

ing many in Orissa, reveal that the people of earlier times had a healthy outlook on sexual union: the deities, the ascetics, the naturals, unnaturals, supernaturals, animals, and various combinations thereof, are publicly depicted engaged in copulation. The *dēvadāsīs* are a part of that tradition. A question remains: were the males who are represented in these sculptures believed to be spilling their seed? Marglin (p. 214) mentions literary references in which Shiva in his lovemaking with Parvati does not spill his seed and Krishna in all of his dalliances with Radha and the Gopis does not spill his seed (p. 201). In materials collected on the Śakta tantric rituals performed in Puri, the participant does not ejaculate. It has long been a Hindu belief that nonejaculation during intercourse builds a man's spiritual power. Is it the spilling of the seed in sexual union (*dēvadāsīs* have borne children) that has for the most part destroyed the institution of the *dēvadāsi* and reduced her to a prostitute?

Marglin includes a great deal of previously unpublished material. In addition to the *dēvadāsīs'* life histories, she records interesting stories and integrates material gained from manuscripts previously unavailable and not in English. Plates include photographs of line drawings of *dēvadāsīs* performing (these are on palm leaves and from one of the manuscripts mentioned above); photographs of temple sculptures depicting females in dance poses and males and females in sexual union; portraits of *dēvadāsīs* who contributed information; and scenes from the Jaganatha Temple festivals.

In conclusion, Marglin provides a succinct survey of work by other scholars on the subject of auspiciousness versus inauspiciousness, purity versus impurity, both in relationship to women in general, and to the *dēvadāsīs* in particular. She refutes, agrees with, and/or substantiates these works, then summarizes her own conclusions drawn throughout the book.

It appears inevitable that the rituals of the Puri *dēvadāsīs* will become extinct in the near future, and the dance of the *dēva* (male deity) *dāsi* (servant—one who dances in the temple to honor or praise the God)—will be totally in the possession of the *sabha* (audience) *dāsi* (servant)—one who dances in public places to please the audience. Marglin gives us an insightful view of a way of life and a way of believing that will virtually disappear.

***Mary, Michael and Lucifer: Folk Catholicism in Central Mexico.* JOHN M. INGHAM. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986. x + 216 pp., maps, tables, figures, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00 (cloth).**

RUTH BEHAR  
University of Michigan

In *Mary, Michael and Lucifer*, John Ingham undertakes a structural, symbolic, and psychological study of what he considers to be a central paradox of Mexican folk Catholicism: that "the greatest dedication to the saints and other Catholic customs occurs in traditional communities, those that most preserve pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and prac-

tices." Making a significant advance over previous tendencies to seek out pre-Hispanic survivals as symptoms of incomplete conversion to Catholicism, or as monuments to the tenacity of indigenous culture, Ingham convincingly argues that rural Mexican social organization and worldview are Catholic through and through. While certain symbolic structures of pre-Hispanic religion and cosmology persist (and he takes great pains to show that they do, indeed, persist), they do so, Ingham suggests, within a coherent Catholic framework, such that they "express rather than contradict the Catholic worldview." This persistence is, curiously, part of the very legacy of Christian evangelization, which sought to wipe out native religious beliefs and practices. A hybrid of orthodox, pre-Christian, and popular religious traditions, the Catholicism brought to Mexico by 16th-century Spanish evangelizers, with its pantheon of saints, its images of the fallen Adam and Eve and the redeemed Holy Family, and its Devil hungry for Christian souls, was at once expansive enough to absorb pre-Hispanic deities and malleable enough to be given a peculiarly Mexican shape. Focusing his study on Tlayacapan, a largely Spanish-speaking municipality in the central highlands of Morelos where he has conducted research since 1965, Ingham finds not a superficial, weak, or diluted Catholicism, but one of many Catholicisms, a legitimate, local Catholicism.

It is significant that Ingham's interest in religion grew out of a project he carried out on fertility, which led him to study male-female relations, sexuality, and family organization, and ultimately "to rethink the entire culture." Thus in this book he highlights the ways in which conceptions of gender, sexual dualism, and kinship get mapped onto the religious sphere, and how, in turn, religious symbols and scenarios, like those surrounding Adam and Eve or the Holy Family, become paradigms of domestic behavior. In fact, Ingham goes so far as to say that the "root metaphor" of Mexican folk Catholicism is reproduction.

Church, chapel, and home, for example, form a single female domain. Women are expected to be at the helm of house and family, sweeping away the libidinally charged street dirt from the threshold in preparation for Sunday and emulating the motherly sanctity of the Virgin, whose image is at the center of the family altar. The pressure placed on women to marry, have children, and submit to male dominance in their social and sexual lives makes them susceptible to attack by *los aires*, dwarfish spirits that interfere with reproduction by destroying fetuses and causing miscarriages as well as by harming newborns. *Aire* illness is cured by local healers who sweep the patient "clean" with herbs, usually after making the sign of the cross, and then seek to appease the spirits, who are perpetually hungry, with offerings of food. There is a clear link (that Ingham does not make) between these starved fairy figures that represent rejects of the womb and the harlot devil figure of La Llorona (the Weeper), who is said to appear at midnight crying for the children that she aborted or threw to the pigs. *Aire* beliefs, like the legend surrounding La Llorona, reinforce the cultural emphasis placed on maternity, and castigate as evil the abortion and infanticide condemned by the Catholic Church. Ingham points out

how various negative images of women who refuse the maternal role or endanger the reproduction of human life symbolically overlay one another: like Eve the temptress, La Llorona is alluring to men; but like the pre-Hispanic goddess Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), she represents the mother who abandons the cradle, leaving in it the stone knife of sacrifice; and, finally, like Malinche, the Indian mistress of Cortés, she symbolizes betrayal and the downfall of the Indian people.

