



From Unknown Mexico to Amazing Mexico

More than anything else, the "x" in Mexico symbolizes a crossroads.

Long before Europeans arrived there, Mexico's varied peoples and cultures intersected. Constant migration from north to south, and also in reverse, produced a web of interrelated yet distinct beliefs.

A bounty of natural elements united by agriculture and religion formed a broad foundation for highly complex cultures.

Rodolfo Palma Rojo with Olivia Cadaval

The Mariachi Tradicional Los Tíos from El Manguito, a remote community in the Sierra Madre Occidental mountains of Jalisco, boast a son repertoire distinctive to this region where mariachi music has flourished for more than 150 years. Photo by Cristina Díaz-Carrera, Smithsonian Institution



The legendary hybridization of corn—in which four grains (red, blue, yellow, and white) were deposited in Mexico's earth—also symbolizes these intersections. When the Europeans started arriving in the early sixteenth century, they brought their own hybridizations—mixtures of Arab, Jewish, and African cultures. As a result, the country has become a window onto other ways of seeing and living in the world—a pluralistic, diverse, manylayered Mexico that is challenging to fully know or categorize—part unknown and part amazing.

The *México* program at the 2010 Smithsonian Folklife Festival illustrates the complexity and diversity of these crossroads by focusing on several representative communities in Mexico today. The Festival site on the National Mall also serves as a crossroads where these contemporary communities can engage an international public. Here visitors can meet the Maya—corn cultivators, traditional artisans, and beekeepers; the Téenek, whose ceremonies relate to their position within the natural world and universe; the weavers from Oaxaca who brighten their wool with dyes taken from nature and are neighbors to the producers of mescal and chocolate; the

artesa dancers, a living example of the African presence in Mexico, who reaffirm the constant pace and permanence of cultures; the chinelo dancers, where the Spanish and Moorish cross with the local; the chinamperos, creators of lake agriculture, known as chinampas; and the legendary Wixárika who have formed a union to protect their sacred spaces. We can also listen—to the music of the son, with harps, violins, and guitars that created the musical region of the mariachi, which extends from Michoacán to Colima; to the dramatic heart-rending a cappella singing tradition of the cardencheros, which is so distinctive to the plains of the Comarca Lagunera of Coahuila and Durango; and to the Comcáac, who have incorporated rhythms from the United States into their ritual music.

Far from remaining culturally static—as the heirs of a glorious pre-Hispanic civilization—these communities are making their history and traditions relevant and recognized in today's world. The year 2010 offers the perfect opportunity to reflect back upon this history and tradition. The Mexican wars of independence started in 1810, and were followed exactly one hundred years later by the stirrings of revolution in 1910. These historical events



transformed Mexico dramatically—in part by creating a new nation and in part by making the amazing diversity of its people and culture much better known to the outside world.

UNKNOWN MEXICO

Mexico's multifaceted mysteries—as well as a perennial curiosity for "the other"—have long drawn travelers, researchers, anthropologists, archaeologists, and geographers, each with their own objectives.

One of them was Carl Lumholtz (1851–1922):

Norwegian by birth, theologian by education, botanist and geographer by vocation, and photographer and ethnologist in practice. In 1890, Lumholtz led a scientific expedition into the Sierra Madre Occidental mountain range for the American Museum of Natural History and the American Geographical Society. Today, a little more than one hundred years later, Lumholtz's expedition serves as a precedent for today's explorers commissioned by institutions and museums to travel, collect information, and identify contextualizing objects in preparation for this year's Smithsonian Folklife Festival program on Mexico.

Lumholtz's expedition in 1890 proved a success. He collected plant and animal species never seen before by European eyes and he confirmed his hypothesis that some cave-dwelling groups were indigenous to Mexico. Lumholtz returned to New York, raised funds, and went back to Mexico with his research team as soon as he could. Eventually he dissolved the group, deciding to travel as far south as possible by himself. Captivated by this new world, Lumholtz lived there alone for the next two years. In 1893 he took his collections of the objects from the Rarámuris (also known as Tarahumaras) and Tepehuanes to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Later, back in northern Mexico with the Rarámuris, Lumholtz began to document their customs and their way of life, and to learn the difficult work of an anthropologist. After living with the Rarámuris, he traveled south to visit the Wixárika people and then north to spend time with the Purépechas. In 1902 he published his experiences in two thick volumes titled most properly *México desconocido* (Unknown Mexico). On each page, he expressed his amazement at the reality of Mexico spread out before him.



