LEAVE US ALONE, WE DO NOT WANT YOUR HELP. LET US LIVE OUR LIVES; INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE AND ETHNOGENESIS IN NUEVA VIZCAYA (COLONIAL MEXICO)

Juan Manuel Rivera Acosta

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of St Andrews

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Juan Manuel Rivera Acosta

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the people of Nueva Vizcaya’s history of resistance to incorporation into the state during the colonial age, and how this history is connected to the contemporary context in the Sierra Tarahumara. To do this, I use and frame the concepts of community, resistance, violence, ethnogenesis, territory and history as intertwined in such a way that the Sierra Tarahumara and its inhabitants cannot be completely disassociated one from another.

By looking at the engagements between colonizers and native people of the colonial North of the Nueva España -Tarahumara and other native indigenous people of the Sierra Madre Occidental- in history, and frame the narratives about these historical encounters, drawing colonial accounts, modern narratives and other sources, I contest in this work, allows to frame indigenous societies agency in history.

In addition, this thesis endeavors to engage with the broader discussion about ethnogenesis, indigenous resistance to colonialism, native community and ecological conflicts in Nueva Vizcaya and in the Sierra Tarahumara.

Finally, this research wants to make sense of the contemporary conflicts over land rights that indigenous communities of the Sierra Tarahumara face today, and connect them with the history of the colonial encounters of the people of the Nueva Vizcaya. I propose that these encounters, in the colonial time of the conquest of the Nueva Vizcaya, and in the national period, are largely a consequence of a colonial process of ethnogenesis that taxonomically indexed native people in categories related to colonial labor needs and control over the territory, which I frame as tarahumarización and raramurización.
Acknowledgements

This thesis, all the studies that preceded it, and my stay abroad would not have been possible without the support of my loving family. My mother, Ana Silvia Acosta Rodriguez have encouraged me to pursue my aspirations, and my sisters Laura Gabriela and Ana Silvia have been there for me always, and showed me that despite the adversities in life it is possible to overcome any adversity. I also thank my late grandfathers, Jose Armando and Ana Graciela, who taught me about the importance of the family and to keep them close. To my aunts, uncles, and cousins, ¡gracias por todo!

I also thank many people who had helped, guided, and supported. Ana Paula Pintado provided a copy of her thesis and offered all the help necessary to understand better the Sierra Tarahumara, for which I am in a big debt. In this same sense, Antonio Reyes, has been a good friend who provided guidance and shared his field work experiences with me in St Andrews. Ernesto Vargas Pacheco listened to my limited archaeological understanding rant about North Mexico and did his best to help me understand it better, for which I am very grateful.

I owe much to Mark Harris for being my supervisor. His encouragement, guidance, comments, and patience, as well as that of my other supervisor, Tristan Platt, allowed me to pursue a project that has been both, challenging and satisfying. I would also like to thank Joanna Overing and her husband Napier Russell for their incredible kindness and for making Scotland a friendlier place.

I also thank all the participants of the writing-up seminars in St Andrews for their comments, critiques, and the shared moments in and outside our offices. I thank Karolina Kuberska, Philip Cow, Christopher Hewllet, Juan Pablo
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And to the many I forgot to mention that have helped along the way, thank you, gracias!
Indigenous uprisings in Nueva Vizcaya from 1599 to 1697

1599
The Tarahumara people rebelled in the territory of Nueva Vizcaya. The alleged causes were native people mistreatment and the influence of the sorcerers who made the native people raise and caused a general massacre of the Spanish population.

1616
Tarahumara and Tepehuan people in Durango revolted due to the influence of an indigenous preacher wandering from village to village talking against the Spaniards and the Catholic religion. His calling to restore the lost freedom made indigenous people stay raised for almost one year.

1621
Tarahumara and Tepehuan people raised in Nueva Vizcaya against Spanish colonial rule, killing white people and their indigenous allies, looting and burning the haciendas.

1635
A Tarahumara and Tepehuan revolt takes place against the colonial government.

1646
In Sonora, the Tarahumara revolted in a war guerrilla-like, attacking farms and other Spanish villages, it lasted about two years later.

1648
Tarahumara rising again in Chihuahua against the Spaniards, skilfully using guerrilla-like tactics. They are 'pacified' and forced to settle in missions and mission villages.

1651
Spanish people, tired of Tarahumara uprisings, decided to set their houses, and fields on fire, the response from the indigenous side was to kill all the white people.

1652
Led by Gabriel Teporame, Tarahumara people attack again, rebelling against Spanish rule, they were defeated a year later.

1662
Chihuahua is the scenario of another Tarahumara attempt to end Spanish rule. The rebellion was led by the indigenous leader Teporaca, condemned to the gallows after being defeated.

1689

In Chihuahua, the Tarahumara and Tepehuan people rise against Spanish mistreatment in the mines. As result of this, there was one missionary was killed and a rebellion that lasted until another missionary managed to reduce them.

1690

The Tarahumara revolted against in opposition to the use of their land to rising corn, in addition to the general discontent.

1697

Tarahumara along with Apaches, Janos, and Jocomes peoples, raise in the territory of Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo Mexico. They attacked a Spanish settlement stealing some horses, Spanish people faced them but were defeated, this revolt was commanded by the chief Pablo Quihué.
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Introduction

“Leave us alone, we do not want your help. Let us live our lives” (Aguirre, 1994: 36 y Gómez, 1948: XIX-XXI apud Sariego 2000: 370). This disconsolate statement of the indigenous governor of Mesa de Guachochi, Josecito Aguirre, a member of the Tarahumara Supreme Council (Consejo Supremo Tarahumara), was said on the day that marked the formation of the indigenous organisation of which he was part of the leadership in 1939. Josesito’s words portray the disconsolate feelings of many indigenous people in Mexico, and specifically, of those living in the Sierra Tarahumara.

There are many reasons why indigenous people in Mexico are famous (or infamous). They do not speak fluent Spanish, nor do they have a good education, and they are economically poor. These elements lead to them being perceived as backwards, and linked to pre-colonial times and practices in the Mexican social imaginary. They are the reminders of a past stage in history that refuses to disappear, meaning indigenous people are in need of assistance in order to be incorporated into modern Mexican Society. In the words of Alicia Barabas, native people before 1994 -the year of the Zapatista uprising, ‘[W]ere associated with no civilized life and a lack of skills’ (Barabas 2000: 18), this was particularly so, for large sections of the political class and civil society’. There is a modern narrative of the good Indian, in which past native people, those who built powerful States and were then conquered, have nothing to do with those indigenous people that beg for money on the streets of any big city in Mexico. ‘In the imagination of the

average Mexican person, the savage Indian dwells in distant borders, while closer indigenous people are imagined in a distorted form, folkloric, or simply ridiculed’ (ibid.). While I agree with Baraba’s view about the way the Zapatista movement brought up an imaginary of indigenous people and revitalised it, thus generating a new movement where indigenous worldviews are better addressed by the government, and politicians have to include the ‘good savage’ in political agendas to tackle the ‘indigenous issue’. Yet, the imaginary of the native indigenous people as barbarous people that lack civilisation, and are reticent to be part of the Mexican state persists, especially so towards native peoples outside the Mesoamerican borders, bringing to the fore a colonialist narrative upon which the imaginary of the Indian was created five hundred years ago with the arrival of the Europeans to America.

The fall of the capital city of the Mexica people is generally regarded as the reference point for the end of the pre-Hispanic world, following a three-part historical periodization, pre-conquest, colonial, and republican periods, marking the start of what would later become México. The arrival of Europeans created the narrative of a Mexico in a historical movement onwards where ethnic identities are blurred and laying at the edges of the Mexican culture. It is in this sense that I find the words of Olivia Harris (1995) about the arrival of the whites very important for the understanding of how indigenous people have been historicized in Latin America, and specifically in Mexico; ‘The arrival of the whites should be investigated as a transcendental event upon whose axis history is created from which fundamental categories of periodization and identity are derived’ (ibid.: 16). While 1521, the year of the fall of Tenochtitlan is transcendental in the national historical narrative, it certainly says almost nothing about those people that were not living under the rule of the Mexica.

Since the second half of the sixteen century Spaniards sent expeditions to scout the territories in the north -the north from a Ciudad-De-Mexico-centric view-, in preparation
for further colonisation expeditions. They found that territory was inhabited by stateless people who were never conquered by the Mexica. Eventually, the Spaniards managed to consolidate an extractive frontier in the north, but it would take the Europeans many years of wars and insurrections, to subjugate to a degree where it was possible for them to have a sustained trade, the indigenous people of the north. A complete conquest or pacification of these people was never completely achieved. Indigenous people escaping from Spanish domination would take refuge in the mountains, while others rose against the invaders and some were integrated into the mestizo culture. Those who moved into the mountains have remained there for many centuries on the fringes of the State and its ‘official’ history. If Mexican history underrepresents indigenous people it is even worse for those people in the Sierra Madre Occidental, or Sierra Tarahumara in vernacular. They have largely been overlooked by the state and its institutions. After the end of the era of the missions, when the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish territories, in the eighteenth century, they remained almost isolated for more than a hundred years only having some contact with communities of mestizos for commercial trading and seeking temporary employment. In many ways, they continue to be the image of the savage in modern times. Not all of them speak Spanish and have little appreciation for material goods. Further, they are some of the poorest people in Mexico, which is very often attributed to their lack of understanding about how western economics work, in the newspapers and in official statements.

Nonetheless, the title of this thesis; ‘Leave us alone, we do not want your help. Let us live our lives’, part of a statement made by one indigenous governor, is very clear in regards to what they want from white people and the Mexican government. In a way, it talks about the history of centuries of abuse by their mestizo neighbours, the despoliation of their lands, and of the sorts of engagement they have had with powerful outsiders, the western political sphere, over time. This thesis looks at these engagements in
history and tries to frame such statement as part of broader narratives about the historical encounters of - by drawing colonial accounts, modern narratives and other sources - Tarahumara and other native indigenous people of the Sierra Madre Occidental with outsiders that have shaped the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara. This thesis endeavours to engage with the broader discussion about ethnogenesis, indigenous resistance to colonialism, native community and ecological conflicts in Nueva Vizcaya and in the Sierra Tarahumara. These subjects have already covered, in individual works, focusing on one or more of these subjects at the time by Ralph Beals (1944); Beatriz Braniff Cornejo (1992); Chantal Cramausel (2000); Susan Deeds (2003); William Merrill (1988); Ana Paula Pintado Cortina (2010); Juan Luis Sariego (2000); Edward Spicer (1962); Robert Zingg and John Kennedy (1978), just to mention a few of the authors this thesis tries to dialogue with at different moments, and have been an inspiration for this research.

While Tarahumara people in the present are gaining some international fame for their physical endurance, as portrayed in Christopher McDougall’s ‘Born to run; a hidden tribe, superathletes and the greatest race the world has never seen’, their physical capabilities have long been known in Mexico. They are reputed to be extremely good hill runners, capable of running fast for hours, and are known by the nickname, ‘the fleet-footed runners’. In the past because of their physical capabilities and the use of caves as shelters they have been regarded as ‘the living caveman of Mexico’ (Lumhottz 1986: vol I, XIV). Another characteristic of the Tarahumara people is their mild character. In Mexico today, they are known for their peaceful and shy character, which is contrasted to the famous indigenous savage of the past that rebelled against the Spaniards, set missions on fire and killed women and children. What this thesis looks at is how this change can be explained, using ethnohistorical accounts to explore indigenous resistance in the past and connect it with the contemporary ethnic landscape and conflicts.
native people face today, looking at issues bound to ethnicity, ethogenesis and ethnocide, at their link with violence and western economic activities in the Sierra Tarahumara.

What this thesis is about

This thesis connects ethnohistorical documents about Nueva Vizcaya indigenous people’s resistance with the ethnographic landscape of the modern groups that inhabit the Sierra Tarahumara to fill the gap pointed out by Serge Gruzinsky (Gruzinsky 1993) when he suggests that anthropologists have systematically missed out the period of the Spanish domination that transformed Mexico, dismissing in a few pages processes of greatest complexity, one that shaped the cultural identities of every culture involved during the process of ‘Europeanization’.²

This research wants to makes sense of the contemporary conflicts over land rights that indigenous communities of the Sierra Tarahumara face, and connect them with the history of the colonial encounters of the people of the Nueva Vizcaya. I propose that these encounters, in the colonial time of the conquest of the Nueva Vizcaya, and in the national period, are largely a consequence of a colonial process of ethogenesis that

² It was a Europeanization more than Hispanicizing process, for it implied codes, models, techniques and policies that went beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula, whether it was a question of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the Counter-Reformation or the undertakings of Charles V’s missionaries. Europeanization cannot be reduced to the accidents of Christianization and the imposition of the colonial system; it gave life to more profound and determining processes: the evolution of the representation of the person and relations between persons, the transformation of figurative and graphic codes, of means of expression and transmission of knowledge, the transformation of temporality and belief, and finally the redefinition of the imaginary and the real in which the Native people were committed to expressing themselves and to surviving, constrained or fascinated (Gruzinsky 1993: 283).
taxonomically indexed native people in categories related to colonial labour needs and control over the territory, which I frame as tarahumarización and raramurización. The ethnicities created in western narratives during the colonial encounters, generally accept the modern ethnic landscape as the result of relations of power between dominant and conquered societies, folding native people’s agency in history and reducing conflicts over territory and access to political representation to the arena of power relationships. As it is, the historicity of the ethnic groups of the Sierra Tarahumara do not capture the agency of native people in the process of forced acculturation indigenous societies went through during this period, reifying indigenous people in the documents to just another element in the history of the conquest without any agency. This has permeated the academic narrative regarding the colonisation of colonial northern Mexico where the native people who settled in the mission communities appeared as one-dimensional shadows, as mere backdrops to the missionaries, who are the important actors in this history (Jackson 1995: x).

Apart from the mission studies, the ones on “borderlands” started by Herbert E. Bolton in the first decades of the last century, based on the frontier Indian policy and the mission as the key elements of the conquest, those followed by his students John Bannon S.J. and Peter M. Dunne, S.J., both Jesuit historians, have been the other trend on the historiography of the region. They were followed by other scholars who wrote institutional history from the perspective of the Spaniards. Yet the resistance process that allowed indigenous societies to survive the colonial plundering of their lands and forced them into the missions remained highly understated.

What this thesis aims at, is to see indigenous people’s resistance in the documents and in modern ethnographies as an expression of agency and how it is reflected in their engagements with dominant societies. This I propose will lead to an understanding of how indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara are framed in specific narratives, external
to them, where epistemologically their stateliness and social practices are rendered (and kept) as savage and backwards. By doing this, I argue, it will be possible to have a better understanding of indigenous communities and their way of putting themselves in a central position in the relationship with the outside, which builds on Peter Gow’s assertion (1991) that ‘native american peoples are active historical agents, and to see their agency, we must understand the cultural meanings of their actions, both now and in the past’ (ibid.: 3).

To do so, I have divided this thesis in two parts. In the first part, chapter one presents the physiography of the Sierra Tarahumara and its neighbouring environments to portray the scenario where the events explored in this research occur. Also, in this chapter, I present a brief overview of the pre-contact archaeological data and renderings of pre-contact northern societies from archaeology to frame narratives of ecological determinism that are found in studies about native societies of the north. Chapter two, in turn, provides a historical review of the encounters of native people of the Sierra Tarahumara with outsiders, and lists the conflicts resulting of those encounters, stressing accounts of violence. This chapter also presents some of the conflicts the indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara are facing over access and ownership of land today.

The second part of this thesis, chapters three, four, five and six, explore narratives in ethnohistorical documents regarding the conversion of indigenous people and their violent resistance, and consults other contemporary resources in order to explain the transition of the groups and the possible changes in the socio-political and cosmological practices due to ethnogenesis, as tarahumarización and raramurización.

In Chapter Three, I recount a historical uprising in 1616 lead by a Tepehuan leader that would shake the colonial system in the north. I use the Spanish narrative of the event to bring to the fore indigenous elements of resistance. In this chapter, I also analyse the taxonomical division and consequences it had on the indigenous people that
embodied imposed ethnicities. I argue that it did so to deceive the Spanish rule, and to be able to maintain what were more relevant for them, their sociability, and their worldview.

Chapter 4, in turn looks at ethnogenesis as *tarahumarización*. This chapter presents the historicity of Tarahumara and Tepehuan as ethnic categories though which the territory of the Nueva Vizcaya was ordered following labour needs, which allow us to see the problematic that arises when trying to connect modern ethnic groups with those the records describe in the missions. This chapter also addresses the issue of ethnocide, in terms of the disappearance of *naciones*, or ethnicities, as the consequence of the encounters of native people and outsiders from colonial documents. Chapter 5 looks at *raramurización*, as complementary to *tarahumarización*, as a framework for exploring native communities as the negotiations of spaces in the Nueva Vizcaya which link with the modern landscape of conflicts over territory. Furthermore, this chapter also addresses the issue of what is at stake in contemporary ecological conflicts, to connect them with the colonial ordering of the territory through the missions and the settlement of native people in communities in and around missions and Spanish villages.

Finally, Chapter 6 looks at colonial narratives of violence, and how these intertwine with *raramurización* and *tarahumarización* to explore indigenous resistance and the transformation of the native community of the Sierra Tarahumara through the history of the encounters of native people with western society.

Part 2 deals with ethnogenesis during the colonial period and how it is relatable to the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara. In this part I introduce *tarahumarización* and *raramurización* as a framework to explore how indigenous people would self-subscribe to Spanish-made ethnicities in order to be perceived as having certain moral qualities Spaniards thought necessary to be classified as friendly in opposition to the savage enemies which needed to be forced to acculturate. It is my suggestion that
the ethnogenesis that took place during the colonial period created narratives that have been perpetuated in the way indigenous people of this region are understood and western society engages with native local people through time. Here I follow Neil Whitehead’s (1996) proposition in order to understand ethnogenesis and ethnocide as complementary aspects to understand the socio-political organisation and related cultural categories veiled as ethnicities (ibid: 34). What I am referring to here is that although war and disease indeed killed many indigenous people, they do not explain the reasons for the disappearance of multiple nations during the colonial age. But indigenous self-ascription to western made identities, which were based on notions of how people are related to the alleged tarahumarización process, is used by the indigenous people to counteract the acculturation process. I argue that ethnogenesis rather than ethnocide does a better job at explaining the transformation of the ethnic landscape and the continuation of indigenous sociality based on intra-cultural relationships that existed prior to the conquest during the colonial period. I think that tarahumarización and raramurización, clarify and address, for Nueva Vizcaya, the issue of power in conjunction with that of ethnicity Whitehead poses as central to understand ‘the historical process of identity formation’ (ibid.: 34-35).

**Limits of the study:**

Although this research is framed in a historical context, it is not an attempt to write a history of the rebellions carried out by the indigenous communities from the Nueva Viz-
This area has been thoroughly explored by historians, and it is out of my reach to try to offer new information on them. It strives to make a historical ethnography of the socio-cultural conditions that led the indigenous communities to rebel and to give an account, from the analytical point of view offered by anthropology, of the documents left behind by the different Spanish institutions, from which I argue, the voices of the indigenous communities, their claims, and the cultural, political, and economical changes can be unearthed. On the other hand, I draw on ethnographical material gathered by Mexican and foreign anthropologists that have carried out work in the Sierra Tarahumara to make the connections with the historical documents I gathered during my research in archives in Mexico and Spain. Many of the documents I used have already been published somewhere else. In these cases I make mention of the source, indented in the citation. Furthermore, whenever this is the case, I indicate it in the bibliography section of this thesis and in the footnote, that accompanies the text in Spanish. Also, while I did almost all the translations from Spanish to English, there are a few documents recovered by Adolph Bandelier in ‘Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773’ published in 1923 after his death already translated into English. When I cite one of these documents, which I could not find in the consulted archives, I have relied on the English translations. Its source is duly noted in

the citation as in (Bandelier 1929). Additionally, I have used Jesuit Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas' edited work: 'Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe entre gentes las más bárbaras, y fieras de nuestro orbe’, as a secondary source. His important work about the native people of the north was published originally in 1645 in Spanish. Daniel T. Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard K. Danford made a translation to English of Perez de Ribas work in 1999 under the title ‘History of The Triumphs of Our Holy Faith Amongst the Most Barbarous and Fierce Peoples of the New World’. When I use Perez de Ribas' accounts from this book, I treat them like a secondary source, and I do not make a translation English to Spanish. In these cases the source is cited as: (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]).

Methodology

A variety of sources exist which allow the researcher to reconstruct the life of the missions and document the changes experienced by the native people gathered there. Many of these were written by missionaries or by government officials who oversaw the development of the mission and reported their progress. They give us information and can answer many questions but they give rise to many others.

Some of these documents are vivid reflections of the dominant mentality of the age, especially the descriptions given after the first contact with the conquistadores; filled by fantastic, hyperbolic, or fabulous tales that ‘mythified the American countryside and its people’ (Florescano 1994: 67). These authors ‘were inflamed by an imagination that sought in the new lands the confirmation of the riches and portents born in European fantasy’ (Ibid.).
These ‘informants’ are not ones with which we can establish a normal conversation, but one that with their intentional or unintentional gaps in the information they provide, coupled with an analysis of the history of the document itself, can provide us with enough information to carry out the research. It is through theory and interpretation that the documents need to be analysed in order to obtain answers to the questions we ask them. It is through analysis like the one proposed by Gabriela Coronado, or what she refers to as social semiotics in which she emphasises the functions and the social uses of the signifying system and the complex intertwining of the meaning system, the complex relations among the semiotic systems in social practice and all the factors that intervene in their constitutions and its goals (Coronado 2009). By taking account of the background where the document was produced, the background of the people that produce it, and the different stages of the production of the document, as part of a discourse, where it is possible to see the intertextuality contained in it, will lead us to understand that the document by itself it is not raw history, that we do not have ‘pure data’, only different perspectives which make a discourse, data to be surrendered to the critique of the historian (Platt et al 2006: 14).

In turn, anthropological studies set in a historical time frame are not new. This trend has been explored since the 1960s when history took a turn towards cultural anthropology. A good example of this is the work of George Duby; The legend of the Bowines (Duby 1973), in which he draws on Marcel Mauss and Bronislaw Malinowski’s work on the function of gifts to try to understand the economic history of the early Middle Ages. And since these early raids from history to anthropology by the Annales school, from time to time there have been more serious attempts to consolidate this blending, such as ‘historical anthropology’ or ‘anthropological history’ (Burke 1990: 80).

This, in turn, opened up a new set of opportunities to explore the history of the ‘people without history’, to uncover the history of ‘primitives’, peasants, labourers, immi-
grants, and besieged minorities (Wolf 1997: XVI). This view of anthropology, as making historical ethnographies, has made possible the enterprise of filling the gaps that have historically been left out by anthropology and history, making it possible to talk about the Mayan social organisation and how it changed from the peoples that built the pyramids to the peoples that grow maize in the villages which today surround the archaeological sites, and the sociocultural change that took place under colonial rule (Farris 1984: ix), or the ways historical Nahua people used to incorporate the foreign and make it fit into their way of telling history and how this is reflected in the Mesoamerican traditional writings or codex, and how these writings, in turn, show their view of the ‘others’ portraying the Spanish, in a native way of writing, and by doing so, ‘indigenous historians constructed identities for their communities and memories to preserve for the future generations a heritage of active participation and native orchestration of crucial events’ (Wood 2003: 21-22).

Terry Cook reminds us that the social or collective memory has been formed haphazardly throughout history, the archives are not “crystal houses” where the collective ‘re-membering’ has been held. Much was forgotten, deliberately or accidentally; the archives had their institutional origins in the ancient world as agents for legitimising power and for marginalising those without power (Cook 1997: 19). The search for social identity, power relations and authority within colonial written sources is a quest after the speech of the subaltern where the predominant ideology is usually that of a dominant group (Janusek 2004: 5). Subalterns ‘speak’ throughout the European accounts only in meted reference, clipped words, distorted speech (Stoller 2009: 186); what Scott (1990) refers to as ‘hidden transcripts’; the ‘vision of the vanquished’ lays between lines, in small nuggets of information lodged within litigation records, census materials, and the humdrum of documents of notarial books and parish registers (Abercrombie 1998: xxiii).
Another problem brought to discussion in the specialised literature on the region, or the subjects, is that following the expulsion of the Jesuits, many of the records entrusted to the new authorities, either secular or religious, were lost during the subsequent wars in Mexico. So, while there are records scattered around the world in archives in Italy, Spain, United States and in the hands of private collectors in regards to the native people of the Nueva Vizcaya, much of the information on the missions, trials and military actions is gone for good, leaving serious gaps that had to be filled with some hypothesising and connections with contemporary native exegesis from ethnographical resources.
MAPS
Ethnic groups and municipalities of The Sierra Tarahumara. (Gotez 2010:19)
Map of the three regions of the Sierra Tarahumara (Guerrero, Montes y Camou, 2002 apud Pintado :60).
Missions of the Low Tarahumara with native people’s territories (Decorme 1941)
Map of the Nueva Vizcaya with cities and rivers (Deeds 2009)
Anonymous map of the Nueva Vizcaya. (Archivo General de Indias, MP-MEXICO, 121)
Part I
Introduction

Today, The Sierra Tarahumara in Chihuahua, Northern Mexico, is home to approximately 165,000 indigenous people of different ethnicities (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo - PNUD 2010). Historically, the indigenous communities inhabiting this region (the O’oba (Pimas bajos), Ódami (Tepehuanes del norte), Rarámuri (Tarahumaras), and Warijó), which make up the ethnic landscape of the Sierra, because of colonial and post-colonial processes of resistance to being incorporated into a State, have been understood in terms of poverty, lack of material culture, and the space they live in, which is opposed in many ways to the agricultural valleys of the central high plains.

Using a variety of sources, Part I of the thesis presents different narratives about the Sierra Madre Occidental or Sierra Tarahumara, and its native people. This part of the study endeavours to answer a question posed by Ralph Beals in 'The Comparative Ethnology Of Northern Mexico Before 1750' (1973) about what we know about the native people of northern Mexico, particularly the native people of the colonial period, who survive as distinctive ethnicities to today. In response to this, I propose that first it should

1 Jose Luis Sariego (2000) notes for the census of 1990, an indigenous population of 90,000 inhabitants in the Sierra Tarahumara which, despite the increasing violence because of the activities of drug cartels in the region (ibid 2000: 13), shows a sustained growth in the number of indigenous inhabitants from previous censuses. Ana Paula Pintado (2011) attributes this growth partly to the role played by the then National Institute for Indigenous affairs, INI (Instituto Nacional Indigenista), and to its successor, the National Commission for the development of the Indigenous People, CDI (Comision nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indigenas), in developing strategies to assist the indigenous communities: 'This growth has been driven by the development of the Coordinating Center of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) now, Comision Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indigenas (CDI) and by the services offered by them' (Pintado 2011: 50).
be clarified that when we talk about the Sierra Tarahumara native people, we cannot separate them from the ecological and physiographical space they live in and interact with every day. This natural landscape has undergone changes alongside the socio-historical development of the native people for hundreds of years.

Chapter 1 presents the physiography of the space of the Western Sierra Madre and its neighbouring spaces which will help to situate it within its geographical context in relation to other regions of Mexico. This chapter is also a way to present a western narrative of classificatory systems in the sense of types of peoples who have inhabited the sierra and have formed different archaeological, historical, ethnohistorical landscapes. It also works as the foundation for presenting more detailed ethnohistorical and ethnographic material that will be used to analyse tarahumarizacion and raramurizacion, introduced in Chapter 2. This constitutes the core of Part 2 of this thesis. Both concepts are used to frame in more detail the transformation of the native groups of the Sierra Tarahumara, their movements and resistances, and the narratives around them.

Chapter 2 makes and a brief ensemble of history of the indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara, and their encounters and conflicts with outsiders over time. Firstly, Tarahumara encounters with missionaries, followed by miners, colonisers, mestizos, and other agents; in other words, outsiders that had a key impact on the configuration of the present ethnic landscape. It is not the purpose of the chapter to present a definitive history of the encounters and relations of the native people with outsiders. This is for several reasons. Firstly, accomplished histories of these encounters have been written by historians in possession of the analytical tools and historical resources fit to piece together the history of the area in the accumulative, period-after-period sense. By this I mean that I do not feel prepared (nor at any moment was it my intention) to pursue this challenging objective. Secondly, the aim of this chapter is to provide the context for, and stress, the conflicts and how they are understood, from an outsider’s viewpoint, and
to define an elusive other that seems to shift position, justifying specific ways of engagement at different times throughout the recorded western history of this area.

The second part of Chapter 2 aims to frame contextually the historical and socio-political conflicts that ensued after the encounter of differentiated worldviews - indigenous and European - that contested differentiated uses of the territory of the Nueva Vizcaya. The expansionist enterprise of Europeans in America brought about immense changes in the ethnic configuration of indigenous societies. The reconfiguration that took place in the Nueva Vizcaya is explained in terms of violence, resistance, and negotiation that allows us to explore the possibility of connecting native colonial people with the modern ethnic landscape and with modern ecological conflicts. Additionally, this chapter presents the historicity of Tarahumara and Tepehuan as ethnic categories, which allow us to see the problematic that arises when trying to connect modern ethnic groups with those the records describe in the missions. The aim of this is to establish the relationship between contemporary groups of the Sierra Tarahumara and those of the historical records, and the problems that these native groups face today.
Chapter 1

La Sierra Tarahumara

‘The steepest places have always been the asylum of liberty’ (Barón de Tott. apud Braudel 1949: 48).

Praised by Luis Gonzales Rodriguez (1979) as the most beautiful place in the state of Chihuahua, ‘with natural beauties [...] comparable to any other anywhere in the world’, this part of The Western Sierra Madre is one of the iconic landscapes of north-western Mexico. It stands in opposition in almost every possible way to that of the high plateau down central Mexico. Beginning with climate, the high plateau has a predominant temperate weather, while in La Sierra Madre Occidental there are a range of different climates that go from the dry of the western slopes to a tropical type in the depth of its canyons. From flora and fauna to agricultural potential, almost everything is different from the former to the latter.

Most popularly known in Mexico as La Sierra Tarahumara, this vast chain of successive mountains, high plateaus, valleys and canyons run from the Grand Canyon, in the US, well into the Mexican state of Chihuahua along its western side, marking its border with its neighbouring states.

Visually, the geography of La Tarahumara is astonishing, the altitude slowly increases from the plateau of the city of Chihuahua at 1300 metres until it reaches 3300 meters at the Moho inora peak, the tallest point of the Sierra, located near the middle of the moun-
tainous chain eastwards. In this ascent, the landscape goes from that of the arid desert to typical high mountain forest. Near the middle part of the mountains, towards the southern region, characteristic land folds of the Sierra give shape to a series of steep canyons with depressions of about 500 meters above sea level at the bottom of its ravines, where windy rivers run along. Back in the top of the rugged area, the canyons and high valleys give way to slopes descending towards the Pacific Ocean. And the landscape transitions from that of the cold of the high mountain back to the dryness of the desert again.

The Sierra Madre itself is a tertiary and post-tertiary volcanic formation, consisting mostly of soft toba (dried volcanic ash) that dries easily. It has the form of a high and rugged plateau. The highest point is on the eastern slope. For the most part, the mountainous chain is a series of succeeding peaks and plateaus, where the soft toba has been protected by a horizontal curtain of harder volcanic rock (Zing 1986: 49). This mountainous formation runs along more than 500 kilometres, with an average width of about 115 kilometres and an area totalling approximately 1,200 kilometres of which a large portion corresponds to the area of the canyons formed by water flows and rock wear. The average height of the La Tarahumara is about 2,275 metres. It runs from Arizona, in the United States, down to the state of Nayarit, in Mexico. Surrounded by desert plains almost in every direction, La Tarahumara offers a remarkable visual contrast to the flatness of the landscape around it.

The arid plains surrounding La Tarahumara, occupy a large part of the highlands of northern Mexico (González, 1992). And is part of the widespread aridity of the region proposed by Linda Cordell (1984), who defines it as the common denominator of various ecosystems in north Mexico and the south-west United States. Eastern Chihuahua
predominantly has a climate catalogued as dry and very dry.\(^1\) Further away from the arid region, towards the middle region of Chihuahua, well-watered agricultural valleys follow the western edge of the Sierra Madre, forming an urbanised and agricultural cluster that is an important part of the economic activities of the economic circuits in which the state of Chihuahua plays an important role as an agricultural region for the country.\(^2\) Then, south and westwards of the mountains, again arid plains dominate the view.

