municipalities of Silvia, Totoró and Jambaló. The employees included:

-A Commission Chief, Luis Alfredo Torres, who had a law background;

-a doctor;

-a social worker (mejoradora de hogar);

-a health worker (educadora sanitaria);

-an agricultural extension agent (práctico agrícola) and;

-a manual trades specialist (carpentry and bricklaying).

Six months after the commission began operations in Silvia, Albert Wahrhaftig (a graduate student in anthropology) and I, both Peace Corps Volunteers, requested and received reassignment to work in this program. Our job was to work with the Indians on "community development" projects and shortly after our arrival we were involved in the road program.

THE ELECTION OF A GOVERNOR FROM CACIQUE

During their planning visits to Guambía in 1961, the U. N. official and his Colombian counterpart met with leaders and cabildo officials from various sections of the reservation. Among the things they mentioned as major elements of their program were the introduction of "democratic elections" using paper ballots and the construction of access roads. The system of paper ballots, they said, was to educate the community in the process of voting so they would be better prepared to participate in national elections and to protect Indians from cabildo officials who might use their position to get more land for themselves at the expense

of others. The governor at the time happened to be from one of the most powerful political families on the reservation. His grandfather and uncle were ex-governors, and two of his first cousins had each served twice in that capacity.

The Indian Affairs officials also suggested that since they were going to establish a commission in Silvia, it would be good to have an active "progress-oriented" governor during the coming year (1962); someone who would work hard to get the road built. The plan at the time called for construction of a road from Las Delicias to Pueblito and La Campana--upper veredas. As part of their program the Division of Indian Affairs held a five-day educational program for cabildo officials from Guambía and other neighboring reservations. Material covered included:

-reservation law; emphasizing the prohibition on sale, rental and mortgaging of reservation land even when the contracted party is another Indian (by then a common practice in Guambía);

-methods of holding democratic elections (colored paper ballots, several polling places, boxes for depositing ballots, etc.);

-assistance available from government agencies (health, education, agricultural extension, equipment for road construction), the services to be provided by the commission in Silvia, and;

-development planning for each reservation with the emphasis placed on the need to build secondary roads.

When the time for political caucusing arrived in Guambía the political field was quite different from what it had been in previous years. The Indian Affairs officials and their programs were now a very real element of Guambiano politics. It was not so much the matter

of elections (the political leaders in Guambía never had much trouble persuading the community to vote for their choice of principal candidates), but the road.

The political leaders in Pueblito and other upper veredas wanted no part of the road planned for them. The upper vereda politicians were not simply being obstinate, capricious or even against progress. They were, for example, very much in favor of additional schools, agricultural extension and the visits of a licensed physician. Their opposition to the road was based on a long history of unsatisfactory relations with the surrounding White community. Whites stole part of their land in the 19th century, tried to buy land from them in the 20th century, exploited them in economic transactions, tried to get them to discard their traditional clothing, ridiculed them in town and occasionally stole their animals. And there were those White missionaries, the "meesters" who had caused serious conflicts within their Catholic community. The road, they claimed, would do nothing but bring more Whites to the reservation and make it easier for them to steal from the Indians. They also felt that once the road was built the government would be more likely to take away their reservation status, thus making it possible for Whites to purchase Indian land. Some also believed that if the reservation was divided they would lose part of their large holdings, some of which were obtained in rather questionable transactions.

In Cacique, leaders had also been contacted by Indian Affairs officials, and a few participated in the educational program. In contrast to the sentiments of the upper vereda leaders, the interesados

and most residents of Cacique were very much in favor of a road to their vereda. Though the initial plans called for construction of a road to Pueblito, they secured support of Indian Affairs officials for a road to their vereda after the other was finished. This was not the first time leaders from Cacique had adopted a position contrary to that of the upper vereda leaders, whom they viewed as always against progress. Just a few years before, when the Ministry of Agriculture opened an office in Silvia, the upper vereda leaders rejected an offer of a wheat threshing machine which was subsequently accepted by the Caciqueños. Among the group in Cacique who argued in favor of the road were several Guambianos with extensive experience off the reservation (schools and the Armed Forces). One of these was Manuel A., soon to be elected governor. These individuals made it clear to the government officials that even if the other areas were not interested in the road they would cooperate.