While men tend to be outspoken about their anticlericalism, rarely setting foot in church or even coming home except to sleep, Ingham points out how men also play important symbolic roles in religious life. The male religious domain, however, has different associations: men play the role of harnessing the natural and supernatural powers of the street in the struggle against evil, in the manner of such fighting saints as Michael. Through heavy drinking, bull riding, whoring, shooting off fireworks, and ritual dancing at religious fiestas, men become hypermasculine, thereby gaining control over evil by fighting evil with evil and, ultimately, communing with Christ and the saints by unleashing the Adamic forces that gave birth to the world.

On one level this sexual dualism opposes female to male, spirit to nature, house to street, and purity to animality. Yet on other symbolic levels the sexes form a unified front. Every family sets up its own nativity scene at Christmas time with an image of the child Jesus, for whom godparents are sought out each year, so that, symbolically, husband and wife represent Joseph and Mary. As *mayordomos* or sponsors of fiestas, they also act as parents towards the *santitos*, or "little saints," just as, when taking on the obligations of godparenthood, they acquire children in the role of spiritual procreators. In addition, the sexes are united in the struggle against evil, the spirits of which inhabit caves, ravines, and anthills, the earth's interior being the domain of the devil and his agents, who, unlike the saints, mock the ideals of reciprocity and endanger the normal process of production and reproduction. The sexes are united, too (though Ingham does not stress this), in the struggle against the wealthy classes that dominate them both. In the past, the devil was always pictured as a Spaniard or Creole rather than an Indian, and hacienda owners were thought to have built their estates with the help of the devil, just as, in the present, the wealth obtained by the owners of the sugarcane refineries south of Tlayacapan is viewed as the devil's money.

In exploring the links between gender and religion, Ingham makes an original contribution to our understanding of Mexican folk Catholicism. While I recommend the book highly, I have some reservations about Ingham's theoretical approach and the absence of a grounded historical perspective to his materials. The most intriguing and at the same time most problematic parts of the book for me are his discussions of syncretism. Ingham writes as if syncretism takes place purely on a symbolic plane and consists of a forging of correspondences between pre-Hispanic and Christian deities, beliefs, and practices. In speaking of these syncretic fusions he often uses the rather vague, actorless term, "to give way," stating that, for example, "the pre-Hispanic ritual deer hunts and mock combats gave way

to Passion plays, masquerades, mock and actual bullfights," or that "the semifictive kinship in *calpulli* organization before the conquest gave way to a Christian idiom of spiritual kinship afterward" (my italics). Similarly, Tezcatlipoca was subsumed under the figure of the Devil, Quetzalcoatl became Adam, Chalchiuhtlicue the Virgin, and Tlaloc was replaced by Saint John the Baptist. These and other correlations are listed in a table entitled "Syncretism in Tlayacapan," which consists of a column of pre-Hispanic gods side by side with a column of post-Hispanic Christian figures.

The problem with this kind of approach is that it treats syncretism not as a historical process but as a static and hermetic symbolic substitution that takes place on some level of symbolic logic rather than through the concrete praxis of historical actors consciously carrying out these transformations. One is left with the question of how Christian elements were appropriated, transformed—when, where, by whom, and for what purposes? And given that Ingham stresses the Catholicity of rural Mexican cultural configurations, in what ways exactly are pre-Hispanic figures still meaningfully present in the life and thought of people in present-day Tlayacapan?

The long-standing and continuing struggle between clergy and laity over control of the Church, which is where praxis might lie, is dealt with only in a summary way, in five pages or so. Part of the problem is in the traditional organization of the book as an ethnography, which fragments subjects that should have remained together, and confines the struggle over the Church to the "History" chapter. This is unfortunate, because clearly there have been historically important showdowns in Tlayacapan between the priests and the people. In the 18th century, the priest who excommunicated the entire village for wanting to hold a bullfight on Sunday was countered with an uprising in which he was expelled and the fiesta was held without him. In the 19th century, the priest struggled to dissuade villagers from holding their *Carnaval* and ended up having to content himself with simply watching. Since the 1960s, reformist priests have renewed their hostility against local religion, refusing to say masses for the souls, removing side altars for the Virgin and the saints, criticizing the emphasis on drinking, dancing, and revelry in the fiestas, and even calling the people "dark Indians" for wanting to practice their religion their way. And today, too, people continue to struggle against these clerical interventions.