Extreme physiographical contrasts are reflected in the sierra in many ways,\(^3\) the weather being one of the most salient as it changes remarkably from one place to another very swiftly, making it an interesting differentiator between different environments. For instance, in the canyons area, in the town of Batopilas on the banks of the river Batopilas the average temperature is 24 °C. While in Rumurachi in the municipality of Bocoyna, not too far from there but at a considerable different altitude, almost at 3,000 meters above sea level, the average temperature is 8 °C. The temperature can be as

\(^1\) Dry and very dry in the Köpen classification belong to the BW family of weathers. This is, the kind of weathers particularly of the very dry subtype, but they are not the only climate present in the area as there also of the type semi-warm (bw bw). Further, a less dry weather BS is present in the zone with temperate subtypes BS (or kw), and dry semi-warm (Bs hw), as reported by the Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística, INEGI (Nacional Institute of Geography and Statistics) (1990).

\(^2\) Chihuahua contributes to almost the 4% of the GDP of the country. While agricultural activities come in prominent places for this contribution, the crops grown there taking first and second places in the national production, extractive activities also make up a big part of the state's economic activity. Mining and lumbering activities took the first and second places nationwide for economic contribution to the GDP by state in Mexico in 2013, which is a constant for the state production of such goods (source available at http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/cn/pibe/tabulados.aspx consulted 20/5/2015). All these economic activities are the source of conflicts over land possession coupled with the need for native people's labour through history as will be further elaborated in this research.

contrasting in the sierra that it could be 45 °c in the bottom of the gorges over the summer, while the upper parts have registered the lowest temperatures for the country, in Temosachic, with 15 °c below zero in the winter. Rainfall also indicates the differences between different ecological niches. The average rainfall for Chihuahua is 400 mm. per year, but it also shows considerable variation throughout the Sierra, with less than 300 mm. of rainfall in the eastern plains, and between 500 and 1200 mm. of rainfall in the mountains. (Aboites Aguilar 2011: 17, Gotés, 1991: 21-30).

Hydrologically, the Sierra plays a key role in the preservation of the ecosystems of the region, as it is where the continental divide of the waters occurs. That is, the waters that will run either towards the Gulf of Mexico or towards the Pacific Ocean separate, forming different ecological landscapes in their course that along with other physiographical conditions such as altitude and types of soil, have a major importance in the formation of the many environments in the area. This water-divide generates a network of streams flowing in a general north-south direction, feeding a number of rivers. These hydric flows, over time, have eroded the toba and shaped the ravines and canyons of the Sierra. The mountains in the highlands have been so dissected that large segments of carved out tuff make out a landscape of canyons and ravines, separated by miniature replicas of deeper, more intricately cut canyons (Pennington 1984: 33).

All the rivers of major importance in the region have their origins in the Sierra Tarahumara; to the east, the Conchos River, the most important in the state, runs almost over 600 kilometres. Starting in the Sierra, the Conchos flows down almost 1500 metres from its headwaters until it becomes the Rio Grande, and then runs eastwards to drain its waters into the Gulf of Mexico.

Running in the opposite direction, the relatively geologically young Rivers, according to Schimdt (1994), Yaqui, Mayo, Fuerte and Sinaloa have their headwaters on the east side of the Tarahumara. The Verde River, another main river in the region and tribu-
tary to the Urique, flows over an extensive region of the central part of the Sierra (Zing 1984: 54). All these rivers water the bottom of the ravines upon which they pass through and contribute to a great percentage of the waters of the rivers they are tributaries to, like the Mayo and the Yaqui, both Rivers run in the state of Sonora discharging their waters into the Pacific.

Noted above, the flow of the waters in the highlands have helped to create the ravines and canyons of the Sierra. For example, the Verde River has created through wear and cut a canyon system that is almost as deep and certainly as rugged as the better known Urique Canyon, the Verde Canyon. The Verde Canyon, just as the Urique, has great benches of very resistant volcanic materials which usually have steep escarpments, locally called bufas. (Pennington 1984: 28).

The region of the canyons in the Sierra Madre totals some 80 kilometres in length, with depths approaching the 1,800 metres. One of the most notable is the famous Copper Canyon that together with the Urique, Tararecua, Cuchubéachi, Dolores, Oteros and Candameña form a visually striking octopus-like shape in this region of the Sierra (Gonzales Rodriguez 1974: 3).4

The lower parts of the canyons are characterised by steep slopes and little or no accu-

4 Luis Gonzales (1974) mentions up to fifteen relevant or ‘large’ canyons in the Sierra and states that some of them are not very well-known, even to the people of Chihuahua themselves. A brief list of the most well-known of these remarkable canyons, either for their beauty or their demographic importance, following Gonzales notorious text ‘Las barrancas Tarahumaras’ (ibid) would be: 1) The Copper Canyon -the most well-known, also named locally, Tararecua or Urique. It is formed by the river of the same name, with a length of eighty kilometres and a depth of up to five thousand feet, and is the most notable of the state; 2) Munerachi Canyon, formed by the stream of this same name, in the municipality of Batopilas; 3) Cuchubéachi, also known as San Carlos or La Sinforosa, which is formed by the Green River or Güérachi, between the towns of Batopilas and Guadalupe y Calvo; 4) Dolores Canyon, where the town of Guadalupe y Calvo is located; 5) Senuina, formed by the Chinípas River or Concepción, between the towns of this same name; 6) Uruachi (Gonzales Rodriguez ibid: 3-4).
mulation of soil. The climate gets warmer and wetter, in the descent from the high parts of the mountains until reaching the bottom of the canyons where it becomes typical tropical weather, with its corresponding flora. There, it is possible to find bananas, oranges, lemons, papayas and mangos. Due to the extreme verticality of the cliffs, there are very few areas in the descent that offer a soil deep enough and not with excessive inclination to allow intensive cultivation of any crop including the almost omniscient in North America, maize. In clear contrast to this, the upper slope has a little pronounced inclination gradient, making it possible to build up a thin layer of soil that allows the development of any type of agriculture, to a certain extent (Bennet and Zing 1984).

Easily inferred, the vast extension of the land and its contrasting variability in physiographical, climatological, and edaphological components that make up the Sierra lead to the development of a wide range of flora specimens. The vegetation range of the Sierra goes from the xerophytic to the Cactaceae throughout the mountains and ravines, making it very rich in species and to stand out in remarkable opposition to the surrounding landscape of the desert. In these same lines a typical northern plant, the maguey, makes for a great example of the variability of the species that can be found in the sierra at different heights, and of the role played by the interaction of the elements mentioned above in the characteristics of the vegetable life. Thus, while the maguey plant (Agave sp), is found on a gigantic scale on the arid slopes of the ravines with thick leaves between five feet and six feet long, individuals of rather smaller size, Agave schottii, y A. patoni, grow on the higher grounds of the Sierra, with its leaves measuring from just sixty up to ninety centimetres. (Zing 1974: 52).

Traditionally, the stretch of the Western Sierra Madre known as the Tarahumara has been divided for its study in the Baja, (low), Tarahumara and the Alta, high, Tarahumara. This has followed some archaic criteria dating back to the sixteen century, the time of the missions, when it was divided in such a way by Jesuit missionaries. This division fol-
llows the missionary activities of founding the missions. The Baja Tarahumara stretch, corresponds to the southern part of the sierra, location of the earliest Jesuit missions. The Alta Tarahumara, in turn, the northern part, is where the advance of the missionary action would come at a later moment. This pattern is, as Gotez notes (2000), is often confused with that division made based on geographic and ecological components present in each part of the sierra; ‘in recent times, this same terminology has been in use with a clear topographic distinction, not exempt of geographical inaccuracies: the Alta Tarahumara would include the municipalities with the highest altitudes above sea level […] [while] the Baja comprehends the canyon area’ (Gotez 2000: 27).

For practical reasons, The Sierra Tarahumara, in this study, is presented following a geographic-ecological zones model which divides the territory in three major differentiated areas; The Alta Tarahumara (High Tarahumara), or The Summit; Baja Tarahumara (Low Tarahumara), or The Canyons; and, Las Laderas, The Eastern Slopes. I choose to present the Sierra following the geographical rather than the historical division model devised by the Jesuit missionaries as I think this allows the reader to clearly see differentiated areas of the landscape where historical interactions of the native local people with outsiders took place. That is, this model presents the landscape and its habitants as a heterogeneous tangle of social relations among the native peoples themselves, with

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5 This is a broad division suggested only for practical reasons for this research. However, given the vast area and cultural diversity of La Tarahumara, the sierra can be divided into more regions following different criteria. Example of this would be linguistically into five dialectical zones of the Tarahumara language: 1) The West, which includes the municipalities of Guazapares, Chinipas, Uruachi, Maguarichi and part of Urique and Bocoyna; 2) The North, comprising the municipios of Bocoyna, Guachochi, Urique and Carichi; 3) The Summit, represented by the communities Samachique and Munerachi; 4) The Center region, represented by communities Aboreachi and Guachochi; 5) The South, located in the municipality of Guadalupe y Calvo (Valiñas 2001: 116-17) (Pintado Cortina 2010: 51)
outsiders and with nature. Also, I propose this model better fits the goal of seeing the historical social processes the native people have undergone since the arrival of the Spanish culture. In other words, since the history of these encounters have been recorded in the western narrative in the written history of the area, that can lead to a better understanding of the leading causes of the current ethnic landscape, and to frame the narratives of the encounters of local indigenous people with outsiders. A brief overview of these encounters as found in western narratives is presented in Chapter 2.

Each one of the zones; Alta Tarahumara, Baja Tarahumara and Laderas, contains many different species of plants and animals, depending the physiographic differences present in each of these ecological environments, are very different. As described above, many species can be found throughout the sierra in different sizes. A small number of the most representative fauna and flora is presented below in order to draw an image of the number of resources available in the Sierra. It is worth noting at this point that, because of the many years of human extractive activity in the forms of mining and lumbering activities, starting back in the sixteen century, the landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara has dramatically changed over time, as paleoclimate studies, and other sources report. This translates into fewer natural resources currently available to the native people and crops tending to yield less than in the past.

**Upper Tarahumara or The Summit**

This mountainous area is the more famous of the mountain landscape. With an average altitude of 2270 meters, the Mohinora peak stands at 3250 metres above sea level. (Gonzales Rodrigues 1972) It is mostly covered with green coniferous forests made out of Pines and Oaks. Cougars, wolves and coyotes are - or used to be - found here. This is a logging region with a wet weather. Zing (1978) describes the forestry as simply out-
standing; ‘the forests of timber trees are magnificent [...]. Pines and evergreen Oaks here reach a height of eighteen meters tall and often have a diameter of six meters and a half’. ‘No other country has the variety [of Oaks] found in Mexico. The most common in the region are the Quercus fulva, and Quercus incarnata, the Black Oak’. (Zing 1974: 50)

The hydrography of the region is composed of the Rivers Papigochi, Yaqui, and Moris among many others. The Rivers Verde, Batopilas and Urique also rise herein at the top of the mountains. Both in the valleys and the eastern plains there are several independent hills that cut-out the smooth west-east decline and border a series of plateaus and pockets (Aboites Aguilar 2011: 16-17).

Low Tarahumara or The Canyon

This is the part located between the 500 and 1200 meters above the sea level. The southwestern ravines compose the canyons area in the Sierra Madre Occidental. The vegetation of the Low Tarahumara consists mostly of the shrub type, and some mes-

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6 The 1680 chronicle of the Barrancas by Gian Maria Salvatierra (1648–1711), provides a good account of the characteristics of the canyons and their steep slopes. It also shows that as these missionaries approached the territory, they lacked the categories in most cases to classify what they came across, and experienced it through their senses; trembles, sweat and shivers in surprise or horror are the bodily reactions often listed in these type of records: 'It was such a horror to discover the cliffs that [...] without waiting for an answer, I stop on the side, but I fell on the opposite side of the cliff, I was sweating and trembling with horror with my whole body, as on the left side, there was a depth I could not see the bottom of, and on the right side, some sheer walls of rock ascended in straight line. At the front was the descent, four leagues at least, not descending side-to-side, but violently and steeply, and in a such narrow path that sometimes it was necessary to make advance jumping, as there was no ground on which to set feet. From the top, the whole province of Sinaloa is devised, and the gentiles [people] laid in the middle, surrounded by the Christian missions and the Tarahumara and Tepehuanes [people]. The gorge is very pleasant, and it’s warmer than [in] Sinaloa’ (cf ABZ 348: 1).
quite and cacti. The climate is typical tropical dry type according to the Köppen scale. The altitude variation explains the climatic difference; in the tropical climate there prevails an abundant rainfall. The hydrography is composed by the Rivers Verde, Urique and Batopilas in its middle part, and the Lower Septentrión, Otero and Chínipas Rivers in the deeper parts (Aboites Aguilar 2010: 14).

Along the river banks, there is sufficient huymidity for many typical tropical species to be found. The Ceiba Tree (*Ceiba acuminata*). The big tamarind tree (sweet *Pithecolobium*) is important in the ravines, and elsewhere, because of its edible ring surrounding the seeds. Among the shrubs and herbs from the lowlands of this area are the famous tropical shrub Psidium guava (*jatropha curcas*), and the wild cotton (*Gossypium mexicanum*) (Zing 1974: 52-54).

**Laderas, Eastern Sierra Madre Occidental;**

The Laderas is the portion of the Sierra between 1400 and 1800 metres. It is composed by grassland with forest patches. Also, there are some low-gradient hills in the western part, and river valleys in the eastern part. The vegetation cover is similar to that of the summits, but with a higher density of grassland.

In the shallow gorges of the high rivers, the climate is mild and the pines of the Sierra are displaced by evergreen trees like the Cedar tree, *Juniperus Mexican*, a noticeable large symmetrical tree, and the Douglas tree (*Pseudotsuga mucronata*).

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7 The village of Chinipas, at 515 metres above sea level recorded precipitation of 3400 mm, particularly high and set a historical record for the State of Chihuahua, in the summer of 1959. (Aboites Aguilar 2011)
Nature and History

The Sierra Madre Occidental itself, and the neighbouring areas described above have been a place of human interaction among different local native groups and with the environment since many centuries before the arrival of Europeans. Archaeological data found in the area goes back to circa 10,000 Bc. (Schmidt 1992: 113). This puts the region within those with earliest recorded human activities not only for Mexico but for the continent. However, this obvious local indigenous people’s long-term relationship with their surrounding physical environment, before, during, and after European penetration, tends to be understated as central in the history of the encounters of indigenous peoples with outsiders and many other studies about local native societies of the North. Rather, nature as external to these societies seems to be the focus of these studies.

On the one hand, nature is often framed as a deterrent for the cultural development of native peoples of the north. This is an obvious idiom in Jesuit writings on the local native people for the build-up of colonial categories that would justify their missionary action, the arrival of other Europeans into the area, and the project of the assimilation of native peoples. Yet, similar narratives can be found in contemporary studies. Example of this is Thomas Hillerkus (1992) statement that, ‘A Neolithic society like that of the

Archaeological data locates first American settlers as producers of stone-age tools used for obtaining and preparing the food to meet their immediate subsistence needs. According to Zing (1974), these ancient societies typically relied on hunting and gathering, simple gardening, and their skills in the use of stone tools to survive. According to Pennington, It was probably around this time when the rancheria type of settlement started with relatively small groups, usually involving core kin, living in stable or semi-stable settlements at a relative distance from the neighbouring settlements (Penington 1963: 113). Many of these “paleo-cultural” attributes are often used, even until recent times, as a broad narrative to describe the cultural groups of northern Mexico (Huerta, Berra, Artaud, Lumholtz). One of the arguments to liking these indigenous societies with the people of the Stone Age is, as will be further elaborated in the following chapters.
Prehispanic Tarahumara [people], who did not know supra-regional trade of basic food or markets, could meet in a ‘normal year’ their [subsistence] requirements with nothing more than just basic agriculture’ (Hillerkus 1992: 14). Contrastingly, nature, in the history of the area and in historical records, plays a key figure as the raison d’être for the mission, the hacienda and the presidio, the so called typical institutions of the frontier as identified by Frederick Turner (1893). In Chapter 2, I explore these institutions and the effect they had on local indigenous societies from a point of view of the conflict, violence, and resistance brought about historically by these institutions.

Further, nature, along with the local native societies, has suffered dramatic changes since - and because of - the European penetration of the 16th century. It is during this period when many of the native groups seem to have been obliterated, as western extractive activities started to have an impact on the landscape, particularly in those areas near the mining or lumbering posts. Mining and mission centres brought new animal and vegetal species for the area, competing with native species for land, water, and other resources, that along with the colonisers’ technologies would permanently transform the ecosystems of the area (Saucedo 2001:105). Thus, an ecological dimension was added to the changes of the social systems in the area. This ecological dimension added fuel to the fire of conflicts over the spatial control of the environment, and about the forced transformation of the social relations among local native peoples, outsiders, and non-human entities. These conflicts have, as will be shown below and throughout this study, been reflected in colonial narratives about northern native peoples, in specific idioms, and categories used to describe them and the history of the cultural changes undergone.

On the North of the imaginary boundary of Mesoamerica laid by Paul Kirchhoff
(1954) for the territorial division of North and Central America based on traits of material culture,\(^9\) many of the people were not permanently settled in villages like those peoples down the border. Further, not all the native groups of the region shared the same agricultural or hunting and gathering practices or the lack of, despite the apparent unity presented in Kirchhoff’s model.

Chizos, Tobosos and other Northern groups, called ‘nations’ in colonial age Spanish writings, seemed to make a living using the full environmental potential nature had to offer, either be it on the landscape of the arid plains or the Sierra’s hills. Northern indigenous people’s way of life ranged from the hunting and gathering subsistence economy, to people who relied on a more permanent supply of food provided by the agricultural potential of the permanent flows of water of the area of the Sierra Madre and its piedmont.

Agriculturalists’ way of living near the streams, however, is mostly attributed in Spanish documents to the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Concho and Pima people, in other words, the people of the Sierra Tarahumara. So, while agricultural and sedentary-like ways of living of the people of the Sierra are noted in colonial writings, the ‘barbarous’ way of those outside the mountain is stressed in others. Yet, the information about the different types of use of the environment by the ‘nations’ of the North is confusing and does not take a central place in Spanish reports, whether this be to make them look more savage, or of not knowing a better way to exploit the natural resources available at hand.

For example, at the place called Junta de Los Rios in Chihuahua, where the Conchos River meets the Grande, near the city of Ojinaga, there is archaeological evidence of the

\(^9\) The importance of Kirchhoff’s model will be discussed in detail in the latter chapters as it is central to the historical narrative around different types of native peoples and the idioms and categories used for their incorporation.
existence of a sedentary agricultural culture developed between 1150 and 1550 AD. (Kelley 1992). Charles Kelly links its early phase known as La Junta, to the Mogollon culture of New Mexico. Further, more recent studies link La Junta site with the Casas Grandes culture and particularly with Paquimé. This settlement, in theory, worked ‘producing surplus local plant foods […] obtained from Plains groups trading at La Junta […] Supplying the needs of the great redistribution centre of Casas Grandes’,\(^ {10} \) or Paquimé, in the Casas Grandes Valley (Kelley 1992: 34).\(^ {11} \) Thus putting the people of the north living near the permanent flows of water as seasonal or permanent agriculturalists, with a permanent supply of food for its subsistence.

However, in Spanish documents about the historical times of the white penetration of the area, this agricultural trait is not highlighted. Rather, the people living there seemed to have lived off fishing and hunting-gathering (Gerhard 1996: 243). There is no clear mention of agriculture and they appear as Concho people in the documents. Also, they seem to have had frictions with other people such as the Tarahumara people and with other Concho groups (Griffen 1969: 155-169). This is despite the importance of the area as part of the route followed in the first incursions (entradas) to explore the northern territory as early as 1556, as well as by slave-raiding expeditions, and Spanish people heading for New Mexico (Kelly 1992: 30).

This example works in two ways; on the one hand, it asserts the existence of Paquimé as a trading post between Mesoamerica and Oasis-America, whose commercial and political influence, according to Braniff (1992), spread out far beyond the landscape of

\(^ {10} \) According to Susan Deeds, at its peak, in the 14th century, Paquimé could have housed around 2,000 people, and that it had a complex irrigation system. Some of the traded items would have included copper, turquoise, pottery and obsidian (Deeds 2003: 40).

\(^ {11} \) For a full description of the role of Paquimé-Casas Grandes, as a trading post and of the development of this place see Di Peso (1974).
the Sierra Tarahumara. The mere existence of Paquimé and other minor sites in scale with this type of use of environment clearly opposes the supposedly economic and cultural underdevelopment of the north. On the other hand, the constant supply of food and herbs to Casas Grandes also disproves the broad agreement of the lack of natural means to permanently produce food in the north, one of the reasons for the alleged unsettled life of its peoples in colonial documents.

My point here is that the use of nature presented by the archaeological survey differs greatly from what is stated in the colonial documents, and so in the ethnological information of the groups. All these present divergent, and sometimes contrasting data about the native peoples of the North. And significantly for this research, about the indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara. This could have a number of possible answers as noted in other relevant works (cf.; Gerhard 1982; Reff 1991; Weber 1992), ranging from the purely ecological argument as the one by Thomas Hillerkus presented above, to more complex arguments which address the forced changes faced by native societies before, during, and after colonial encounters, as the noteworthy study done by Susan Deeds (2003). However, my concern here is, what these arguments tell us about the indigenous native peoples beyond the history of the uprisings and rebellions and besides the fact that the majority of the local native peoples disappeared during the missions’ time? Furthermore, can the historical native peoples be connected to modern native peoples of the area? And finally, what could be the common thread between these two points in time?

12 In the same line, Neil Whitehead (1996), links the apparent lack of continuity between archaeological, historical, and ethnographic analyses of native societies to be another consequence of the complex nature of ethnogenesis and ethnocide for the Amerindian groups in the aftermath of the European penetration. Both, ethnogenesis and ethnocide arguments will be further explored in Chapter 2.
My answer to these questions is simple but I think helps to unveil the order of the transcendental changes undergone by native people; I propose that the historical studies of the rebellions and of the historical indigenous people reveal, or at least point at diverging understandings of nature between indigenous peoples themselves and western people. This is, that most historical studies fall to address the environmental element in indigenous struggles in the past, rather they envision the history of the north as the violent resistance to forced re-accommodation by native peoples, which is identified in them as history. I propose nature, and the understanding of different understandings of it by different actors is central to make sense of indigenous groups’ history and of the modern ethnic-landscape, and to connect native peoples’ conflicts in the Sierra Tarahumara in the past with those of today.

So, why should an ecological element be the connector when it may seem that conflict is the obvious one between historical and modern indigenous peoples? Conflict in the shape of violence, I argue, is only significant from the point of view of the history of the colonial conquest, and of the resistance of local native people to forced change. That is, from a non-native perspective. However, it tells us little about what was at stake in such conflicts, particularly for indigenous peoples, in the past, and why this history could be relevant for native people when it only concerns permanent violence from powerful outsiders as will be further elaborated in Chapter 2. This argument goes along the line of that made by Marshall Sahlins in ’Islands of History’ (1997). Sahlins remind us that what is presented as ‘factual’ in history is never done so in a disinterested manner. Rather it depends on perspectives that are socially and historically shaped by those who partake in the events, and those recounting them.

Another description of native people of the north will help me to further illustrate this point. The following lines are from the report on the Tobosos and Salineros peoples made by Juan Cervantes de Casaus in 1654;
‘They are most damaging, insufferable and indomitable [people] […], more like brutes or beasts than rational [beings]. Although for evildoings are cunning and brooding. They run across hills and rush up into hollow rocks, where they hide. They go around naked, carrying nothing but the bow they make their livelihood with. Their food is rustic and wild, roots and herbs and mashed prickly pear out of which they make bread […]. There is not filthy and disgusting little creature that does not meet their voracity. Anyway, they are barbaric and cruel people of lacerated nature.’ (Relación de Cervantes de Casaus apud González 2000: 359)

Some elements come across these few lines on the indigenous native people and their relationship with nature; Being obvious that a specific use of nature by native people puts them in a very primitive stage of humanity opposed to the colonisers. This underdeveloped humanity makes them malevolent and thus like nature itself, susceptible, and available to be transformed by colonisers.

At this point it is worth mentioning what I understand by nature and environment.

I have borrowed Ingold’s use of both nature and culture whereby nature is what we perceive on the outside (external to humans, and in this sense is like history). While environment, ‘is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me, and in that sense it came into existence and undergoes development with me and around me’ (Ingold 2000: 20), and just as the Levi-Straussian argument about the impossibility of a final history because all histories must be referred back to a particular subject for whom that history is meaningful (Levi-Strauss 1966: 257), the environment is never complete: as long as life goes on, it is continuously under construction. Therefore ‘environments are historical in the sense that we constantly shape them as they shape us’ (Ingold 2000: 20).

The point I am arguing here is that the native people of the north have been largely misunderstood, either purposely or not, on the basis of a colonial narrative of backwardness, animal-like predatory nature, and irrationality since the times of the first white penetration into the area. This, I argue, hints at a hierarchical colonial narrative on the
pre-Columbian and indigenous peoples of the north at the time of the white penetration. That would put indigenous peoples of the north in opposition to, firstly, (based on specific uses of landscape) other native peoples from outside the mountains, specifically to those agriculturists on the central high plateau, and their potential incorporation into the western political sphere. And secondly, to western peoples and their social systems, means of production, and uses of nature.

Nature, thus, is something that places indigenous peoples of the north in an ambiguous position between humans and nature, which is linked to the position indigenous peoples occupy at specific moments in the colonial system. Thus, I argue, history and nature, and the use of, could be understood as part of the same colonial process that 'created' ethnicities and made possible the shift of the positions occupied between civilized, or barbaros, as symbols within a system of meanings where each ethnicity, depending on an alleged use, or exploitation, of nature, similar to a closer or more distant degree to that of the outsiders, had a specific meaning within the colonial hierarchy on native groups. Further, I argue these movements of native peoples between Spanish categories within the hierarchical classificatory system of ‘civilizado’ has broadly been framed as ethnogenesis, and cultural change brought about by the mission and other Spanish institutions. In the face of this, I argue that alleged cultural changes undergone by local native groups in the history of the area should be seen in the light of the conflicts created over access and control of nature. These conflicts, I propose, led to an obviation, in the Wagnerian sense (1981), of ethnic categories and the creation of others. The outcome of this process can be seen in the shape of the modern ethnic landscape, recorded indigenous struggles over land rights in history, and in the language of history concerning the conquest of the north.

The landscape, on the other hand, is linked to indigenous peoples’ agency. As argued above, landscape is concerned with indigenous peoples’ understanding of nature
and what is contained in it. It is also, spatially, where their social relations are maintained and reproduced in specific ways important for the keeping of the modern community. The uses of the environment by native peoples in colonial writings vary from the places used to hide after fleeing from a battle - ‘the enemy retired to the shelter provided by the rough and almost unassailable ‘pinoles’ of the caves’ (AGN Jesuitas III-15 v.6), to the places they resorted to, in order to avoid being reduced by missionaries to settle and create new villages, and the mission villages thus created. Also, often, environment is used to justify Spanish agents’ inability to completely subjugate or integrate local natives into Spanish society and economy. It is thus linked to native peoples’ resistance.

This opposition between nature/external and environment/internal as source of conflicts over divergent registers of nature, and what exists in it, I argue, makes it possible to connect historical indigenous people with modern native peoples, if idioms of violence as part of the language of history are regarded as central to understanding the historical cultural changes and engagements of indigenous peoples of the North with outside. That is, it allows us to conciliate statements such as the one expressed by Teresa Enríquez about contemporary conflicts over their rights to the land…

‘I took care of that aguaje (watering hole), swept around it, gave it pinole (cornmeal), because do not you think that water lives just like that, it also eats. Water is a snake that lives on the earth and when it rains it comes out from there and gives us to drink. We drink water from there and the government only comes to pollute it, to fall trees. The government people forget that there is someone who governs them, who is the one that governs everything? Who gives us water? The government does not make it rain’ (Referente: April 21, 2016).  

…with archaeological and historical accounts on local native societies. However, this

13 Available at http://referente.mx/@Sarahi/el-gobierno-no-hace-llover-narracion-sobre-la-resistencia-civil-raramuri
is not to say that this is a study about native theories of nature, or the history about land
tenancy of the area. The sources on which this study is based would not provide such
information. Rather, I am proposing that through the environmental component it is
possible to see narratives about different understandings of nature; the native peoples’
and the western one, and of the violence and conflicts generally associated with stages
of cultural change of indigenous peoples of the Sierra Tarahumara. These stages; the
times of the missions, the times after the missions, the time of independent Mexico, etc.,
are framed as different historical times and the sort of engagements they represent with
powerful outsiders. More importantly, I propose to stand a step closer to understanding
the relevance, or irrelevance, of history as a narrative about these encounters, for native
peoples and to vindicate contemporary indigenous peoples struggles over land rights.

In the following chapter, chapter 2, I place indigenous peoples’ in history. By this I
mean that I recount their encounters with outsiders as it is recorded in the history of the
region. My main concern is to provide an account of the changes of native social sys-
tems since the penetration of Europeans into the area to today. The resources for this
historical account are not only primary sources but studies about these encounters and
other historical accounts made in the past. So, to a degree, the following chapter is not
about the history of the Sierra Tarahumara and its peoples, but about the Sierra Tara-
humara indigenous people’s social systems, transformations, resistance, and cultural
change.

The rest of this present chapter focuses on providing a brief overview of the narra-
tive about the archaeology of the area to, along with the first part of this chapter, also,
present a broad picture of the relationship people of the area had with their environ-
ment before the Europeans’ arrival. It also works to establish a background for the his-
torical narrative of the encounters of the indigenous peoples of the North with Europe-
ans. I suggest that the archaeology of the area leads us to unveil how the archetypes of
much of the local historical narrative about local native people found their foundations.

**Pre-colonial native people of the Nueva Vizcaya**

In his research about the native people of the North, Luis González (1992) notes the existence of archaeological sites distributed in the north-central desert of Mexico. It can be inferred from this that a landscape of hunter-gatherer societies survived thanks to an extensive knowledge of their environment and to the reproduction of forms of social organisation developed over hundreds of years in the desert. While the earliest stages of mountain occupation are not very well known, the few material vestiges date back to the Clovis tradition, that is about 12,000 years before present time (Pacheco Arce 2012: 238). These are linked with the earliest human activities in the American Continent mentioned above. However, archaeologically, is not possible to date conclusively when this territory was first occupied with exactitude and by whom. However, it can be extrapolated that the earliest human settlements must have taken place at least 10,000 BC. Findings of points of the Clovis and Folsom types support this conclusion, as projectile points of this type constitute a sure indication of the existence of hunters of extinct fauna in the region.

Dated in a later moment, much closer to the present time, the Loma Seca site, eight kilometres away from the town of Ojinaga in Chihuahua, shows a concentration of shards that are associated with a *jacal* 1(house I). These sherds can be classified as a component of the Valle del Bravo complex, this is because the Chihuahua culture produced its own, very distinctive polychrome pottery type. This same ceramic complex
allowed the anthropologist Charles Kelley (1951) to date the Loma Seca site between 1200 and 1400 AD when its inhabitants lived mainly from seasonal crops (Kelley 1951: 114 -119). Suggesting lengthy human activity in the area between these two distant points in time, the archaeological survey in the area continues to find new sites that bring more information about the type of economic activities and of societies that lived during the early stages of the American continent settlement.

Forward in time, the archaeological evidence tells us that approximately 2000 years ago (Hers 1989) an Uto-Aztecan migration group took place, in what was one of the last settlement waves in pre-Columbian Mexico. They moved south between the Pacific Ocean and the Western Sierra Madre. This movement of nomadic groups would give rise to the Tepimana and Tarahumara people of north-western Mexico. These groups of people were relatively small and relied on hunting-gathering and basic corn agriculture. This period is identified in archaeology as the Canastera (Basket-maker) phase, because of the presence of a specific type of basketry, influenced by the Pueblo type. This type of basketry is still found in the modern southwest peoples of the United States of America: The Mogollon, the Anasazi, and the Hohokam (Bennett and Zingg 1978: 568-575).

According to Beatris Braniff, relations between south-western and south-eastern United States and Mesoamerica have been studied for a long time. Interestingly, in the literature about the intermediate region between these three cultural areas, the North, is often ignored or considered a secondary agent. This situation was normal when the northern archaeology was still incipient (Braniff 2000 :43), yet the problem of the northern groups not being central in their own archaeology persists to an extent to the present day. Braniff emphasises that commonly in these studies, Southwest specialist archaeologists who are interested in determining the nature of the relationships between this cultural area and Mesoamerica usually have a general knowledge and interest in Mesoamerica, while paradoxically, their knowledge is rather more limited with regards
to the intermediate area of northern Mexico (2000: 43).