Before the political caucuses were held that year, several things happened. First, word got to the upper veredas that the Indian Affairs officials thought Manuel A. would make a good governor--the kind of man they could work with. Secondly, after the five-day educational program in which the governor, several alcaldes and the secretary attended, it became clear that these Indian Affairs officials were serious; a road was going to be built. This caused a bit of a dilemma for the interesados in the upper veredas. They wanted some of the assistance this agency promised to provide, so they needed a governor who would cooperate with them; but they did not want one who would support a project to build a road to their region.

The way out of the dilemma was to nominate Manuel A. from Cacique as governor (principal candidate). Whether the decision was made before the caucus in Cacique which nominated Manuel A. for the position, or after, I have not been able to determine. When I asked leaders in the upper veredas what occurred they stated they arrived at the decision independently. "After all," they say, "in Guambía there are capable persons in all veredas; anyone can serve as governor." Although when pressed for additional comments they usually add a few disparaging remarks about the unreliability, capriciosness and veredal chauvinism of the Caciqueños. They do, however, insist it was their decision. In Cacique they say his candidacy was their idea and that his nomination by the others was the result of their influence.

When the final meeting for candidate selection was held in La Campana, Manuel A. and a few interesados from Cacique were invited to attend. He was asked if he was willing to serve as governor, and he humbly said he was. He was nominated by some of the powerful ex-governors and subsequently won the paper-ballot "democratic" election. He received over 75 per cent of the votes cast in La Campana, Cacique, El Salado and Las Delicias but got less than half the votes in Pueblito. Several leaders there, including the Guambiano schoolteacher, had opposed his nomination. The teacher's brother, however, was appointed to serve as alcalde for Pueblito, and later refused to cooperate with the governor.

Manuel A., Governor of Guambía 1962: the Man

Manuel A. was by no means a typical Guambiano. He served in the Amazon with the Colombian Army during the 1932 dispute with Peru, and

along with other experiences he acquired a case of malaria. He was one of the few men in Guambía who did not wear Indian clothing. He had large land holdings on the reservation and a coffee farm in the lowlands. He was nervous, aggressive, outspoken, and tended to dominate conversations. In my talks with him while he was governor, and later when I lived in Cacique, he continually boasted of his importance in the community and his experiences off the reservation which had made him a unique individual. To me, his anxiety and insecurity were his major characteristics. He was a Guambiano, yet he was different from the others. Like several others with extensive experience in the larger society he had problems reconciling what he knew to be the Colombian's image of an Indian with his own view of himself. Only when telling others what to do was he sure of who he was. In Manuel A.'s case the fact that his older brother left the reservation and became a Catholic priest had something to do with his own feelings of inferiority and personal ambition for wealth and prestige. Serving as governor he could order members of the cabildo, and others, to do his bidding.

It was perfect for a man of his disposition, and he worked very hard while in office. He was strict in enforcing moral and legal codes, and he adjudicated twice the number of holdings as his predecessor. He held frequent mingas, which were attended by as many as two hundred men and boys, to get the road built to Cacique. Except for the alcalde from Pueblito, those who served in the cabildo say Manuel A. was an excellent governor. And when he died in 1967, hundreds of Guambianos from all parts of the reservation attended the funeral.

THE POLITICS OF THE ROAD

As originally planned, the road was started to Pueblito. With few exceptions, however, those assisting in the work there were from the heavily Protestant vereda of Puente Real. As promised, and after Wahrhaftig and I had made several visits to Popayán, the Division of Neighborhood Roads (Caminos Vecinales) sent a bulldozer to assist in the construction of the road. In addition, we were able to get weekend use of dump trucks from the Department of Public Works, but only after we had become friends with the chief's secretary.