THE CHINELOS are carnivalesque dance troupes that form part of Mexico's broad repertoire of dramas and masquerades drawing from European and Indian traditions. Costumed in elaborate velvet gowns and headdresses, masked Chinelos playfully mock the white Spanish colonizers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During community fiestas, they joyfully dance through the town accompanied by the local band, performing distinctive steps. For example, the tzineloa, which means hip shake in Náhuatl, purposely makes the Chinelo look awkward or disjointed, thereby adding to the ridicule. The Chinelos have become part of the identity of the state of Morelos. Photos by Rogelio Caballero



A HISTORY OF TURMOIL

The irony is that at the time when Carl Lumholtz was discovering Mexico and declaring it to be "unknown," the country was just emerging from one century of chaos and about to enter another period of turmoil. Lumholtz could never have predicted that when he left the country in 1910 it was about to enter the whirlpool of a great revolution—the first of the twentieth century.

Mexico's modern history of turmoil began in 1810 with the violent and often dizzying wars of independence against Spain. "The revolution of 1810," states the historian Luis Villoro, "was a rural rebellion joined by laborers and plain folk from the cities, and mine workers, which a few middle-class Spanish-born people tried to lead." Thus, the descendants of the Spanish defeated their own ancestors, relying on the armies of the viceroyalty as well as those of the people. An educated class provided the ideology that on the whole evoked a glorious indigenous past.

The Roman Catholic priest Miguel Hidalgo, imbued with a liberal and populist spirit, delivered the initial call for independence at dawn on September 16, 1810. But it was Agustín de Iturbide, the vindicator of conservative ideas and defender of the Church, who led the triumphant insurgent parade on September 27, 1821. After Iturbide proclaimed himself emperor, a group of liberal former insurgents overthrew him. Chaos was inevitable, despite the drafting of two constitutions, the creation of a federal republic, and a government of inspired and honest men. In addition, the country soon went to war with external forces, starting with the secession of Texas in 1836. From 1846 to 1848, Mexico defended itself against the United States, losing half its territory in the process. In 1864, Maximilian of Hapsburg assumed political control under French rule in a war that lasted until 1867, when General Porfirio Díaz called for a cease-fire. On June 21, 1867, Díaz led the Mexican victory march that reinstalled Benito Juárez as president of the republic. The country then found itself besieged by many revolts and rebellions during the next ten years, culminating with Díaz being elected president in 1877.

Contributing to the turmoil of the nineteenth century were a series of indigenous rebellions throughout the country. For instance, the Caste Wars in the Yucatan Peninsula began at roughly the same time as the confrontation between the United States and Mexico in the 1840s and continued until 1901. These populist movements were aimed primarily at Mexico's hacienda owners.

INDEPENDENCE AND REVOLUTION—NATIONAL IDENTITY

Mexican Traditional Son

The vigorous, danceable music called *son* lies at the heart of Mexican mestizo (or mixed race) culture. During colonial times (I52I–I8IO), Mexican creoles and mestizos drew from the rich store of Spanish vernacular music in its Golden Age. They embraced rhythms, instruments, poetry, and forms, and transformed them into a uniquely Mexican array of musical traditions. The *son*, with all its regional variations, became the signature sound of an independent Mexico after I8IO. And as the Mexican Revolution (I9IO–I9I7) catapulted vernacular cultural expressions to the forefront of Mexican life, the *son* was canonized as the "musical flag" of Mexican identity.