A common evolutionary way to categorise societies in the North fails to describe its inhabitants adequately. Commonplace divisions of the stages of human evolution (Archaic, Preclassic, Classic, etc.) are unable to explain successfully the cultural traits of the region. While the native people of the North has been partially incorporated into the modern state, the lack of pyramids or other traits of material cultural that would add interest to the national history, exclude them from this same history. For instance, Bennett and Zing note about the Ralámuli: ‘it is often spoken of the Tarahumara in Mexico, their misery, their ignorance, the exploitation to which they have been subjected and what has been implemented to help them, talking about their disappearance, their incorporation, of their acculturation’ (1978: 11).

To better understand the problem of the archaeological typology of northern people we must bear in mind that the ethnic landscape of the North was composed of both nomadic and sedentary peoples, and that it is their inter-ethnic interactions and exchanges with groups outside the cultural border imposed by the scholarly narrative that lays at the core of the problem. In this sense the work of Elisa Villalpando ‘Conchas Y Caracoles. Relaciones Entre Nómadas Y Sedentarios En El Noroeste De Mexico' (2000) is remarkable in shedding light on the problematizing of the presence of Mesoamerican elements in both sedentary and non-sedentary archaeological sites of the North. This is the same problem posed by the site of Paquime, discussed above. Villalpando argues that beyond the 'imperialistic' or 'isolationist' views about the northern groups, the problem is that of scales, that would allow to see each group as engaged in several local, and regional exchanges of specific goods, between coast and the plains of the north, and that depending on the scale examined, different elements result in trade increasing in one or another groups, sedentary and non-sedentary, revealing differentials of the things exchanged in each one. Thus, blurring the need for an explanation of long
distance trades, revealing unique exchange dynamics between agriculturalist and non-agriculturalists, and long-distance neighbours both north and south.

In yet another example that illustrates a more dynamic north than the isolated one commonly argued, Braniff, (1995) argues that the stepped greca, a figure that often appears woven in Raramuri textiles, is part of a north-central Mesoamerican tradition, but it is also a tradition in the North and southwestern United States (Aguilera Madrigal 2011: 16). Along the same lines, the contributions of Grace Beardsley (1985) and Judith S. Creen (1971), are important as they make contributions drawing technical and symbolic parallels, in the patterns and types of fabrics manufactured by the neighboring Pueblo and Tarahumara groups (Aguilera Madrigal 2011: 16).

My argument here is that from the Mesoamerican perspective, the archaeological, pre-conquest North is misunderstood, and this misunderstanding pervades in academic views to this day. The archetypes of this misunderstanding are of fourfold nature: a) The North is seen as a single unit, which is likely due to the anthropological and archaeological tradition in Mexico which sees Mesoamerica as a macro cultural zone with shared cultural traits; b) The North is defined by its absences, not its unique characteristics; c) It is regarded as a timeless universe of the Chichimeca (savages); d) There is a broad misunderstanding towards non-agriculturalists (Braniff 2000: 38).

One of the alleged misconceptions around the region has been persistently about how to conceptualise the region (Olmos 2005). In this sense the geographical determinism of Paul Kirchhoff (1943), that classified the North archaeologically as part of both Aridamerica and Oasisamerica, in contrast to the neighbouring Mesoamerica have been the basis for the archaeological narrative of the native people of the North, and the following colonial narrative about the native people of the Nueva Vizcaya. Yet, it has also been categorised, sometimes, as part of the great Chichimeca by some other authors (Braniff 2001, Di Peso 1974) researchers such as Braniff (2001) and Powell (1996), sug-
gest that ‘Chichimecatlalli’ was how the Mexicas of the 16th century would term the people north to their lands. However, this view tends to conflate a large variety of groups, conveying the North as a macro-cultural region. As a result, a problem of how to frame the cultural-regional division proposed by Kirchhoff remains unsolved and has permeated into the way the north is assumed up to this days (Reyes Valdez 2007). The history of the region becomes a part of mainstream history without accounting for its own processes of historical and cultural becoming as a region in its own right (Olmos 2005: 19-20), and not as a middle or in-between zone among other differentiated cultural regions.

Despite clear similarities with neighbouring Mesoamerican cultures, the north-western groups’ social organisation is characterised by different economic and cultural logics. The Mesoamerican cultural traits, which we have seen, belong to a shared history of inhabited adjacent regions. Mesoamerican influence has been registered in the archaeological settlements such as Casas Grandes of the Paquime culture in Chihuahua, and even as far as in Snaketown of the Hohokam group in Arizona (Guevara Sanchez 2001: 352). However, I argue, following the works of Braniff and di Pesso, that these influences are remnants of trade corridors that were consolidated over hundreds of years (cf. Braniff 1992, 2001 di Peso 1974). Furthermore, despite the arguments for integration of the north into the Mesoamerican sphere, there has never been enough solid archaeological and ethnohistorical data to support this. In fact, it is the Mesoamerican-centrism, strongly embedded in Mexican cultural history, which has perpetuated such an interpretation of the archaeology of the region that denies its own particularities and see it as a specific region, over one that looks to integrate it and its people in a broader narrative of the nation-state it is part of the problem when assuming that the native people of the north have no history in the sense of a material, accumulative one, which explains their ignorance and poverty.
Chapter 2
The Mountain, the Plains, and its People in History

In the previous chapter, I presented the Sierra Madre Occidental, or the Sierra Tarahumara, and its neighbouring areas, as an extensive region of the Mexican north-west which archaeologically has the quality of being an old cultural corridor dating to pre-Columbian times (Márquez-Alameda 1992: 118). It is a historical landscape. It has been a space of human occupation and interaction between local native societies themselves and with nature since around the time of the arrival of the first settlers into the Continent.

I argued, based on archaeology, that its early dwellers learnt to use the full ecological potential of the territory. They developed distinctive societies with uses of nature which were distinct from those of the neighbouring societies down south. However, this data is overshadowed by European writings, which describe native local people's lack of culture in terms of barbarism, and poor environmental use in the historical narrative about these peoples in opposition to their civilised status. That is, the arrival of Europeans put an end to the archaeological peoples of the area, in a sense, and deeply transformed these societies, setting up the foundations of the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara.

In this sense is hard to imagine what explorers like Francisco de Ibarra, the first captain authorised to lead a Spanish expedition into the area, saw upon arriving in the region in the late sixteenth century. However, described in European writings of the time,
these accounts, show tropes that framed those encounters and the people engaged in them. These tropes ensemble a narrative about the kind of interactions Europeans had with local native people and nature that help us to see types of native peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya at the time. These idioms about types of native peoples, I argue, locate people in a continuum of categories in the colonial narrative, from the most to least barbarous at different poles. However, the place indigenous peoples had in this continuum was not set. The position they occupied changed at different moments during the colonial period depending on the type of interaction indigenous people had with the colonial agents. That is, whether they had a peaceful integration or they violently resisted it. For example, first, Tepehuan, and then, Tarahumara people became iconic in the writings of the time as mission people, while Concho, Tobosos and other peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya were the opposite. The former continued existing until today, while the latter seem to have disappeared during the colonial period. These idioms allow us to understand the history of the ethnicities at the interplay of the transformation of the native societies and nature by outsiders, to question what indigenous societies are resisting and to link the transformations of the colonial societies with the modern ethnic landscape and native people’s problems.

Transformations in nature, native societies’ social systems, and landscapes—which are inextricably linked to native peoples’ history of resistance and colonization-following the initial encounters between local native societies and Europeans, and other outsiders that continue until today, constitute the focus of, and are the main concern of this chapter. To locate these transformations historically, and to see the context from which they arise, I sketch in the following paragraphs a brief overview of historical periods from an external narrative to provide a background for this chapter’s discussion about the role played by transformational devices. Colonial, and later, governmental, institutions intended to insert indigenous societies into the colonial and national spheres, transform-
ing native societies and therefore landscapes, and the conflicts caused by these trans-
formations.

The colonial period was the time of the missions. Both Jesuit and Franciscan mis-
sions caused pivotal changes in the area, in both native peoples’ social configuration and relationships. At the same time they operated to mediate the relationships of the new mission communities with powerful outsiders. The resulting native people’s commu-

nities have been understood in terms of their ‘acculturation’, of their integration, or the tarahumarización of non-indigenous elements such as the Catholic religion or social organisation (Pintado 2012, Sariego 2000, De Velasco 2006). In other words, how much have they been integrated into the western political and cultural sphere from a non-native perspective? This presents a problem itself, that of how to understand communi-
ties outside the hierarchies of integration or cultural change that permeates discourses about native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara if we do not know exactly what the ethnic landscape, social organisation and interethnic relations were like prior to, or at the moment of the arrival of Europeans. I address this issue in Chapter 4, as I propose it is fundamental for the understanding of ethnogenesis and ethnocide which in turn are fundamental to understanding native peoples’ claims over land rights in the past and today. This is addition, of course, to their role as historical agents.

The time of the missions encompasses from the early encounters of local native peo-
ple and missionaries, until around 1574 (Dunne 1958), passing through the expulsion of the Company of Jesus in 1767 by the Bourbon King of Spain, Charles III (ibid) until the rise of Mexico as an independent country and the shutdown of the missionary project by the national government in 1831 (Leon & Gonzales 2000). This period saw the arrival of the first Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries and the blooming of the colonial missions in the area and its demise. In this period, of particular importance was the passing of na-
tive peoples from the rancheria people type of social organisation and of the space
(Spicer 1972), into the mission community setting, and then following the Jesuits' removal off the New Spain, into the period of the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, who together with secular clergy took over the former Jesuit missions of the Nueva Vizcaya until the end of the colonial mission in the nineteenth century (Gerhard 1996: 34).

During the time of the missions, indigenous peoples and the lands they occupied attracted yet another type of outsiders linked to extractive productive activities; miners, loggers, landowners and other people that would later become the local oligarchy, the foundations of the local colonial society (Gerhard 1996), played a significant role in the changes of the peoples and the landscape too. Natural extractive resources of the Nueva Vizcaya were the cause for great tensions and violent conflicts during this time; silver and gold mining came to be the most important economic activity for the area (Ibid), probably more so for the Sierra Tarahumara, closely followed by agriculture (Deeds 2003).

The infamous native peoples' rebellions of the north are also notable in the colonial period and lasted at least until the end of it. Despoliation and encroachment of mission lands, demand for labour in the mines and hands for agriculture, and an overarching mistreatment of indigenous peoples, inside and outside of the missions, by non-indigenous peoples, are given as justification for many of the native peoples’ violent outbursts in most colonial reports and in some contemporary discussions on the subject. However, the argument of a peaceful conquest of the North permeates the historical narrative of the colonial period.

The Mexican independence war (1810-21), along with the 1856 governmental legislation for the dissolution of civil and ecclesiastical communally-owned lands (Ley de Desamortización de las Fincas Rústicas y Urbanas de las Corporaciones Civiles y Religiosas de México, or, Ley Lerdo), would mark the end of the colonial mission and the sources of information on indigenous peoples provided by such enterprise.
Then, during the republican period, the interactions between native peoples and outsiders have continued along the lines of the violence, ‘inclusion’ and abandonment. These interactions are indexed in the periods from the independence war of Mexico passing through the Mexican agrarian revolution (1910), until today. Particularly obscure is the period from the late nineteenth century to the last decade of the 1800s. However, Peter Gerhard’s study of the native population of the Nueva Vizcaya (2000), shows a recovery in the number of native people by 1821, which he calculates around 62,000, from the 50,000 he estimates for 1800. This probably hints that the native population had started to stabilise after years of a steep decline (Gerhard’s estimates indigenous population in 1519 around 350,000). I believe these numbers speak louder regarding the consequences of three hundred years of interaction since the penetration of the white people into the area than many other historical accounts.

As noted above, most of the Franciscan writings of the time following the Jesuit expulsion remain obscure and unpublished, so the accounts concerning indigenous peoples, between 1776 to 1900, are mostly reduced to the works of Frederick Schwatka ‘In The Land of Cave and Cliff Dwellers’ (1893), and the one by Carl Lumholtz ‘Unknown Mexico; a record of five years’ exploration among the tribes of the western Sierra Madre; in the Tierra Caliente of Tepic and Jalisco; and among the Tarascos of Michoacan’ (1902).

During this period of almost 130 years of indigenous native peoples’ relative isolation from the outside world, many events in the Mexican political sphere significantly influenced the engagements native peoples of the Sierra Tarahumara had with mestizos. At the same time, during this period, Spicer argues, indigenous native people kept using the mission temples and performing the learned religious practices, but integrating them freely to their own ways of being and thinking (Spicer 1962). This is noted by Ana Paula Pintado as a ‘raramulización space’ (2012); ‘an additional reshuffling in their
traditional worldview’s altered already during the missions time’ (2012: 38).

The 50 years following Mexico’s war of independence were full of turmoil between wars and invasions along with changes in the political administration of the area which translated into political and military neglect of a region of such a little importance as the Sierra Tarahumara. Only Mestizos and the big capital kept their presence in the Sierra continuing the despoliation of indigenous lands either by setting up settlement of white people, or mining and lumbering camps (De Velasco 2006).1 The foundation of the State of Chihuahua in 1823, followed in 1825 by the Ley de Colonización allowed the purchasing of former mission lands by Mestizos in the area (Pintado 2012). Consequently, Mestizos pushed indigenous peoples away from many of the best lands. Also, increased movement of more non-native people into the Sierra was motivated by the discovery of new mines and the reopening of old ones (Merril 1988).2 This prompted indigenous peoples to move deeper into the Sierra, ensuring their independence and autonomy (Spicer 1962). Further complicating the issue of the self-isolation of native people and encroachment onto their lands, between 1830-80 Apache bands started raiding further south to the presidio of Janos, the historical frontier of their attacks, into

1 All over the Porfiriat (1877-1911) the mines of the sierra were kept running. First, British, and then American capital took over the mines that the Spanish colonists had lost in the Mexican war of independence (De Velasco 2006, Pintado Cortina 2012).

2 In order to facilitate the transportation of goods -lumber and minerals-, outside the Sierra Tarahumara, a railroad was constructed (Merril 1988). The railroad would allow the transport of silver and gold from Chihuahua to New York. The leg between Batopilas and the Banco Minero de Chihuahua (about 280 miles) was done using mule train transportation; mules and stations strategically established each 40 miles along the way. Shepherd’s mines in Batopilas -Alexander R. Shepherd is a former American governor for the Columbia District that took over the exploitation of the mines in the Sierra Tarahumara, putting together ten mining companies and in 1887 founding the Batoplias Mining Co.- sent monthly shipments of between 50 to 100 bars of silver valued between $ 60,000 to $ 100,000. The whole silver circuit along the Sierra was its brainchild (Sariego 2000: 71).
Chihuahua territory. Thus bringing more instability to the local native people's communities as the government desperately wanted to pacify them. In 1831, the government declared the war on the Apache that would last until Geronimo's rendition with his men in 1887 (Leon & Gonzales 2000).\(^3\)

Then, at the turn of the twentieth century, to address the 'indigenous issue', renewed efforts were made to break the isolation of local native peoples of the Sierra Tarahumara and include them both economically and culturally into the national sphere (Sariego 2000). Schools, boarding schools, and medical outposts were set up in the Sierra, and the ejidizacion of the lands in the sierra started off. In 1899, Enrique Creel, Chihuahua's governor opened a boarding house, and in 1906 passed the 'Ley Sobre Civilización y Mejoramiento de la Raza Tarahumara' (Pintado Cortina 2012: 40). The law had a liberal character and was concerned with putting Tarahumara peoples at the heart of self-administration of communal lands so they would not be the victims of more abuses by outsiders. To do so, they would be supervised by the government, and the ejidos could not be sold to mestizos. (Sariego 2000). Also at this time, the Jesuit missionaries returned to Chihuahua in 1900. Upon their return, they tried to resume where their religious project had left off (Gotez 2010). However, they could not find the indigenous people they were looking for, as they were now inhabiting the less fertile lands in the upper Sierra (Bennet and Zing 1930: 19). This accommodation highlights of the despoliation indigenous communities in the Sierra underwent by the mestizos in the hun-

\(^3\) In this regard, the Apache had become such a great problem, the governor of Chihuahua obtained a decree by which a price was set for a head of an Apache man. However, it was revoked swiftly as Mexican men, eager to get the monetary reward, would kill Tarahumara or other indigenous people. Obviously, it was very difficult to prove whether it belonged to an Apache man, as the killers would comb the hair in an Apache-like fashion. (Leon & Gonzales 2000, Lummoltz 1902).
dred years since the Jesuits left the missions. The reestablishment of the mission system was disrupted during the Mexican Revolution in 1914, but resumed later and there are Jesuit missionaries in the Sierra until this day.

Also during this period, the landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara was once again deeply transformed by economic activities linked to extractive activities. In the early twentieth century, the mining centres in Chihuahua, one of the preeminent economic activities in the State, collapsed. This was partly because of the violence that led up to the Revolution, combined with a sheer drop in the global prices of precious metals (Merril 1988:40, Aboites 2010: 183). Later, in the 1940s, new gold and silver mines were discovered at La Bufa, twenty kilometres upstream from Batopilas, which reactivated the economy linked to the mining activities. William Meryl notes the reactivation and upgrade of the mule track that leads to Creel into a truck road (1988: 40). Further, during this century the landscape of the Sierra was deeply transformed by lumbering activities reaching their peak in the 1950s and by the 1990s most of the wood mills had closed (Pintado Cortina 2012: 42). It was also in the decade of the 50s, in Chihuahua, that the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (National Indigeneity Institute - INI) looked to bring the ejidos under control of the indigenous communities to stop the long-standing despoliation of land owned by native peoples. Aboites notes that before the coming up of the INI indigenous peoples of the Sierra, and particularly the Tarahumara were subjects of 'exploitative relationships of incredible severity' (2010: 188). The INI planned to boost indigenous people’s participation in the exploitation of the sierra Tarahumara lands and to improve their economy (Merril 1988: 42). The social and economic improvement of the indigenous communities, to set up schools and medical outposts, and provide legal aid in agrarian issues was the focus of the work of the INI during this time.

The finalisation of the Chihuahua-Pacifico railroad in the 50s, along with the opening of new roads into the Sierra allowed the electrification of the area and the opening of
new sawmills, bigger roads, the arrival of consumer goods and more outsiders would eventually aggravate the violence towards indigenous people, particularly that linked to increased despoliation of their lands. The so called territorial 'isolation' of sierra lands, particularly in the canyons, is very appreciated today as it enables the practice of drug cash crops (narcocultivos) and the development of an ultra-violent way of life practised by some mestizos (Valero 2007: 117-18 apud Gotez 2010: 27). Additionally, state-sponsored interests attempted to turn it into an international tourist destination with the construction of an international airport, and new energetic developments --the construction of the El Encino gas-pipe line running 530 kilometres across the Tarahumara from the City of Chihuahua to Topolobampo--, have brought more outsiders and big capital into the sierra posing new challenges of transformation in the landscape to its people.

Indigenous peoples' reactions and accommodation to transformations in their social relationships and landscape over time from the arrival of Europeans, argued above, have been the focus of studies and are generally analysed as the history of the region, including that of the native societies. However, I argue that this reduces native people's historical agency and rejects important events such as negotiation or reaffirmation of their ethnic identity, resistance to integration, and maintenance of their cosmopraxis over studies of accommodation and acculturation. The following sections of this chapter analyse transformations noted in the historical framework provided above. I argue that looking closer at these transformations, how native societies have responded to intense contact with powerful outsiders, will allow us to see them as historical and political agents. That is, I look at native people's agency in these transformations. Further, in this chapter I propose that to understand history as the coding of such transformations it is necessary to look at a raramurización and a tarahumarización, found in the narratives and in the space organisation of the Sierra Tarahumara, which are important for understanding the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara, and to link the socio-
political and economics problematics local native people face currently concerning the transformation of environmental surroundings with colonial issues faced by their ancestors at the crossroads of colonialism, extractivism and history, and see their responses to these challenges, now and then.

The time of the evangelisation and of the missions

‘[The] people are of dark colour, but not black. Their fondness for drunkenness, polygyny and superstitions make their conversion difficult. The men are usually half-naked, only girded at the waist with a cloth and they cover themselves only during winter with a dark blanket, the women cover themselves more. [The] Tarahumaras people walk around carrying bow and arrow [...] The mountainous territory and steep paths run through many and very high valleys’. (Neuman apud Gonzalez 1993: 302)

Father Neuman’s annua letter provides a good insight of his first gaze upon Tarahumara people. The peoples he would find and describe in his letters, along with writings from other friars from the company of Jesus and fathers of the Franciscan missions working in the same area are the main sources of information available to view the first encounters of the inhabitants of the Sierra Tarahumara with European people and the transformations in local native societies that ensued as a result.

While this is true, these letters and other reports also set the foundations for the archetypes of native peoples of the Sierra Tarahumara. In this sense Nueva Vizcaya people’s history is not different from the two possible responses to incursions by ‘powerful, expansionist societies’ noted by Rival; ‘accommodation’ or ‘suicide over
settlement’ (2002:20). However, I will argue that these two possibilities only help to see relationships with powerful outsiders and to locate them in a specific space which veils the historical agency of native societies. Rather, using these same colonial writings I will show how a narrative of opposition between civilised/culture and barbaric/nature which is mediated through landscapes that inherently involve the Sierra in opposition to the valleys shape the historical narrative of the colonial encounters. Also, that this narrative is still in use codifying relationships between people and landscapes. In this regard, I follow Rival’s argument, that ‘relations between people and their environment should not be studied as separate domains of interaction’ (2002:21), to show that Sierra Tarahumara people’s relation with nature, with themselves and with other Sierra peoples is constitutive of a landscape across generations and therefore is inherently historical (ibid).

Having conquered the groups in the power centres from the high plateau down central Mexico and in a rapid expansion of the territory under their control, the conquering drive and the lust for precious metals drove the Spanish scouts and avanzados into the North.

The evangelisation of the territories to the north of Guadalajara city, at that point the northernmost city of the territory under Spanish control, began by Franciscan priests accompanying the Basque captain Francisco de Ibarra’s first incursion northwards, with a company of hundred and seventy men. In 1563, Francisco de Ibarra, commissioned

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4 An interesting point here is that it is commonly argued that many of the men accompanying Ibarra in this first incursion were Basque. Accordingly, Peter Gerhard (1999), makes a point here that recent studies have shown Sephardic converses present in the region a few decades later, hinting that the conquest was not carried out by a homogenous Spanish-conquistador force, but by individuals from many different nationalities. It is worth noting, in the same fashion, that the ethnic background of the compositions of the Company of Jesus was composed of individuals
by viceroy Luis de Velasco, led an expedition into the unexplored territory to the north of the city of Zacatecas. This was followed by a series of quick incursions that resulted in the creation of the province of Nueva Vizcaya and the foundation of numerous settlements including some reales de minas such as Indé in 1563, Parral in 1631, and Santa Barbara in 1667. In these early expeditions, miners, soldiers, and black slaves came into the area of the Nueva Vizcaya. The main interest of these early expeditions, apart from scouting the territory, was the search for gold or other precious minerals.

In this regard, Reef notes that as early as 1579, Spanish miners had successfully petitioned the Crown to bring 1,000 Tarascan and Tlaxcalan people to the ‘frontier’ to work as free labourers in the mines (Mecham 1927: 230-32 in Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 587). This is worth mentioning as it stresses the importance of mining activities for the whole economy in the Nueva España, and how mining and wealth were the powerful driving force behind the colonisation northwards.

Noted as the most peculiar type of Spanish settlement by Peter Gerhard (:45), the reales de minas were, in addition to the place where the precious minerals smite, administrative and commercial centres, where the houses of the main neighbors were grouped around the parochial church and other public buildings (Gerhard: 45).

Something noteworthy here is the presence of black population brought in during the early colonial times to help exploit the mines and many other Spanish possessions such as haciendas and lumbering camps. However their movement was highly restricted and clearly the Crown’s concern as the following decree shows; ‘By the second decree your majesty orders me not to allow the negroes in the said province to hold any communication with the native people […]. In regard to this your Majesty should know that Negros in that province are separate and apart from the settlement of the natives, for the Spaniards employ them in the working of the mines, where they have placed their mills and houses, and where they live.’ (Diego de Ibarra mayo [1582] (AGI 66-6-18), also in (Bandelier 1923;111)

from many different European nations; Spain, France, England, Ireland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Austria, Germany, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Croatia. (González 1993: 227) All this makes for the argument that not a single Spain but multiple Spain conquest the Americas, hence, it was not only the convergence of two but of many worldviews that took place throughout the New Spain.

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The Franciscan friars, the first order to arrive into the territory of Nueva Vizcaya, founded their first convent in the valley of San Bartolome in 1574 -the current name of the valley is Valle de Allende, it was renamed after the hero of the Mexican war of independence, Ignacio Allende in 1825. The Spaniards called the Valley of San Bartolome, the ‘fertile region basin of the river Florido’. Thanks to the abundance of water in the place, it would become the granary and meat supplier of Nueva Vizcaya. (Aboites Aguilar 2011: 44). And by 1604, the Franciscans had founded the mission of San Francisco de Conchos on the banks of the Conchos River (Aboites Aguilar 2011: 44).

The advent of the Jesuits in the territory was of pivotal importance for the evangelisation and ensuing ethnic configuration of the Nueva Vizcaya. The missionaries of the company of Jesus would arrive into the region by the end of the seventeenth century. While the new-comer Jesuits would be responsible for the evangelisation of the Sierra Madre Occidental, the regular clergy would oversee the Mesa Norte. Likewise, the secular clergy was in charge of the religious administration of the mining camps, Spanish settlements and farming communities (Gerhard 1982 :207). However, the coming of the Company of Jesus to the Nueva Vizcaya was a source of conflict between the Jesuits and Franciscans missionaries over the reduction-conversion of the native peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya. Part of this conflict is illustrated in the following extract from a letter the King sent to his cousin, the Viceroy, Count of Monterrey in 1597:

The reason for the Jesuits to be in charge of the Tarahumaras, rather than Franciscans missionaries, already present in the area, was a swift move by the Jesuit Father Gaspar de Herrera, whom on learning that the Franciscans requested more missionaries to evangelise the Tarahumara, urged the captain Lucas Herrera for the letter not to reach its destination. Instead, members of Jesus’ society were asked to engage in this work. An excerpt from the letter reads: ‘... Whom with the update of the effect that many entertainments and promises made to the Captain, so to such religious of that Seraphic religion would not enter to those missions ...’ (Vera 2007: 47).
In your letter of February 28th you wrote to me concerning the existing lack of knowledge of the native languages among the religious of the order of saint Francis who have charge of the doctrinas in the vicinity of Guadiana in the province of Nueva Vizcaya; you also related how they prevent the religious of the company of Jesus who know their native languages from going among those towns to confess and preach [...] I am writing concerning the situation also, you being the one upon whom falls the principal care of providing and ordering all that is suitable for preventing lack anywhere of ministers of doctrinas who understand the languages of the native people. I therefore charge you that they are to see that all the religious who understand the language shall enter the province of Guadiana to engage in instruction and the preaching of the gospel; and the company of Jesus will thank on my behalf for the solicitude with which they have offered themselves for this, and you will encourage them to continue doing so' (Bandelier 1923 :121).

A poor role in converting and reducing Nueva Vizcaya's native peoples was the reasoned argument of the Spanish Crown for the Jesuits to take on the conversion of the Tarahumaras, Tepehuanes and Conchos people in the canyons, mountains and plains of Nueva Vizcaya over the Franciscans missionaries. The Jesuits started their missionary activities establishing missions along the south edge of the Sierra. Their first mission was set up in the valley of San Pablo in 1611, halfway between the Tarahumara and Tepehuanes country,\(^8\) -the first entry into Tarahumara country by a Jesuit missionary was carried out by father Joan Fonte (1574-1616) in 1607- and they then continued setting up missions all over the area. Between 1623 and 1630 the Jesuits established four missions:\(^9\) In the proximity of Inde (Santa Cruz de Nazas), Cerro Gordo, San Felipe, and San

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\(^8\) According to Peter Masten Dunne, the main cause for the Jesuits to begin their apostolate among the Rarámuris, was to try to put a halt to the ongoing hostilities between both ethnic groups. (Dunne 1958: 37)

\(^9\) According to Dune, Jesuits also taught the Tarahumara and Tepehuanes people of the Valley of San Pablo irrigation systems, and by 1638, around thirty years after the arrival of the Jesuits, the construction of small dams for irrigation, an indispensable technique to ensure permanent crops were known throughout the eastern part of the Tarahumara. (Masten 1958: 37).
Miguel de Bocas, the former two, located around the Rio Florido, placing together Tepehuanes and Tarahumara people, Chizos and Tobosos people indistinctively. That is, they set nomadic and semi-sedentary societies to cohabit together only to find profound animosities between groups (Aboites Aguilar 2011: 45; Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]:590).

In a letter to the Father Provincial in Mexico City, the father Juan Fonte (1574-1616), gives account of his first entrada - the first officially recognised made by the Jesuits - into the Tarahumara country;

‘I journeyed to the rancherías of the Tarahumara [people], to learn about the people of that land and along the way to bring them news of God Our Lord. It was also my intention to congregate as many people as possible in the Valley of San Pablo […] I was accompanied by four caciques and some other persons, among whom only two had been baptised; one of them was a boy who assisted me at Mass and the other was a cacique who had recently become Christian… Native people say that Tarahumara people live in canyons that horses cannot cross. Many people dwell in the caves that are plentiful on this land and some are so spacious that they accommodate an entire extended family… These people are by nature more and docile than the Tepehuan… They came to me and addressed me as a father. Both men and women added that they wanted me to return to their lands.’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 591).10

This letter should be read in a specific context that goes beyond the pure recording of this first encounter with local native people of the Sierra. The Leyes de Indias and other Cedulas Reales limited missionaries’ capability to enter new territories and contact indigenous peoples living there. In his letter, Father Fonte was trying to justify a petition for the Jesuit missionaries to be the ones to start working in the region. His letter and the outcome would be regarded later as the start of the missions in the Tarahumara. His argument to take this steps to contact these native people of the Sierra was (according

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10 According to Reef, this entrada took place sometime during the winter of 1607-8 (Reef 1991b:152 in Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]:591).
to himself) that he was invited to help stop the animosities between these groups. Hence he was escorted to meet them by native people themselves (Masten Dunne 1958:38-40).

In regarding Tarahumara people as peaceful and comparing them to primitive Christians, he is attempting to liken them to good European Christians, in contrast to savage indigenous peoples, in most cases Tepehuanes, although the binary good/bad Indian pervades any Spanish colonial report or document. This opposition: Good-Christian-order (civilised)/bad-non-Christian=savage-chaos (statelessness) is particularly present in all northern documents and is constitutive of the narrative that locates indigenous peoples in the space with specific relations with the Spanish government, or the former’s intentions to either reduce the later or to make an example out of them. A good example of the continuum of types of Indians this narrative frames and the type of relationship it set up is as follows; First, Jesuit missionary Guadalaxara’s letter about Tarahumara people in 1676:

‘The Tarahumara Nation is not one of the wild ones that eat human flesh, nor do they like wars ... and that no nation should be mixed with them ...’ (Guadalaxara and Tarda, Relación de su entrada con los Tarahumaras gentiles y su conversion: f 376v).

Then, around the same time, a letter addressed to the governor’s office on the Tarahumara’s neighbours, Tepehuan people, whose conversion and reduction was also given over to the Company of Jesus, locate the latter on the opposite pole to the former creating a contrast between these peoples highlighting a continuum of native peoples:

‘As for the Indian natives, the most Barbarous and bad of them all, the worst are, I

11 ‘La nacion tarahumara no es de las salvajes que coman carne humana, ni les gusta hacer guerras [...] y ningun otra nacion deberia ser mezclada con ellos [...]’ (Guadalaxara and Tarda, Relación de su entrada con los Tarahumaras gentiles y su conversion: f 376v)
understand, the Tepehuanes who are inclined to uprisings and wars without cause ...
(Cartas de Oficiales Reales :63).

Finally, in 1630, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Gonzalo Gomez de Cervantes, the Marquee of Salinas del Rio Pisuerga, was authorised to exterminate the Toboso peoples because they were considered 'indomitable' (Porraz Muños :189). As Luis Gonzales notes, native people once contacted and missionized 'had to be vassals of God, the Church and King, complying with what is already established in the Laws of the Indies and supplemented by other royal decrees' (Gonzales 1991: 191). The account above illustrates the possible outcome of not complying with these obligations and the alleged faith of a great deal of native people of the Nueva Vizcaya.

As noted above, Father Fonte's petition to leave the misionisación of the region in the hands of the Company of Jesus, was compelling enough for the Spanish colonial enterprise. When he presented himself to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya in Durango to ask for the Jesuit missionaries to carry out the Christianisation process in the Sierra, this was granted, leaving the company of Jesus in charge of the task of the reduction and conversion of the indigenous of the sierra.