The Road to Cacique

The first weekend the bulldozer was available it was used on the section of the road to Pueblito. But when I arrived in Guambía the following weekend it had moved to the road which had already been started to Cacique. What apparently happened was that during the week Manuel A. in his capacity as governor of the reservation told (and probably bribed) the bulldozer operator that work on the road to Cacique was further advanced and that the machine was needed there. For several months it was used, when available, in Cacique. By December of 1962 almost three kilometers of road were completed and it was within 100 meters of the school in the center of the vereda. Most of the work had not been done by the bulldozer but by the Indians during Saturday mingas ordered by the governor.

Factionalism in the Upper Veredas

Most of the interesados in the upper veredas were content the road was being built to Cacique and not to their region. There were

several persons, including an ex-alcalde who represented Pueblito in the previous cabildo, who, in spite of the unpopularity of their position, wanted a road to the upper section. When they saw that was occurring in Cacique and that bulldozers and dump trucks were being used they began recruiting workers for the road. And they did this over the protests of the alcalde and other leaders who still refused to cooperate. A new faction in the upper veredas crystallized around this ex-alcalde who also had the support of several of the local alguaciles. The alcalde in Pueblito was not a very popular or respected official and not able to interfere much with the activities of the emergent faction in his vereda. When the road to Cacique was almost complete the dissident group in Pueblito was able to get occasional use of the bulldozer.

The motives of the faction leader in Pueblito were not completely altruistic. He was a man who loved machines. He bought a threshing machine on his own when leaders there had rejected the Ministry of Agriculture's offer. He also had a large pedal-driven loom, and when Pueblito got electric power he bought a movie projector. This ex-alcalde had visions not only of the road but of owning a bus.

Continued Opposition to the Pueblito Road: 1963-1965

The course of events described above had several effects on political activity in Guambía during the years following. To begin with, the Caciqueños had their road, but they also owed a political debt to the anti-road faction in the upper section who had nominated and supported the candidacy of Manuel A. The leaders in the upper veredas

could count on the support from Cacique but they had to do something to reduce the split in Pueblito and prevent the continuation of work on the road. Their solution was to nominate a governor from Pueblito who was opposed to the road but who also had political experience and the respect of the community. Work on the road to Pueblito continued at a snail's pace and only to complete the part already started to the bridge in Puente Real.

In spite of the efforts of the faction in Pueblito who wanted the road, oppositon of most upper vereda leaders continued. The following year the son-in-law of the most powerful upper-vereda leader was nominated and elected to office (again with support from Caciqueños), and though several years later he was to buy a bus, he too maintained an anti-road policy. This was in 1965.

When I returned to the reservation in July of 1966, which was almost four years after the road to Pueblito had been started, only the section to the bridge was complete. Attitudes towards the project, however, had begun to change.

The Road to Pueblito

By 1966 opposition to continuing the road to Pueblito had waned substantially, even among those leaders who had been its vigorous opponents. The efforts of the pro-road faction in the upper veredas were partially responsible, but more important was what they saw happening in Cacique, or rather, what was not happening. The fears of hordes of Whites coming to rob them, and of the government using the road as a pretext for elimination of the reservation, turned out to

be groundless. And in 1966 legal title to the reservation was obtained, which meant that division could only take place if a majority of the inhabitants voted for it. In addition, Guambianos, who used buses to travel to their lowland fincas and to market their products in other municipalities, liked the convenience. There was also an economic factor. Transporting large sacks of produce by bus is cheaper and eliminates the need of owning and/or renting horses and mules. Thus by mid-1966 what had once been vigorous opposition gave way to active support--not in all cases, but among most residents.