If folk Catholicism is the people's, as opposed to the clergy's, Catholicism, then it seems that these struggles over religious practice should have occupied a more prominent place in Ingham's book. Only through such a perspective can one fully grasp what is at stake in "folk Catholicism," a term which derives much of its meaning in the context of the priests' opposition to it and their attempts to bring it into line with an "ideal type" of official Catholicism.

Despite the limitations of Ingham's structural/symbolic approach, *Mary, Michael and Lucifer* is a book well worth reading, especially for its original treatment of the interpenetration of gender and religion in rural Mexico. In addition, his ethnographic descriptions of the various aspects of Mexican folk

religion, including the ceremonial cycle, death rituals, healing, and godparenthood, are clear and richly detailed. Since Ingham writes without jargon or pretension, his book is accessible and will be of interest to the general reader as well as to specialists in Latin American and religious studies.

***Santa María del Monte: The Presence of the Past in a Spanish Village.* RUTH BEHAR. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986. xvii + 409 pp., tables, illustrations, appendixes, notes, glossary, references, index. \$30.00 (cloth).**

SUSAN TAX FREEMAN  
University of Illinois at Chicago

Santa María del Monte is a farm village in the uplands of the province of León, at the mountainous northern margin of Spain's central *meseta*. Ruth Behar's book focuses on good series of documents preserved in and about Santa María and other villages of the zone and on those aspects of social life that correspond with areas for which documentation exists. The study is therefore confined principally to the topics of customary law in the areas of inheritance and succession, on the domestic level, and, on the community level, local administration. The species of village community of which Santa María is a member is already well documented in the literature on Spain, and Behar's special commitment is to the exploration of the documents themselves, which is also, as she says, "rooted in dialogue with contemporaries" (p. 6)—that is, the product of fieldwork. The book's strength, then, is in the presentation of the documentary history and detail on certain aspects of Santa María's ethnography.

Following an introduction to the region, there are sections on the village house and family estates, particularly regarding their passage through the generations; the town council as assembly, polity, and moral presence; the "web of use-rights," or tradition of collective agro-pastoral management, with the array of customary property and access rights and managerial obligations that lie at the heart of open-field and related systems of "agrarian collectivism." These are followed by a section exploring the activity of documentation itself, a concern that runs through the text; an epilogue on change in the traditional agricultural base as well as other very contemporary changes; and appendixes that include some statistics on Santa María's population and economy and two life histories written by informants at Behar's request.

The chapters on the house as a physical structure, its "archeology" reflecting its manipulation through the succession of various generations, and the traditions of partible inheritance and property administration that govern the establishment (at marriage) and transmission of the house and other private property offer a superb, detailed portrait of the operation of this particular partible system with all its nuances. The nature of such systems is not new to Iberianists, nor are the mechanisms in use to effect property divisions or the making of marriage portions, but Behar's use of "kitchen" documents

(basically those of private, not public, ownership) enriches our knowledge of the attending issues in their varied detail.

The examination of the town council as assembly, polity, and moral presence is based upon similar—but publicly held—series of documents, but this subject is not so well served, as the tripartite division is artificial and, further, Behar fails to plumb deeply enough the relationship between *concejo* and community. She treats the latter as something of a reflex of the former, when the case should be reversed. Similarly, the "web of use-rights"—common holdings, common herds, common woods, access and obligations to all of these—is not analytically separable from the matters of council and community. Its mechanical separation as subject matter (a writer's necessity) is not redressed at the analytical level. Perhaps this failure is due in part to the absence of any specific focus on Santa María's religious life, where issues of integration might expectably be joined. There is, however, a detailed and most welcome analysis of the history of Santa María's commonlands and a fine overview of the increasing incursions of the Spanish state into the community's agro-pastoral affairs. Santa María is a case (among others in the literature, but this one more extensively documented) in which commons persisted following the disamortization acts of the first half of the 19th century, and historians of that period will find important material in these pages. The book as a whole will find grateful readers among scholars of local and agrarian history, customary law, and geography as well as anthropology; it is handsomely presented, painstakingly detailed, and sensitively written.

An anthropologist is privileged to have access to the living sources of history, that is, to the behavioral wellsprings of the subject matter that traditionally has fallen to the historian to interpret. The growth of the field of social history has brought those who work principally with written records to seek out the behavioral context from which those records emerge. In her study of Santa María, Behar has in large part surrendered the anthropological privilege in favor of, first, a study confined by the topical limits of the documentary record alone and, second, a theoretical focus on the subject *documents* at the expense of wider contextual inquiry that would speak better to the needs of readers in both history and anthropology.

On the first point, while Behar plumbs the "kitchen" documents and those relating to the corporate village preserved locally and in outside archives, she has limited her study to the documentary history of what we might call, in brief, property law and management on the domestic and village levels. It would even be inaccurate to say that the topics of study are confined by the availability of records, for we learn very little of how and where the people of Santa María marry, or of their festivals and devotions—topics about which relevant records exist. We know little of judiciary matters beyond cases of corporate involvement, though these are normally recorded. One extensive case regarding use of the commons is an important contribution. It is not that these topics are not treated at all, but they are treated incidentally, and therefore not systematically, and our anthropological sense of the