Father Fonte's first entry was very successful in many other ways; in seeking to 'dialogue' with Tarahumares and Tepehuanes in order to reach peace between antagonist neighbours he achieved a 'harmony' among them. In return, Rarámuri Native people 'asked' for the presence of Jesuit missionaries in their territories, which was impossible before due to Spanish laws; the laws in place being one of the reasons that missionaries did not get full freedom to operate at their will. Their work and settlement depended on

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12 'De los naturales indios, los mas barbaros y malos todos. (H)ay muchas naciones y los pue- res, a los que entiendo son los tepeguanes, todos inclinados a movimientos y guerras sin causas (Cartas de Oficiales Reales :63).
their superiors and on the Spanish government’s approval. This was particularly reinforced regarding the establishment of new missions. Father Fonte, in accordance with these regulations, had to leave the soon-to-be Christians and the territory, which prompted him to write in apologetic fashion the following lines:

‘I deeply regret my inability to accompany them as they themselves are urging me. If I could do it without the Viceroy’s and even without listen to them, I sure would do like our father St. Francis Xavier, to dedicate them the Gospel of Jesus Christ, even at the risk of my own live’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645] :591).

Jesuit missions would also mediate the colonial expansion, creating new missions and communities, and the relationships between native people, and native people and outsiders. In this sense a narrative about the specific extractive use of nature shows an economical drive to be always the reason for the ‘pacific’ reduction of the native people in the missions, as the following extract from a letter of Diego de Ibarra shows:

In the former letter, I wrote to your majesty […], I gave your majesty a detailed account of all that was then happening in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, and as there is nothing new [,] I will briefly inform your majesty in this [present letter] that in that province there are new discoveries every day of silver mines, and according to many reports, there are [yet] another beside those that are now being worked. Our lord will be served for that province is making great progress, in spiritual matters as well as in temporal. (Diego de Ibarra mayo [1582] (AGI 66-6-18, in Bandelier 192: 108 -109).13

Fonte’s desire to return to evangelise the Rarámuri would soon be accomplished

13 ‘Por la última [carta] que escribí a Vuestra majestad […] di a vuestra majestad particular cuenta de todo lo que entonces se ofrecía de la gobernación de la nueva Vizcaya y que por no haber cosa de nueva, seré breve en esta [carta] con avisar a vuestra majestad como en aquella provincia cada día hay nuevos descubrimientos de minas de plata y [por otras noticias] fuera de las que se tratan, y benefician de presente hay otras. Por muchas noticias será nuestro señor servido, vaya aquella provincia en mucho aumento así en lo espiritual como en lo temporal’ (AGI 66-6-18, in Bandelier 192: 108 -109).
and he also would be one of the first martyrs of the Sierra Tarahumara to die in the Tepehuan revolt of 1616. To lay the ground for the conversion of the Tarahumara and other peoples of the Sierra, on leaving after this first entry, and to maintain the Native people’s interest in the Christian religion he appointed four men who Fonte already had baptized Christian as ‘fiscales’ - a sort of overseers who had the task of helping to instruct the people in faith;

‘From time to time they will come to see me at Christian pueblos in order that I may get to know and deal with them and prepare their [Christian] instruction; and also so that they may become disposed to settling in suitable places, as many of them wish to do’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 591).

At this point, it should be noted that while steadfast, the coloniser advance in the area did not go uninterrupted. During the seventeenth century, rebellions proliferated coinciding with the intensive European colonial effort to advance into the north. Starting with the Tepehuan rising of 1567 when Tepehuan people rose up in arms because their former territory was invaded. The set-up of the town of Santa Barbara in 1567, in the heart of their territory, along with the native population being decimated by epidemics paved the way for this rebellion (Peñagos Belman: 171). Followed by the rebellion of the Acaxées at the end of the sixteenth century, in 1591. The Acaxées, located in the Sierra de Topia, to the west of the present state of Durango rose up due to the ill-treatment meted out to the native people in the reales of mines and, especially, because of their opposition to the imposition of the Catholicism. The Jesuit chronicler Jose Perez de Ribas points out that this uprising was incited by a ‘sorcerer’ of great importance whom all considered bishop in the mountains of Topia (Barabas 2000: 140). This uprising would see the destruction of almost 40 churches, after which the rebels retreated to the most inaccessible hills and valleys in the Sierra. Then, in 1601, the Acaxee people rose
up against the Spanish authorities because of the ill-treatment they had been given in the mines of the region and because of the leva - a forced recruitment -, forcibly seeking them in their own homes to be brought to the mines and missions (Ibid). Then in 1601 the rebellion of the Tepehuanes of the South, was of such magnitude that the territory was desolated. For this rebellion, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya went out to fight the rebels, with more than 600 men. The uprising lasted for another year, with such regrettable results that the Tepehuan people of the South were almost exterminated (Ibid: 141). In 1644, the Confederation of the Seven Nations which included tobozo, salineros, conchos, cabezas, jolimes, mamites and colorados people rebelled upon hearing rumours that the Spaniards had planned to hang all the 'Indians. The chiefs, 'sorcerers' and other leaders of this rebellion preached freedom for the native people to live according to their desires, without observing the Catholic religion, and did not admit any form of peace but the war to completely destroy the Spaniards. The rebellions began when the Conchos entered the convent of San Francisco de Conchos, where the governor had taken refuge, and they set fire to him, killing the priests (Ibid). Then, the multiple rebellions of the Tarahumaras and other groups between 1646 and 1697, where the first of these rebellions (1646-1648) was motivated by the reluctance of the Tarahumara people to accept the Catholic religion. The uprising began when the Tarahumara burned the church and hacienda of Salto de Agua and killed several Spaniards. The three most important leaders of these rebellions were Supichiachi, Don Bartolomé Ochavarri and Tepox, 'principales' of the Tarahumara people. Immediately the news of the uprising reached other Tarahumara and Tepehuanes people, which gave rise to a general rebellion in all the missions of the mountain Tarahumara. In this way, the Conchos, Tobosos, Cabezas, Sumas, Jumanos, Chinipas and other nations rebelled too (Ibid; Peñagos Belman 2004:170).

As Alicia Barabas notes (2000) the rebellions of the seventeen century in and around
the Sierra Tarahumara are linked to one another in a way that it can be said that they are the 'periodical resurgence of a single pan-ethnic movement against the colonial system'. All these movements 'had in common the aim of expelling or exterminating the invaders'. They were also, in many cases, inspired by shamans, and 'militarily led by the chiefs of the peoples' (2000: 155).

The arrival of European people to the area of the Nueva Vizcaya prompted responses from native peoples that ranged from uprisings to settling in missions, both linked to the disappearance of many native peoples during this period, and to the formation of new landscapes. Natives peoples moved in either, forcibly or willingly, from their original territories, the missions or into the Sierra Tarahumara. Consequentially, the mission created a narrative about sets of native people that narrative divided native peoples between those who still lived in a 'gentile' way and those who had already been reduced, brought into the system of domination. New landscapes composed out of ethnic, political and environmental transformed elements, in the lower parts of the Sierra from the seventeen century, are the consequence of the mediating role of the missions between native people and outsiders, and when they failed in their role of forcibly bringing indigenous labor into the Spanish productive sphere and accommodating native communities into new spaces creating new landscapes, rebellions were the most common outcome. The interweaving of missions, native people, rebellions and the transformation of the ethnic landscape in the seventeen century are the subjects examined in the following section.

The times of the mission; Missions and
their role beyond conversion

As mentioned above, Jesuits played a big part in the expansion of the territorial control of the Nueva Vizcaya. Their records and letters, often narrate their accomplishments in the pacification, conversion and their part of the ethnic configuration of Nueva Vizcaya, bringing indigenous people into the Spanish sphere. The Jesuit missions were present in the region as early as the late sixteenth century in what is now the northern state of Durango, working with Tepehuanes and Xiximes, and from the early seventeenth century in the upper Conchos River in the southern state of Chihuahua, with the Rarámuri. In the Sierra, Tepehuan and Tarahumara, colonisation happened many years after than in the coast or plains. It was slow and came to a standstill many times. However, this slow-paced process that allowed for the consolidation of the Jesuit mission system was compelling enough for the colonisers to bring indigenous peoples 'peacefully' into the colonial labour system and take away the richness present in nature they were after. The following lines highlight the economic drive behind the conversion and missionization of some native peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya;

Within the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, there are many distinct nations, some of which are very large. Those of the Tepeguanes, Taraumares, and Conchos, alone in what has been explored, will total 300,000 families, all of whom are peaceful, and a certain number of them, though very small, are already baptised and reduced to faith [...] All the nations in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and in New Mexico can be reduced to our holy faith in greater facility than others, and at much less cost, for, besides being the most gentle and docile, by special kindness of God, there is no idolatry among any of them nor do the inhabitants worship anything living or dead. (AGI 66-6-2. Also in Bandelier 1923:214-215).

14 ‘Dentro de la jurisdicción del Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, hay muchas diversas naciones y algunas de ellas muy numerosas. Y [tan] solo las de los Tepehuanes, Taraumares y Conchos, tan
The mission-reduction, as missionary centres, were envisioned as places in which to establish peace, albeit precarious, and to provide further control of the population by organising the territory in closed communities under the overseeing eye of the missionary. Indigenous dwellers’ daily activities were ordered in a fashion that would become known as ‘vida a toque de campana’ a sort of habitus envisioned by the Jesuits to transform the bodies of the ‘lazy native people’, and constituted the organisational base upon which the Jesuit missionary system was build (Peñagos Belman 2004: 166). These settlements set off several simultaneous socio-political, technological and economic processes that changed the landscape permanently including agriculture, and livestock trade (Weber 2000: 28). One example of this is that by 1690, after fifteen years of Jesuits living among the native people of the Sierra Tarahumara, it was common among the Rarámuri to have sheep, horses and chickens (Hillerkus 2004: 123), and they depended on more heavily on permanent agriculture not present in the area before the arrival of European population. In addition to carrying out the Christianisation of the native population - one of their primary tasks, the missions, at the same time, provided the Spanish enclaves with the indigenous workforce.

Thus, the role of the missions, in turn, can be understood as an enclave in the pe-

solo [en lo que se ha] descubierto llegaran a trescientos mil familias, y todos son pacíficos, y algunos de ellos, aunque pocos, ya están bautizados y reducidos a la fé [...] Todas las naciones que hay en la Nueva Vizcaya y en el Nuevo México podrán ser reducir a nuestra santa fé con mayor facilidad que otras y a mucho menos coste porque, además ser las más gentiles y dóciles por especial misericordia de Dios, en ellas no hay idolatría alguna, ni sus habitantes adoran nada con vida sin ella’ (AGi 66-6-2. Also in Bandelier 1923 :214-215).

15 They taught the Tarahumara and Tepehuan people in the valley of San Pablo irrigation systems. In 1638, nearly thirty years after the arrival of the Jesuits, irrigation systems were known throughout the eastern part of the old Tarahumara, the area with the least water access of the region. (Hillerkus 2004: 122) The construction of small dams for irrigation secured the crops harvest, something which allegedly in Thomas Hillerkus words, ‘Tarahumaras and Tepehuanes alike found compelling enough to let the missionaries settle them in missions’ (Ibid :123).
riphery within the Spanish system. Here, I borrow Wallerstein’s (1974) model for the origins of European economies in the 16th century to locate the missions spatially and within the system, and the Nueva Vizcaya and its institutions on a peripheral position in regards of the colonial centres of power that irradiate from the centre outwards. Wallerstein explains that in the core there are a few states competing over taking advantage of the other political and ecological components of the system. The goods flow from the periphery inwards down to the core, creating an accumulation of capital in the central regions, and in a reverse fashion, politics and un-accumulation trickle down onto the subjected areas.

I find Wallerstein’s explanation very useful to understand the complex works of the colonial market flows and politics to situate the missions and other institutions as all the elements listed are found during colonial times in Nueva Vizcaya, which lead us to propose that it was a periphery of the economic and political system. Also, it is helpful to see the importance of integrating local indigenous peoples of the north into the wider economic circuits that extended far beyond the local market established by the hacienda and mission. In the letters and reports addressed to either the Governor, the Viceroy and in most cases even to the King of Spain, the situation of the missions, mission Indians, and barbarous Indians went as far as to be a matter of major importance for the Spanish Crown, thousands of leagues away. However, Wallerstein’s model does little to frame movements of native people in and out the missions, rebellions, and the transformation of landscapes. That is, it seems to dwindle indigenous societies’ agency in history.

As noted before, the mission in the Sierra Tarahumara mediated the relationship between the Spanish sphere and the native peoples by setting up new mission communities. This mediation was between the labour needs of the former and the agency of the latter placing nature in the middle. To look closely at the process of setting up new
mission communities and the movements in and out of them of native people would reveal the mission space not as closed as generally proposed. Despite their tight regulations for living them, it allowed native peoples to look for alternatives to being assimilated entirely into the system and in some cases to escape from it. In this way, contesting historical generalised assumptions of discrete bounded entities of native peoples linked to specific places.

The progress of European settlement in northern New Spain depended heavily on local native people’s labour, generally regarded as a tribute. Many ways to exert the control over people’s labour were envisioned and tried out with different outcomes, commonly at a big price to native people. Even though indigenous slavery was prohibited and sanctioned by the Crown from 1530, many times wages were very low and put the indigenous into perpetual debt. What in theory was sanctioned, in the practice, the Spanish government turned a blind eye to. The abuse of indigenous labour was the cause of massive unrest in the Nueva Galicia and consequently, later, in the Nueva Vizcaya. The first labour system implemented in the Nueva España was the encomienda. In central and southern Mexico, the encomienda labour system could be understood as a sort of medieval institution superimposed on a pre-Hispanic base in which surplus labour and production were contributed by farmers as a tribute to a local ruling aristocracy, which would go all the way up to the Crown. This form of work was based on the right of the conquerors to receive tribute in kind or money. Peter Gerhard states that the lack of Spanish labour force made the encomienda a necessary evil as there was no another way to sustain the Spanish population (Gerhard 1996: 22).

Economic imperatives led the royal authorities to try to hold a tight grip on the Indian tribute, that in Nueva Vizcaya was set under the form of personal services (labour) at
the rate of three weeks per year (Cramaussel 2000; Gerhard 1996). This form of taxation on labour was exerted in a first phase on native people ‘who fled their villages’ especially in Sonora and Sinaloa but also worked in Nueva Vizcaya, largely thanks to the missionaries (Cramaussel 2000: 283). In general, it can be said that the encomienda in the New Vizcaya provided farmers, ranchers and in some cases miners, with a very cheap labour force until it was abolished by a writ in 1670, when the indigenous labour administration was transferred from particulars, encomenderos, onto the local bureaucracy, alcaldes mayores (Gerhard 1996: 22).

It is mentioned in encomienda documentation, that Tarahumara peoples were encomendados between numerous Spanish individuals at different times. For instance, in 1667, on January 12, ‘the natives of the village of San Felipe, of Tarahumara nation and its subjects’ surrender themselves to Juan Leal in encomienda. These ‘subjects’ were the native people under the authority of the ‘Governor Ignacio, with all their subjects and allies and all the other villages subject to this town’ (Cramaussel 2000: 283). The role the missionaries played in the economic networks was to enforce the obligation called ‘repartimiento de mita’. Since their establishment the missionaries, either Jesuit or Franciscan, had to submit the native people under their administration to the taxation system, thus lending native people’s labour under their watch to help consolidate the local economy. This model would help to expand the haciendas’ lands many times fold.17 This

16 There is a disagreement about the date when the three weeks per year of labour period was decreed. While Peter Gerhard (1996) says it was on 1582, Chantal Cramaussel (2000) would argue this took place in 1583.

17 The names given to native people were in place to locate people, territory, descent, or groups of native people under the command of a specific chief, who were granted to the charge of Spanish agents. Thus, this further clarifies that people like the Tarahumara, the Salt-Tepehuanes and Concho were divided, named and settle according to labour needs rather than any other criteria. However, In the high mountains and the north of the Conchos sotomontano
would lead the amount of food and supplies required to provision the mines soon to surpass what was available locally, and made Spanish agricultural farmers expand into areas occupied previously by indigenous communities. This allowed Spanish farmers to expand their lands onto the stream watered valleys suitable for irrigation, and to search the best lands for farming (Merrill 1988: 32). This process would see the rise of what Chevalier’s refers to as the Haciendas of the North, where a convergence of factors: a mining crisis in the seventeenth century paired with a crisis in the local markets—when the cattle and wheat trade collapsed—n addition to external factors helped to consolidate the haciendas, as transatlantic and local commerce suffered a crisis supporting the surge of local autonomous haciendas built on large extensions of land obtained from indigenous communities (Cuello 1990: 56). Consequently, the link of the local hacienda of the north and the pressure on them for larger supplies of food and another good for the wider markets would lead haciendas to deprive indigenous societies of lands, water supply, and led the missions to fail in supplying native peoples settled in the missions with food, as the native peoples had to meet their repartimiento obligations and did not have time to look after their crops in the mission (Merrill 1988: 33).

On the other hand, the reason why native communities agreed to settle in missions was largely because of what the missions offered them in terms of shelter, protection and nourishment; there was food and a much lower risk of falling into the hands of slave traders looking for workers for the mines and farms in the region. Therefore, native people gradually ‘accepted’ the changes proposed by the missionaries. At least in the missionaries’ narrative, this acculturation process was successful, which in turn led to the advancement and establishment of new missions. But when the missions ran out of food regions, where the missions arrived later, this indexing of peoples did not have the same strength (Cramaussel 2000: 298).
and faced with the possibility of dying of diseases, native people settled in missions fled to avoid starvation and epidemics like smallpox and measles. According to Peter Dunne, as early as 1645, some native people began to leave the missions (Dunne 1948: 50-51). However, it is quite probable that deserting the missions, or at least leaving them for the night, or even for lengthier spells was a common practice since its establishment, taking into account the porous boundaries of missions, and the relative success they had in keeping native people settled down for large periods of time.

Equally, pressure for labour, missionaries' restrictions to continue practising their tlatoles, and encroachment upon their lands contributed to the reasons for indigenous resistance to life in the mission. In a way, many Rarámuris and other native peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya moved in the missions willingly for the reasons aforementioned, yet they resisted being completely integrated or permanently settled.

In order to illustrate the argument about native people's movement around the territory and how the landscapes are created through the missions out of specific needs, I take the foundation of the mission of Huejotitlán, within the Jurisdiction of the Cienega de los Olivos (today, the Balleza municipality), south of the Sierra Madre Occidental, around 1639-1640. This space, not far from the initial entrada of Padre Fonte of 1607, was a space where ethnohistorically there were regular encounters of Tepehuan, Toboso, Conchos, and Tarahumara peoples, and it was very close to the Real de Parral (Gerhard 1996: 128). The importance of the Real del Parral lies beyond its relevance as an economic center, since together with being an important mining center, was a preeminent political space in the Nueva Vizcaya from where relations were articulated with the neighboring native population, as Porras Muñoz notes; Parral 'became the de facto capital of Nueva Vizcaya for almost a century' (1988: 26).

The Tepehuan people to be settled in the mission of Huejotitlán make their first appearance in a report of the 5 of June of 1632, where it is noted that they had
retreated to the mountains after the Tepehuan uprising that had attacked the city of Durango in 1616 (AGI: Títulos y Recaudos f, 657-682 [17 de Marzo 1633] apud Porras Muñoz 1988: 38). Governor Gonzalo de Cervantes sent a message to a 'cacique' named Don Luis, in the name of the King, where he asked the cacique to come down in peace and to meet him in the Real of San José del Parral. In addition, the governor makes clear to the cacique that he and his people who were camping in the valley of San Ignacio would be admitted back and all their 'many crimes' pardoned (Ibid.). On the day set for the meeting, Don Luis appeared in the Real, where he was informed by the governor that he would be granted a pardon conditional on the promise to live in peace with all of his 'tribe'. They were told of a place near the Real where they could settle and make their 'cementeras' - maize plantations - and they would be 'protected' by the Spaniards. Also, they were asked if they wanted a minister of doctrine. Don Luis responded that it was his intention to settle there along with his people and to set up a village and that the following year they could receive the minister (Ibid.). Sometime later, on June 9, Don Luis appears again in the Real to ask the governor to be named cacique and governor of his people and the new population, to which the governor responded by giving him the title that same day (Ibid.: 39). Again, on December 21, Don Luis again visited the Governor Gomez de Cervantes to inform him that the place where they had originally been settled near Santa Barbara was not a suitable place for his cementeras, but that they had found a more suitable place near the 'river they call Guejotitlán', a day and a half away down the road of the real, where they wanted to settle and to have a church. To this petition governor Gomez asked if he was already a Christian, to which Don Luis responded positively, he had been settled in San Ignacio and had been baptised by Father Fonte. Because of this, he found the place suggested by the cacique to be 'comfortable, useful and profitable' (Ibid.). Finally, on March 15, an expedition left for the place where he was received by Don Luis and his people and promised 'obedience
to the alcalde mayor, who put his hand on his head’ - it is noted in the document that to put the hand on someone’s head was a way to show respect between those Tepehuanes - and finally settled on a 'certificado de posesión' on 17 March when the town was officially founded. As an appendix to this foundation, on March 23, Governor Gomez de Cervantes ordered in Parral that ‘the alcalde mayor of this province should take special care of the said Indians and that they be well treated and ‘industriados’ in the things of our holy catholic faith’ (Ibid.: 40).

Here, we can see native communities in the seventeenth century being settled in colonial missions formed out of spaces in the territory from negotiations between the former and colonial agents over the memory of past actions of violence against the latter. In this way being settled and entering into a spatial and legal order, creating new landscapes, was possible only through the agency of the native people in specific periods of time and moving around the landscape of the sierra. When these negotiations between native communities and outsiders were not satisfactory, the most common result was violent uprisings and/or abandonment of missions. As Susan Deeds (2003) notes, the Nueva Vizcaya missions were not bounded communities, but ‘transactional and transitional crossroads where ethnic identities, subsistence patterns, cultural beliefs, and gender relations were forged and changed over time’ (2003: 5).

So while in the seventeenth century there are plenty of instances of active resistance to colonisation wherein native people resorted to violence as the uprisings listed above, there are also examples of more passive resistance; superficial submission, avoidance, and deceit. As mission Indians, notes Gonzales Rodriguez (1991), native people had to be vassals of God, of the Church and of the king, ‘fulfilling what was already established in the Laws of the Indies and supplemented by other cédulas reales’ (1991: 191). Those who did not follow these regulations, ‘whose sole purpose was the spiritual and material good of the Indians’ (Ibid), were punished with whipping, with the shackles, at the
stocks, and, depending on the crime, judged by the Spanish and Christian canons as infidel and traitor. To be a good vassal and a good Christian prohibited native people from continuing in the vices gentiles carried on practising; having several women, getting drunk, recurring to shamans, rebelling against the missionary or against the Spanish master (Ibid). The declaration of Juan, the son of the Yepomera chief concerning the reasons for native people’s abandonment of missions and rebellion illustrates my argument; ‘They had a bad will to the father because he called them to make adobes to make the mission of Yepómera, and to come to the doctrine, and they fled because they were lazy and because they did not want doctrine’. (AGI Patronato 236 f,225 V. [1690] in Gonzales Rodriguez 1991) This locates the agency of native people on whether they choose to live in the mission as a good missionized Indian, or out of it as a gentil. The resistance strategies of the native people of Nueva Vizcaya seem to be a negotiation with other native people and outsiders, between rebellions and passive resistance or to look for refugee areas and to withdraw into the Sierra. This, in turn, leads to the question of how to understand the movements of native people on the frontlines of this new ethnic landscape configuration. That is, how can the new native communities created through missions in the seventeenth century can be understood in terms of ethnicity at the crossroads of resistance, violence, and accommodation? Also, what elements connect native communities of the seventeenth century with modern native peoples?

Susan Deeds (2009) recently made an effort to address these same questions, and frames the multiple processes of cultural change undergone by the native peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya set off by the coming of the missionaries and its outcomes through what she calls mediated opportunism:

‘If ethnogenesis is the larger process through which ethnic cultures re-create
themselves over time, mediated opportunism provides a framework tailored to understanding how material and mental barriers limit the capacity for change in these particular groups’ (Deeds 2009: 6).

Through this framework Deeds frames the movements of native peoples weighing in cultural and environmental factors to explain natives peoples response to colonization linking them with pre-conquest times;

‘The extent to which indigenous peoples could formulate mixed strategies and exercise choices in adapting to changing cultural and ecological circumstances was tempered by many factors, perhaps the most important of which were the mortality produced by diseases, the endemic warfare that characterized pre-contact history, and the incapacity to accept changes that violated the most basic principles for assuring life’s balance’ (Deeds 2009: 6).

Finally, Deeds sees in her framework a way to situate native people’s resistance amid the colonial imperatives of labour and forced settling in the missions and the colonial rationalities that supported them: ‘Mediated opportunism is the crossroads between cultural and environmental opportunism on the one hand and moral boundaries and biological barriers on the other…’ (Ibid).

I agree with Deeds’ argument concerning the need to understand native peoples’ responses to colonisation through a framework that involves ethnogenesis at its core, as ethnogenesis created an epistemology of types of Indians that would be kept in use from the seventeen century onwards. As Deeds notes: ethnogenesis in the Nueva Vizcaya followed a cultural path that increasingly drew moral boundaries between the people living in the Sierra Tarahumara and non-Indian outsiders (Deeds 2009: 195). Yet, I would add that what is recognized as Sierra Tarahumara peoples’ ethnogenesis in the seventeen century, is a tarahumarización of the landscape and of the narrative. What succeeded the expulsion of the Jesuits was a raramurización of the same elements, which allowed native peoples to give continuity to self-ascriptions to specific ethnicities linked to landscapes that reveal a relationship with the external to the
community. That is, I understand tarahumarización as a way to name the process by which many indigenous people’s communities were identified by the Spanish as Tarahumara, Tepehuan, or another ethnicity from the Sierra Tarahumara that prevailed over time in opposition to other ethnicities of native peoples of the plains, in the narrative about the colonization and missionization of the Nueva Vizcaya, such as Conchos or Tobosos. It was a potentially dangerous self-ascription amidst the continuous uprisings. Thus, Tarahumara people represented a specific political category in Spanish records, a type of Indian, that would fold previous ways of self-recognition, making Tarahumara, despite the clear regional and linguistic differences, a category from an external narrative that would continue to be in use until today. This argument is further supported by the affirmation in a document from 1697, in which the fiscal Joseph Francisco Marin, clarifies that the Guazapares are actually Tarahumara people (AGI Guadalajara 155 f,103). His commentary amid the post-rebellion moments locates Guazapares people within the possibilities of an integration to Spanish the political sphere. That is, they are being tarahumarised. Thus, contextually, the generalisation of the word Tarahumara matches the fusion of various native groups of the Sierra (Pintado 2012; Deeds 2000), who as a consequence of living together in the missions, and having been in contact with colonizers, and the missions found in an ethnic ascription a way to continue existing as a native community. Thus tarahumarización is the development of terms and landscapes in historical records that took place in the Sierra Tarahumara because of the arrival and the territorial advance of European settlers and of their ways of registering events and creating communities of settled native peoples.

The flip side of the coin of tarahumarización of local native people is a notorious decrease, or in some instances banishment, in the mention of the many other ‘nations’ in colonial records. This is probably motivated for two reasons; firstly, when indigenous societies retreat from the lowlands and/or left the missions, resisting integration into the
Spanish economic networks. Because the sierra having so little economic potential for agriculture or mining in the coloniser’s eyes, in addition to the impenetrability of the Sierra environment itself, the Spanish no longer felt the need nor the interest to record the difference between groups and the lands they occupied. Second, Following Ana Paula Pintado’s (2012) analysis, it also could be motivated by the relative cultural and linguistic homogenization of groups while living in the missions.

Tarahumara and Tepehuan frame terms and categories for specific positions within the colonial system. Symbols at the encounter of differentiated world-views, arose from the contextual political necessity of making communities and demonstrating control of, and claiming access to environmental resources. The question that should be answered is what kind of world-views, or what communities are here in the making or being reproduced? I propose that, at this juxtaposition, two sets of ontologies interact. On the one side there is one that the Europeans needed and created, and on the other, one that indigenous people refuse to give up on. So, despite the imposed innovation, or because of it, it was possible for those native people that self-ascribe as Tarahumara to continue their sociability in the transition from the pre-colonial to the colonial and into the post-colonial world.

I propose that this assimilation can be explained by the way in which indigenous communities position themselves in relation to the non-indigenous, creating a local or interior (community), and an external or outside (global). This for the Tarahumara could be inscribed in the term Ralámuli, that translates as ‘people’, opposed to white or mestizo: the man with the beard, the chabochi (Pintado Cortina 2010: 43-44; Valiñas 2010).

Moving in together into the missions, took place among various groups that decided to take this path among other possibilities. By doing so, they were able not only to maintain their sociability, during this transition, but to create new interethnic
relationships in new spaces, thus creating new landscapes, and in this process, they projecting non-native outsiders as a more distal other. In other words, an ethnogenesis, *tarahumarización*, allowed for a specific way to create new relational communities within the context of the colonisation of the Nueva Vizcaya. This represented a strategy that would confer on native local people the liberty to carry on their cosmopraxis: to celebrate fiestas, such as the 'mitotes,' *awalichi* (Pintado Cortina 2004: 15), and other community-making practices, thus reinforcing and continuing the community and the social relationships among themselves and with non-humans.

Upon the encroachment on their landscapes, some native peoples moved from the valleys to the missions, which is linked to the rebellions and the mediation of the mission, what Cecilia Sheridan (2002) calls ‘desterritorialización.’ She argues that this process of ‘desterritorialización’ can only be seen as part of the miscellaneous adaptive strategies taken by them in the context of facing colonisation or obliteration by outsiders, such as the imposition of new land uses, and as a strategy of cultural resistance (ibid: 16). But then, other external factors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries radically affected native people’s communities in the missions and would change the territory and the social territorial composition of the Sierra Tarahumara. The banishment of the Company of Jesus, along with the independence movement which followed, prompted further movements of native people deeper into the Sierra, to the highest parts of the mountains, which allowed them to maintain their culture and identity. This agrees with Sheridan’s argument that identity is formed and transformed to resist and to adapt to specific socio-historical situations in accordance with political, socioeconomic and personal strategies. This has also been noted as a ‘raramurización’, as examined above.

Consequential to the expulsion of the Jesuits, throughout the Sierra Tarahumara, the pastoral life of the missionaries gradually came to a halt, mostly due to the lack of
missionaries to take over the old Jesuit missions. In addition, the confiscation of church properties, attacks of the Apaches and other northern bands, and in particular, the appropriation by Spaniards and mestizos of communities’ mission lands, resulted in an increased dispersion of the communities (Sariego 1994), and a diminished contact with native peoples, which is notorious in the records until the second half of the twentieth century.

People of the Sierra Tarahumara after the Jesuit expulsion

In 1767, King Charles III of Spain barred the Jesuits from all the territories of the Spanish Empire. By then, the Jesuits had established fifty villages and had 19 missionaries working in the Sierra Tarahumara (Dunne 1958: 220). The Franciscan friars of the Apostolic College of Propaganda Fide of Our Lady of Guadalupe de Zacatecas and some priests of the diocese of Durango secular-clergy oversaw some of these missions. They first took on the missions in the most remote areas of the highest part of Tarahumara and Chinipas – between the Mayo and Fuerte rivers, of which the Jesuit had twenty in the region, seventeen of them belonging to the Province of the Tarahumara and the remaining twelve to the province of Chinipas. Also, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Rarámuri had been settled near the Papigochi river, but a continuous appropriation of the best lands for agriculture by mestizos pushed the Tarahumara people south and west of the Papigochi. The ranchos created by these appropriations would shape an economic circuit that made the goods flow regionally and the richness outwards to the centres of power. New currents of colonisation looking for deposits of sil-
ver, gold and lumbering forest kept flowing into the western portion of the Sierra, continuing to push native peoples deeper into the sierra and out of the historical records.

The mission villages set up during the Jesuit period and in the subsequent Franciscan period, was a partial success, but with the confiscation of missionary properties, between 1767 and 1770, they failed in their role as reduction centres completely, mostly because there were no incentives for indigenous people to remain congregated in them. Thus, the settlements carefully planned by the Jesuits became administrative and religious centres with few residents, while the bulk of the population, having retreated to the Sierra Tarahumara, lived dispersed in rancherias, just as they had prior to the colonial period (Gerhard 1982: 222). Also, the intensity of the work of the Franciscan friars was not the same as that of the Jesuit missionaries, leading to irregular attendance at many of the churches that belonged to the missionary heads.  