Large mingas were organized in the upper veredas and requests for government assistance renewed and received. CARE, which assisted in the early phase of construction, provided picks, shovels, wheelbarrows and food packages. The Division of Neighborhood Roads provided earth-moving equipment, technical assistance and cement for bridge construction. The Peace Corps sent in civil engineers to complete the surveying for the road. By 1968 several kilometers had been added and the road reached Peña de Corazón. By 1969 it extended to Pueblito, and in 1971 an all-weather road was completed to La Campana, and there was talk of extending it an additional fifteen kilometers to join with the national highway linking Popayán and Inzá (also part of the 1958 United Nations development program).

Conflict with Cacique

There is more to the story, however. While all the road building continued in the upper veredas, the leaders in Cacique became concerned and a bit jealous of the attention and funds directed towards this area.

They wanted to widen and extend their road. Besides, in the early 60's they had talked with upper vereda leaders about rotating the governorship. Their disenchantment began to manifest itself in 1966 when they tried to prevent the nomination of the man preferred by the upper vereda leaders. They were unsuccessful in this, but in the election were able to obtain the votes necessary to elect the suplente--only the second time this had happened in Guambía. They refused to support the principal candidate again in 1967 but did not get the votes needed to secure his defeat.

From the point of view of the leaders in the upper veredas, their experience with Manuel A. was sufficient to confirm their suspicions and fears about leaders from Cacique. Though he had done his job well he had not consulted with them and had focused his attention on Cacique. When settling disputes in their region he had gone by the book and was not influenced by the prestige and political service of those involved in the cases. Besides, some now blamed him for <u>not</u> working actively to get the road to Pueblito!

Even more important to their stand against another governor from Cacique was the fact that several leaders there were working actively with the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA). To the leaders in the upper veredas INCORA was anathema; they would sooner sell their souls to the devil than cooperate with this agency. They had no doubt that if a governor from Cacique was elected he would cooperate with INCORA and the reservation would be divided.

A Political Compromise: 1968-1970.

The problems with the leaders from Cacique had to be worked out diplomatically. They could not afford to alienate leaders there and risk having a governor from Cacique legally elected. Their request to leaders in Cacique was essentially that Cacique already had its road, and until theirs was finished it was necessary for them to maintain the governorship. This was acknowledged by the leaders in Cacique who agreed to support their nominations on the condition they were consulted in the selection process. This was agreed to, and in 1968, 1969 and 1970 the men chosen as principal candidates were all relatively young (between 32 and 40 years old), active, and worked hard to complete the road. All received full support from Caciqueños in the balloting for governor. They attended to the political affairs in Cacique, and since members of the vereda were still divided in their views of INCORA, the failure of these men to support the pro-INCORA faction did not have a damaging effect on their ability to deal with other matters.

The Reservation Divides. . .and Unites(?)

By 1971, however, completion of the road was no longer an issue. Leaders in the upper veredas, without the support of the interesados in Cacique, nominated and elected an older man with little political experience and even less interest in doing the job. It was a return to the "old politics" and a display of raw power by interesados in the upper section who had much control over the governors' actions.

In sharp contrast to the wealthy, insecure, bland governor, was the alcalde of Cacique. Felipe C., alcalde of Cacique, though

very poor, was one of the most community-minded, active and intelligent men in the vereda, a person who in spite of his poverty was held in high esteem by his neighbors. He and most of the other leaders in the vereda were angry at the way in which the election was conducted--the upper veredas had even failed to provide Cacique with ballots and a ballot box for the 1971 election. They were disappointed in the governor's performance and viewed him, correctly, as a pawn of the Guambiano schoolteacher in Pueblito.