(Above left) Los Nuevos Caporales hail from Tierra Caliente, the flat hotlands of the western Mexican state of Michoacán. This region is the cradle of the *conjunto de arpa grande*, or big harp ensemble. For their distinctive fast–paced *sones*, a second musician may drum on the harp, embellishing rhythms with denser patterns, "rolls," and several kinds of hand slaps. Photo by Chip Clark, Smithsonian Institution

(Above) Benito Hernández forms part of a mariachi ensemble in Las Varas, Nayarit, but is best known as a fine instrument maker. He builds vihuelas and guitarrones, the small– and large–bodied guitars typical to mariachi music. Photo by Cristina Díaz–Carrera, Smithsonian Institution

(Left) The dance and music of the Grupo de Fandango de Artesa Los Quilamos from the southern coastal region of Oaxaca combine indigenous, African, and Spanish elements. Their repertoire includes traditional sones, as well as chilenas, a South American music and dance style probably brought to the area by Chileans traveling to California during the gold rush in the 1840s and 1850s. Photo by Cristina Díaz-Carrera, Smithsonian Institution



Organizing across state lines among their various communities, Wixárika leaders have formed the Wixárika Ceremonial Centers Union for the defense and protection of their sacred spaces, which play essential roles in the group's social and cultural continuity. This photo taken in 1993 in Iztaccíhuatl, State of Mexico, depicts the Wixárika pilgrimage to sacred sites. Photo © Lorenzo Armendária, Courtesy CDI, Fototeca Nacho López

THE PEOPLE OF THE SUN

Withstanding all these years of turmoil in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the practice of religion a constant for the people of Mexico. Indeed, for nearly all—from the indigenous peoples encountered by the first Spaniards to modern-day Mexican citizens—spirituality has consistently guided the rhythm of life; or better said. Mexican life is imbued with spirituality. Even Lumholtz's travels through Mexico in the early 1890s confirmed this. "Without his shaman, the Tarahumara feels lost in this life and in the next, after death, since the shaman is his priest and his doctor," Lumholtz wrote with great respect. What he observed is that all traditional religious ceremonies are centered around the priest-doctor. Often he would implore the deities for rain, which was necessary for a good harvest. He would also pray to keep the sun alive, a daily concern for the ancient Mexicans. In this religious world, sacrifice was the appropriate mode of collaboration with the deities: the Rarámuri priest-doctor would sustain a calm voice—scarcely a chant, if not a whispered prayer-shaking a rattle while slightly moving the body monotonously for several days.

Lumholtz documented similar rituals during his visit to the Wixárika (or Huichol) people in western central Mexico. To the Wixárika, water is a sacred element. The spring is a sacred site and rain is a gift from the gods. Wixárika homes are round like their temples. The entrances of both face east—toward the rising of the sun; at the center of the temple there is a place for fire to be lit during feasts. Near the temples lie shrines, where religious ceremonies take place. These rituals are led by a shaman and last for many nights. Their chants pay tribute to the deities who created the world and tell the Wixárika what they must do to please them: build ceremonial centers, hunt deer, and collect the *jiculi* or peyote cactus.

Also focused on religion is the beautiful flying ritual of the Téenek (or Huasteco) people in eastern Mexico. Flinging out from the tip of an upright wooden pole, toward the four directions of the world, men spiral down to earth. Through this dance in the air, they pray for water and fertile land and give thanks for what is yet to come. This elaborate ritual shares a purpose with the brief and simple prayer of the Mayan Indians standing in front of the fields where they will sow corn that year.

THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND

Like religion, Mexico's diverse and challenging landscape plays a central role in the history and culture of its equally diverse communities. The Rarámuris live above ten thousand feet in the highest mountainous regions of the country, in settlements clinging to deep gorges. Two mountain ranges run parallel from the north of Mexico: the Sierra Madre Occidental to the west and the Sierra Madre Oriental to the east. These mountain ranges stand like gigantic walls before the Pacific and the Atlantic and meet in the south, in Oaxaca, where this intricate knot comes undone.

The north also features flat, arid, desert lands where cactus and thorny bushes abound. In this inhospitable area, waves of indigenous groups formed villages that the Europeans encountered in the early sixteenth century. A neighboring region now forms the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.