Before leaving the missions, the groups residing in them had been consistent in going along with the transformations brought with the missionary enterprise; living congregated in towns, going daily to the doctrine, working around a routine timed by the toll of the bell, to which they were not used to. Other elements of their culture were forbidden in the missions, like drunkenness, polygamy, and the whole set of beliefs con-

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18 The missionary project was finally officially shut down sometime after the consolidation of the Republic of Mexico. Formally, in 1831 there was no presence of Franciscan or Jesuit missionaries in the Sierra Tarahumara. Although the work done in keeping the peace in the region and reeling in some indigenous people to the Mexican cultural sphere would be regarded by the Mexican government sometime after – I don’t understand this sentence. In 1843 the Mexican president Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana decreed the re-establishment of new Jesuit missions in the northern states; California, Nuevo México, Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango, Chihuahua. In other words, the native people of these regions were evangelised to keep the peace of the national territory of Mexico (Leon & Gonzales 2000: 104). This would never be implemented, in fact, but it is nonetheless considered to show the Mexican society imaginary about the role the missions had in the past.
sidered superstitions by the missionaries were a cause of big unrest in the missions and sometimes would give way to uprisings. But then, with the end of the missionary project, the mission communities were turned into what Gerhard (1982: 27-29) notes as ‘empty-core pattern’ communities; spaces that are essentially ceremonial centres with few or no permanent residents. Most native people maintained or returned to their pattern of living in the dispersed rancherias all over the Sierra. This is when the transformations that an index of peoples of the sierra, Ralámulis, Odamí and other native people living together created a ralamulización space.

As Pintado (2010) notes, during this period the reshuffling of ethnicities in the Sierra continued, but this time out of sight of the outsiders. The ethnicities Spanish colonisers associated with groups of the Sierra Tarahumara were kept in use associating native people with specific landscapes within the Sierra where native people retreated from the contact with outsiders. This reshuffling of ethnicities took place in part because of prolonged cohabitation of indigenous peoples in the space of the mission, when elements of Christianity were forced on them to create new mission communities. Then, during the spatial rearrangement of the native people following the abandonment of the missions, the mission communities continued to be named in specific ways in the documentation on the basis of their spatial allocation rather than on the ethnic self-adscription, Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Warijio, etc. The ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara, having its foundations within the space of the colonial Jesuit mission, continued to be reproduced as an external narrative about the type of Indians that lived in that space.

The raramurización would continue through the stages of the country’s national history which followed, constructing a narrative about the barbarous people from the north, in contrast to the peoples in the high-plains. In 1823 the state of Chihuahua was founded. Before this, the territory of Chihuahua was a part of La Nueva Vizcaya, until the
Bourbon administration reforms that shaped the territory and the administration of the early colonies. Then, in 1777 part of the territory was reorganized into the Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas, and because of the Mexican war of independence, it came to be under the political administration of the ‘Intendencia General del Norte,’ a massive area with almost no clear boundaries, comprehending the modern Mexican states of Coahuila, Durango, Sonora, Sinaloa, California, Nuevo Reyno de Leon, Texas, Nuevo Santander, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo Mexico-. The transformation in the administration of the territory would only worsen the despoliation of local native people’s lands, as mining and lumbering industries penetrated deeper into the Sierra and continued to transform the landscape. Since the Colonization Act of 1825, mestizos could buy the lands of the native communities of mission. Native people moved out, once again, to other places deeper in the mountains to ensure autonomy (Spicer 1962: 40).

During the Porfiriato, between 1876 and 1911, all mines in the Sierra were being exploited. For instance, The Batopilas mine, in the village of Batopilas in one of the deepest canyons of the Sierra, was acquired by the American Alexander Shepherd, who around 1885 transformed it into a modern mining exploitation, making the village and mine of Batopilas the second population with electric light in Latin America. It was also, in the early twentieth century, that the federal government began its indigenista labour.19

During the nineteenth century, the groups or ‘nations’ diminished (Pintado Cortina 2010: 42). With the consolidation of the Mexican State, there was only marginal contact

19 The term ‘indigenista’ is how the post-revolutionary government in Mexico termed the actions and institutions in charge of improving indigenous people’s living conditions. Also, following Alejandro Sariego, indigenismo is one of ‘the most debated axes around which the theory and practice of Mexican anthropology have developed’ (Sariego 2000: 24).
with the mestizo neighbours. The native people from the Sierra subsisted on the fringes of the state for decades. Very little was done to incorporate them or to solve any dispute over their rights and territory for more than 100 years. In addition, further complicating native people’s isolation, during this century, Apache and Comanche people would bring back the fears of more Indian rebellions like those of the 17th century. During the last part of the 18th century, Athapascan groups; Comanches and Apaches Chiricahuas -which is a generic name for horse rider groups of south-west North America- would continuously raid into Mexican territory, mostly taking shelter in the Sierra Madre, again making the region a space for a narrative about barbarism. This fact would give ground to a clear-cut distinction between warring and peaceful native people that would position Tarahumara and Tepehuan people differently. On this occasion, moral categories were drawn to a conjunction where they were re-evaluated and the once fierce native people of the north; Ralamuli, O’dam, now in self-enclosure, avoiding contact with mestizo people and other outsiders, would be seen in a different light, once more in a moral positional opposition, only this time not as barbarians, but as the good Indians towards whom there were feelings of pity, contempt, fear, and even hatred (Leon & Gonzales 2000: 13). On the other end were the warring native people, once Conchos and Pimas, now Apaches and Comanches were fought to extinction.

The Time of the Isolation

As noted above, towards the turn of the nineteenth century, the Norwegian zoologist Carl Sofus Lumholtz (1851 - 1922), travelled across the mountains of the Western
Sierra Madre,\textsuperscript{20} writing a very detailed account of what he saw in the Sierra and around it, titled 'Unknown Mexico'. In his account, Lumholtz describes the changes and difficulties he perceives in Ralamulis everyday life,\textsuperscript{21} picking up myths and leaving an ethnographic legacy in terms of 'pure and un-contacted people of the sierra that have experienced the worst impact of ravaging capitalism of the period,' stripping indigenous communities of their lands for economic, extractive purposes.

It was also during this time that the French writer and philosopher Antonine Artaud made a trip to Mexico. He composed his rich testimony in 1936, following a month's stay among the Rarámuri. He saw his journey from Paris to Mexico as a sort of philosophical pilgrimage. In looking for ontologies other than his own he got in touch with Rarámuri people who allowed Artaud to take part in a peyote ceremony.

He saw in the Mexican native people, and particularly in Ralamuli people’s lives, the ontology of the other which he had been looking for, and which he described as a Rarámuri philosophy. He thought 'philosophy' was expressed in every aspect of their lives,

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\textsuperscript{20} Four expeditions were organised by Carl Lumholtz to travel across the Sierra between 1890 and 1898, with financial support obtained in the United States and the authorization of the Mexican government of the infamous president Porfirio Diaz. The ethnic groups recorded in his works include the Opatas, Tarahumara, Cora, Huichol and Nahuatl Tarasco.

\textsuperscript{21} Lumholtz exemplifies the situation of the interethnic and social relation with the state, and what they had to endure as an ethnic minority within the Spanish political sphere; 'until very recently, all that part of the Sierra Madre Oriental, was under the control of wild Apaches...They are occupying the centre of the mountains, these marauders were devastating with raids the states to the east and west, pillaging villages, taking horses and cattle, killing men and sometimes enslaving women and children; because of this it the working of mines became impracticable; farms were deserted and churches built by the Spaniards were reduced to ruins... This tribe had become such a great calamity that the governor of Chihuahua obtained a decree by which the head of the Apaches would have a price, though soon he had to reverse this provision, given that Mexicans, eager to get the reward, were given to kill peaceful Tarahumara, from whom they tore the hair together with the skin of the head. Of course, it was very difficult to prove that did not belong to the Apaches' (Lumholtz 1904: 24 - 26).
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and did not always come in the form of words or thinking in specific ways, but was im-
manent in the way they see and live the world, in nature, objects and in their dress ‘they
wear their philosophy on their heads…’ Although he had more artistic concerns, his
argument makes several interesting points, which I concur with in this thesis. One is
concerning the gender complementarity of the people in the sierra, which he sees re-
flected in the two-sided Rarámuri headband; ‘If the race of Tarahumara wears a band
sometimes white and sometimes red it is not to affirm the duality of the two opposing
forces, but to show that within the Tarahumara race male and female exist simultane-
ously’ (Artaud 1984: 289).

As William Merril argues, Artaud’s ‘insights into the culture are tainted by his efforts
to achieve personal enlightenment and confirmation of his own elaborate conception of
the universe’. Artaud’s arguments for the acknowledgment of Rarámuri as accomplished
philosophers had been long dismissed under the argument that he had no ethnograph-
ic training and what he sees is through his artistic views. On the other hand, it does
seem to be more in line with more recent anthropological academic endeavours focus-
ing on understanding other views of the world.

As noted in the historical frame section Artaud’s, Lumholt’s and Schwatka’s consti-
tute, for the most part, the ethnographic registry of the native peoples of the Sierra
Tarahumara for the period between the end of the 19th and the first part of the 20th cen-
tury. It was only after the end of the Mexican revolution war of 1911, with the arrival of
the State’s integrative efforts that a reaching out to indigenous communities to integrate
into the national project took place. Un-integrated ‘tribes’ were approached again by
the government, to be incorporated as small ethnic agrarian communities into the na-
tional state. What the government found in the Sierra Tarahumara had little to do with
those small belligerent groups of colonial times. The number of native people was low -
there are around twenty-six thousand Tarahumara in the census of 1930. Of these, al-
most fifteen thousand only spoke their native tongue (dela Cerdasilva 1943), and almost any description of the groups coming from that time is along the lines of ‘Tarahumara people are a docile, caring, intelligent group, which can easily be incorporated into the national life, if resorting to a planned economic action, coupled with the opening of roads and the largest number of schools’ (de la Cerdasilva 1943: 39).

Moreover, from the dawn of the twentieth century onwards, the economic and political situation in the mountains was fast transforming. Since the 1920s, the Tarahumara began requesting the endowment of ejido lands. That was the case of the people of

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22 Ejido is a form of communal land ownership institutionalised after the Mexican Revolution of 1910, during the presidency of Lazaro Cardenas in 1934, when peasant land reforms were passed. The ejido as a way of land possession draws on pre-European uses of land (Cornelius & Myhre 1998, in Litka 2013). In brief, an ejido is a small plot of land allocated to farmers. Each farmer usufructs the plot which could be inherited but not sold or divided, as they are governmental owned lands, hence, not individual property. This changed in the 1990s when reforms were implemented that allowed ejido lands to be divided or sold as ejidatarios (land trustees) saw fit (ibid). In most instances, as is the case in the Tarahumara region, collectively large areas of forests or pastures are attributed to an ejido for their commercial exploitation, the benefits obtained by the utilisation of the natural resources or rent, are shared between the ejidatarios. Initially, local ejido authorities depended administratively on other regional and state authorities, and all, on the Secretary of Agrarian Reform, SRA (Secretaria de la Reforma Agraria), yet another legacy from the post-revolutionary times. The SRA was officially shut down in 2009 by the government because of a downsizing of governmental institutions in the context of the global financial crisis. Pedro De Velasco Rivero (2006) notes that; ‘The structure, financial operation and even the concept of receiving money from lumbering by a third party are completely alien to the Tarahumara thought’. And it is because of their lack of knowledge in addition to other historical factors, that the system favours the abuse of the Tarahumara people by intermediate authorities, manipulations and pressures on indigenous communities either directly or through sawmills (De Velasco Rivero 2006: 46). Ejido lands have been a source of conflicts between indigenous and mestizo communities, as will be elaborated further along in this thesis, but it is important to highlight the historical roots of the conflict over land rights. Following Sariego (2013), historically; ‘[w]hen state and municipal territories were delimited in the nineteenth century, and the ejido lands from the 1920s, native peoples’ views were never considered. Thus, Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Pima and Guarijios people were split administratively by municipal, and in some cas-
the ejido of Quirarare, who in 1923 made the request for the entitlement of their communal land as ejido; however, it was not until 1955 through La coordinadora indígena (the indigenous coordinator) that the lands were officially subscribed as such (Morales 2005: 101). During that period, the forests of the Sierra Tarahumara also suffered an irrational exploitation without any reforestation program to remedy the ecological impact. The destructive action reached its climax in 1950s and as a consequence by 1990 many mills had closed. Also, between 1922 and 1950, the federal government undertook the task of seeking full incorporation of the indigenous societies into the national sphere, its ‘mexicanisation’. Sariego describes this time as the rise of educational action (Sariego 2002: 139,143), in reference to the cultural missions that operated in the short period between 1923 and 1932. Later, in 1938 an Escuela Normal, a School for the training of indigenous teachers was founded in Guachochi. This ‘formal’ education was implemented in the hope that learning Spanish, in addition to an acculturation program, or, an acculturation by education more properly, would work to spearhead the integration of local native people of the sierra Tarahumara into national society.23

es by state borders lines. An example of this are the Pima and Guaríjos people in Chihuahua, in Sonora, and Durango and the Tepehuanos in Chihuahua (ibid.; 38).

23 This excerpt of the indigenous educational project in Creel of 1906 gives an account of the state views on their poverty and how they could be integrated in the productive chain of the capitalist economy, and of the paternalistic views of the State: ‘Indigenous school should have a few hours of work; should take the habit of physical work in practical things and hold them out immediately - what does hold them out mean?; It should be attractive and the word of the teacher must be guaranteed for the fact; You must inspire confidence; It should prove useful to be understood by the small - small sounds odd, how about young?. Education should be free of any veil that generates distrust; It should preferably be demonstrative of benefit to the Aboriginal and their parents, should tone its decay making it feel desires and aspirations; feel free to do so, that the spontaneity of the Tarahumara is achieved, to make known their individuality; should be conducive to home, for the child to take home something make known material gain for themselves or for their parents; should not be at odds with the parental home service requiring student; It must be a parenthesis the housework and field; should fill the leisure of the Tarahumara
Today, Sierra Tarahumara native people’s enduring resistance continues. As well as continuing to oppose extractive companies, Ralamulis are also now fighting the construction of an airport in Creel. Additionally, the placement of a gas pipeline that would run across the Sierra Madre affecting many Ralamuli lands, puts a lot of pressure on the indigenous communities that already had problems with narco culture taking over their crop fields and in many cases forcing Tarahumara to cultivate marihuana and join the local drug cartels. This, in addition to its historic poverty has made some Ralamulis look for jobs in other regions. This is not new; in the city of Chihuahua, it is common to see Ralamulis in their traditional dress on the streets looking for jobs, being abused by mestizo recruiters or field owners. Such is the case recently reported in national news of a group of two hundred Tarahumara people rescued from a plantation in the state of Baja California Sur where they were drawn under false promises of jobs. Instead, they were forced to live in conditions of forced labour and in unhealthy housing without earning any income at all (Guadalupe Perez Proceso Marzo 2015: 16). Apparently, indigenous communities are still faced with the choice of a life of retreat in the Sierra and resisting assimilation, or becoming mestizos and integrating into the State, both options have political and economic, and violent costs for the native peoples and their communities in the Sierra.

and should build trust in both the child and parents, winning the affection of each other. Our purpose (as civilized people) is to get the Indians to the march of progress; unite efforts to the national effort; unite the indigenous with us; to raise its moral level; make it useful to themselves, without constituting it - is it indigenous people or education? Unclear. a nuisance but an ally; and not take advantage of him eliminating it; infuse it with aspirations’ (Leon & Gonzales 2000:111).
The Sierra Tarahumara and its people in the present: Native people, the State’s integrative efforts, and violence.

‘They want to hold on to our resources, we have evidence of plundering by lumbering chiefs (caciques) and politicians who in collusion with the judges, stall the trials and pass acquitting sentences’ denounced the governor of the town of Urique, Lorenzo Moreno Pajarito, in its Ralámuli language. He added that ‘not even a hundred crusadas contra el hambre (crusades against hunger) would be enough to solve our poverty’ (Becerril and Baliñas, 2014).²⁴

Lorenzo Moreno’s metaphor on the economic situation in the Sierra Tarahumara provides a framework to locate local indigenous peoples, and describes their socioeconomic conditions, in present-day Mexico. It also allows us to understand them as the outcome, political and economic, of the historical encounters between indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara and outsiders over time. The present-day conditions of

²⁴ The ‘National Crusade System against Hunger’ was the flagship programme for social aid of the current administration in Mexico. Launched on the 22nd of January 2013, it became very popular in national media after accusations of embezzlement and political fraud for buying votes for the majority party of their main directors, many of who resigned amid these accusations. The Secretary in charge of the application of the program defined it as; ‘A strategy of inclusion and social welfare, which will be implemented from a broad participatory process which aims to combine efforts and resources of the Federation, the states and municipalities, as well as the public, social and private sectors, international organisations and institutions, to fulfil the objectives.’ (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, 2013). It was highly criticised from the begging as the objectives, limitations, and methodology of the program was unclear. While its main objective was, allegedly, to end hunger in Mexico, the millions spent fighting poverty never achieved a change in the social groups targeted. Now it is regarded as a populist movement of the President in power and a considerable failure of his administration.
indigenous peoples can be described as the interweaving of poverty, violence and failure of state policies of integration, despoliation of their lands and an associated worsening of native people’s life.

In Mexico, a country with a total population of 112 million inhabitants according to the last official census of 2010, only six million people are recognised as indigenous by the official figures. Being classified as indigenous in the official records depends on various factors, albeit speaking an indigenous language is the most important characteristic. In contrast to that official figure, roughly eleven million people identify themselves as indigenous or of indigenous ancestry in Mexico.25 The situation in the north is slightly different. For instance, although the state of Chihuahua has a population of 3.2 million inhabitants, only 93,000 of whom are speakers of an indigenous language, 1.9% of the total indigenous population of Mexico. Furthermore, 3.6% of Chihuahua’s inhabitants live in the Sierra Tarahumara or in the vicinity, and most, if not all of them live in poverty or in extreme poverty.

Chihuahua is the largest Mexican state, with an area of 247,000 km$^2$, and it has a high index of poverty and violence, is home to many of the poorest and most dangerous cities in Mexico (in 2010 almost 40% of its population lived in poverty).

According to the institutions dedicated to social development and the statistics concerning the programs to fight poverty in Mexico, in 2012 there were 1,338,400 people in Chihuahua living below the poverty line (Diario Oficial 2010: 13).26 In other words,

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25 To speak an indigenous language or to understand one constitutes the criterion on which one is recognised as an indigenous person in the census in Mexico.

26 This data is based on the Mexican government’s guidelines to index poverty, its types, and methodology to gauge it. The most recent statistics are from 2010, the year of the last census, and currently, constitute the operating guidelines according to which poverty is measured and deterrence mechanisms are designed.
they were unable to afford ‘nutrición apropiada’ (proper nutrition), and pay for the basic services, such as water, electricity, and gas, although in some cases people did not have access to all these services, to begin with. Of this world of poverty, almost 225,000 people were extremely poor, of which more than a half are indigenous, that is all these people leave with less than two dollars a day.

In many so-called developing countries, indigenous communities are frequently poverty-stricken to a high degree. Consistently, in Mexico, the states with the highest indigenous populations also have higher numbers of poor people with limited or no access to education, housing, electricity, and/or running water. According to the National Population Council (Consejo Nacional de Población, CONAPO), the degree of marginalisation of the population of the municipalities in the Sierra Tarahumara within the state of Chihuahua is estimated to be between 'very high' and 'high,' in comparison with the whole country. These indices are calculated from variables such as overcrowded housing, access to running water, drainage, electrical energy, wages, and illiteracy (CONAPO 1990)

These statistics have been confirmed by international bodies, such as The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In October 2010, the UNDP issued its annual report on the Human Development of Indigenous Peoples in Mexico, carried out at the request of the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Mexico (Comisión Nacional para el desarrollo de los pueblos Indígenas, CDI). At the time of the research for the report the municipalities of the Sierra Tarahumara, such as Batopilas that had suffered a two-year-long drought, had a Human Development Index of Indigenous People (HDI-PI) of 0.310. In comparison, Nigeria, the country ranked at the bottom of the list had an HDI estimated at 0.33 (Tellez 2014).

All municipalities in the Tarahumara suffer from poverty and hunger. Every year indexes of development show low numbers that reflect the dire conditions of the Rarámu-
ris in the Sierra. According to the local poverty levels measurement prepared by the National Evaluation of Social Development Policy (Comisión Nacional de Evaluación, Coneval), in 2010 the following municipalities were most poverty-stricken: a) Batopilas, with nine out of ten people living in poverty; 91.1%, and five out of ten in extreme poverty; 55.4%; b) Morelos, 90.4% living in poverty and 60.5% in extreme poverty; c) Guadalupe y Calvo, with 89.8% of population living in poverty and 47.1% in extreme poverty; d) Uruachi, with 89.7% living in poverty and 45.8% in extreme poverty; e) Maguarichi, with 89% living in poverty, and over four out of ten (47%) in extreme poverty. Among the municipalities with the lowest indicators of 'access to food,' there are Guachochi, where six in ten people suffer from hunger (60.7%); Balleza, with 40.6%; Carichí, with 39.5%; Guadalupe y Calvo, with 36.3%; and Bocoyna, with 33.4%. In total, according to the data gathered by the Coneval there were 104,234 people in the Sierra Tarahumara who significantly struggle to access sources of food (Tellez 2014).

These numbers lead us to question the reasons for the failure of the government’s indigenous policies; the State’s capacity to address and solve serious problems of poverty and marginalisation that affect the indigenous population of Mexico. I follow Luis Sariego’s (1994) arguments that these problems remain related to the State’s incapacity to generate its own policies. Instead of looking at the socio-historical roots for the poor living conditions of native people, creating concepts and poverty alleviation policies to understand, revert, and improve living conditions of indigenous peoples, the Mexican State has adopted a unifying policy to deal with all indigenous issues without looking the at inherently different needs of each group. On many occasions, the assumptions that underpinned the indigenista social experiment were far from consistent with the realities of the societies. Simultaneously, in most circumstances, the active or passive resistance of the indigenous people themselves mitigated or reversed the effectiveness of integrationist strategies (1994: 57).
An example of the first situation can be found in the model used to try to impose indigenismo derived from the Mesoamerican reality on the indigenous people of the Sierra. However, just like in the 16th century, this model did not contemplate the patterns of organisation and distinctiveness of the native people of the Sierra Tarahumara, and thus failed in the same manner.27

The example of the Consejo Supremo Tarahumara (CST) illustrates my point better.

27 According to the latest documentation, the State, its agencies, and secretaries in charge of the indigenous situation use the following concepts:

Indigenous people. According to Article 2 of the Constitution, indigenous people are descended from populations which inhabited the present territory of the country before colonisation and which retain their own social, economic, cultural, and political institutions or parts of them. While this is the definition established by the Constitution, the term Indigenous People is a concept that is still subject to discussion, both legally, politically, and socially.

Indigenous community. According to Article 2 of the Constitution, an indigenous community has the following characteristics:

They are members of an indigenous people, who form a social, economic, and cultural unit. They are situated in a specific territory, and recognise authorities themselves according to their customs and traditions. These communities are classified as indigenous, because of their organisational units based on a territory, which serves as the primary criterion. Therefore, belonging to an indigenous population is classified based on the following criteria: the territory which occupies, a certain mode of organisation or social structure, characterised by authority and a legal system of customary nature.

Native language. The language or indigenous language is a socialised communication system. It constitutes a mechanism of self-identification, through which their worldview is manifested. It is also a means for indigenous peoples to reproduce values, beliefs, institutions, forms of social organisation, and symbolic expressions that give rise to the expression of cultural diversity.

Indigenous territory. The indigenous territory is an appropriate area valued by indigenous peoples either symbolically or instrumentally. It is an area where an indigenous community practices and develops their collective life, their economic, social, political, and religious activities. Indigenous territories are geographical spaces that reproduce their cultural practices, such as the hill, the sacred site, or pilgrimage routes.

For indigenous people, the territory is a fundamental part of their history, their identity, and life itself; an essential and inalienable element of their community. According to the ILO Convention 169, an indigenous territory is one ‘which covers the total environment of the areas which the peoples concerned occupy or otherwise use’ (Roldan 2006; Serrano, Embriz and Fernandez 2002; Lopez 2006; Espinoza 2003; Sariego 1994 in Gimenez 2001).
The CST is a state recognised native political institution created in the late 1930s, which first produced a counter discourse to subvert the state’s one about indigenous policing, but which subsequently became alienated by the politicians of the party in power losing its representation among native people. The Supreme Tarahumara Council was conceived as a defence organisation and a channel for the demands of the Tarahumara expressed by their governors or siríame (Sariego 1994). The Congress agreed to appoint a group of indigenous teachers as leaders of the Council; they had been educated in agricultural schools. Thus, they have become delegates to all the governors or siríame of the following municipalities: Guadalupe y Calvo, Morelos, Nonoava, Balleza, Carichi, Bocoyna, Urique, Batopilas, Chinipas, Ocampo, Guazapares, Uruachi and Guerrero. The guidelines of the Supreme Tarahumara Council were mainly derived from the decisions taken by the ‘Tarahumara Peoples’ Congress’ that until the mid-seventies, gathered on a regular basis and united governors, and indigenous representatives throughout the Sierra Tarahumara. They would travel by road for days and gather in meetings of about 20,000 people, (Supreme Council Tarahumara 1974: 14).

The Supreme Tarahumara Council raised a number of demands, of which the following were the most notorious: comprehensive resolution of land tenure, establishment of schools and teaching posts, construction and improvement of roads and highways, telephone lines in remote areas of the Sierra, creation of medical posts and medication delivery systems, foundation of Attorneys for Indigenous Affairs in each of the mountain municipalities; providing a supply of seeds at appropriate times, comprehensive utilisation of forest resources for the benefit of indigenous landowners, and the political self-determination of indigenous peoples of the Sierra. But since the second half of the 1970s, the Council gradually became more bureaucratic, losing its link with the governor’s base (siríame) and other indigenous representatives. It finally became a resource and an agent, close to the corporative interests of the State. Today its independence
and ability to represent indigenous demands are minimal, demonstrating once again the ability of the Sierra groups to endow and remove any kind of representative power in one person or group of people (Sariego 1994: 164-169).

However, the role played by indigenismo as a state policy in the Sierra Tarahumara can be viewed another light. Beyond its role as an unsuccessful state initiative to hinder native people’s agency and as an acculturation program, it was also a device used by native people to negotiate political autonomy. In this sense, Sariego argues that ‘indigenismo needs to be seen neither as an ally nor as an antagonist to an indigenous status – with the political rights it entails being indigenous – but rather as a political context in which the native people as subjects and social entities have been developed, having to negotiate their own interests and cultural projects’ (1994: 57). In this complex framework of transactions and agreements, some of the indigenista strategies have been re-appropriated by native people following a logic of ‘survival and adaptation’, thus reinforcing their flexibility in terms of social organisation (Sariego 1994). He goes on to argue that ‘the communalist vision of Serrano Native people is both a theoretical assumption and a goal in indigenista action’ (Sariego 1994: 60). In other words, through different specific actions linked to ‘improvement programs,’ the Mexican government have sought to shape the way indigenous communities settle spatially, and the ways of their political organisation and representation. This can be understood as the enactment of government plans to make local native people more Mexican and less Indian.²⁸

²⁸ A good example of the prevailing post-colonial era understanding of the need to transform the indigenous community for their own good is offered by the 1906 law for the improvement and culture of the Tarahumara race (Ley para el mejoramiento y cultura de la raza Tarahumara). Promoted by the governor of Chihuahua Enrique Creel (1906), it basically put the Native people and their lands under the tutelage of the State, enabling them to expect the dividends of the capitalist economy to trickle down to those in more need.
It can be argued, following Sariego that this conception and the communalist praxis arose from the missionary experience of the ‘mission peoples’ of the 17th century and regained its force in the early 20th century. Then, it was reinforced, from the fifties of the past century on, through the National Indigenous Institute (Instituto Nacional Indigenista or INI), that tried to apply forcefully this conception of the indigenous community, and a development plan on the native people of the Sierra (Sariego 1994: 60). However, the INI had always found serious difficulties with regards to the implementation of such programmes, because of the socio-spatial organisation of the native communities of the Tarahumara, the rancheria, and their historical refusal to trade it in for modern commodities and services offered to them by the government, to a certain extent.

Negotiations between local native people of the Sierra Tarahumara and outsiders over the use of land and the creation, or transformation of, landscapes, specific, and sometimes divergent uses, and conceptions of nature continue to this day, and in many cases, they involve some degree of violence. In the following instances, native communities of the Sierra were subject to violence by outsiders. This violence, arises because of the desire of outsiders, mostly mestizos, for native people’s lands and to transform them, including them in an economic landscape in opposition to the ethnic, social landscape. These cases of violence have the particularity of having received some media coverage, which is more the exception than the rule. I use these cases to illustrate my point about the violence local native communities face daily to protect their lands. Despite the State’s efforts towards indigenista action and the corporative interest using ‘defenceless’ native people as targets for land redistribution or repurposing with a goal to set up commercial enterprises.

Such is the case of the gas-pipeline El Encino-Topolobampo. With an investment of
1,000 million US dollars, this TransCanada project is envisioned to install a 30 inches wide gas line 530 kilometres across the Sierra Tarahumara.\(^{29}\) This project has been causing disputes between the State and over 70 communities of the Sierra, who are unwilling to sell or give up their lands.

In 2014, the community of San Elias Repechique, of the municipality of Bocoyna, filed a formal complaint and started a now widely-known resistance movement against the gas pipeline (Referente Jul 9, 2015). This movement have made it to the national newspapers \((La\ Jornada\ March\ 26,\ 2015:\ http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2015/03/26/estados/032n1est,\ Proceso\ October\ 31,\ 2014:\ http://www.proceso.com.mx/386353/repudian-raramuris-proyecto-de-gasoducto-en-chihuahua,\ El\ Universal\ January\ 24,\ 2015,\ http://archivo.eluniversal.com.mx/estados/2015/impreso/raramuris-frenan-gasoducto-97607.html\) just to mention a few). In fact, it was reported to federal and state-level authorities, as well as to the company TransCanada, that the people of the community were opposed to the pipeline passing through their lands. Native people were asking for the recognition of their territory and for a change in TransCanada’s development plans at difference stances. Their argument has focused mainly on the danger the gas line represented to the forests and water springs of the community. Maria Guerrero of CONTEC, a consulting group supporting native peoples’ claims in the Sierra Tarahumara, explains: 'They already knocked down hundreds of pines, removed thousands of tons of land, covered ancient crossings and springs of clean water; In addition, they destroyed zones of pasture and plantations of pine' (Codigo Delicias May 11, 2016, http://codigodelicias.com/movil/ver.noticia.php?id=40343#.VzN ). As in the past,

\(^{29}\) The project and the documentation related to it can be accessed online at www.transcanadamexico.com/nuestros-proyectos-en-mexico
other native peoples’ arguments have been dismissed as backwards or ‘ignorant’. It was in one of these meetings that governmental officials made some remarks to some reporters, off hand, about the difficulties of reaching an agreement ‘with a community that does not know what a legal process is, which is advised by irresponsible people and who do not understand reason (for biological and intellectual reasons)’ (Referente April 21 2016 http://referente.mx/@Sarahi/el-gobierno-no-hace-llover-narracion-sobre-la-resistencia-civil-raramuri). On many occasions since March 2014, Repechique people had asked the government and the company during meetings and through formal written requests to change the course of the pipeline.

These meetings convened by the federal government have been replete with irregularities, which included officials rushing indigenous people to sign the memorandum of agreement, which violated traditional forms of agreement-making for these groups. The association said that any query required traditional ways for the communities to achieve a collective consensus. Therefore, they accused the authorities of violating the international principle of consultation, which emphasises culturally appropriate agreement-making, and excluded the Consultation Protocol. In response, the Department of Energy (Sener) organised a meeting in the town of Creel, in the municipality of Bocoyna, gathering some indigenous communities through whose territory the pipeline was going to run.

In this meetings, native people have accused the municipal and federal officials of tacitly endorsing the company as the officials never clarified what their role in the meeting or in the process was. It was suggested that that meeting was ‘more an intimidating strategy’ rather than a genuine attempt at arriving at a solution (Mayorga 2015). However, and despite some temporary judicial suspensions of the works, the gas pipeline works have continued and the project is due to be completed soon. Meanwhile Tarahumara communities are still waiting for the trumpeted benefits the works would bring
to the region.

Another case reported by the newspapers is the construction and start of operations of a regional international airport in the town in Creel, at the highest point of the Sierra, that would work as a gateway for international tourists into the touristic corridor of the Barrancas del Cobre. The construction of the airport started without the previous approval or 'consulta previa'. On April 24th, the people of Repechique, promoted an ‘amparo’ -a sort of temporary suspension- against the airport because the community had never been consulted about the airport, which was granted on the 27th of November and decided that the works should be stopped until the community were repaired for the damages done (Mayorga 2016).

