

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF PILGRIMAGE BEHAVIOR¹

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INTRODUCTION

In complex societies, where church and state are intricately intertwined and are institutionalized organizational entities, the support offered by the religion through its liturgy may be of paramount importance to the continued existence of the secular institutions. Rappaport (1979: 179), quoting La Fontaine (1972: XVII), notes that ritual actions exemplify cultural values expressed "in statements... which we call beliefs and which are elaborated in narratives or myths." Pilgrimages, as religious phenomena, can be analyzed from this perspective as a mechanism which unifies political and economic institutions.

In this paper we present a model which correlates political and economic behavior to pilgrimage, especially with reference to theocratic societies, where close interaction between the religious and secular institutions are necessary. The model will then be applied to a specific pilgrimage system in southeastern Chiapas, Mexico and other examples of pilgrimage-like behavior. The latter have not necessarily been

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considered to be pilgrimages by the original authors. However, the characteristics described are seen to be similar to those present in pilgrimages. It must be noted at the outset this perspective is offered as if one looks at pilgrimage with a "bird's eye" from above, and not necessarily through the perceptions of the pilgrims.

Their perceptions are of paramount importance, however, for it is through their participation—hence support (Rappaport, 1979)—that pilgrimages maintain political and economic institutions. This the case, we must first present some general notes on belief, ritual as related to belief, and pilgrimage as ritual.

I. A GENERAL MODEL

1. *Belief*

A necessary element in any cultural practice, and one which is difficult to quantify, is the presence of belief in the system. Without it, the system will collapse. This is as true for political and economic institutions as religious ones. Loss of belief among the people has caused the overthrow of more than one political leader, and the lack of faith in the economy resulted in the Great Depression of the 1930s. Erosion of belief results in decreased attendance at religious institutions or the proliferation of alternative religious experiences.

The pilgrims in southeastern Chiapas, Mexico, believe that rain and a good harvest would be the result of their participation in pilgrimages. The fact there was a drought the year fieldwork was conducted did not waive their convictions. People said conditions would be worse if pilgrimages were not made, and would be better if there was more participation. Consequently, prevailing conditions could still be explained in a manner consistent with their belief system.

The same pilgrims also believed the saints to whom the rituals were directed were made aware of the devotion felt by the people through the act of pilgrimage, and the deities would be responsive to the mortals needs and requests. If pilgrimages were not carried out, the people said, the deities would be angered and even punitive. Belief, then, can be

seen to be a speech act (Searle, 1971) between people and deities (which may include the upper levels of the sociopolitical hierarchical structure).

Belief is a speech act when some aspect of that belief is performed in ritual. As Rappaport (1979) has noted, rituals communicate information on the current physical, psychic, and social states of the participants to others involved in the rituals. This information is "summarized from a *local ecological system* into a *regional political system*" (Rappaport, 1979: 187; accent in original). The communication takes on two different but related forms. First, it is through participation that individuals perform acts which allow them to become aware of the social world of which they are part and which may not be evident in the course of daily living (Rappaport, 1979). Second, "performance does more than *remind* individuals of an underlying order. It *establishes that order*" (Rappaport, 1979: 187; accent in original), and it "constitutes a public acceptance of that public order" (Rappaport, 1979: 194).

Pilgrimage is a performance of a belief, and hence is ritual. It ritually brings people from distant parts of a society together to a central place (Turner and Turner, 1978) and regulates social interaction. Following Rappaport (1979), the various local ecological systems present in that society are articulated to the regional political center in two ways. First, they cross-cut linguistic and cultural groupings (Turner and Turner, 1978). Second, the individuals on pilgrimage represent many different levels of the socioeconomic ladder (Sjoberg, 1960), and the sex and caste or class statuses present in the society, while present, are not as marked as under normal conditions (Turner and Turner, 1978; Sjoberg, 1960). The confluence of these people—with linguistic, cultural, and caste or class distinctions—serve to demonstrate to the participants, as Rappaport (1979) has suggested, an order which may not be apparent in the course of daily life.

The regulation of social interaction visible in the course of a pilgrimage process is found in two dimensions: political and economic. Political in that the central place to which the pilgrims converge from their local ecological systems, tend to conform to previous, or current, political centers

(Nolan, 1973; Turner and Turner, 1978). This correlation will be borne out further in subsequent pages. The placing of pilgrimage centers at these places is seen to clearly demonstrate the political incentives related to pilgrimages. The incentives are also apparent in the timing of these events in the course of the yearly round of ritual activity. Wallace (1966) notes that these events are found to occur in conjunction with critical periods in the agricultural growing cycle, and has classified these phenomena as 'rites of intensification'. Just how this is articulated in the general schema is presented below.