Geography has also contributed to the diversity and linguistic relationships between different cultural groups. Although Spanish is the dominant tongue in Mexico, it is neither the official nor the only language in the country. The Rarámuri, Wixárika, and Nahua people are all related linguistically, forming part of the Uto-Nahua (also known as Uto-Aztec) language family, which extends from the western United States to Central America. For example, Ute is spoken in Idaho, while Nahuatl is not only spoken in most of Mexico but also in El Salvador. Hopi and Tohono O'odham are probably the best known Uto-Nahua languages in the United States. In Mexico this language family is found along much of the Pacific coast down to the territories of the Otomies and Purépechas.





ANCIENT TECHNOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURE

Chinampa agriculture is a pre-Columbian method of farming still practiced in Lake Xochimilco, on the outskirts of Mexico City. The process involves dredging up silt from the bottom of the lake to form raised fields, or chinampas, separated by canals. "From pre-Hispanic and colonial times, Xochimilco provided Mexico City with all its vegetables," says Alfredo Ortega. "In modern terms, its yield is very little because of the decrease of canals and the disappearance of springs. The barge is used to transport the vegetables and the ornamental plants to the market." Photo by Cristina Díaz-Carrera, Smithsonian Institution

On the Atlantic side, the Mayan linguistic family extends to include the Téenek in the northeast and, of course, to the different Mayan groups in the south and southeast of the country. Eight Mayan languages are spoken within this vast territory. In all, Mexico contains eleven indigenous linguistic families with sixty-eight linguistic groups and more than 350 variants. In the southern state of Oaxaca alone, people speak Mixe, Zoque, Chontal, Huave, Amuzgo, Mixtec, and Zapotec.

The country's fertile tropical areas and highlands have been transformed over the centuries by foreign crops. But pineapple, quince, and vanilla are native to Mexico. The same is true for hundreds of species of flowers. These include the marigold or cempoaxóchitl, which adorns the tombs each Day of the Dead on November 2, and the nochebuena, which Joel Roberts Poinsett, U.S. ambassador in the 1820s, renamed after himself (poinsettia pulcherrima), and which for the Nahuas of central Mexico was a symbol of purity. In addition, the dahlia, the narcissus, and more than one thousand orchid species are also native to Mexico. Chewing gum, originally tzictli (from which "chicle" is derived in Spanish), is produced from the tree sap of the zapote blanco, which was commercialized by Thomas Adams in the United States in 1869.

Before the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, the Mexicas, a Nahua people who lived in what is now Mexico City, provided dyes to all the settlements under their domain. Once Mexico became a colony, the dyes instead were sent to Europe. They continued to be made from local ingredients: indigo, the cochineal beetle, the annatto seed (which is also used in Yucatecan cuisine), and Campeche wood. Other indigenous Mexican crops include tomatoes (*xitomatl*), amaranth, squash, cacao (chocolate), beans, chile, many varieties of cacti, avocado, and of course corn.



LOS CARDENCHEROS DE SAPIORIZ uphold a dramatic, heart-rending a cappella singing tradition distinctive to the plains of the Comarca Lagunera region in the states of Coahuila and Durango. As Guadalupe Salazar, the bass voice of the group, explains, this tradition comes from the times when men gathered at the edge of town, after a day in the fields, to drink and sing. He continues, "To sing canción cardenche, you must feel it—it penetrates like the thorns of the cardenche fruit, which are even more painful when they are pulled out."

Photo by Jesús Álvarez Galván

THE MARKETPLACE IS A CROSSROADS for the exchange of goods and resources as well as a site for reinforcing traditions and local economies. In Mexico, craft markets can be emblematic of a region with centuries of cultural heritage. Teotitlán del Valle in the central valley of Oaxaca houses more than one hundred weaving workshops showcasing the rugs that have made this Zapotec town famous. In a more recent tradition, at the Feria Nacional del Dulce Cristalizado in Xochimilco, local candy artisans display in their stands candied fruits and vegetables grown in the area.