The whole process of the prior consultation and the restitution of damages has been tainted by numerous actors and interests at play. For instance, the indigenous organisation Grand Supreme Council of the Sierra Tarahumara forged the signature of Nicolas Sanchez Torres, Governor of the community of Repechique before the Eighth District Court, to make the judge think that the construction of the airport in Creel had been agreed upon. The document with forged signature reads: ‘We agree that the completion of the airport construction will benefit the region if it includes the community, who will participate in decision-making concerning tourist projects given that the community members are in dire need of employment’ (Mayorga 2015). After finding of this, the people of Repechique told the authorities that before any agreement must first recognise they are the legal owners of the land. This conflict is still ongoing and the airport should start operating in some time in the not distant future despite native people's protest against it. While the people of Repechique still wait for the judiciary resolutions about the land ownership, and monetary and ecological atonement.

While the ecological conflicts listed above involve the government and the communities in a legal process over land access. In many other instances, violence is a compo-
nent of these ecological conflicts in the Sierra.

There are many instances in which the decision of the court was ignored in practice, enabling more impunity towards Indian communities. These communities would continue to see their constitutional rights violated in a twofold manner; on the one hand, such violence is perpetuated, on the other hand, the damages are not repaired. For instance, on the 21st of February 2012, a criminal court judge ruled that an alleged murderer, Carlos Torres, must restore land and a house that was wrongly appropriated in the suburbs of Baqueachi, municipality of Carichí. Simultaneously, he would not be investigated and no charges would be made for the death of Ernesto Rabago Martinez, the legal advisor of the Rarámuri Ejido of Baqueachi. Rabago Martinez represented the Indian community in the litigation against a group of mestizo farmers for the invasion and appropriation of more than 44,000 hectares of land. In turn, Carlos Torres, the offender and presumably the killer of Ernesto Rábago Martínez was released one week before the article came out (Garcia Hernandez 2012). These actions have only further supported the appropriation of indigenous peoples’ lands by mestizos and other outsiders in the Sierra Tarahumara. What unites the organised crime groups with large forestry, mining, energy and tourism companies is their haste to overcome the resistance of communities or even to remove them. Some level of negotiation is known to have happened, as mining companies may pay gunmen for protection. In some cases, these could be drafted indigenous people, associated with drug cartels. However, this generates increas-

30 To better illustrate the unequal access to justice between native people and non-native people, and of lenient sentences to non-indigenous peoples, Sariego (2000) makes mention that in 1969 the population in the prisons of the municipalities was 90% indigenous, and generally they are passed onto State penitentiaries to endure longer sentences. While those who ‘hook native people up to commit the crimes, live happily and peacefully enjoying the stolen goods’ (Ibid: 259).
ing pressure on the Indian communities as the payment to gunmen serving the cartels strengthens the economic capability of the cartels to recruit or force to recruit more people for their activities. Because of this, Native people become willingly or unwillingly recruited as part of the drug cartels.

For instance, on the 29th of March 2014, the Rarámuri community of El Manzano, in the municipality of Uruachi, was invaded by an organised crime gang. The families with young boys were waiting armed to resist the raid and to refuse to allow the young boys of the community be forcibly recruited. The young boys had stated in this regard: ‘they want to recruit us; [but] we want to continue studying and cultivating the land. We will defend ourselves, even if we get killed’ (Quintana S. 2015). A few weeks before the assault on el Manzano there was a confrontation in Tubares, the municipality of Urique, resulting in several deaths, including a family killed in the crossfire during an operation to shoot down the plane used to escape. Not a single representative of the state government suffered during the operation (Quintana S. 2015). The Attorney General of the state visited the place several days later; in a video footage from his visit he can be seen walking around town safely (...) escorted by dozens of state police officers (ibid. 2015).

In yet another instance, the village of Choréachi, in the municipality of Guadalupe y Calvo, is a village under the control of drug cartels. The traffickers make people grow marijuana and poppies. The Rarámuris who stand up for themselves and defend their forest and territory are frequently attacked. The cartel threatened to murder Isela Gonzalez, a member of the Sierra Madre Alliance organisation, and his lawyer, Ernesto Palencia, who support with legal assistance the native communities targeted by the drug cartels and other outsiders.

In all the instances above, there are two constant elements. First, people of the Sierra maintain a frequently violent relationship with the outside who over the territory they occupy. Secondly, the strength of the community is put to the test by the conflicting re-
relationship with the outside, which in many instances tries to draw native people in positions of power positions into a non-indigenous political sphere. I would argue that the strength of the community being put to test emanates from the political organisation, intra-ethnic set of relationships and with the nature of native people. One of the most outstanding elements of the political organisation of native people communities is the ability to endow or remove power from the leaders. Although negotiations with the outside are carried out through the person of the leader, his power emanates from the community and depends on its strength to maintain itself. However, the question that arises here is what has preserved the continuity of the community as distinctive native people through history, if not a strong leadership, despite the historical transformation of the landscapes, and what elements define the community itself since the early encounters of indigenous peoples with outsiders.

It can be suggested that the history of the encounters of native people with the outside and the transformations of it and the landscapes, represents the adaptative capabilities of local native people, who demonstrate unwavering resistance to be entirely integrated into a colonising State. Today’s instances of resistance, such as the meetings with the governmental officials over the gas pipeline and the construction of the airport, recall the instances in the records of the complaints filed by indigenous communities in the 17th and 18th centuries against the violence exerted by Spanish and mestizo peoples.

As historical records make clear, cultural groups of the Sierra are no strangers to violence. Their story has been one of subjugation and resistance since colonial times, the exploitation of resources began with the arrival of miners, farmers, missionaries, and the military. During the time the Tarahumara lived in missions, their submission generated a silent struggle, largely regarded as passive resistance, everyday resistance, or ‘weapons of the weak’ (Scott 1985). While at some times social upheaval against the Spanish and
indigenous foreigners in the region (Zing 1974: 13) led to open resistance, the risings throughout the 17th and 18th centuries must not be overlooked.

It should be noted that actions of active resistance continued even in the 19th century when some Tarahumara would join Apache raids that helped to sustain a discourse about the 'barbarous north'. Then, in the 20th century, institutions such as the Supreme Tarahumara Council were helpful in channelling Sierra Tarahumara peoples' demands but fell short of tackling the despoliation and many other problems faced by local native people. Today, the Tarahumaras, Tepehuanes and Warijios must face the same problems they have struggled with over hundreds of years, that is, negotiating their survival as cultural groups against the inclusive efforts on the part of the State, which tries to bring the outside into the inside of the community by infiltrating it through the social and political organisation of the community, and by reproducing specific narratives about these native peoples that have an effect on their daily lives.

As has been mentioned above, the mountains and valleys of the sierra are not simply a historical meeting point of native people and colonisers, a melting pot for ethnicities, or a colonial landscape of acculturation. Rather, they are landscapes of cultural and ecological negotiation and refusal. By moving in from the flatlands to the sierra the indigenous societies of Nueva Vizcaya refused to live subjugated by the colonial State and created spaces of political autonomy to the State. In this sense, Braudel's reflection about the relationship of the mountains with the outside, as landscapes of resistance, and their civilizations, seems notoriously appropriate for Sierra Tarahumara history; 'Their history is to have none, to remain on the fringes of the great waves of the civilisation, even the longest and more persistent' (Braudel 1953: 40).

In this sense, by not having a history, native people's lack of history cannot be understood as a lack of historical consciousness, but that the narrative about them concerns people that have resisted the incorporation of their communities and territories to colo-
nisation and extractive waves over time. And what is broadly understood as their history is the historicity of the ethnicities and modern ethnic landscape from a western narrative. What Marshall Sahlins described as the indigenization of modernity (1997: 21), whereby non-indigenous objects and knowledge has been instrumental in the creation of communities since the 16th century, will be significant in Part II of this work, where tarahumarización and ralamulización are further explored to frame the native communities, the relationship of native people with nature, and with the non-native as the source of ecological conflicts.
Indigenous mass at the local church in Arareko, Chihuahua 2014.
Part II
Introduction

The preceding part of this thesis dealt with the historical narrative about the indigenous peoples of Nueva Vizcaya. This was done by highlighting the long-lasting resistance by the native people following the coming of Europeans to the region, and the continuation of this resistance until the present day. In the same manner, the physiography of the Sierra Tarahumara of Chihuahua has been described in order to give a sense of the natural resources in region currently inhabited, where the historical and ethnographical accounts take place and which have been noted as the source of the conflicts between native people and outsiders since early colonial times.

During the era of the missions, new forms of social and spatial organisation shaped new landscapes in the Sierra Tarahumara. In the national period, extractive and other economic activities further encroached indigenous' territories. And more recently, drug cartels activities have put even more pressure on indigenous communities and their lands. Despoliation by and economic activities of the non-indigenous population continue to subject indigenous communities to violence and pose a threat to their separate existence. Tarahumara and other native peoples of the Sierra have effectively resisted the integrative colonial and post-colonial State's efforts to change the territorial and political organisation of the indigenous communities, however, through their socialisation and adaptation. The native people inside and outside the missions assimilated the changes into their culture and, from seventeenth century onwards, rendered the territory of the Sierra a space of organisation, autonomy, and defence of their own interests (Sariego 2013).

Part 2 of this work explores important aspects of the modern ethnic landscape of the
Sierra Tarahumara, that find their foundations in the time of the conquista and of the Catholic mission; ethnogenesis, violence and rebellion. This is theorized through a framework of *raramurización* and *tarahumarización*. *Tarahumarización*, I argue, is the narrative of the taxonomical organisation of the native peoples of Nueva Vizcaya in colonial documents, a categorization that persisted over time. *Raramurización*, then, is the recreation of the ethnicities fashioned in *tarahumarización* and their placement in the narrative of the spatial ordering of the Sierra Tarahumara. These two processes, I argue, frame ethnogenesis in Nueva Vizcaya as the result of the arrival of Europeans and the ensuing engagements of native people with outsiders that have shaped the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara. This understanding allows further discussion of the native community as an 'acculturated people' produced from the colonial period as a the result of negotiations between native people and powerful outsiders, hence stressing native people's agency in history (Pintado 2012, Sariego 2000, De Velasco 2006).

The first chapter of this part, Chapter 3, looks at a one of the largest multi-ethnic rebellions allegedly led by Tepehuanes in the seventeenth century in Nueva Vizcaya. The resistance movements, in the early moments, took the shape of large multi-ethnic rebellions whose leaders have been described as war leaders and shamans who 'reacted to the loss of status and prestige' (Deeds 2003: 13). This Tepehuan-led rebellion illustrates the movements of native people and the actions of the Spanish in the face of the uprising. This chapter also explores the taxonomical division of native people as a consequence of this uprising, a categorization which located Tepehuan and Tarahumara ethnicities at opposite ends of a continuum of types of Indians.

The following chapters of this part, Chapters 4, 5 and 6, focus on the problematic identification that arises from the ethnohistorical documents produced in the context of ethnogenesis in Nueva Vizcaya and its connection with the modern ethnic landscape
and contemporary indigenous struggles with wider Mexican society over natural resources and ownership. It is proposed that ethnicity, as a western epistemological construct, has developed as part of a narrative about the kinds of relationship that the State should sustain with indigenous communities. These narratives produce certain kind of indigenous communities, based on how they could be inserted into national society. This thesis thus examines how western narratives bring indigenous people into economical circuits and the historicity of this process.
Chapter 3

Indigenous responses at the crossroads of resistance and accommodation

This chapter recounts the 1616 uprising as a multi-ethnic rebellion led by indigenous leadership defying not only colonial agents and institutions, but the colonialist’s weapons; the imposition of Christian symbols and narrative on the indigenous religious system. In Chapter 2, I argued that a tarahumarización took place during the colonial period, shaping the ethnic landscape of the Nueva Vizcaya. And that tarahumarización is linked with the way ethnic identities were constructed around the establishment of mission communities, a negotiation of spaces between native local peoples and colonial outsiders to create new landscapes. Also, that when these negotiations turned awry, violence, in the shape of rebellions, was the most common outcome.

In this sense, the wide-spread, inter-ethnic rebellion of 1616 illustrates the rupture of negotiations between native people and outsiders. By calling all the native people to join the rebellion, for a swift blow get rid of the invaders and to take back things to the state before the coming of Europeans, the leaders of the rebellion were looking back to a world that stopped existing with the arrival of Europeans. But by failing to banish their enemies from their land, the connection with the pre-contact world was lost, as the subsequent transformation of the political role of the leader testifies. This rebellion will help
us to look at the socio-political interaction between subjugated and those in power, but also to assert the continuity and strengthening of inter-ethnic relationships between those inside and outside the Spanish settlements, through which rebellions were organised.

Also, I argue that the effectiveness of the missions and other Spanish institutions dedicated to colonisation and peace-keeping in the Nueva Vizcaya was diminished by the indigenous capacity for transformation that can be seen firstly in the presence of Christian-derived elements in their mythology and European practices in their daily life, and later in the change in residence: moving into the missions and other settlements and then back to the mountains, in the Sierra. Another argument that is of vital importance for this thesis is addressed in this chapter: the use of ethnicities, or nations, as categories into which native people were pigeon-holed. A clear example of this is before 1616 Tepehuan and Tarahumara were used together and almost indistinctly as a way to point out otherness in Spanish records. To draw a division between both ethnicities is very complicated in early Jesuit records but, as consequence of this rebellion, a taxonomical division arose that would put them on different ends of the continuum of types of Indians. This division was linked with a moral taxonomy in the Spanish view as Guidicelli argues (Guidicelli 2008). Moral taxonomy of the native people as historical narrative then extended throughout during the colonial age and into the republican period (with the addition of Apaches to the ethnic map of the region), and up to present day.
The 1616 Tepehuan revolt; ‘It is time to welcome death in the holy name of the Lord who sends it upon us’

‘It has been now a year and a half since this war begun, and it is inevitably true that since, it had such a severe and deliberate beginnings it will not be easy to conclude. These Tepehuanes [people] were induced to apostatise through instinct and persuasion by the devil. They set up an idol, they were governed by wizards and, in order to establish their new project, although they were numerous and extend over many leagues of New Spain, they at once attempted, for greater security, to convok[e] all the other nations of that jurisdiction. They were so astute and clever in this movement that there scarcely remain in the entire land under our rule … anyone who has not taken part in this uprising’. (AGI 66-6-17) Excerpt from: relación breve y sucinta de los hechos que ha tenido la Guerra de los Tepehuanes de la gobernación de la Nueva Vizcaya desde 15 de noviembre de 1616 hasta 16 de mayo de 1618.

In 1616, indigenous fears of Spanish settlers in northern Mexico conjured a revolt that would resonate throughout New Spain. The revolt was started by Tepehuanes in the town of Santa Catalina (Nueva Vizcaya) on November sixteenth in an effort to vanquish the European presence in the territory. The rebellion would gather many other ethnic

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1 ‘Hace año y medio que ya empezó esta guerra y es fuerza que la que tuvo tan rigorosos y pensados principios, no haya de tener tan fácil el dejo. Movieronse estos indios Tepehuanes a mudar religión por el instinto y persuasión del demonio y así levantaron ídolo y se gobernaban por hechiceros y para establecer su nueva elección no obstante que ellos son en mucha cantidad y corren muchas leguas, de la nueva España por mayor seguridad trataron desde luego de convocar todas las otras naciones de la gobernación y fueron tan astutos y mañosos en hacer este movimiento que apenas ha quedado en toda la gobernación quien no haya entrado en dicho alzamiento’. (AGI 66-6-17)

2 Today, the town of Santa Catarina de Tepehuanes, in the state of Durango. Retrospectively, describing this town, Perez de Ribas, makes some worthy remarks about it ‘The people in the neighbouring pueblo of Santa Catalina had always been the wildest of the Tepehuan (...) and they had already lost much of their fierceness, or were hiding it (...) Some sparks of these people’s natural fierceness still flew’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 603)
groups, such as Acaxes, Xiximes (Huerta 1966) Conchos and Tobosos (Reef 1995), and probably Tarahumaras, Tobas, and even mestizos and black people according to Arlegui (1976 [1851]). What marked the start of the rebellion was an attack on a loaded mule-train by local native people under the command of one of the Tepehuan leaders, Francisco Gogojito - Cogoxito according to Spicer (1968: 28).³ Albeit, the most recognised face of the indigenous leadership was another indigenous leader, Quautlatas. Despite his prominence, however, there is no certainty about his ethnic filiation. Deeds (2003) argues he was Tepehuan while Arlegui (1976 [1851]) appoints he came from the region of Nuevo Mexico. probably a bit too farflung to be of the Tepehuan nation. In turn, Perez de Ribas (1999 [1645]) only accounts him as the ‘demon leader’ of the Tepehuan revolt.

This alliance-based uprising marked a juxtaposition of socio-political elements; the encounter of the indigenous and colonial political projects that would affect the historical development of the inter-ethnic indigenous relationships. The supra-local character of the multi-ethnic rebellion of 1616 was not unique in itself but offers a window to explore the characteristics of the leadership on the rebel side. As mentioned before there are uprisings in the area since the early moments of colonisation in the mid sixteenth century, but they had mostly a local character; in 1604 there was a seven-month Xixime

³ It is quite common for historians of the rebellions to, in northern New Spain, mark the beginning of the rebellions by an assault to goods carried on mules by the Spaniards. Probably this is related to emphasise the dependence of Spaniards possessions northwards on those goods. For the Spanish settlers, the loss of these goods meant a subsequent period on shortage of the basics provisions and disruption of regional trade. An example of this is the fact that Powell indicated that the start of the Chichimeca war of 1550 is an assault on the Indian Zacatecas silver convoy bound for the City of Guadalajara. In this attack Diego de Ibarra lose more than fifty horses and was just a preamble to the following attacks that caravans and villages would suffer by the different nations ‘Chichimeca’. (Powell 1976: 38).
uprising leaded by an Indian that called himself 'bishop' (obispo) whom Christianised and married native people as well as conducting mass (Perez de Rivas 1645, Huerta 1976). These alliances can be found elsewhere in the colonial American context; the war of the mixtón in Zacatecas, in the Mayan region in south Mexico in the nineteenth century, and even in south America. For instance, in Amazonia, 'the Jivaro also presented these models of multi-community organization, and military alliances between local groups… that’s how many were associated by war against Spain' (Clastres 1978: 69).

The power of a good speech - nawésali or nawésari in Ralámuli depending in the region (Pintado 2012; de Velasco 2006) - was fundamental to leadership. A governor’s speech, or sermon - the Spanish word to differentiate it from any other conversation - should be a more solemn and elaborated way of speaking (Merril 1988) as the ability to speak forcefully was taken as direct evidence of their ability to 'think well', nátali (ibid.: 70), while even a poor speech could make a bad leader.\(^4\)

The speech or sermon is a moral and ethical narrative that condenses and reinforces ideas of what constitutes a person, their community and the cosmo-politics followed to maintain both.\(^5\) I contend that the sermon, \(^6\) nawésali, gives us a good instance to draw a

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\(^4\) Pintado notes that a leader without the ability of speaking good (hablar bien) is not respected by the community (Pintado 2012: 112)

\(^5\) According to Tarahumara mythology there are two bodies of beings to whom tribute is paid. Anayáwali or ancestors, who were the first people to dance the baskoli, so the piece of dry land surrounded by water would extend its size up until reach the size the earth is today; ‘those who, being "dead" are hanging around the house and the in lands of the Ralámuli without being seen, but it is possible to feel them around, you sense them as winds for instance’ (Sanchez Jorge Palma, 2002, and Valentin Catarino, 2004 apud Pintado 2012). And the second group, Onolíame, which is a concept that encompasses virtually everything, especially religion, and so is difficult to study. So, for example, Miguel Bartolome reduces the concept to a divine couple, father and mother God (Bartolome 2014); Pedro de Velasco sees it as a closer relationship between nature and what it represents, when tsgüino is offered to the sun, the moon and the morning star in tsguíñadas in the 17th century (Rivero 2006); and Eduardo Gotez likens it to an androgynous
parallel with those speeches given in the seventeenth century by rebel leaders to their followers and those expressed in the more recent ethnographic registry. If we look at the speeches beyond a formal analysis in terms of their structure and metonymic and synecdoche components, which Merrill looked at in his work of 1988, we will find how the edifying elements in both are contingent of the context. The words of leaders in modern speeches revolve around notions of peace, harmony and honesty that the community should follow. Paying attention to this, officials are supposed to be more observant as they are personification of peace-making and morality (Merril 1988). In the surviving (hostile) accounts, the leader of the rebellion is shown to express indigenous upheaval, although from this perspective, their motivation was portrayed as a product of the devil (Reff 1995).

The shaman Quautlatas said that in order to placate their true gods, they should put all former Christians to the knife, and mainly the priests and Padres who instructed them and all the Spaniards in the region. If they did not do it, a great catastrophe, con-

couple Onolüame-iyelüame, God the Father and God the Mother (Gotez 2012). It is considered that the approach by Ana Pintado is more comprehensive of the idea behind the concept as it refers to a total entity, and an everyday moral reference Ralámuli connect with the world of non-human entities that are related to the Ralámuli. It is a set of values expressed in multiple natural elements and body. Pintado tells people of Potrero, where she did her research, include them in their family tree, sometimes calling them by the term umúli that is a way to call the living grandfather or grandmother (Pintado 2012: 214).

Although Quattlas and other leaders are recognised as Tepehuan, in the present day the use of this kind of speeches are not reported in the group anymore. I argue that the reason for this is linked with the higher degree of mixed marriage with mestizos and other outsiders, and to the low population. The low population, I argue, is rooted, in the 17th century ethnogenesis of Tepehuan that implied a specific category of Indian. Also, it must be mentioned that during the revolts they were fought almost to the point of extinction. Perez de Ribas makes mention that almost ten thousand Tepehuan people were killed during the 17th century rebellions (Perez de Ribas 1996 [1645]) Also, it is reported, that today they have lost all their original myths so there is not a metaphysical entity to link themselves, as community, in sermons and speeches as Ralámuli people do. Albeit, Yoatzin Balbuena (2004) in her thesis recounts a myth of the cosmological origin of the Ódami which contradicts this theory to a certain extent.

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sisting of diseases, pestilences and famine would fall upon them. But if they obeyed him, he promised safekeeping for their lives, women, and children, and victory over the Spaniards. (Perez de Ribas 1996 [1645]:598-599)

Yet another element that we can see beyond the norm to be followed by Indians is that in communal action they are responding to the supernatural: ‘The belief in and rhetoric of supernatural inspiration galvanized and sustained the rebels’ (Reff 1995: 65)

In the sermones, for the seventeenth century Tepehuan and the modern Tarahumara people, an important role is to convey the hierarchical structure of the universe and of the indigenous cosmological relationships with the ancestors (Onolúame). All these actions constitute social acts; Tarahumara people must act in specific ways to be and remain people, this reinforces the idea that besides the biological facts, kinship is made through the sharing of similar bodies (Vilaça 2002: 353). To have similar bodies entails sharing the same obligations. The bodies are shaped by these social acts. This idea is also present in the consubstantiality, communal consumption of batari (tesguinadas), traditional drinking parties that continue to this day. Similarly, both elements, moral

7 William Merrill (1988) made this same question in a more empirical fashion with most interesting consequences that further illustrate the positionally and contingency of the self-perception of what constitutes a person for Rarámuri people; The term chabochi is used today not only by raramury and local mestizos to refer to people who have non-Indian physical features or practice a non-Indian way of life. So, when he presented Rarámurus whit pictures of American and African black people, they would be classified as raramury as they consider themselves to be of black or dark skin color, chokame. However, they would say that people of mixed descent, Rarámuri-chabochi, or mestizo acculturated Rarámuri people would point out their non-indigeneity. In contraposition to this, non-native people who adopt Rarámuri values, or adopt aspects of their culture could be characterised as Rarámuri, napuriga ranimuri (Merril 1988 :77)

8 Onolúame is who taught the Ralámulis how to make batari. He gave this gift to the Ralámulis so they could have parties and be joyful (De Velasco 2006: 92). The process of making this drink is considered to be very complicated and delicate by the Raramuri people. The batali is vulnerable to any negative situation that may arise, such as envy (Pintado 2012: 118). The role of batari certainly goes beyond the pure inebriation of the body; it is how nature gets into the body of the
discourses and consubstantiality, are present in the context leading up to the rebellions of the seventeenth century.

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The first blow of the rebellion of 1616 would claim the life of the Jesuit missionary Hernando de Tovar Santaren, hence the first missionary to be killed in the uprising, who

**Ralamulis** in the form of Onolúame, the comprehensive concept encompasses the totality of the non-human entities. Its social consumption is reported in all the fiestas witnessed by the missionaries who opposed to it vehemently as they saw the links between tesguino ingestion and uprisings. Luis Gonzales (1969) mentions that before and/or after the uprisings the Tarahumaras, along with other participant groups, celebrated by consuming large amounts of tesguino and dancing around poles adorned with the severed heads of Spanish people, a story which frightened the missionaries a great deal (Luis Gonzales 1969, *Neuman, Joseph Revoltes des Native people Tarahumaras* (1626 - 1724). Gonzales (1969) and de Velasco (2006) propose that its production and social role have not changed much over time. I would argue here that the elements that have not changed although they have suffered some transformation are how the Ralamulis insert themselves in the nature; their ways to reinforce the community by the ingestion of tesguino; and that there is an epistemological misunderstanding as we have been objectifying batari, and so looking at where it fits within social and religious structures, instead of examining its role in sociability. After all, batari accompanies Tarahumara from birth to death, is present in the agricultural cycles and at every fiesta, and could be the cause of natural disasters. It is present in every aspect of the ralamuly community (Gonzales 1969 *apud* de Velasco 2006: 90).

9 The father Jesuit Hernando de Santaren (??-1616), originally from Hueste, Spain, entered as novice of the Society of Jesus in 1582 in Villarejo Fuertes. During his training in philosophy he requested his transfer to New Spain, which was granted to him in 1588. He continued his studies at the Colegio de San Ildefonso before being sent to Sinaloa as a missionary. He finally arrived in Culiacan in 1594. Because of the animosities of the Guasaves against the missionaries in that region, he and his fellow Jesuit, Hernando de Villafuerte, were removed from this mission. Subsequently Santaren was sent to Durango where he was commissioned to effect the conversion of the Acaxees. He writes a series of letters annuas about this group that are of great ethnographic and historical value, describing in great detail their inter-ethnic relations, social organization, herbal medicine, ethnomedicine, institutions and culture. In addition to this, Santaren played an instrumental role in bringing peace to local native people during the frequent rebellions and uprisings during the early 1600s. Then, after receiving a new commission to evangelise the lower Pimas, while in transit to Guadiana he was invited to the unveiling of a virgin in the community of El Zape. He was on his way over when he was attacked by the Tepehuanes rebels (Gonzales 1993: 148).
was in transit from Culiacan, and according to Jesuit Father Andres Perez de Ribas (1999 [1645]: 606), ‘Santaren was the only missionary, they [native people] released their insults on as he was being killed’ : ‘These Priests think there is nothing more than teaching (us) ‘Out Father Who Art in Heaven,’ and ‘Ave Maria, let’s see how this holy man, God, resurrects him’ (ibid: 531).

Subsequent indigenous raids spread quickly throughout much of the region. Groups of neighbouring indigenous communities joined in the movement to challenge Spanish control. Many other towns were attacked besides Santa Catalina: Santiago Papasquiaro, San Ignacio del Zape, the mines of Atotonilco and Guanacevi, and neigh-

10 ‘Now is not the time for that. Rather, it is time to welcome death in the holy name of the Lord who sends it upon us.’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 519). Perez argues that these were the last words of the Jesuit Hernando Tovar just before being “martyred” by Tepehuanes. These words were told to a Spanish muleteer while he escaped and urged Father Tovar to do the same. In his history of the Jesuits missions in north Mexico of 1660, Perez de Ribas, devoted a whole chapter (XIX) of Book 8 to the life and martyrdom of this infamous member of the company, connecting him to the territory by emphasising his birthplace: ‘This blessed man was born in the Noble Villa de San Miguel de Culiacán, which is one of the oldest in the Kingdom of New Spain,’ while also linking him to the local political elite: ‘He was the only child of very lofty parents, Don Luis de los Rios Proaño, who was very well known because of his nobility, and Doña Isabel de Guzmán y Tovar, daughter of Don Pedro de Tovar, nephew of Don Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain. He was the grandson of Don Sancho de Tovar, lord of Villa Martin, and Doña Elvira de Rojas y Sandoval, sister of the cardinal Duke of Lerma’ (ibid.: 530).

11 Following Peter Masten Dunne (1958) in this regard; Tepehuanes had prepared this rebellion that occurred on November 21 at el Zape. On that day, the image of the Virgin Mary would be unveiled. This attack would mark the start of a general insurrection of the Tepehuanes with adjoining groups. However, a trader and a missionary who were visiting in the community of Santa Catalina were attacked initiating the uprising – the missionary Fernando Tovar was killed and the trader could escape to the town of Atotonilco – where he gave warning to the Spanish residents there hence Spanish residents have time to prepare the defence of the town and to give alert to neighboring settlements, thus avoiding a massacre (Masten Dunne 1958: 55).

12 The Real de Minas de Guanacevi was one of the northernmost Spanish settlements in Nueva Vizcaya, located in the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental. According to Giudiccelli it was second only to the Zacatecas mines in production although in the early 17th century the Real de
bouring Spanish *estancias* were completely destroyed along with their Christian missions. Indigenous communities of Nueva Vizcaya - following the Tepehuanes rebels’ lead - were recovering the territory one town at the time.

The scenario of a widespread Indian rebellion in New Spain against the conquerors occurred and could only have originated in the North. The rebellion held terrible possible consequences for the Spanish settlers. Indigenous resentment built up by years of mistreatment by the Spanish military, *encomenderos*, landowners and religious institutions could turn violent. And if the overwhelming number of indigenous people joined together, it would put the Europeans at a clear disadvantage and could end the relative stability of all Spanish possessions on American soil.

Reports of uprisings and assassinations, native people desecrating missions and burning towns to the ground ran throughout the territory of the Nueva Vizcaya. Spanish and indigenous messengers carried news of uprisings in several communities and missions and about killings of missionaries and Spanish neighbours (Perez de Ribas [1645] 1999). Requests for armed men for defence of the territory and towns were constantly sent from community to community alerting neighbours and the military. It was especially feared that the uprising could overstep the limits of the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, in which case the native rebels might have found allies in other indigenous groups Minas were the more productive. Not far from this mining camp the Jesuit missionaries had founded the mission of el Zape. The mission functioned as a ‘bridgehead’ for the Jesuit advance into the Tepehuan and Tarahumara ‘interior’ and extended their contact with local villages and missionary presence. ‘El Zape was apparently a node, a meeting of various groups of the sierra, related and allies, who came from the region of Ocotlan in the west, and from the Valle de San Pablo in the north’. Alliances formed in the war of the Tepehuanes would be recorded in great detail in reports of missionaries and other documents related to that war, these partnerships would often reflect in the form of kinship ties. Also, ‘Both the Sierra de Ocotlan as well as the vast unknown land that began in the Valle de San Pablo constitute the most secure and impregnable Rebels bastions, until the end of hostilities’ (Giudicelli 2008: 5).
which were still not completely under Spanish rule. The *mixton* war in Zacatecas (the territory south of Nueva Vizcaya) had only ended a decade before.\(^\text{13}\)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, much of the native peoples’ unrest was due to the way they were forced into Spanish colonial institutions, where they were often mistreated and abused. For instance, the institution of the *encomienda* is well recognised for its pivotal importance for the central region of New Spain, but its importance in the north is less emphasised. This mostly due to the ‘late’ colonisation of the north of the viceroyalty. In Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia, the governors had the attributions to entrust native people to the Spanish settlers in the province. The new trustees collected taxes, the amount of which was not regulated by the crown until the year 1582, when the system was replaced by three weeks of work per year per tax (Cramaussel 1992: 77). One of the many reasons for native peoples’ discontent that would lead to the rising of those who lived near the villages and Spanish estancias, was that systematically Spaniards had established their haciendas and estancias near the *rancherias* of local native people, would then incorporate them into *encomienda*. The role that *encomienda* and *repartimiento* played can only be understood from the pressure exerted by the scarcity of labour for agricultural work. Native people were forced into this semi-slave labour, unpaid and seasonal. For example, the making of charcoal relied heavily on *encomienda* and *repartimiento* labourers. The *carboneros*, or charcoal burners for ore-founding, were responsible for stripping the oak forests around Santa Barbara and Parral. Conchos, Tepehuanes, and Sinaloa peoples, including Mayos, made up most of the work teams. Also, the unskilled labour needed for the mines, came from the local native people

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\(^{13}\)William Powell (1979) has an excellent book on the Chichimeca War. He takes as the central figure the of Miguel Caldera, a mestizo which was to be named captain of the border, the highest military rank you could aspire to, and who is largely credited with achieving peace for this region.
Following Chantal Cramaussel, there were four categories of forced labour on Spanish haciendas. Firstly, Indian slaves, condemned to personal service for a specified time. Secondly, native war criminals that settlers tried to settle permanently on their estates; Thirdly, naborios, native people who were permanently linked to the finances of their masters. These Naborios were integrated into the mass of native people with permanent residency in the Spanish states during the seventeenth century; and finally skilled workers, standing servants, farmhands or ‘free employees’ (Cramausel 1992: 77). Each of these categories involved a series of abuses, for example: ‘Encomienda native people had become part of the permanent inventory of haciendas and were rented out to other employers.’ ‘It was not uncommon for stewards and overseers to profit considerably by keeping the workers’ wages for themselves’ (Deeds 2009: 71).