The final crisis, a veritable camel-breaking straw, occurred when the alcalde in Cacique accused the governor of allocating government funds, destined for road improvement on the reservation, to the upper section instead of dividing them between the veredas. It was a false issue since, in fact, the money had been specifically allocated for the Pueblito-Campana road, but it served as a pretext for a major schism.[1]

The leaders from Cacique and a few neighboring veredas met and decided to withdraw from the political community of Guambía and form a separate cabildo. On May 30, 1971, in a meeting in the school in Las Delicias, the motion to divide the reservation was made and approved. Guambía Nueva (New Guambía) was formed, and Felipe C., the alcalde of Cacique, was elected as its first governor. Veredas included in Guambía Nueva were Cacique, Guambía El Tranal, El Salado, Juanambú, Los Bujios, Las Tapias, Las Delicias, and the region of Mendez. Mishambe and San Pedro were going to be asked to join with them. Only the intervention of a high government official from the Division of Indian Affairs and a man well known to many of the Caciqueños prevented full

legalization of this action. It took him almost a full week of meetings, and a promise of financial aid for their road, to resolve the conflict. It is still questionable whether the reservation will continue united.

Analytical Summary

The development program in Guambía can be traced to the interest of two anthropologists who wanted something done to protect the Indians in Cauca from the loss of their reservation land and indigenous culture. Their reasons were altruistic but not without elements of paternalism and professional self-interest.[2]

The election of Lleras Camargo and his friendship with the anthropologist Hernández de Alba made it possible to implement a program designed by Andean Mission officials which called for the construction of access roads to the Indian reservations. When operations began in Silvia road building was not a question to be decided with the Indians but a policy to be implemented. The officials did their best to convince the Guambiano leadership that the roads were essential.

The response of the Guambiano leadership was divided. One faction was anxious to cooperate and the other, while opposed to the road and wary of outside influence on reservation affairs, did not want to offend those officials who were willing and seemed able to help them in other projects. Their solution, which underscores their pragmatic approach to politics, was to select a governor from Cacique. They were thus able to provide a governor who would cooperate on the road building program and, predictably, would concern himself with getting the road to his vereda.

Selection of a governor from Cacique, however, intensified the always latent factionalism within the upper veredas. Two factions crystallized: one opposed having a governor from Cacique under any conditions, and the other wanted the road to be built there. The former was the stronger of the two, and one of its members was appointed to serve as alcalde.

The construction of the road intensified the conflict among the various regions and factions though it was the strongest among competing groups in the upper veredas. Most of the old line leadership in the upper veredas was pleased that the road was being built to Cacique, as were the Caciqueños. The upper vereda faction that wanted the road was angry at the leaders in Cacique because the original plan called for the road to be constructed there and the Caciqueño governor had diverted the machinery to his vereda.

Under the leadership of an ex-alcalde, and with the cooperation of the Protestants in Puente Real, some work began on the Pueblito road. This intensified the factionalism in the upper veredas where most leaders were adamantly opposed to the road.

To prevent continuation of the project the interesados in the upper veredas selected a series of governors who shared their opposition to the road. They were supported in their selection of candidates by the leaders from Cacique, and little work was done on the road during 1963, and almost nothing in 1964 and 1965. By 1966 sentiments towards the project had shifted, and many leaders previously against it had changed their position. The convenience and lower transportation costs were factors, and their fears of increased White influence and

robbery had not materialized. Almost the contrary. With buses to the reservation more Guambianos were marketing produce directly.

After two elections in which the men from Cacique refused to support the principal candidate--defeating him once-young, energetic men were nominated as principals and won with the support of the Caciqueños. The fact the Caciqueños had been able to defeat the principal candidate for 1966, and their participation in choices for the late 1960's, reflected the fact they had increased their power and influence in the political system. They agreed, however, to support the upper vereda nominees while they were still working on the road.

There was also an understanding that the governorship would rotate to Cacique when the road was completed. Upper vereda officials, however, had no intention of returning the governorship to Cacique while leaders there were in favor of cooperation with INCORA.