"Techniques have changed, but what is most important is the creativity one brings to making the candy."—Alfredo Ortega









(Above and lower left) In the workshop above their home, Joel Vicente and his wife, María Sosa, card, spin, dye and weave wool. Their rug designs, often custom-made for their clients, are influenced by traditional Zapotec patterns as well as by contemporary paintings. Photos by Cristina Díaz-Carrera, Smithsonian Institution

(Upper and center left) Alfredo Ortega often participates in the Feria Nacional del Dulce Cristalizado de Xochimilco. He explains: "My father first started making candy, my brothers followed, and I learned from them and my mother. Certainly, techniques have changed, but what is most important is the creativity one brings to making the candy."



In her home in Xochimilco, Amalia Salas crafts some of the finest corn dolls in the region. She explains, "As little girls, we all had little corn dolls, and our grandmothers taught us how to make the dolls—that is the tradition, and I teach my granddaughters. Corn crafts are typical to Xochimilco." Photo by Cristina Diaz-Carrera, Smithsonian Institution

THE PEOPLE OF CORN

Corn may have first appeared in Mexico as long as sixteen thousand years ago; the first domesticated seeds date back nine thousand years. Clear evidence exists that the ancient peoples of Mexico and the surrounding regions were acquainted with the wild plant. In a story from Tamoachan mythology, the gods asked an ant carrying a kernel of corn where it came from. She pointed to a hill, which according to one version was drilled by the woodpecker, or in another version, by thunder. The Téenek—one of many groups that claim to have discovered corn—called it to-nocayo, or "our flesh," because they believed the gods had made humans out of corn. Similarly, the Popul Vuh, the sacred book of the Maya-quiché people, notes that the gods created the body of man from corn dough.

Corn became central to the life of the ancient peoples. Their corn deities soon held a prominent place alongside the gods of *maguey* (agave), from which they still extract drinks like *pulque* and *mezcal*—tequila is a type of mescal—as well as henequen fiber. To this day, ceremonies devoted to the planting and harvesting of corn persist.

At the center of Rarámuri rituals lies the drink tesgüino, made from soaked corn that is then cooked, ground, and left to ferment in large clay pots. Tesgüino is also given to the newborn for strength or used as payment in the fields, a cure, a tribute, or an offering for the dead or a guest. It is an essential part of all fiestas and weddings. Lumholtz observed in his book, "It is believed that the gods like it as much as the simple mortals." This has led to the key syllogism: "Without tesgüino, there would be no rain; but tesgüino cannot be made without corn, and corn cannot grow without water."

Just as rice has become a symbol for both Asian and African cultures, and wheat stands for European ones, corn symbolizes an extensive area of the Americas. While it represents a gift from the gods and the very nature of human beings, it also serves as everyday food. Even corn fungus is eaten. With corn, we make soups, tamales,

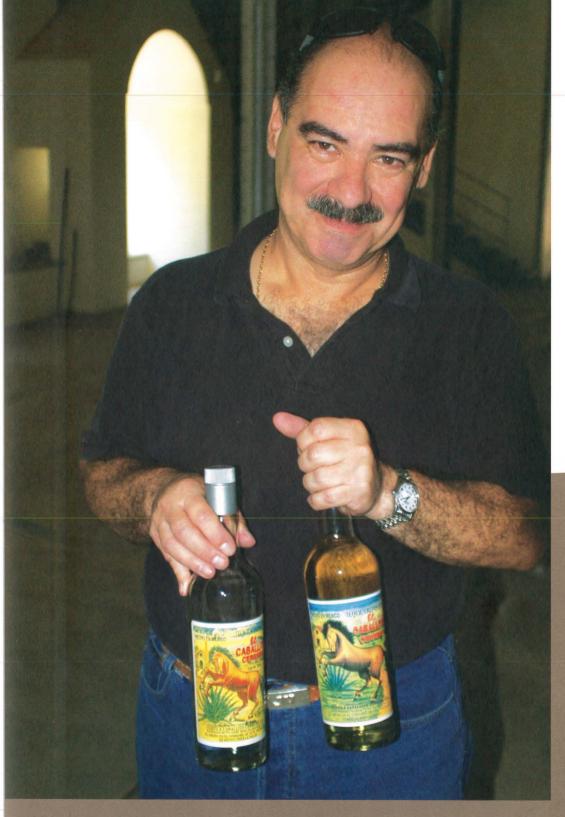
tortillas, a hot drink known as *atole*, and fermented beverages. Religious offerings and images are made with corn as well: virgins are robed in corn leaves and crucifixes made from corn paste. Corn tortillas wrap and flavor a meal (such as tacos, *gorditas*, quesadillas, and *tlacoyos*), and even take the place of napkins or silverware. Scientific and technological operations as diverse as germ plasm banks, plastic fabrication, and fuel production, can all rely on corn. Today, popcorn is perhaps as popular throughout the world as the movie theaters where it is consumed.