On the other hand, the pressure faced by indigenous communities to settle was disastrous. Native people who resisted Spanish pressure to settle were enslaved after punitive expeditions and sold in the mining centres. This process then led to massive population movements, similar to that of the time of the first reductions in missions, all in a context of profound demographic crisis, which sapped the vital energies of these socio-territorial units (Alvarez p 138-39).

This drive to incorporate native people, would see a system established whereby native labour was provided annually; repartimiento and encomienda. Who would participate in it was organised by Spanish-appointed local chiefs (Alvarez: 315-316). This is why is important to not overlook that the encomendero remained a conquistador figure, a man-of-arms receiving native people in encomienda for his merits in war. The encomendero in turn had the obligation of enforcing doctrine among the Indians and defending the province in which he was living (Cramaussel 1992). Eventually, renewed royal attention to labour practices signalled the demise of the encomienda in Nueva Vizcaya (after 1672 no new encomiendas were granted), but it also marked the expan-
sion of the repartimiento. The labour drafts of native people, of course, fell heavily on the Jesuit and Franciscan's mission people as these are the most obvious loci of congregated native people. Yet, the missionaries saw this obligation as a necessary concession to ensure the continuation of the mission system that would spread their gospel, their raison d'être.  

**Draw your weapons! draw your weapons! Spanish respond to an indigenous uprising**

The governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Gaspar de Alvear feared that if the revolt reached the chichimeca region, the fragile peace and control achieved after nearly fifty years of a bloody and costly war of ‘fire and blood’ would be lost. He also feared that with the

14 To see the link between violent riots and the process of distribution and forced allotment that took place in New Galicia, see the article by Salvador Alvarez; 'conquista y encomienda en la nueva galicia durante la primera mitad del siglo xvi: ‘bárbaros’ y ‘civilizados’ en las fronteras americanas; conquista y encomienda en la nueva galicia durante la primera mitad del siglo xvi in Relaciones, Vol. XXIX, Núm. 116, 2008, pp 135-188. El Colegio de Michoacán, Mexico.

15 Succeeding Francisco de Urdiñola as governor, Gaspar de Alvear y Salazar was governor and captain general of The Nueva Vizcaya from 1613 to 1618. In words of Perez de Ribas ‘was a pious and Christian gentleman and a member of the Order of Santiago’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645])

16 It is the name coined by the Spanish government to name the kind of war waged against the indigenous inhabitants of the chichimeca groups. It is a clear indicator of the type of measures that were used for the ‘pacification’ of the natives, mainly for this area, as this type of war was not used outside the context of the chichimeca war in New Spain, although this kind of use of the force was always recommended in the records at the moments of highest violence. It is
uprising the indigenous communities would go back to their customs and return to their pre-conquest and pre-evangelisation social organisation. This would continue to be a fear of the Spanish authorities. A hundred years later, the governor of the Nueva Vizcaya, Faini, would express the same concern amidst Apache attacks, also declaring that the native people of Nueva Vizcaya were guilty of infidencia (disloyalty); a term used for those understood as political subjects who had been unfair to their sovereign (Ortelli: 20). ‘The indigenous [people] have an innate love for the canyons and deserts and [a] undying boredom for life as Catholics.’ (AGN PI, 43, 1, 119, 123); Only in 1600 had the Great Chichimeca been declared a ‘territory at peace’. 17 Chichimecatlalli, ‘the chichimeca county’ was a term used by the Aztecs in the sixteenth century to name the groups at the north of their dominions who could never be conquered 18. The term continued to be used by the Spanish after their conquest of the Aztec empire as a generic definition for the inhabitants of this territory, with the pejorative denotation of being barbarians and savages (Powell 1977; Huerta 1966).

Father Andres Perez de Ribas (1645) accounts the Chichimec people in his ‘Historia de los triunfos de nuestra Santa Fe entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe’ published in Spain in 1645, as ‘the fieriest, poorest, and most barbarous nation of

the name he gave to the military entry to defend the newly acquired north of Mexico City, which carries the tone of seeking the destruction of the rebel Indian territories. 17 Philip Powell describes the Chichimeca war as the longest Indian war in North American History (Powell 1975). 18 Chichimeca was a derogatory term used by the Aztecs whose translation, according to Powell, would be ‘filthy dogs’ and ‘uncivilised people’ (Powell 1977:48). This would suggest that moral connotations had taken place before the arrival of the Europeans to the American continent. An opposition savage /civilised apparently took place and was linked to the uses of nature and political organisation. At the same time stresses the epistemological distinction between the north societies and those inhabiting the centre plateau.
This name is so famous that when one wants to say that an Indian is barbarous, ignorant, and a gentile, one refers to him as a Chichimec'. He states that it is:

'a word used not only by the more civilised Mexican nation, but also by our barbarous nations – here he is comparing them with the northern groups of Tarahumares and Tepehuanes who, he argues, consider to be called Chichimec an insult' (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 628).

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19 Jesuit Andres Pérez de Ribas was born in 1575 in Córdoba, Spain. He spent many years as missionary in the north of La Nueva España. Then, from 1641 to 1645 he was the provincial for the company, the highest ranked position in the company in the Americas. After leaving the office, he dedicated his time to research and writing the Historia. The Historia is basically a recount of history of the Jesuit missions of northern Mexico during the period from 1591 to 1643. It is also a great resource to look at the Indian-Spanish relationships and how they changed over time, the position that the missionaries took when facing the 'barbarians' and what they made of them and of their culture, in opposition to the European one, and of the missionary culture as well. In other words, it functions as a window that allows us to peek at the road the missionaries paved for the Spanish colonial government. This 'window' should be understood under their particular way of understanding the mission, the other's culture and their own. Perez de Ribas' Historia doubled as an edifying book based in the martyrdom of the missionaries, and as instructive for those who choose the life of the mission. The Jesuits who read the Historia learned not only about the nature of the mission enterprise, but about the qualities that were required of those who chose a missionary vocation. The value of Perez' work is not only in ethnographical terms, or a hagiography, his work constantly tells details about the material culture, magic and rituals, that contributes greatly in the analysis of the northern groups in the XVII to XVIII centuries. His work is also useful to see the conundrum the missionaries had to face in understanding different cosmologies and ways to understand and organise the world. In his critical introduction of the Historia, Daniel Reff (1999) touches upon a significant subject to be discussed more in detail in the following chapters in the thesis along the same lines. 'Arguably, Pérez de Ribas and most of his Jesuit contemporaries never resolved in their own minds the question of Indian identity' (Reff 1999: 5).

20 Therefore, it can be understood that Chichimeca is a category that encompasses a large number of peoples with different cultures, names a hostile and uncivilised space in open opposition to the European idea of civilisation and civilised life; political and Christian life, which the Spaniards meant living in towns with agricultural activities with a central authority or recognisable form of government for them, not the self not centralised, less hierarchical groups-desert North / nomadic / barbarism, which is opposes cultivated space / sedentary / civilisation (Rozart 1995:66).
This conceptual opposition between civilised and uncivilised, or enemies, is very clear in the work of Perez de Ribas, when he later compares them in opposition to the Mexicas, which for the Spaniards were somewhat closer to a civilised nation.

The ferocity of the Chichimec [people] as such, that no matter how many times the ancient Mexica tried to subjugate them, the Chichimec proved indomitable. Later, Spanish people also tried to subjugate them but many died at the hands of the Chichimec [people] (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645: 628]).

Thus, rendering the pre-evangelised Chichimec as the quintessential barbarian, an enemy the Spanish government did not want to deal with, nor wage another fifty-year war, particularly if they would ally with other northern groups and all the Spanish possessions would be at the brink of being lost at any time. This division between civilized and uncivilised, typical of European medieval epistemology (Bartra 1992), built upon the pre-colonial concept of Chichimeca, remaining as a way to divide indigenous groups. This binary categorisation of groups as either morally good or evil persisted through the colonial age and extended into early modern Mexican times, it was intensified by the incorporation of Athapascan groups - such as the Apache and Comanche peoples, who were seen as even more barbarous - into Mexico in the nineteenth century.

The news that reached the city of Durango, then called La Villa de Guadiana (Saravia 1993), about indigenous triumphs and the destruction of towns and massacres, spoke of

21 What is important to stress here is the open opposition between two moral categories; In-civilizado-guerrero/Civilizado-de paz, and of the role of the institutions in transforming one to the other. Particularly, that the missionaries played in such transformation which would justify their activity in the region to the Spanish Crown, 'Chichimec [people], were not pacified [but] until the evangelical ministers began preaching among them' (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 268).
a rebellion of extraordinary proportions.\textsuperscript{22} The revolt set in motion the Spanish war machine, to prevent the overflow of violence outside Nueva Vizcaya, the reaction was first defensive and later punitive, and comprehended the area from the city of Durango down to Zacatecas,\textsuperscript{23} the most famous mining town in New Spain at the time. Gaspar de Alvear, governor of Durango and captain general of Nueva Vizcaya, sent word of events to the viceroy in Mexico City, Diego Fernandez de Cordoba, Marquis of Guadalcazar. He asked for men to defend the city of Zacatecas and to send news to alert the border outposts and the neighbouring villages, while he was organising the defence of territory.

\textsuperscript{22} The city of Durango, funded on July 8\textsuperscript{th} of 1563, as the Villa de Durango by Diego the Ibarra, after a first settlement was established by Alonso Pacheco (Saravia 1993: 272), has been historically one of the most important ones in the north. It seated the government of the Nueva Vizcaya and most of the commerce with Mexico City to and from the mines and to go through it. Also, it was an important place for the distribution of livestock and farming products. It became bishop’s seat in 1620, prior to this, it depended on the bishopric of Guadalajara (Saravia 1993: 308).

\textsuperscript{23} According to Perez de Ribas’ accounts, the city of Zacatecas is at eighty leagues from Mexico City, roughly 400 kilometres. Although, in his manuscript this distance constantly changes. In fact, the distance between both cities in straight line is 515 kilometers In turn, the city of Durango is at 766 kilometers from Mexico City, 150 leagues accordingly to Perez de Ribas. Reff (1999) tells that for 1643 the silver mines in the Sierra Madre Occidental had generated more than twenty-nine million pesos in ‘taxes’ (quinto or royal fifth) for the crown’. Perez also helps to clarify what this money would amount to in terms of the amount of silver extracted from those mines; ‘These mines provided half or more of the silver that flowed from the New World to Spain’... ‘It is widely known that among the many rich miners of Zacatecas some have paid the king five hundred thousand pesos in taxes from their mines’...’ How much more they have made from the bars of silver that were not stamped and registered, and from which were taken the crown’s tax of a fifth? You figure it out.’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]) The city of Zacatecas, since the discovery of large deposits of silver in 1546, attracted a large number of free and forced labour from other non-European ethnic groups apart from the native people subjugated. For 1581 there were about 6,000 African and Indian slaves, mostly from central Mexico to work in the mines of Nueva Vizcaya; Fresnillo, Sombrerete, San Juan del Rio de Durango, Durango it, Inde, Topia and Santa Barbara. Over the years, a crowd of people rushed north. Soon the metal was also found in more northern lands that became a period of twenty years the most coveted veins of Mexico. The economic importance of these northern cities was massive. (Paso y Troncoso 1940: 3,5,15 apud Saravia 1993)
The deputy commander-in-chief, Pedro Salazar, mobilised all the people under his jurisdiction - all the Spanish people south of the border of Nueva Vizcaya, as vassals of his majesty. He enlisted men and arms, and forced the former to provide themselves with muskets, or if they could not, with spades and spears. The cities and neighbourhoods in the north had a very low number of soldiers and, like Nueva Vizcaya, the city of Zacatecas and the towns around it relied heavily on the militia organised by neighbours for its defence. The people, moreover, were expected to ascertain for themselves if strange Native people or Tepehuanes were in their districts and, if so, what the purpose of their presence was. The information received by Governor Gaspar de Alvear spoke of about four thousand Tepehuan people and other native Indian allies raised together to attack the city of Durango and an equal number of individuals ready to plague the Nueva Vizcaya. This draws attention the low number of professional soldiers in a region known for its violence and constant Indian attacks on Spanish settlements and mule trains. In a census conducted in 1604 by Francisco de Urdiñola, Governor of Nueva Vizcaya and predecessor Gaspar de Alvear, there are only five soldiers in the whole territory; two soldiers in the town of Durango, one more in the Real de Chametla, one in Santa Barbara and one more in the Real de Todos Santos.

The process under which the mobilisation of people to defend the cities was conducted was relatively simple; In each village, a proclamation to all residents and people who were in the village passing by was published; merchants, travelers and freemen who were considered Spaniards legally declare the weapons and ammunition they had, and presented themselves for conscription. Likewise, it was decreed that during the duration of the emergency it was forbidden to leave the village without permission. This procedure, under which citizens would defend their own city from the attack of the native people, was normal for several years. During the war waged against the Chichimeca native people, attacks on cities were weathered in this same way.

In an expedition led by Capitan Montaño that same year to scout the territory for rebellious indigenous groups his people came across a squad of Tepehuan people, and they managed to capture an Indian named Antonio. According to Ribas, he declared in his confession that he had
Although it is possible that the number was greatly exaggerated by both Spaniards and native people, thereby magnifying the alarm about the precarious situation of Spanish. In order to prepare the defence of the territory, the governor made arrangements so the cities of Durango and Zacatecas had enough currency from the royal treasuries of those two cities for the necessary expenses of the defence.

Also, as part of the preparations and probably looking at the possibility to pursue Indian enemies once the attack on the Villa of Durango was successfully resisted, the governor called a council of the members of the Real Audiencia, other 'illustrious' men, and members of religious orders. According to Ribas, the purpose of this reunión de consejo was to decide on the degree to which war should be waged against the Tepehuan, and to plan accordingly; 'I have been an eyewitness to such meetings, when the Spaniards proceed with great care and justification' (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 614). This justification and long explanation in Ribas’ accounts has its grounds in the poitico-legal, moral-religious, economic and strategic reasons to refrain from brutal reprisals against revolting Indian communities but that clearly the meeting chose a very strong response with only token safeguards for innocent life. How effective these safeguards were and to what extent the decision was motivated by prejudicial opinions of the indigenous people, panic, strategic considerations or greed and cynicism are also up for debate.

As noted earlier, the law expressly prohibited launching a war to kill the indigenous population without justification. This justification had to be founded on actas de cabildo and war could only be waged on certain grounds. One of them included the reading of the estatuto, a judicial requirement with which the King’s representatives give the enemy

been present at all the killings and robberies that had taken place when the uprising started, in Santa Catalina. He further confessed that the conspiracy had been so widespread that the Tarahumara, Ocotlán, Xixime and Acaxee people, in addition to some other unnamed groups that also participated (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 616).
an explanation and opportunity to concede. It was later reiterated by King Philip II's Ordenanzas of 1573, which mandated not to use any force against the natives (Uribe 2006)

27 Ribas himself gives a short explanation on the subject;

'It is good that other nations realise how cautiously Spaniards proceed and how they pay great heed to their monarchs' orders to justify wars and taking an Indian's life or liberty, no matter how barbarous these nations may be' (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 614).

At the council meeting, it was approved to engage in war, and the type of violence to be waged on the enemy, 'with blood and fire', the same type of war that permitted the Spanish government to pacify the Chichimec area, not even twenty years before. The control over the territory in the last war, of Mixtón, had come at a high cost to the royal treasury. This was the economic reason why this kind of war was meant to be a last resort. But on the strategic side, such a bitter war could help indigenous communities to create long-distance alliances between groups, and sometimes could make traditional enemies into allies. It could stir up old resentments towards the Spanish settlers after years of violence and forced labour, leading to new attacks on Spanish economic assets such as mule trains, reales de minas, and ranches. So, a special condition was issued for this war; 'always be mindful that the innocent and the least culpable should not be harmed' 28(Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 614).

27 By the time Spain took possession of the New World, the preeminent legal system of Spanish Peninsula was contained in the ordenamiento de Alcalá (1348). A legal statue issued by the King of Castile and his Cortes, it mainly addressed property, criminal, and procedural issues (Uribe 2006: 70).

28 Following Todorov (1984) in speaking of the letters of Columbus as a literary device rather than as a way of representing reality, many similar aspects can be found in the writings, and documents of Ribas and his contemporaries. For example, technically many of the events that Ribas describes may not literally have happened, but they are still valuable as literary creations that
To defend the city, the governor Alvear, commanded blockades to be built in the city’s streets (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 614). For the construction of these fortifications, excavation of trenches and the protection of the towers, lots of manpower was needed. The governor commanded the indigenous people in the neighbouring town of el Tunal to provide this labour. The dependence of the Spaniards on native labour for any type of work – even in times of crisis – is clear. Thus, the balance of power between the various actors involved: Indigenous as the subjugated and Spanish as those in power is expressed in an unusual relationship at this moment. This new scenario puts the native people as both the threat to and indispensable to the survival of the Spaniards. The information the reports gave indications that the raised native people surrounding the Spaniards and those that were force to help them with the defences of the city, probably had some kind of relationship between them, either political, of kinship, or simply, the idea of freedom from Spanish rule get closer the indigenous within the city and the rebels.

Both the Spaniards and the native people may have been unable to recognise the degree of division and heterogeneity in their ‘other’, despite their awareness of even subtle distinctions with their fellows. Paradoxically, divisions in the projects carried out by diverse members of each side meant a complex and often contradictory set of demands upon the other that further split individuals and communities. For example, Indians were meant to become Christians, to become free labour for Spanish economic interests, and to be productive subjects of the Spanish Crown all at the same time. A spir-

speak to the beliefs and narratives deployed and actions thought likely and reasonable at that time (Todorov 1984 :65). This furthers the argument in this thesis of the creation of a colonial narrative of types of Indians, an ethnogenesis, that located native people within a context at specific points in time, which was kept in use and can be linked to the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara.
ritual mission that sought to convert the native’s souls to Christianity. An economic one, seeking to transform nature, through extracting the rich minerals and other natural resources, for the benefit of the Crown. The colonial government, seeking beyond than just souls and to transform nature, to transform indigenous peoples' relationship with the environment they occupied, with other indigenous groups, and with other individuals, trying to make them subjects, similar to Spanish people, but in a different category at the same time.²⁹

In the context of recruiting the people of Villa de Durango for its defence on the eve of the attack, it can easily be seen the precarious position of indigenous peoples within the Spanish justice system, and how this could change rapidly. There were moments of indeterminacy between semi-civilized, friendly and subjugated Indian or uncivilized rebel. Meanwhile the new Laws of 1542 got cancelled along with the ordinances and royal decrees defined the power of the representatives of the Spanish State and its subjects towards native people, protecting the native people to some extent and forcing the Spanish authorities between other things to use less violence towards them.³⁰ However,

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²⁹ This point is elaborated further in subsequent chapters. But what is required to highlight here is, on the one hand that the conquest was not a homogenous process. It was carried out in several areas, where the economic and religious differences between groups are evident. Even the conquistadors were different, there was not a single Spain, for instance, the explorations in the Nueva Vizcaya were mostly led from people from the Basque country and Northern parts of Spain. This translated in that the views on territory and Native people, were approximately the same, although understood and framed from different logics. And while there are many parallels in what was to be done, also had many disagreements on how to deal with local native people. A clear example of this is the continuing conflict over indigenous lands among native people, settlers, ranchers, missionaries and government. Francois Chevalier’s classic book: Land and Society in Colonial México: The Great Hacienda (1966) provides excellent information and elaboration in this regard.

³⁰ The legislative corpus in favour of the native people was based on years of discussions between the conquerors and religious men of various orders who saw the level of exploitation by
by reverting or suspending these rights in emergencies, it could still be allowed just what these laws sought to prevent.

Ribas mentions that the Tunal Tepehuanes mostly 'helped' in the preparation of defences. Which means they were taken by force by the militia for the works; or that there was a presidio near the city to protect it in case of Indian attacks (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 616); or that native people from el Tunal were brought in by some Spanish landowner to the city to raise defences and help other preparations. While the defences were set, a religious man from the order of San Juan de Dios purportedly overheard a

the Spaniards, coupled with the experience of the West Indies where the indigenous were wiped out. They called for the creation of a series of laws and obligations based on Christian morality and provided the impetus for the Alexandrian Bulls whereby the Spanish King not only received the right of conquest from the Pope but was required to convert the inhabitants of the newly discovered land. The laws were patronizing and their protection were not systematized. At first, the Derecho Indiano, was made upon old statutes issued by the Spanish Crown in order to govern the indigenous inhabitants, trying to regulate their subjects' daily life. As the distance increased from the place were Viceroy and government were settled, frontiers and peripheral regions, speed played an important role in how local power addressed regional issues. This allowed local powers to achieve some independence and to cater to their own interests. In practice, the distance between local and central authorities allowed a large gap between acknowledging royal orders and enforcing them (Uribe 2006: 73). The superposition of these laws also allowed and encouraged many times the continuous disputes between the encomendados, and religious divisions, as is the case in the Maya area of Mexico, see Converting Words; Maya in the age of the cross (William F. Hanks 2010). The first chapter is particularly important: 'Perpetual Reduction in a land of frontiers'. In the Nueva Vizcaya, this conflict was expressed between the perpetually divergent interests of missionaries, ranchers, miners and soldiers.

31 These presidios were a military enclave by the Spanish Crown and had the task of ensuring both transit cargoes and passengers who travelled the route of the Camino Real, and the subjugation of the indigenous population, and helped them to missions when they were attacked. These elements present in the novohispano northwest, were defined by Frederick Turner (1893) as typical border elements, it is through her definition of the mission and presidio as typically border institutions that historiographical modern studios began these institutions that helped the creation of economic circuits, formed wealth and helped the colonization of northern New Spain.
conversation between two native people apparently without being noticed by them. They were complaining about the hard work; ‘Go ahead, make us hurry along today, tomorrow you'll see’. To this most likely fabricated anecdote, Ribas feels compelled to add, ‘He [the governor], in a naive fashion, did not realise that the people of Tunal were the Tepehuanes’ depraved consort’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 616).

In Ribas’ account of this episode, apparently, upon the governor hearing this conversation, without warning to the native people of the region, the governor imprisoned the local indigenous leaders. And, they were tortured until the ‘truth’ of what was happening was discovered (Ribas 1999 [1645]: 615). While what Ribas means by truth is a bit dark and it refers to the narrative he maintained through his work in ‘The Triumphs of our holy faith’, in which consistently opposes the native people with Spanish as opposite poles.

Ribas saw the work of the missionaries into converting the bodies and souls of the indigenous as the only way to change all the bad things of the indigenous nature into the good Christians need by the Crown. He constantly cites that the Jesuit mission and its

32 The order of the Franciscans who had closely followed the Captain Ibarra from his first expeditions, helped to establish a hospital in the city, which was first called the Santa Veracruz, although they were not working ‘actively’. Then, the hospital activities started in 1610, when it was appointed under the care of the Order of San Juan de Dios, initiating its activities permanently. The Franciscans also had a monastery in the city. There was also in town, at the time a Jesuit College, and the parish church attached to the hospital (Saravia 1993).

33 These reflections are a constant in the text, ‘One night a demon entered into a woman, or perhaps they were many demons. This notably affected her and caused her to grimace horribly’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 92), ‘Because there were so many demons wandering about Sinaloa, it is no wonder that there were so many people possessed by them’ (ibid.:242). This one on hand shows part of the European mediaeval imaginary poured upon the uncharted territories of America. On the other hand, brings up the problem of translation and the acknowledgement of an unknown nature that need to be fathom before the indigenous souls could be converted completely.
conventions works is the only way to achieve that. Also in his account, he uses symbols throughout, to show that the nature of the native people is not so different from the European in that as humans they can easily break ethical boundaries, and makes much emphasis on that native people are constantly tempted by evil itself to carry out their evildoings. The native people are possessed by idols or demons that live in the desert - which according to Ribas is where the devil lives - and so are deplorable in morality and the dark nature of the land was also responsible for the bad behaviour of the Spanish towards the native people.\textsuperscript{34}

Moreover, in the description of Perez de Ribas speaking of the natives of Tunal as a homogeneous mass of individuals, there is no reference to social networks different indigenous groups maintained throughout the region, inside and outside the city. The region was a space in which different ethnic groups had lived and developed over time, with complex sequences of feuds and alliances that are overlooked in Spanish documents. The heterogeneous ethnic landscape around the city, as anywhere else in Nueva Vizcaya, was constructed over hundreds of years by the overlapping uses of the space by different groups using it with different purposes: hunting, gathering, raiding. These different uses built a common history whereupon inter-ethnic networks were created, these ties were reproduced in the cities, and probably strengthened due to the animosity against the Spanish. The ‘putting together’ of different cultural groups in a small space, the transformations through daily, repetitive practice of social behaviours are

\textsuperscript{34} To get a deeper insight about the construction of the desert as a place where Christians would face serious penalties for personal and glorification of the Christian god a notorious article is: ‘Desiertos de rocas y desiertos del alma. Un acercamiento antropológico a la crónica de Perez de Ribas’ de Guy Rozart Dupeyron in Hernán Salas Quintanal y Rafael Pérez Taylor (eds.), Desierto y Fronteras pp. 315 - 322, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas-UNAM, Plaza y Valdés Editores, México, 2004.
overlooked by Ribas, probably consciously, in his transformative effort.

The commentary written by father Perez de Ribas certainly works in the same fashion as many of the symbols preceding a tragedy in his narrative, which are associated with the presence of dark entities, that go against the order or christianity; black winds, eclipses, voices in the night, spirits in the mountains. All of them are an omen of what is to come. The millenarist character of the rebellion goes along the lines of the speech produced by Perez de Ribas and other missionaries (Ratgay, Guadalaxara y Tarda, Arlegui) who saw in the revolts elements of their own Christian narrative mixed with mythic conceptions in the indigenous groups leadership’s revolutionary speech. Who they took for shamans, is in turn contingent to their own, Catholic narrative, although it could be seen as a prophetical transformation (Viveiros de Castro 2010: 158) but from the perspective of the missionaries, in the sense that the role was constructed from an external discourse rather than from a political internal evolution of a specialised body. Also, it is interesting in his narrative that the warning comes from the native people themselves, the devil and evil acts cannot be hidden to the Christian; ‘Suddenly a cry and uproar arose in the city. The alarm was heard, signalling that the enemy was at hand and killing Spaniards’ (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 614).

The consequence of the alarm was that the soldiers who were guarding the prisoners heard the shout: ‘Draw your weapons, draw your weapons!’ and they drew their swords and daggers and stabbed the prisoners to death (Perez de Ribas [1645]: 614). As an almost Christian act of repentance before death, a pair of prisoners confessed that they had allied with the Tepehuanes and were just waiting for the attack on the city to join the destruction and killing of Spaniards. In the account of the facts of the Jesuit Perez de Ribas, everything happens by acts of luck or divine favours that will save Spaniards from the slaughter, which reinforces the idea of the supernatural intervening in earthly affairs. Listen to indigenous on the barricades unnoticed, arrest the leaders, find a crown of
feathers which cleared him from any doubt over the intentions of the indigenous to crown a new 'king' once the Spaniards were all dead: 'a crown of rich plumage was found in the home of an Indian from one of these pueblos whom they had chosen to be the king of Durango and its province' (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 614).

Suspecting that there were even more spies in the city of Durango, and other native people within the city cooperated with the rebels or at least were aware of what had been orchestrated, before leaving for el Zape to personally see the destruction that was inflicted on the village and to meet with the governor, the governor sent to gather the Tepehuan leaders of the villages near the town of Guadiana, as it was called the city of Durango at the time, and not believing her refusal of their involvement or complicity in planning the uprising, he sent seventy of them to the gallows (Deeds 2003) and ordered them to be hung around the periphery of the city.

The attack on the city of Durango did not happen in the expected proportion, allowing the governor Alvear to get together a force of about seventy Spanish soldiers, and between one hundred and twenty to two hundred 'friendly Native people' (Conchos, 35

The term spy is used notoriously in the work of Perez de Ribas, sometimes of native people who lived among the Spanish colonists, other times to describe native individuals posted outside the villages in hiding, watching the movements of the Spanish people. Usually when a spy was 'found' they proceeded to torture him for information about the rebelling native people. What is never clear is how they discover those spies '...a spy happened to be captured in Durango. After he was placed in prison he confessed...' (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 628) 'They [Spanish soldiers] captured alive an Indian named Antonio, who declared in his confession that he had been present at all the killings and robberies that have been taken place (since the initial attacks in Santa Catalina). He confessed that they had spies who kept them informed of the Spaniards' intentions' (ibid: 616). This invariably reflects the relationship between the indigenous population inside and outside of the cities and missions and additionally provides moral justification to the Spaniards (Whitehead 1999). The justice rendered by the Governor in many cases reveals a vindictiveness, which can be easily extrapolated to the attitude of the Spaniards towards the belligerent native people. Suspects are executed summarily, with open revenge tones. This is closer to an act of violence that our modern conception of justice.
and Laguneros peoples) to fight the Tepehuanes and their allies that roamed the city surroundings. In December of that year the governor led a column of soldiers to Guanacevi and the hacienda of Sauceda where some Spaniards still held out. Their attackers fled, and in their pursuit, Spanish soldiers took prisoners, mostly women and children and bore them to the city; they also discovered rebel supplies stored in caves. Buildings and ore-crushing plants had been completely destroyed and some Christian ornaments had been desecrated, to the horror of the Spanish (Deeds 2003).

On the Spanish side the casualties in the war of 1616 were numerous: more than two hundred Spanish settlers, and at least a Franciscan father and a Dominican killed during the first days of the attacks. Along with several Jesuit missionaries, slaves and indigenous workers of other ethnicities were killed. The native people of central Mexico who had been incorporated within Spanish systems were intended to serve as role model for the ‘barbarous’ Chichimecas, but these latter groups instead saw the central Mexican groups as enemies. Their ethnicity was thus positional and determined by the perceptions of otherness within the inter-ethnic relational system. Culture thus provides bases for the understanding of the other (Wagner 1974):

Some long-time Christian native people that usually work in the mines are counted as part of the pueblo, particularly some Mexicans and Tarascan. They serve as guides, leading barbarous nations in the way of Christian practices. They are always important to these enterprises even if it seems minor. (Perez de Ribas 1999 [1645]: 597)

The number of deaths in the uprisings would only increase over the years. The pacification of the area would take years and several punitive expeditions before the Spanish government imposed peace. But slow progress was made. Cuautlatas, who had led the first attacks in 1616 had been handed over by the same Tepehuanes he had led into battle (Masten 1958: 61). And in March of 1619, while commanding a significantly larger
and more organised force, the governor Alvear caught the other rebel leader, Cogoxito, ‘the little lame one’ near the devil’s gorge, in Piaxtla, southwest of the mountains of Durango (Masten 1958:61; Spycer 1962:67). He was executed on the spot. However, the war would not end here, even in 1620 military groups set out off from the presidios and the Villa de Durango to look for remaining pockets of resistance. Most of these rebels were safely ensconced in mountain hideouts. From these camps in the mountains, housing several hundreds to thousands of people, native peoples conducted occasional raids throughout southern Nueva Vizcaya, seriously disrupting mining, commerce, and agriculture. The formation of bands of rebel native people that come out of the missions to assault and raid would continue for at least another hundred years.

A Taxonomy of Types of Indians

The above section has served to lay out the context, historical and institutional, where this thesis argues the historicity of Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Warijio and Pima, as ethnicities within a colonial continuum of types of Indians are epistemological rooted. The 1616 revolt marked a pivotal point in the State’s discourse relating indigenous ethnicity to social and moral conduct. The positioning of indigenous people as a step closer to civilisation or barbarism based on indigenous uses of the environment, social organisation and religious systems continues a problematic that is not only a problem of representation, as Daniel Reff (1995) proposes;

'I contend that missionary accounts of the Pueblo and Tepehuan revolts reflect what Clifford has referred to as the enduring "predicament of culture and ethnography." Today, as in the past, the perception and representation of others is governed by a complex interplay of contingent and largely subconscious factors. The very fact of
ethnography, that one individual is empowered to represent others, implies cultural-historical, political, and institutional contingencies [...] Although ethnographers often have assumed that their training and explicit cultural relativism have privileged them in comparison to pre-anthropology observes [...], in several important respects the difference between modern ethnographers and seventeenth-century missionaries is one of degree, not kind' (Ibid :64).