In 1970 a "Pick and Shovel" program sponsored by the Division of Neighborhood Roads assumed major responsibility for the road which was almost complete. If the upper vereda leaders were sincere in their willingness to share the governorship this would have been the appropriate time to reconsider a candidate from Cacique. Instead, a secret nomination meeting was held, and ballots to Cacique went undistributed and had to be claimed by a deputy. Caciqueños were not pleased with the new governor, and when he refused to share funds which they believed were for the entire reservation, the Caciqueños held the meeting to divide the reservation formally. The political field and arena had indeed changed during the decade, and the construction of the road was a key factor in precipitating the shifts in sentiments and the distribution of power in Guambía.

PART 2: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: THEORY AND PRACTICE

> The rules and values by which one group governs its affairs must not create among its side effects conditions that seriously interfere with the ability of members of other groups to pursue their affairs in accordance with their own rules and values. (Goodenough 1963:104. Italized in the text.)

The sequence of events in the road case and the individuals discussed in various sections of this thesis are used in this part to examine views of "community development" published during the past decade: Arensberg and Niehoff (1964); Brokensha and Hodge (1969); Cochrane (1971); Goodenough (1963), and Foster (1962, 1969). In their books one finds a relatively high degree of sensitivity to the problems of community development programs and their effect on factionalism and conflict in the client population. For example, Foster (1962:3) states:

> . . . in contact situations where people are faced with many new alternative choices, tradition and custom do not provide all the answers. Opportunity for disagreement is heightened, and such disagreements may erupt in the form of bitter feuding between factions.

Ward Goodenough (1963:104) notes that problems may emerge even where attention has been given to avoiding such conflicts:

> To assume that careful planning and initial acceptance of development proposals by several interested groups will be alone sufficient to prevent social conflict is to indulge in wishful thinking. Conflict emerges as part of the development process itself and must be anticipated as such. Development agents cannot hope to avoid conflict. Their problem is to learn to deal with it wisely (my italics).

It would be hard to disagree with these anthropologists both with respect to the accuracy and import of their remarks. Where I take

issue with them and other writers on community development is in the practical application of their suggestions and the ethics of employing development agents from outside the community. Goodenough's superb book is in essence directed towards the outsider as the development agent, as is Foster's and the others.

The three points I wish to emphasize in this section are:

1. The factors involved in any particular case are too complex and dynamic for a development agent to, in fact, "deal with it wisely."

2. Change is part of life, and individuals and communities already possess mechanisms for adjusting to new situations and controlling individuals from their society who may have been exposed and partially socialized in an alien context.

3. Development agents should be members of the group participating in the development program.

I am not saying that we should throw out the baby (the development agent) with the bath water (poor planning and implementation) but rather that over the past decade or two the baby has grown too big for the bath and the water a little too murky.

THE COMPLEXITY OF EVENTS IN GUAMBIA

The case of the road in Guambía was presented in a manner which I believed would underscore the complexities, subtleties and unintended consequences of a development project. From the point of view of accomplishing the manifest goal of road construction it must be judged a success. But its success may be attributed more to what the development agents did not do than what they did. They did not stick to the original plan--the road to Pueblito first--but they had nothing to do with changing it either; that was the governor's idea.

Once the program started the development agents did very little other than help get material support. After a year the Indians generally dealt directly with other government agencies. When the work on the Pueblito section came to a virtual halt in the middle 1960's, the development agents left it alone. Not intentionally; it was simply a matter of having a large territory and several reservations to attend to. The personnel were either too busy or indifferent to the project. The Peace Corps Volunteers who replaced Wahrhaftig and myself had little disposition to follow up our work and became involved in other areas in different kinds of projects. In 1966 the Commission in Silvia was transferred to another region, and from then on the Indians were completely on their own. Had development personnel been present in 1970 and 1971 the move to divide the reservation might have been avoided, but as I have already indicated, that too has deep roots and division might have been a good solution to political problems on the reservation.