The second manner in which pilgrimages regulate social interaction is economic. Markets are frequently associated with pilgrimages (Turner and Turner, 1978). Marketing is an exchange of goods and services. This exchange can be easily regulated under conditions present during a pilgrimage, as will be discussed more fully below. Too, it should be noted that the giving of offerings to a church or other public building, known to occur frequently on pilgrimages, is also economic. These offerings need not only be goods or currency, but may constitute one's labor as well. Again, this will be presented more fully below.

2. *Social Organization*

Politics and religion are intricately connected in theocratic societies, and it is necessary to portray a general model of political organization present in these societies. Each hierarchical level will be represented by an individual or a group of individuals performing certain functions. R. N. Adams (1969: 48) has used the term "operating unit" or "unit", which is:

any and all relational sets that provide some focus of human activity; commonly they come into existence and have continuing existence for some period by virtue of producing some kind of consistent output peculiar to that unit. For an individual must be in the operations of the regulatory structure they administer in reasonable working order. If they do not they may find themselves deprived of sanctity, either passively as people withdraw from participation in rituals supporting hierarchies(...), or actively by being deposed.....

The regulatory structures E must maintain are those dealing with the distribution and redistribution of goods and services, made possible through pilgrimages and the underlying sociopolitical structure.

One level below E are two or more units (TC), who are appointed and/or maintained in power by E. These units tend to be members of a subservient group and often appear to have been in positions of authority before the intervention of the group over which E presides. Upon subjugation, these individuals (TC) can become adopted into the dominant society and still be considered as part of the original group to which they were born. Maintaining the original political structure is beneficial to the functioning of the overall structure, as the people will still regard TC to be in a position of authority. Replacement of this unit by another, and outside, unit can result in friction and ultimate warfare; neither of which is conducive to the well-being of the state. This principle follows closely that presented by Bateson (1963) and Slobodkin (1968), which suggests that it is adaptive strategy for evolving systems to change no more than environmental persistence requires (Rappaport, 1979). Under the new conditions, the TC acts as a leader of a local ecosystem, collecting tribute from that ecosystem (which he may have done earlier), but now forced to deliver this, or a portion thereof, to E.

Further down the hierarchical ladder are community level positions (LTC). These individuals are charged with the well-being of their communities and the collection of tribute which they give to the TC. The LTC are elected by the local populations, usually in the presence of units representing E.

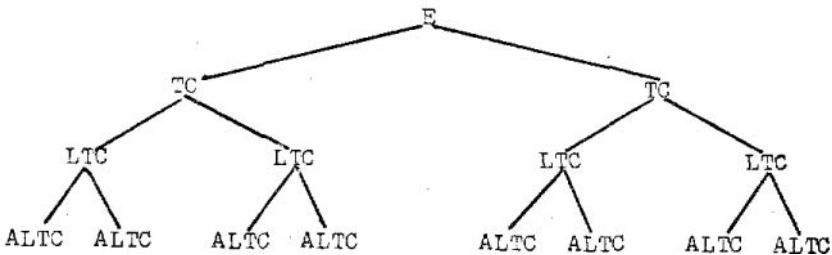


Fig. 1. Structural organization of proposed hierarchy. 10

The LTC may be aided by subordinate units (ALTC), and there could be even lesser officials below this level as well (Fig. 1). These positions will be referred to in the examples of pilgrimage-like behavior.

3. Economics and Local Ecosystemic Interaction

The political system, of course, is intricately connected with the economic system. It is via distribution and redistribution that goods and services flow from one part of the realm to another. There is a symbolic dimension to this interaction as well. Rappaport (1979: 17-18), has stated:

To respond to the chief's call for provisions, most of which would be quickly redistributed to those who had donated them was not merely to recognize his primary rights... , but to give substance to that recognition. Chiefly, collections and redistributions were material representations—that is to say, substantiations—of social relations.

As mentioned earlier, prestations could also be in the form of services rendered to E. Pilgrims are often found offering labor at public works or giving economic commodities, demonstrating the social relational aspects involved in the pilgrimage process.

Sanders and Price (1968) and Schaedel (nd) say that regions in a theocratic polity are united in a symbiotic relationship with one another. Each region produces a specific commodity or foodstuff for the welfare of the other components of the realm. This further marks the articulation of local ecological systems into a regional political system, as these products are then taken to the political, economic, and religious centers. Some of this produce is destined to be used by E and other groups of individuals not directly involved with subsistence (such as priests, artisans, lesser officials, etc). Another part is stored and used to aid areas which have suffered agricultural losses (thus the "god" at the top of the hierarchical ladder responds to the plight of his believers). Another part may be bought by members visiting the center to be used immediately.