MAGUEY

A sixteenth-century Jesuit priest and anthropologist, José de Acosta, called the maguey or agave plant a "tree of miracles" (el árbol de las maravillas) with innumerable uses. Some of its best-known products include tequila, mezcal, and henequen fiber for weaving and other crafts. Equally vast are the varieties of maguey, which grow in the high valleys of Jalisco and Oaxaca, on the Yucatan limestone shelf, and in other highlands of Mexico.



The green-grey henequen plant gracing the Yucatan countryside is a beautiful sight, but it also serves as a resource for folk creativity. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the fiber (sóoskil) was primarily used for industrial purposes. However, it subsequently evolved into a popular crafting material. Celsa luit Moo was inspired to develop a fine craft market based on sóoskil, which has sustained her family. "I would like for this tradition to continue in my family. I am now sixty-five years old and have many children and grandchildren, all are artisans . . . all of them work sóoskil." Photo by Kandy Ruiz González







CORN IS THE STAFF OF LIFE IN MEXICO. It serves as a traditional food staple, a ritual offering, and a health remedy. Craftspeople and artists use it both as material and image in the arts, and its cultivation is celebrated by religious ceremonies.

Currently there are about sixty native corn species called *criollo*. Local corn farmers—a mainstay of the rural economy—are committed to preserving these indigenous strains, which reflect different climates, terrains, and local traditional knowledge. Farmers rely on thousands of years of agricultural traditions to decide which corn species to plant in a particular place, and how to care for their crops.

"My eyes are corn, my mouth is corn, my heart is corn."

Corn is such an essential product that the line between the cultivators and the crop itself may be blurred. Those who grow corn meet with devotion each and every moment of the agricultural cycle. They work, they celebrate, and they store the grain for the community. Their skin becomes the color of the earth and they grow attached to the sun and water. The responsibility for life lies in their hands. And then the miracle happens: the seed springs from the earth in the form of corn. It is difficult to express the amazement that the farmer feels at this moment: "My eyes are corn, my mouth is corn, my heart is corn."

Just as the tradition of growing corn has endured, Mexico's contemporary communities strive to preserve their memories and their history in the context of the present day. The crossroads that is Mexico has, like the Téenek fliers, a view of the four directions of the universe while rotating ceaselessly around the sun. When the fliers descend from

heaven, they are like rain falling on the earth to fertilize it. Where on earth they land may be regarded as the very materialization of Tamoachan—the place of creation, which the ancient inhabitants of Mexico imagined as paradise.

Rodolfo Palma Rojo is a filmmaker, author, university professor, and television/radio producer based in Mexico City, where he also serves as director of the Dissemination Office at the Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico. He has produced many plays and television programs, taught courses on screenwriting and literary theory, and written novels, short stories, and essays on the history, culture, and economy of Mexico.

Olivia Cadaval is a curator at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. She has conducted research, curated Folklife Festival programs and exhibitions, and collaborated in public programming on Latino, Caribbean, and Latin American cultures for over two decades.

(Below and opposite page) In the Yucatán Peninsula, criollo corn is cultivated primarily for family consumption while hybrid corn is grown as a cash crop. In the ejido (communal lands) of Santa Rosa Xtampak, Campeche, corn farmers supplement their income with beekeeping, as well as periodic jobs at the nearby archaeological site. Photos by Cristina Díaz-Carrera, Smithsonian Institution









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