Would it really have been possible, even with more careful planning and anticipation of factional conflict, for a development agent to understand and follow the events in Guambía? Possible, yes, but not very likely. My view is that the preparation of such personnel is rarely adequate, and even when it is, the complexities are too subtle and the bureaucratic demands on his time too great for him to be able to understand, no less than do something about, the course of events precipitated by a development program. I doubt that even the most well trained development agent could have understood what and why certain changes were occurring at the time. Even assuming he could, what

ethical basis would there be for his intervention in the internal political affairs of a community to which he did not belong?

THE ROLE OF THE DEVELOPMENT AGENT: PERSONALITY AND POLITICS

The real problem I believe does not come with too much understanding, or intervention based on thorough investigation and planning, but on the need for development agents to get something done--and done quickly. Ego needs are sometimes involved as are bureaucratic pressure for results. And today, in the highly politicized atmosphere of developing nations, political ideology is becoming a significant factor in determining what changes should take place and how programs should be implemented. The era of "apolitical" development programs, if there ever was such a thing, is dead! In the 1950's and the early 1960's we might have been able to convince ourselves that development programs were aimed at meeting "human" needs and could be isolated from the political context in which they were occurring and from the governments sponsoring them. Such an illusion is no longer even a luxury.

Today in Latin America, from Chile to Colombia to Mexico, development agents tend to be highly politicized individuals. Some may support the politics of the government they work for, but it is also true that some are opposed to it. In Colombia many young government workers use their position to undermine the government's credibility and cause conflict.

Regardless of the political and other factors impinging on the activities and consciousness of the development worker, the client population becomes an object. Individuals in the community the agent

is working to "develop" are judged, often unconsciously, in terms of their support of the program, whether it was imposed from above or generated by some of the members themselves. The humanity and idiosyncracity of people take second place to their momentary position with respect to the goals of a particular project; they become objects who are either for or against the programs.

Before suggesting a possible solution to this problem I must briefly deal with the question of change and social control within the client community.

THE MAN WITH EXPERIENCE: SOCIAL CONTROL AND THE EDUCATED NATIVE

It is an occasion for headlines when in 1972 we hear about a group which has had no contact with the outside world. Western technology is omnipresent and the bureaucratic structure of developing countries, including the schools and armies, have provided tribal peoples everywhere some experience with the material and cultural world of our "civilization." Indeed, one finds in almost every village individuals whose identity, both from his perspective and that of the community, is in some way associated with his experience in the "outside" world. I shall call this native the "educated man." If, as is the case in many tribal and peasant communities, limited experience in the outside world is common to most residents, then "educated man" refers to those with more than just the average exposure.

Though I have not dealt extensively with case studies of particular individuals, I have mentioned: the Guambiano schoolteacher who worked with two anthropologists (John Rowe and Hernández de Alba); the

leader of the group which purchased the hacienda, who received training in Israel; the Guambiano "doctors" who learned the use of antibiotic drugs, and the ex-army man who was governor when the road was started. All may be distinguished from the other residents of Guambía by the fact that when they returned, their activities and identity were in part related to what they learned there. All used information and skills acquired in their sojourns to increase their prestige and power within the community. In a few instances their attempts to control people and resources were rather crude. They reflected the extent to which they either had forgotten the proper way to behave or, more likely, they believed their outside experience would allow them to disregard certain customary procedures. I have watched these individuals, several of whom I have known for ten years, try to maximize their control over events and people in Guambía. While their education has undeniably led to an increase in their power, it is also true that they have been forced to adjust their behavior to established institutions and values. Through a combination of positive and negative sanctions--from esteem reserved for ex-governors, to witchcraft--these individuals have willingly or grudgingly adapted their activities to mesh with tradition.

I do not mean to imply things have remained static. To the contrary, the activities of these men in the field of medicine, in cooperatives, roads and the school system, have made a permanent impact on the community. Whatever their personal motives for power, and they are very strong in some, the prestige and esteem they need and want depend on the evaluation of their activities by their fellow villagers. <u>While their activities have contributed to factionalism and conflict within</u>

the community, the fact it was caused by one of their own members made it possible for traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution to function. Villagers have no such power over outsiders who cause similar problems.