The symbiotic relationship of the component parts of a realm is aided by the ecological diversity present through

out the empire. By virtue of this ecological diversity, the flora associated with each region is also different from that possessed by another region. The flora (and/or produce) may take on symbolic significance, as the flowers carried to the pilgrimage centers in southeastern Chiapas do, or the salt taken from mines at San Mateo Ixtatan. Although, salt is such an important commodity, there may also be other interpretations to this phenomenon as well.

If it can be said that flora is analogous to some specific product which was produced in a particular ecosystem, then the carrying of flowers to a ceremonial center during pilgrimages can be seen to be symbolic of a particular product from that region. The offering of flowers and/or produce at churches and other public buildings can then also be seen to be analogous to the placing of a particular good at the same place.

It is of interest to note at this point the importance of symbiotic relationships between the various regions of the Chiapas pilgrimage system. The year 1978 was to be the first year in which a pilgrimage to Venustiano Carranza was not going to be made. The reason was because the inhabitants of that town demanded that the pilgrims buy flowers from them, rather than allowing the pilgrims to bring them from the various regions. At the same time, another pilgrimage route had to be changed, and this did not result in a discontinuation of the pilgrimage. In other words, the act of giving these flowers from the various regions to the ceremonial center was of paramount importance; the act of traversing a different route (and the mode of travel) could be changed.

In more recent times money is seen to be a frequent offering given by the pilgrims. If a catchment area consists of a number of countries, one will encounter many different currencies in the coffers of the church. The degree to which money is offered instead of agricultural or other natural goods reflects the extent to which a money economy has replaced the traditional economic system, and has penetrated "whatever barriers may have protected previously autonomous systems" (Rappaport, 1979: 167).

In summary, the general model presents the suggestion that the articulation of local ecological political and economic

systems into a regional political system is aided by pilgrimages. With this as background, we may now turn to the specific cases and demonstrate the unification of the political and economic structures in the case of the pilgrimages conducted in southeastern Chiapas, México, and the accounts of pilgrimage-like behavior practiced elsewhere.

II. DATA FROM SOUTHEASTERN CHIAPAS²

1. Background

During the summer of 1977, fieldwork was conducted among the Tzeltales and the Tojolabales of southeastern Chiapas, Mexico. Much of the relevant data necessary for a complete analysis of pilgrimages in the area is not available due to an extremely short field season. However, the information presented below was gathered in that time period and allows for the idea of pilgrimages serving political and economic ends.

Pilgrimages are carried out jointly by the Tzeltales and Tojolabales to the Mexican towns of Las Margaritas; Oxchuc; Trinitaria; Venustiano Carranza; and San Mateo Ixtatan, in Guatemala (Fig. 2). These occur at critical points in the agricultural cycle, if the agricultural calendrical events described for Zinacantan (Cancian, 1965), located about 100 kilometers north of the study area can be used for comparison.

The Tojolabales inhabit a valley east of Comitán. The primary economic, political, and religious center is Las Margaritas, located 18 kilometers from Comitán. Equidistant from Comitán, and to the south, is the town of Trinitaria, from which the Tojolabales say the leaders of the pilgrimages must come. It is a political, economic, and religious center of the Tzeltales.

The Spanish founded the town Zapaluta sometime in the 16th century. This town was renamed Trinitaria. An archeological site, Chinkultik, is located fairly close to this town, and has been linked to the Tzeltales (Tom Lee, personal

² A detailed account of the pilgrimage in this area will be found in another paper (W.R. Adams, in press).

communication). A relatively large but undescriptive site, previously undescribed, was discovered near Las Margaritas during the course of the summer's work. It is not known how long the Tzeltales and the Tojolabales have lived in this area, but there has not been a recorded mass migration of peoples since the Spanish Conquest. Glottochronologically Tzeltal has been separated from Chuj for about 800 years, (Lyle Campbell, personal communication).

The hosting pilgrimage center has an elaborate market located adjacent to the church and municipality buildings. Produce and other economic goods from the wider region (including throughout Mexico and various nations of the world) can be bought in these markets. The pilgrims brought specific flowers from the areas around their villages to the pilgrimage centers and placed them at the church door nearest the municipality building.

The close correspondence between the political and pilgrimage centers, the association of markets with pilgrimages, and the placement of offerings from the regions from which the pilgrims come at the door of the church closest to the municipality building suggest political and economic correlates of pilgrimage activities. The correlates are further supported by the religiopolitical organization.

2. Social Organization

At the time fieldwork was conducted, the Tzeltales possessed only a three-tiered religio-political organization, whose function was primarily limited to ritual activities. This consisted of two *encargados* who were the leaders during the pilgrimages and the reciters of the "*rezo Tzeltal*", an elaborate prayer recited during the pilgrimages and personal crises; the *prioste* (LTC) and *mayordomo* (ALTC).

The *encargado* position seems to be hereditary, passing from father to son. The informants indicated that Trinitaria was divided into a high and low moiety, with an *encargado* responsible for each. The role seems to combine the functions of the upper three levels of an earlier structure (described below), both in terms of roles and functions. The current structure is relatively new, beginning in 1933. Because the earlier organization is seen to demonstrate the model descri-

bed earlier, it is necessary to describe it as related by the older informants, aged 65 and older, who had held positions of authority in the earlier organization.

It should also be mentioned that the advent of the Spaniards in the 16th century probably did not result in any major modifications in the social structure (Spicer, 1962). Neither were the tributary systems greatly modified (MacLwd, 1973; Solorzano, 1970). Consequently, it is suggested that the religio-political hierarchical structure in the Tzeltal and Tojolabal region present before the 1933 reorganization may not have been drastically different from that present in the preconquest era; although, the *function* may have shifted to that present in the current system, with little say in the political arena.

As in other parts of the Maya region, the primary religio-political organization was the cargo system (cf. Cancian, 1969). The Tzeltales possessed a five-tiered system consisting of, in descending order, *alcalde*, *regidores*, mayor, *prioste*, and mayordomo.

Prior to the 1933 reorganization, the *alcalde* was responsible for the well-being of the community and in charge of public works projects. He was also responsible for making sure the *regidores* conducted the ceremonies properly. The *regidores* were responsible for relaying messages from the *alcalde* to the people living in outlying areas. They recited the important prayera and performed other religious obligations for the community. The *mayor* may well have been responsible for the collection of tribute and/or taxes. This is one of the functions of units occupying similar positions in other organizations, to be presented below, and, in fact, the *mayor* did receive money from lower levels of the hierarchy. Each *prioste* was responsible for the collection of funds, food, and beverages for one festival each year. These materials are seen to be a form of tribute. The close correspondence of the collection of funds, which they gave to the TC at times of major festivals is seen to further support the ideas presented in these pages. He was assisted by the *mayordomo*.

The *alcalde* and *regidores* were members of the *calpul* or ruling group. The *calpul* represented an upper level and were also landholders (W.R. Adams, in press). The term is similar to the Aztec *calpul*, which will be discussed below.

This similarity is not unexpected as the Aztecs did expand their hegemony to this part of the world, as is attested by architectural and ceramic styles, as well as other forms of evidence. Only members of the *calpul* group could hold these positions. It is only at this level where there was any indication of closed membership. The positions were normally passed from father to son. If, however, the successor was not considered worthy, another individual would be named by the members of this group. The *calpul* was also responsible for appointing persons to the lower positions.

Because the *alcalde* and the *regidores* acted in concert, it is seen possible to equate both of these levels of the hierarchical structure to a single level in the model. Although this group appear to represent the uppermost level of the indigenous system, it is necessary to remember that each of the moieties were represented by one of these *calpul* groups, and the uppermost level was held by a still more powerful unit. This was the emperor of the overall system. As Spicer (1962) has indicated, the Spanish removed that unit and replaced it with members of their own group: the Church or State, depending on the context. This again is very much in keeping with the principle presented by Bateson and Slobodkin presented earlier. Consequently, the emperor (later the church) could be placed in the organizational model in the position designated by E. The *calpul* would occupy the TC level, and so on.

The structural reorganization occurring in 1933 among the Tzeltales were not shared by the Tojolabales to any great extent. The latter had no *alcalde* and *regidor* positions. The informants indicated they never had these positions. When asked why this was so, the Tojolabales responded it was because they did not know Tzeltal; the Tzeltales answered: "*Somos los fiadores de Dios*" [We are God's trustees]. The Tojolabales were dependent upon the Tzeltales for all of the public religious events.

The Tojolabales can be said to be divided into two groups, each possessing slightly different formations while on the pilgrimage (in route to the pilgrimage center), two slightly different village political systems, and two different musical tunes played by the flute and drums during the pilgrimages.

These differences are not seen to affect the thesis presented in these pages, and will not be discussed further.