VILLAGERS AS DEVELOPMENT AGENTS

The contrast in the kinds of sanctions a society can use on its own members, as opposed to the power they have to control the behavior of an outside development worker, seems to me to be the crucial variable. As long as the outsider is the program planner and/or directly involved in project implementation, then the client community can only accept, reject or grudgingly accommodate themselves to his skills and programs for resource utilization. Often what occurs is that some in the community like the person and/or part of his program and thus follow the agent's program to get the part they want. What they cannot do, however, is integrate him into the community in a way which would allow customary methods of social control to be used. I am suggesting, in short, that community development agents should be members of the communities they work in. There is a role for outside technicians and extension agents, but only temporarily. And with rare exceptions these outsiders should have little to do with the formulation and implementation of the development programs.

Training Development Workers

Insofar as the planning and implementation of development programs at the community level are part of every government's activities, there

should be members of that community trained to help plan and implement such projects. Ideally, these individuals would work within the existing framework of institutions, though in some instances major adjustments may have to occur. I am not naively suggesting that governments should base their programs on the "felt needs" of thousands of villages within their borders. Governments always have their own set of priorities, and one must at least give them the benefit of the doubt that their planning reflects an evaluation of local needs as well as national ones. My suggestions deal with the manner in which local communities are integrated with and participate in local development programs.

I believe that top priority should be given to the training of villagers (or residents of urban neighborhoods) in the skills needed to implement and plan development programs at the local and regional level. Specifically, I refer to schoolteachers, and extension workers in health, sanitation, agriculture, cooperatives and public works projects. In addition to technical training some attention should be given to program planning, budgeting and the use of outside technical and material resources. Emphasis should be placed on having these individuals work with others in their villages in determining what special projects are desireable and feasible with the resources available to them. Resources should be allocated to communities based on priorities they determine in cooperation with the trained development workers from their own villages. If there are special government programs and/or resources available because of national priorities, then this sort of information will inevitably be among the factors a group of local leaders and native development workers will take into account. But the decision should be theirs.

There is always the danger that the newly trained natives may use their skills and prestige to personal advantage and even occasionally in a disruptive fashion. But if programs are planned and implemented by local personnel, then at least the possibility exists that such problems and those of increased factionalism and conflict may be dealt with by indigenous institutions and sanctions.

One procedure which might minimize the frequency and/or intensity of disruption is to fully communicate information about the availability of such training, and then selecting, insofar as possible, trainees from various residential, political and other groups already there. Other than that we should leave it to the good-will of men, the quest for prestige, and the power of witchcraft to work things out.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Though the judgment of the Caciqueños was inaccurate with respect to this particular grant for road construction, there had been another dispute in the mid-1960's about a 210,000 peso allotment which apparently should have been divided but ended up being used solely for the work in the upper section.

2. Several Guambianos are aware of the paternalistic and professional interests related to the establishment of the Division of Indian Affairs. Though they exaggerate the importance of these factors they see it as another institution designed to keep the Indians outside the mainstream of Colombian society. A few of the new radical political Indians have formally requested the abolition of the Division of Indian Affairs, but theirs is still very much a minority opinion. Most Guambianos recognize the work of the Division has been helpful to them and welcome technical assistance and the legal services provided.

X. CONCLUSION

In 1967 as I was departing from Guambía, one of my hosts said to me, "Reinaldo, when you return I would like you to bring me a pitchfork from the United States and a pair of boots like those you are wearing."

In 1971 as I was leaving the reservation, the same man--still wearing Guambiano clothing, speaking the indigenous language, head of the same extended family, and still farming--said to me, "Reinaldo, when you return next time I would like you to bring me a Dodge truck chassis and a color television set."

He meant it.

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