There are currently two individuals who can be said to hold the highest posts for all of the Tojolabales. They are called *encargados*. There is an indication that their title before 1933 was *mayor*, as they still carry the symbol of that position: a two meter staff made from a quince tree. Both of these individuals have been chosen by the Catholic priest of Las Margaritas, and their term of office is for life or until they are incapacitated. They are seen to occupy the TC position in the model. The villages contain only the posts of *alférez* (equivalent to the *prioste*), and the *mayordomo*. The titles of these positions are reversed with respect to the Tzeltal case. The *mayordomo* has the most prestige and is responsible for church-related tasks and pays for the village fiesta. He is seen to occupy the LTC position. the *alférez* (ALTC) aids the *mayordomo* with the festival. The *alférez* and the *mayordomo* of each village are elected for one year terms by the people in a meeting presided over by an outside official, representing either the Mexican government or the church. In either case, the elections are supervised by individuals representing a larger political entity. This supervision was not found among the Tzeltales, but was alluded to in the rezo *Tzeltal*, which mentions that there was a *fiscal* (a Spanish official) behind the praying *regidores*. The ethnographic accounts from the Maya area which reflect a structure similar to that described for the Tojolabales deal with hamlets, such as that reported by Nash (1970) in her study of Tzo'ontahal.

As elsewhere in the Maya area, women are considered subservient to men (Vogt, 1976). In daily life women are reported to walk behind the men in Zinacantan (Vogt, 1976). Leading and rightmost positions represent positions of authority (Vogt, 1976). In keeping with the notion that distinctions of sex and class are lowered during pilgrimages, women walk alongside men and the Tojolabales travel shoulder to shoulder with the Tzeltales if they do not have cargo positions.

The distinctions are very clearly present, however, where the individuals have cargo positions. The Tzeltal *priostes* and *mayordomos* walk ahead of the Tojolabal *mayordomos*

and *alféreces*, and the Tzeltal *encargado* walks to the right of his Tojolabal counterpart. This is consistent with the linguistic information gathered. Red and white flags are used in the processions and are placed on the left and right respectively. The red flag, *uinal*, in Tojolabal means "son" or "minor"; the white flag, *alagualal*, means "father" or "major" in the same language. This is in keeping with the junior-senior principle described for Zinacantan (Vogt, 1969).

3. Economics

In order to cover the expenses incurred in the course of daily activity, the Tzeltales, and presumably the Tojolabales as well, worked as laborers on farms near the communities. While the majority of the men depended very heavily on this source of income and worked on the farms year-round, members of the *calpul* worked on the farms if they needed extra money to cover expenses incurred by their participation in the cargo system.

Every Tojolabal who went on the pilgrimages (and often individuals who could not go) was expected to pay the *alférez* (LTC) one peso to cover the costs of the material used by the community. The remainder would then be taken to the *encargado* of the Tojolabales (TC), who would then record the amount given and the community making the donation, and apply the money to cover the general costs. The money is divided, half going to the church at Las Margaritas for a Mass there, and the other half taken to the Tzeltal *encargado*, who would record the amount and give it to the priest at Trinitaria or other pilgrimage centers. It was reported that expenses of the pilgrimages were covered by the Tojolabales. In case of deficit, the Tojolabal *encargado* had to pay the difference. Now, however, due to poor attendance and increased costs of material, the Tzeltal *encargado* frequently helps his Tojolabal counterpart; and it is not infrequent that they must turn to individuals in the communities for further support.

It was also reported that villages unable to participate in the pilgrimages would still send money. Informants said that this was to ensure that the priest would offer prayers

for that community, even though that community was not physically present. Another act which is seen to have economic significance is the report of taking gifts of sheep, mares, and colts to the priests of the hosting village, and also doing repair work on the church in that center.

To summarize very briefly, the Tzeltales are the leaders of the ritual observances and lead the Tojolabales in pilgrimages and other religious activities. The Tojolabales do not have any of the upper levels of the hierarchical structure, and are, in an economic respect, subservient to the Tzeltales as well.

In the above two sections of the paper we have discussed a general model dealing with the political and economic correlates of pilgrimage behavior and then applied the model to a particular case of pilgrimage conducted on southeastern Mexico. We are now able to move into the third portion of the paper which deals with comparative examples. In the cases which follow, the acts which are described are not necessarily seen by the original authors to be pilgrimages. However, the acts described bear close similarity to pilgrimage behavior. The following four cases are used because they, in some way or another, bring forward the points discussed above.

III. COMPARATIVE CASES

The cases which follow demonstrate a pattern where a society possessing a complex sociopolitical organization enters an area already inhabited by a group of peoples and sets up a tributary system within that area. The number of hierarchical levels in the hierarchy may reflect the degree of sociocultural integration possessed by the subservient area prior to being over-run by the dominant group. In all cases, the existing framework was retained; the dominant group merely added another level and redirected the tribute to the new political unit.

1. *Celtic Britain*

Before the advent of the Romans, the Celts of Britain possessed a tribal level of organization, usually politically

independent of one another (Collingwood, 1959; Birley, 1964). They had their own priesthood, the Druids, which were responsible for conducting religious ceremonies. One of the celebrations conducted each year consisted of people coming from different parts to a common meeting ground (Bifley, 1964). The activities occurring during these ceremonies was not described.

When Britain entered the Roman Empire, Rome already possessed an elaborate political system. The emperor appointed governors to the belligerent provinces and tax collectors to all provinces under his dominion. The senate appointed the governors to the more peaceful areas of the empire. The tax collector (TC), while below the governor in status, was not under his control. Instead, he answered directly to the emperor (E).

The tribal authorities remained responsible for local governance (Collingwood and Myres, 1945; Frank, 1937). The tribes were grouped together into larger units, each with its own "capital" —one of these was located at the present site of Canterbury (Collingwood and Myres, 1945). "[I]n each of these towns the native republican institutions were readily modified, with little more than verbal alteration, into an executive ordo and annual magistrates" (Collingwood and Myres, 1945: 167). The magistrates (LTC, and possibly ALTC), were elected by the people at large but had little say in the governing system (Collingwood and Myres, 1945; Birley, 1964). Their duties were largely ceremonial, but they were able to present a vote of thanks or censure to the governors who had finished their terms of office (Birley, 1964). The provincial council met once a year, at the same time the Druids had formerly held their annual ceremonies. The activities reported to have occurred during these celebrations included festivals, games, recitals, banquets, and sacrifices. The ceremony was now centered around emperor-worship, a practice found in all of the Roman Empire at this time, and were presided over by a state priest. Birley (1964) has indicated the purpose of this reunion was now a profession of state loyalty. Collingwood and Myres (1945) concur, saying that it was an act of spiritual unification of the empire.

Looking broadly at the effect of Roman intrusion into Britain among the Celts, and relating this to the foregoing sections of the paper, there are many similarities with pilgrimages: The festivals and sacrifices occurring at the same time the provincial council met. The profession of state loyalty or spiritual unification reflects the points raised by Rappaport (1979).

Sumer

In each of the city states was a local leader, the *ensi* (Kramer, 1963; R.M. Adams, 1966). Kramer implies that the *ensi* was responsible for the appointment of the tax collectors. However, the *ensi* were not the uppermost level of the political hierarchy. At one time the Guitan rulers were the chief political element, and "seem to have been in a position to appoint and remove the rulers of the Sumerian cities almost at will" (Kramer, 1963: 66). In this instance, it seems the Guitan rulers held the E position of the model; the *ensi*, in the level of TC; and the tax collectors, equivalent to the LTC. Positions corresponding to the ALTC were not reported.

The relevance of this example to pilgrimage behavior and economic and political correlates is strengthened by a document which states:

Maram-Sin... made [Agade's] shrines glorious and raised its walls montain high while its gates remained open. To it came the nomadic Martu, the people who 'know not grain', from the west, bringing choice oxen and sheep; to it came Melahaites, the 'people of the black land', bringing their exotic wares; fo it came the Elamites and Subarians from the east and north carrying loads like load-carrying asses; to it came all the princes, chieftains, and sheiks of the plain, bringing gifts monthly and on the New Year (Kramer, 1963: 63).

These gifts were placed close to the temple. The fact that this tablet mentions the ceremony was performed on the New Year suggests this was an annual occasion, which would possibly be equivalent to the acts of fiely to the highest authority, as was the case in the Roman Britain example. This example brings out clearly the symbiotic relationships

of the component regions and the articulation of the local systems into a larger political one. The placing of gifts near the temple is analogous to the Tzeltal practice of placing flowers at the church. Finally, the fact that "princes, chieftains, and sheiks" carried gifts, as did the commoners, reflects the minimalization, but maintenance of class structure during pilgrimages.

3. *The Aztecs*

The basis of the Aztec society was the *calpulli* (ALTC), which was a community of related individuals or a lineage (Katz, 1966; Escobar y Ezeta, 1965). This may be the same concept as that found in the Tzeltal case described above (II. 2.). Escobar y Ezeta (1965) believes the *calpul* system was a survival from an earlier period when the people lived in tribes. The *calpulli* distributed land to individuals, but also maintained communal land. The produce of the latter was destined as tribute payment owed to the principal lord and the state (E).

One level above the *calpulli* was the *calpixque*, a collector of tribute (LTC). His duty was to oversee the collection of tributary items, which were collected at 20 day intervals and sent to the Aztec capital (Katz, 1966). Katz (1966) mentions that part of the tribute consisted of labor at public works. Biart (1913) noted that the local lords were either named by the king (E) or by residents of the district. Escobar y Ezeta (1965) has written that these leaders tended to be those who were already local chiefs.

Still higher in the organization was the *petlálcatl* (TC), who received tribute from an entire area (Katz, 1966). Both he and the *calpixque* were required to make exact entries of the tribute they collected. The TC, in particular, was noted to have made these entries in paper books, *amal*, which were sent to the emperor's court (Katz, 1966).

The disposition of the tribute was in accordance to the desires of E (Katz, 1966). Each province or town's tribute consisted of those items which were produced locally. Failure to yield the required tribute, or tardiness in its payment, would result in severe reprisals meted by the Aztecs on the erring population (Katz, 1966).

Market days, like the collection of tribute, took place every 20 days in the provinces with dispersed populations. These were days of festivity, with a god of fairs and markets, to whom offerings of all items sold in the market would be given (Katz, 1966). Merchants from contiguous areas would travel together, carrying not only those items they were to sell, but also those destined to E (Katz, 1966).

Merchants and nobles were exempt from paying tribute (Katz, 1966), although they were expected to give gifts to their lord during certain festivals. These were not obligatory, but were customary and always observed. These gifts came to be considered equivalent to tribute (Katz, 1966).

Religion not only entered the market system, but also was connected with the political sphere. Katz (1966) noted there was very little distinction made between church and state. This fact came out clearly in his discussion of the practice of sending people to engage in various public works, which included service to the capital, palace, and construction of the temples at Tenochtitlan.

This example brings out clearly a number of the aspects which are seen to correlate pilgrimages to political and economic incentives. The maintenance of the old political and social orders, the articulation of the local ecosystems into the regional political system, the payment of "tribute" by nobles and commoners alike, labor at public works projects, and offerings to the god of markets and fairs along with those destined for the king (which may have been one and the same thing), are all points that these journeys made have in common with pilgrimages.

4. Peru

Although the Inca will be the Peruvian group stressed, there is good evidence to indicate that political and economic organizations were based on pre-Incaic traditions (Means, 1925; Schaedel, nd).

The political organization of the Inca Empire was based on the *allyu* (Means, 1925), which was similar in concept to the *calpul* among the Aztecs (Katz, 1966). The *allyu* existed in pre-Incaic times (Means, 1925; Schaedel, nd; 1978), and were "autonomous and self-centered, having no permanent

or important contact with the outside world" (Means, 1925: 429) prior to takeover by a larger political entity. Under outside authority the *allyu* operated as an ALTC, and were modified only slightly. This is reflected in the archeological record with decreased sizes and rate of building pyramids, indicating that surplus labor and goods were being redirected to supply the demands of the new political entity (Schaedel, nd). Schaedel (nd) has associated this with cases in which a rural community maintains its population and increased resource potential to provide rent as well as a ceremonial (tribute?) found as a result of the annual ordering of seasonal migrations and input from storage reserves.

Markham (1873) has written that one portion of the land was set aside in support of the religion, and a large part of the harvests were set aside for tribute and stored in special places. Some of this remained in the villages, while another part was sent to Cuzco, the capital.

A fundamental concept, and crucial to the understanding of this example, is the *huaca*. This could be a sacred site or cult object (Brundage, 1963). It may be both a "localization of power and the power itself evident in an object, a mountain, a shrine... , a revered square, or a bit of ground where festivals were held, or where a great man had lived" (Brundage, 1963: 47). Each family, village, and tribe had their own *huaca*. A special *huaca* was found at Pachacamac, which would be appealed to by nobility and commoners alike. People came at certain stated times when the oracle located there responded to their questions and concerns. These periods were "no doubt coordinated with seasonal festivities" (Brundage, 1963: 53). Pachacamac was a large town and attracted pilgrims from all over Peru under safe conduct. The poor and the "ambassadors" (TC) carried offerings from their provinces (Brundage, 1963).

In another festival, Markham (1873) mentions that people from all areas subdued by the Inca (E) would come to a ceremonial center with their *huacas*. Pachacutec Ynca Yupanqui instituted the *Ccapac cocha*, which entailed children from each lineage or tribe from the four provinces being brought to Cuzco to be sacrificed or passed to other provinces, where they might be sacrificed at the chief *huaca* of the lineage or province. At the conclusion of the festival,

the commoners would return to their homes with their *huacas*. In at least one festival, taking place in August, the nobility received riches and slaves (Markham, 1873). Some of these slaves may have been the children brought to Cuzco in compliance with the Ccapac *cocha*. This would be in keeping with Schaedel's (nd) and Rappaport's (1979) notions of redistribution from E to the lesser centers and nobility.

Another ceremony is seen to possess many parallels with pilgrimages, and is associated with the presentation of tribute:

[A]s soon as the Yncas had made themselves lords of a province they caused the natives, who had previously been widely scattered, to live in communities with an officer over every 10 families (LTC)...and an Ynca governor (TC) over all who reported upon the administration every year, recording the births and deaths that had occurred among men and flocks, the yield of the crops, and all other details with great minuteness. They left Cuzco every year, and returned in February to make their report, before the festival of Raymi began, bringing with them the tribute of the whole empire. Every governor, how great lord soever he might be, entered Cuzco with a burden on his back (Markham, 1873: 155).

For the present purposes, it is noteworthy that the giving of tribute is seen to occur at a time of festival, which is suggestive of pilgrimage. The fact that it occurs once a year seems to be analogous to the declaration of fealty reported for Roman Britain (III.1), and Sumer (III.2). The fact that the governors were also reported to carry loads of tribute, just as was recorded in Sumer (III.2) Mexico (III.3), and among the Tzeltales and Tojolabales (II.3) is similar to the occurrence seen in pilgrimages where distinctions of sex and rank are minimized.

The *Ccapac cocha*, and the presentation of the tribute from the various regions express the symbiotic nature of the relationships between the local ecosystems under the regional political sphere. Finally, the similarities of church and state in this example seems to be suggested by Schaedel's (nd) comment on decreased sizes and building rates of temples as a result of political subjugation.

IV. SUMMARY

We have now presented a model of pilgrimages as related to political and economic methods of social control and presented information relating the model to the Tzeltal-Tojolabal pilgrimages of southeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The last section showed similarities between the Chiapan pilgrimages and cases where similar behavior is noted, although the word "pilgrimage" may not have been used by the original authors presenting the data.

In each of the cases presented, the existing structures in the local groups were not altered drastically after subjugation. The primary effect seems to have been a relinquishing of political control, substituting for it a more ceremonial role as far as the units themselves were concerned. However, from the point of view of the general population the units continued to possess the same degree of authority. The more political functions, however, were redirected to the new superior group, which also redirected the tribute to themselves. The collection of tribute was facilitated by the maintenance of the traditional political orders and the close ties between the church and the state. The fact that the emperor, seen also as a deity, reigned over both church and state, is seen to further aid the collection of tribute through the belief that he could affect the harvest of staple goods or the outcome of personal hardships.

The articulation of the local ecological systems into the political regional system was aided economically by the symbiotic nature of tribute payment from the various regions, the spiritual unification of the subjects during the course of the pilgrimages, and a reduction sex, class, and caste distinctions.

The economic and political correlates of pilgrimages may be secondary or non-existent as far as the pilgrims are concerned. This is perhaps even more the case today where pilgrimages are considered only to be 'traditional'. However, at the time the particular institution of pilgrimage was started, the gifts borne on the backs of the commoners and nobility during these ceremonial occasions "may well have been an important source of income for those who received and distributed this benefice. . ." (Fernea and Gerster, 1973:

Not only the income of these individuals would have been affected. Without the constant flow of economic goods from the various regions under their control to and from the administrative, economic, and religious centers, their role in the society would not have been necessary, and the position in the political hierarchy would not have been present in the social structure. Their sanctity would have ebbed through nonparticipation of the subjects in pilgrimages and other acts of public ritual.

The act of pilgrimage, however, states that the subject pilgrims accept the existing social order and ensures the continued existence of a regional political system through continuous economic inputs from the local ecosystems and underlying hierarchical structure.

SUMARIO

El autor presenta un modelo de las peregrinaciones en su relación con los métodos políticos y económicos de control social. Brinda información sobre este modelo usando como ejemplo las peregrinaciones de los tzeltales y tojolabales del sureste de Chiapas. En cada uno de los casos, las estructuras existentes en los grupos locales no se alteraron mayormente después de la Conquista. El efecto más importante parece haber sido una pérdida de importancia del control político, que fue sustituido por papeles ceremoniales.

Las peregrinaciones unen simbólicamente a los individuos, sin importar su sexo, edad o situación social. Los peregrinos no suelen estar conscientes del papel económico y social de las peregrinaciones. Sin embargo, en cierto sentido, los regalos que llevan los peregrinos son una forma de tributo semejante al existente en el pasado. Las peregrinaciones aseguran la continuidad de un orden social y político a través de aportes a los ecosistemas locales y de la estructura jerárquica subyacente.

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