This categorisation of the native people is closely related to the incapacity of the colonisers to see contingent elements on the indigenous side, the role of the leadership in the rebellions, the sermones, the relationship maintained between native people inside and outside the missions, and the continuation of the drinking parties that brew into rebellions, and so can be seen as problems of cultural translation between different, and at times opposing, world views and understanding of what communities constitute (Anne-Christine Taylor 2014). 36 While the comparison of missionaries and other Europeans among the indigenous as pre-anthropologist or untrained ethnographers is common ground in this work:

'Many missionaries worked with the same fundamental premise of modern ethnography, specifically the native people’s humanity and rationality [...] The missionar-

36 Anne-Christine Taylor (2014) addresses translation to explore the operations involved in shamanic practices in Upper Amazonia. Following Hank and Severi (Ibid), she notes translation as ‘the move not only between languages but more broadly from one context or register of communication to another’, she notes that ‘it is a pervasive figure of the production of culture, at the level of a single group as well between different societies’. Drawing on Carneiro da Cunha’s argument (1999), Taylor explores the moves between different nested-fields of reference in the shamanic practice. Noteworthy for this study is the conceptualisation of translation, and the role of the shamans in it, as to ‘establish “harmonies” or “resonances” between worlds or planes seen from different perspectives’. [...] ‘They seek to articulate local and global perspectives’. [...] ‘global meaning in this case an overarching view of the larger regional economic and political dynamics that shape the lived world of both Indians and mestizo [...] populations’ (Ibid : 96-97). I propose this conceptualisation of translation is useful to understand how narratives about local native peoples articulate with colonial regional narratives and with western colonial historicity about the emergence of mission native communities.
ies were likewise "participant observers"-they lived with native peoples, often for many years, during which time they frequently mastered Indian language(s) and employed native informants and self-examination techniques to learn native values, beliefs, and ritual […] Like modern ethnographers […], the missionaries relied largely on oral discourse (not texts) and drew upon an established literary tradition for rhetorical and literary conventions (e.g., allegory, polyvocality) to translate or to give meaning to Indian behaviours and beliefs'. (Reff:64-65)

In this sense, I propose that is not representation as such, but a problem of comparison between cultures, that will help to frame a narrative about types of Indians. Following Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's work (2004);

‘Comparison is not just our primary analytic tool. It is also our raw material and our ultimate grounding, because what we compare are always and necessarily, in one form or other, comparisons. If culture, as Marilyn Strathern wrote, ‘...consists in the way people draw analogies between different domains of their worlds' (1992: 47), then every culture is a gigantic, multidimensional process of comparison' (Ibid: 2).

Hence, I argue that it is not only because of the power of representation but because of cultural misunderstandings or a lack of mutual translatability between indigenous and non-indigenous analogies, that missionaries and other Europeans failed to address the transformation in the sociality and sociability imposed on objectivised Indian subjects. The framework in which the state placed Indians coalesced with missionary accounts to cast some native people as civilised and others as barbarous. The latter ‘threatened the status quo and should be radically discredited’ (Barabas 2000: 10). This dichotomy resulted in the rebellions being framed within a millennialis discourse that was opposing the ‘one catholic belief that there was but one truth (Christianity) with respect to the conduct of human affairs' (Greenblatt 1991: 9; MacCormack 1991 apud Reff 1995:66). This would be reflected in a combination of Spanish state discursive power to define the other and in particular, to determine whether the other was within the state or not. This power was strongly utilitarian in that it was deployed to cement alliances with native
people and so aid the conquest of the territory. This trope is commonly found in the records:

'The nation of the Tarahumara Native people for being the most numerous and warlike known in this realm was the one that in the times of the Native people upheaval gave more to do and put this land in more worry until peace was broke in times of my predecessor Don Diego Guaxardo[,] Since [they were] settled[,] [they] have not not been at unrest never since a [.] This kingdom receives all profits because of [they are] great Native people who are reduced to politica [,] keeping their towns and sowing the land whose fruits feed often these reales de minas with bailouts that make...[The] conversion of those who are not [faithful] [,] There are innumerable living in their pagan dedicated in their idolatry and it is also true that and I assure your lordship that since coming into this realm they have come to me several times captains[,] warlords[,] and their chiefs to ask me to send fathers of The Company for their conversion and to baptize them[,] And especially they have made remarkable instances in their Captain Governor General Don Pablo which reasons I resolved to consult your Excellency on this point, asking that he might be served that lookouts were created in some other two doctrinas between the posts more appropriated [...] And many others that fit our spiritual needs for a service to our Lord and in the temporal to the majesty[,] From this whole kingdom many utilities will follow as we are in that of their full conversion and political union will entirely change its peace and security serving this nation as wall and defense against other Indian rebels [...] Joseph del Parral November 16. 1672 (AGN: Jesuitas IV-2-11)\(^\text{37}\)

\(^{37}\) La nación de los indios tarahumaras, por ser la más numerosa y belicosa que se conoce en este reino fue la que en los tiempos de las inquietudes de los indios fue la que dio más que hacer y puso en más a esta tierra hasta que se asentó la paz en tiempos de mi antecesor Don Diego Guaxardo [.] Con tan notable acierto que desde que se asentó, no se han vuelto a inquietar jamás [.] Ha recibido y recibe este todo este reino grandes utilidades ganancias por ser unos indios que entre ellos se reducen a política conservando sus pueblos, y sembrando las tierras de cuyos frutos se alimenta muchas veces estos reales de minas con los rescates que les hacen los españoles. Hay en este distrito cinco grandes misiones religiosas de la Compañía de Jesús los cuales se han ocupado con celo católico que acostumbran, en administrar nuestra ley evangélica a los cristianos, y a instruir catequismo en ella los demás que pueden alcanzar, procurando primeramente de su conversión y unión de todos ante nuestra fe católica. Y es sin duda que por lo dilatado de la tierra que ocupan, y número casi infinito de personas que contiene esta nación, [que] no bastan los dichos cinco padres para la administración de estos por qué no lo son. Por lo que ante mí, también es cierto desde que entré en este reino han venido mi diversos veces capi-
Yet, the problem largely subsumed is the ethnological concern of how the individual is empowered to represent others, which implies cultural-historical, political, and institutional contingencies (Reff 1995; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992: 8-13). This more subtle question remains of great importance to understand the historicity of northern groups’ ethnicity. But, in turn a possible alliance or affinity with the state stresses the importance of being Tarahumara and Rarámuri at the same time, or Tepehuan and Óódam as parallel, alternating identities or symbols. Each of these identities of course being endowed with different meanings in and outside the community, in different narratives, historical and mythical, dependent on context.

The problem of creating ethnicities, broadly, is one that separates and classifies native people in the colonial and post-colonial narratives, as the ethnic discourse persists to the present day. Because of the colonial enterprise there was a need for labour. The need for peaceful indigenous communities in turn created a need to differentiate the bad (non-reduced and rebellious) from the good native people. Each one, Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras, would be typified as a different kind of native people. The Tepehuan, as enemies, would be enclosed physically, setting up more missions and presidios around Tepehuanes towns, and in the narrative:

‘[O]f the native Indians, the most barbaric and evil of them all, [and] there are tanes caudillos y caciques suyos a pedirme que les pusiese padre de la compañía para que los conviertan y bauticen. Especialmente han hecho notar notables instancias en su gobernación, y capitán general don Pablo, por cuyas razones [tenía] obligado consultar a Vuestra Excelencia sobre este punto, pidiendo que se le sirviera que se crearan tierra adentro, en los puestos que más convengan, para que ayudaran a tanto intento y acción que emprenden, motivado de las mismas reacciones, dos doctrinas [...] Y muchas otras que sirvan a nuestras necesidades para el servicios a nuestro señor y en lo temporal a su magetad [...] Pues, de todo este reino muchas utilidades seguirán como estamos en que de su plena conversión y la unión política cambiará por completo Su paz y seguridad sirviendo a esta nación como muro y defensa contra otros rebeldes indios [...] Joseph del Parral 16 de noviembre 1672 (AGN: Jesuitas IV-2-11).
many nations, the worst are the Tepehuan [people]. Who, it is my understanding, they all are [naturally] inclined to arise, and to [make] wars without any cause [for them]’ (AGN-CDOR: 63 [1690]).

Tarahumara people, in turn, would be placed in opposition to them as good and pacific natives, potential allies and new Christians. Tarahumara people were expected to be as helpful as the Tlaxcaltecas were in the domination of central Mexico. They played a moral role, supporting by example the further conversion and pacification of other native people in the region (Guidicelli 2008: 3). This is expressed, for instance, in a series of letters to support the alleged Tarahumara petition for Jesuit missionaries in 1672 in the Real de Parral (AGN Jesuitas-IV-2-10 fs10-23). In these supporting letters, a number of Spanish colonists act as witnesses to this petition and tell the king of the benefits of sending more missionaries to the territory. The initial benefits have been already shown in the shape of ‘the many souls who are reduced and have been reduced to our holy Catholic faith and baptized every day’ (ibid: f15). And this could be easily continued further into tierra adentro, if more missionaries are allocated, where it ‘could be very convenient and fruitful for the naturals’, ‘as it is expressed by Pablo, governor and Capitan general of the Tarahumara nation’ (ibid: f16).

’[The conversion of the Tarahumara people], in the temporal, to His Majesty and to all this kingdom, it will be of many profits. Because in addition to their total conversion, unification, and political [annexing]. Their peace will dwell complete and safely. Serving this nation of wall defence against other rebel native people’ (AGN Jesuitas IV-2-11). 39

38 [L]os naturales indios, los más Barbaros y malos todos, (h)ay muchas naciones y los peores, entiendo son los tepeguanes todos inclinados a movimientos y guerras sin causas’ (AGN-CDOR [1690]: 63).

39 [La conversion de los tarahumara], en lo temporal, a su magestad y a todo este reyno sera de gran provecho. Debido a que en adicion a su total conversion, unificacion, y politica. Su paz
The above paragraph from a letter from November 1672 illustrates the Spanish rationale about the role Tarahumaras would play in the future in the colonisation of the Sierra Tarahumara and other northern territories.

In these few lines, some elements stand out that hinge on the part played by the missionaries in reducing native people. The first is that the native people will be given king and faith for the benefit of the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church, ‘the two Crowns’ (AGN Jesuitas IV-2-10 f15).40 Following, is that they see the possible reduction and later assimilation into a ‘gente de razón’, would be permanent and not a possible contingent strategy on the indigenous side. In this same sense, they created an imaginary umbrella category, Tarahumara, that would encompass those communities willing to act accordingly to it. To better illustrate my argument we can follow Roy Wagner’ (1981) conceptualisation of innovation within cultural symbolic systems of meaning, whereby the discrete Tarahumara community becomes a metaphor and a trope in the records for the imaginary and ideal type of Indian community in the sierra Tarahumara. At the same time this innovation collapses the former symbol of what Tarahumara stand for previously, substituting the new symbolisation. Previous understandings are substituted, creating a new convention amidst a relational field with other identities such as Tepehuan.

The invention of the Tarahumara constitutes an epistemological framework from which to acculturate indigenous groups, while maintaining control over the new convention. But its potential efficacy was located in a different temporality, in the future, as the

40 This will have further implications in the Spanish administration of their colonies, as indigenous breaking the law could be charged of infidencia; To break the trust and faith given by the monarch. This offence was invoked frequently during the independence war, when those who were against to remain subjects to the Spanish crown were accused of disloyalty to the king. (Ortelli 2004: 472).
lines from the letter above point out, portraying the potentiality for an affinity-alliance and productivity, rather than something that was already in place. This separation failed in practice. It is possible to see in the historical records how Tepehuanes are constantly described as having demon-like natures or called savages and other derogatory terms after the Tepehuan rebellion of 1616. But it is also common to see in the records Tarahumara people joining bands of Apaches, and Tepehuan people assailing Nueva Vizcaya well into the eighteenth century records, as Sara Ortelli (2004) and Chistophe Guidicelli (2008) note.

The intended seclusion of Tepehuan people from all other communities, native and non-native, was almost impossible, or had a limited immediate success in reality. As we have seen Tepehuan, Tarahumara, Acaxes and other groups used to be settled in neighbouring regions and, had sustained intermarriage and certainly used to war each other (Deeds 2000). There was an imbricating historical identity between Tepehuan and Tarahumaras that could not be changed by the creation of said categories. Rarámuri and Óódam lived together, married each other and shared a territory, and following Guidicelli (2008) the missionaries never were able to know, for certain, where one started and where the other ended (ibid.: 5), demonstrating how atomised small indigenous communities represented a challenge for the taxonomical European-colonial system. This problematic is commonly found in the records in more or less overt ways. An example of this is the mention of Tepehuanes in the brief list (suma breve) of some of the missions in The Sierra Tarahumara from 1667, a few years after the rebellion; ‘those who live to the West are the Tepehuanes of Ocotán el grande and the Tarahumares of Oco-
tán el chico’ (AGI: Jesuitas 1-16-49 f4). This remark gives an idea of the contiguousness of the settlements and makes no attempt to distinguish one from the other. Interlocking intra- and supra-local community social practices - some catalogued as violent and coercive by the missionaries and other Spanish officials - in eighteen century reports signal the slow change in the groups’ sociability that the new categorisation had before and after the Jesuits’ expulsion.

My argument is that, rather than the invention of the state’s epistemological categories of nations or indigenous groups by missionaries and other Spanish officials, it was instead pressure for labour, diseases, and war that had a more immediate impact on the composition of the ethnic landscape of Nueva Vizcaya. Supporting this hypothesis, Peter Gerhard’s (1982) study of Nueva Vizcaya’s demography shows a diminishing number of indigenous population from 267,500 in 1600 to 86,600 a hundred years later in 1700 (Ibid :39). This falls in line with the decreasing mention of other nations that were described as more savage such as Xiximes, Acaxes, Conchos, and Tobosos people from the records after the rebellion. As Tarahumara and Tepehuan appear as categories in the context of the post-1616 war Nueva Vizcaya, indigenous societies adapted to the changes by taking up one of such categories of the types of Indians from European narrative.

This is the same problematic Susan Deeds (2009) frames through mediated opportunism. She sees in mediated opportunism as a way to approach and explain the way indigenous peoples of the Nueva Vizcaya faced the options presented by Spanish colonialism; 'mediated opportunism provides a framework tailored to understanding how material and mental barriers limit the capacity for change in these particular [native]
groups and the decisions acted upon by the communities' (Ibid: 6). Deeds further explains; '[mediated opportunism] is the sequenced process in which cultural ferment splashes against behavioural and physiological walls'. 'The extent to which indigenous peoples could formulate mixed strategies and exercise choices in adapting to changing cultural and ecological circumstances was tempered by many factors' (ibid.). So, while the framework proposed by Deeds is useful to explain actions taken on the indigenous side during the colonisation period, how to frame the issue of the ethnogenesis of specific ethnicities during this same period and the reason for them to be recreated over time in non-indigenous narratives remain largely unresolved. Thus, in order to frame the sort of engagements native people of the Sierra Tarahumara held with outsiders following the Jesuit missions period, I argue that tarahumarización and raramurización are a more appropriate framework to explore these engagements, the connection of native people's ethnicities with native communities in the sierra over the long term, and connect the native communities of the colonial period with the modern ethnic landscape.

In this chapter tarahumarización has been explored as a way to better understand and frame the production and multiplication of specific ethnicities in the narrative about native people’s engagement with non-indigenous, in the colonial context of Nueva Vizcaya, and how this is linked with the creation of communities in the sierra. These communities could be either in the mission or other spaces where native peoples could be watched over by the colonisers or, in the canyons far from the reach of the missionaries and other colonial agents, thus forming an ethnic landscape where different uses of the environment are the roots of negotiations over spaces and conflicts.

The use of specific ethnic categories responds to a context whereby assuming an ethnicity they acquire a political representation to the state. This started during the mission age and continues to this day, and has served as a way to resist the state’s indigenismo throughout. Ethnogenesis happened in and out the porous space of the missions.
As mentioned by Sara Ortelli (2004), ‘the missions never created a static population with permanent residence in them’ (Ibid: 19). And following the dismantlement of the Jesuit mission system, and based on the former mobility, residents of the missions deserted to the canyons and hills of the sierra (ibid.). I would add that the life in the mission also would bring about new affiliations with the state and other societies, and strengthen inter-ethnic alliances in and outside the space of the mission.

The reach of ethnogenesis, as a part of the larger process of native peoples’ resistance, will be looked at more in detail in the following chapter, in which ethnicity and ethnogenesis will be rendered as categories through which, in a historical context, native people can resist extinction and enclosure. The dialectic between opposite symbols provided native people ways to overcome Spanish narratives of barbarism and statelessness as clear distinctions of savageness. These narratives simply provided no basis for productive relations with the Spanish nor any stable alliance between Indian and coloniser given their medieval-based creationist epistemology.

In this sense, is worth pondering the use of Tarahumara and Tepehuan ethnic groups as a framework to highlight the misunderstanding between Tarahumara and Rarámuri as symbols of potential affiliations, internal and outwards the groups, or alliances, each one is context-dependent, and it is important to mention here that Rarámuri is never used as a nation’s name in the records, while Tarahumara is a common trope to indicate a specific ethnicity. It would continue to be in use during the colonial, and subsequent historical period of republican Mexico. It would be only until more recent encounters and elaboration of ethnographic material that Rarámuri was accepted and described as the ethnonym they use to describe themselves as people.

Further, to illustrate this dialectic narrative about types of Indians linked to ethnicity issues, the arrival of Apache bands to the territory in the 18th century, continued the colonial distinction between native people of peace and native people that refused to
be reduced. Sara Ortelli makes mention of abundant evidence following the 1780 upris-
ings, of the involvement of Tarahumaras, Tepehuanes, black people, Mestizos and even some Spanish in violent instances were Apaches were accused upfront of those actions (Ortelli 2004: 3). This is relevant in showing the States’ capability of differentiating indigenous people. While Tarahumara as a category was used to produce a specific relationship with indigenous societies and the state, it also had the characteristic that it could be easily multiplied and adopted by many indigenous individuals. Conversely, non-Tarahumara groups were another kind of humans, subject to hostilities and relentless surveillance (Gudicelli 2008: 12). Kinship and alliance, on both sides, again have pivotal importance in the conformation of the colonial ethnic landscape.

Tepehuan, Tarahumara and, since the 18th century, Apache peoples, continued to be used as categories within a moral index. Yet, many times these same ethnicities are used in documents relative to the Sierra Tarahumara by the native people themselves, either from the mission or those in resistance living outside of it, to continue with a set of relationships and to resist colonisation and extinction. Finally, on the flip side, Tepehuan people continued to be constantly observed by Spanish colonial institutions as the enemy, or a potential peril for the peace in the region, this being a reason for their deeper acculturation that would lead them to the point of not being framed as indigenous but a mestizo community until the 1940's when they were 'rediscovered' as an ethnic group, very reduced in number, of the Sierra Tarahumara.

The following chapter deals with other aspects of ethnogenesis linked with the raramurización of the Sierra Tarahumara. This is, with the processes that kept shaping the ethnic landscape and the conflicts native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara faced following the initial colonial encounters of native people of Nueva Vizcaya with non-indigenous people after the creation of the native people’s mission communities and the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish Crown’s territorial possessions.
Chapter 4

Ethnicity, Ethnogenesis and the Native Community of the Sierra Tarahumara.

In Chapter 2 of this thesis, I proposed tarahumarización as a way to frame the historical process by which Europeans created a narrative dividing indigenous people in the Sierra Tarahumara into categories of Indians, with Tarahumara and Tepehuan being two of the most salient as they persist until the present day. Tarahumarización, economically, responded to the demands for unskilled workforce for mines and other Spanish settlements in Nueva Vizcaya’s economic circuit, which fed, in turn, Nueva España’s authorities demand for gold, silver and territorial possessions. If seen in terms of the world-economic system (Wallerstein 1976), Nueva Vizcaya and its regional economic circuit would constitute a peripheral element within the world-economy system.

Wallerstein’s explanation of the world’s system is useful to locate the territory of Nueva Vizcaya. The historical records illustrate that it was considered on the border of the Spanish empire in America - in narrative and geographically - during the 17th century and until the 18th century. As such, many traits of borderlands and frontiers are present. In a modern conception, the frontier implies the political boundaries of states. In the colonial sense, the idea of a frontier should be understood that for the colonial period in America encompasses the notion of the fringes of 'empires, wilderness, disputed territories between different groups of colonists and rival populations, indigenous groups or other groups of Europeans, and an open area for seeking resources and trade opportun-
nities’ (Prado 2012 :320).

As mentioned before (see Chapter 2), the role the missions played in the periphery of the Nueva España was to bring indigenous communities into the economic system and to instil a new ethos in indigenous communities. Missions operated with the logic of bring native people into ‘policia’: to live peacefully settled, and cultivate for their own maintenance and to sustain productive activities for the commercialisation of goods while being indoctrinated into Catholic faith (Alvarez Icaza Longoria 2003). Although, the porous nature of the missions and indigenous resistance complicated the desired transformation of the indigenous people’s ‘nature’, from savage to civilised. As discussed elsewhere, less hierarchical social organisation, small communities with a rancheria type of settlement, and different agricultural practices characterized the Nueva Vizcaya’s people since pre-colonial times. All these traits would prevent the colonial enterprise from consolidating the periphery of Nueva España’s economic circuits by means of the mission itself, as the records of continuous uprisings suggest. Before resorting to lumping the indigenous population of the Nueva Vizcaya in broad taxonomic categories, the Spanish State tried to organise the space and the people of Nueva Vizcaya using models that were successful in the subjugation of social groups in central Mexico with little success. So, what previously had allowed European expansionism to incorporate indigenous communities in larger economic circuits - using overseers as encomenderos and reparto, benefitting from indigenous labour to develop local economies and supra-local markets, and the circulation of the richness obtained from the American territories to mainland Spain - had little impact in settling native people in towns and preventing rebellions in the Nueva Vizcaya in the long term.

This is the backdrop against from which I argue tarahumarización stems, as a state resource to produce narratives about types of Indians. In other words, tarahumarización helps to understand the narrative about the ethnic landscape in Nueva Vizcaya during
the time following the initial colonial contact and until the disbandment of the Jesuit mission. It is also helpful in understanding that native people were categorised due to their capability to adopt a certain ethos that would be represented as of specific ethnicity, and by the usefulness, or not, of said ethnicity in the construction of the colonial economic system. Tarahumarización, in a way, stresses the importance of the use of taxonomical narratives for native peoples in orderings of the space for the colonial enterprise, or ethnogenesis, in the Nueva Vizcaya; to create categories of ethnic groups or nations linked to specific territories, in productive terms. It constituted a novel strategy on the colonizers part, an innovation. But what were the consequences of the creation of ethnic categories for the indigenous communities of Nueva Vizcaya?

It is likely that tarahumarización, as a process, can be seen as one of the causes in the decline of many ethnic groups, or nations, in the records. As pointed out before, many groups disappeared from the records in the seventeenth century, this more so particularly after the war of 1616. The most obvious and classic theory for indigenous ethnocide has been connected with deceases and epidemics (Reff 1994). These factors without a doubt had an impact on the ethnic landscape and socio-political configuration of ethnic societies in Nueva Vizcaya. Yet, it fails to completely explain the persistence, end eventually growth, of other ethnicities such as Tarahumara and Tepehuan, while groups with more numerous population such as the Conchos disappeared.

Warfare and labour have been, on the other hand, explanations for the disappearance of nations from New Vizcayan lands. The works of Susan Deeds (2003), Cecilia Sheridan (2008), and Peter Gerhard (2002) are relevant for this argument. Moving on from the argument of diseases as the main cause for ethnic extinction, these works look to address the economic and political causes for the phenomena. In a way, connecting the local (indigenous communities) with the global (the global economic system), an argument already elaborated above, inserts the native people into the interplay of ex-
ternal factors and actors. In turn, this argument fails to account for the agency of indigenous societies in resisting being striped from their socio-politic and symbolic structures and incorporated into capitalism as corporations.

To go beyond the natural, economic and violent explanations for ethnocide, understood as the disappearance during colonial times of many native peoples mentioned in the historical records and the persistence of other ethnicities until today - which I have framed as raramurización - I argue that a more comprehensive explanation necessarily has to come from looking at how all the aforementioned factors and entities interact at the transition from pre-colonial to the colonial period and on to the republican period and so on. Thus, I propose that the demise of certain ethnicities in Nueva Vizcaya is closely related to historical processes of ethnic formation and transformation, a dual process understood as ethnogenesis and ethnocide as described by Neil Whitehead (1996). Whitehead posits that new group identities were created and old ones fell into disuse, 'not necessarily because persons were themselves destroyed or born' (ibid.: 21).

But indigenous societies, as political entities, came to be represented in different ways that veiled their former agency. While tarahumarización explores the way many groups of the Nueva Vizcaya got lumped into broader categories, such as Tepehuan and Tarahumara. Raramurización, I argue, is an appropriated framework to explore the continued use, and recreation, of such ethnicities over time, in the narrative of the engagements of native communities, formed through tarahumarización, with non-native people and the coming into being of the ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara.

This chapter explores ethnogenesis in the colonial times in the Nueva Vizcaya, at the link between tarahumarización and raramurización, that is, between ethnicity and the native community, at different moments. Ethnogenesis is considered in this chapter as a useful concept that will help to further the discussion about native people’s agency and resistance. It is also used as framework to bridge the colonial native community with the
modern ethnic landscape considering the taxonomical divide, Tarahumara / Tepehuan, argued in the previous chapter.

Colonial 'Nations' and Ethnocide

Due to its size, that Nueva Vizcaya was not a homogenous geographical unit, much less a cultural one. Their inhabitants lived scattered in groups or 'naciones' (nations), with different uses of the land all around the territory. Initially, Nueva Vizcaya, following Francisco de Ibarra's first incursions, encompassed all the territory northwards beyond the Rio Conchos, and a big portion of the coastline northwest. Then, after 1733 its territory was reduced in size to what corresponds to the modern state of Durango, a big part of Chihuahua and the southern part of Coahuila, around 255,000 square kilometres of which were under Spanish control in 1786 (Gerhard 1999: 203). At the time the Spanish arrived there was a continuous series of interlocking culturally-related ethnic groups (called 'nations' in the colonial documents). These indigenous communities lived in the various ecological niches described in Chapter 1: high mountains and canyons, piemonte Serrano, the desert plateau itself and, of course, the fertile banks of the different streams that cross the territory (Cramaussel 2000: 276).

There is a point that should be emphasised. Most of the groups that once occupied both the central plains of the plateau, as the midland zone between them, and the massif of the Sierra Madre Occidental have almost completely disappeared. From them only a few mountain groups have survived: Tepehuanes, Tarahumara, Warijios and Pimas, and are, therefore, the only native people over which we have authentic ethnographic records. And even modern descriptions of the groups are relatively limited. Warijios
were thought to have disappeared until the 1940s (Leon & Gonzales 2000). And the Tepehuanes were thought to be assimilated into the Spanish sphere to the point that they only became known again ethnographically in the second half of the past century.

In this sense, a problem arises when conducting regional or historical studies that involve the indigenous societies of Nueva Vizcaya, and trying to connect them with the modern ethnic landscape. The names of the groups in records and documents is a puzzle of names and categories that does little to clarify the distribution of the space, land usage and how each institution was established and organised. The information in documents complicates the analysis for many reasons. As mentioned above, the terminology used in colonial records had different connotation than the modern terms, such is the case of the word 'nation', as illustrated above. This confusing terminology has in turn mislead many researches of indigenous population, in the number of inhabitants and in the number of differentiated cultural groups and the languages spoken. Getting to know differentiated or communal usage of land, for agriculture, or hunting or gathering territories also is problematic when not look in detail. The native people moved to areas away from usual territory to temporarily, or seasonally, hunt, fish and gather. It is said, for example, that Salineros of Tizonazo used to 'go to the mountains to make mescal', and that in certain season all native people gathered in certain regions for hunting: 'All nations walk on Concho land hunting and then, each nation withdraws into its territory. Another very important period in the plains was the collection of the tuna (prickly pear) and mesquite, which followed the hunting of rabbits and hares' (Cramausel 2000: 279-280); The number of individuals and 'naciones' that played a part in the revolts. Sometimes registers are made up to praise missionaries’ or soldiers’ courage in the revolts, and the number of enemies given by the Spanish accounts are not totally reliable, for instance, in the rebellion of 1616, it is said that the rebel native people had an army of around ten thousand people (such is the case in the accounts of Perez de Ribas 1645,
Guadalaxara 1678), which seems exaggerated (although sometimes, according to the records, women would take part in the revolts as well). This, consequently, does not allow us to come to a closer understanding of which groups disappeared as a consequence of the arrival of the Spanish and for what reasons; disease, forced labour, rebellions, etc. Nor do they give a clear account of the socio-political division and the kind of inter-ethnic relations at many points in time.

So, in order to understand the coming into being of the modern ethnic landscape because of the *tarahumarización* and to explore the consequent *ramurización*, I argue that it is first necessary to address the way the native population, ethnic filiation, kin ties and land usage were framed in the colonial narrative. In other words, it is necessary to frame how Nueva Vizcaya native peoples were positioned in the colonisers' taxonomy at specific moments to unveil native peoples' resistance and negotiations of spaces in the face of colonial expansionism.

In this sense, I argue, the colonial ethnic landscape, the way it is framed in the colonial narrative, is bound to a classificatory system of types of Indians (Chapter 3); All the names given to native peoples by the Spanish colonisers belong to a relational classificatory system. Here I take borrowed the words of Levi-Strauss to start exploring this colonial taxonomy where the elements – the groups – are not constant, but only the relationships in regards of the classificatory and meaning system. Hence Spanish moral classificatory categories become relevant; friendly Indian/hostile Indian. Levi-Strauss argues that in order to know exactly what each of the elements of a system means, it is of primary importance to understand its role within the symbolic system. Levi-Strauss also would add on this a remark on the 'non-intrinsic' nature of the terms used within the structure of the system; their nature is positional and depend on the history and cultural context of the system (Levi-Strauss 2001: 86-87). This is of great importance as well, specially regarding how systems evolve over time and are context dependant, which in
turn is important for understanding the development of categories over time, especially if seen in the long turn. Also, how categories evolve in the history of the people of the Sierra acts as a hinge upon which the agency of the groups can be expressed.

Thus, knowing the development of the categories and of the groups in the records - whether real or simply an administrative term - is highly important beyond the pure historical purpose of registering their resilience to colonisation. This is for two reasons: First, to provide us with an idea of how the Spanish understood in the terms of medieval epistemology. Territorial ownership, for example, understood as The King’s property, was a very important element for the Spanish authorities. Those of the King’s subjects with land therefore owed money or service to him (a relationship known as vassalage). This theme is recurrent in many manuscripts. Second, it is a cornerstone to understand how the indigenous labour force was settled, distributed and divided between different, tailored institutions to make the intra- and supra-regional economic networks work together organically. The integration of indigenous communities into the Spanish political sphere happened by a change in residence; the category of civilised-city dweller (civilizado-urbano) was used by the natives as a bargaining chip to demonstrate their ability to be incorporated into the colonial system of government. ‘For the Spanish, settling down of indigenous population in urban centres was the foundation of society’ (Platt et al. 2006: 516), and ‘no doubt one of the greatest difficulties and concerns that existed was to control the people who lived outside the villages...’ (Platt et al. 2006).

At first, the indigenous inhabitants of South Nueva Vizcaya were named for several reasons, all these names the groups were given have no relation with how indigenous societies call themselves, rather, taxonomy had to do with where they were founded, or the role they played in the colonial economical activities. For instance, the Tepehuanes-Salineros people, which were Tepehuanes in principle, and probably worked in the supply chain of salt for Spanish settlements and in the trade of this precious commodity
(Cramausel 2000), thus they acquired this specific name. Names would not follow any fixed linguistic criteria, nor would they not represent any other cultural component for which classification could be understood today. This is why in modern times, it would not make sense to always equate what are referred to as nations in the records as ethnicities. And so the exact number of groups inhabiting the region remains a mystery for historians, anthropologist and ethnohistorians alike who take too literally the colonial nomenclature. This also serves as explanation of why there are so many groups in the documentation that disappear shortly after being settled, ‘encomendados’, o ‘repartidos’, or why there are mentions of groups that later disappear. Such is the case of the ‘Patarabuey’ cited only in the Journal of Diego Perez de Luján of 1583 (Cramausel 2000: 292).

In a second stage, groups to the north of the Conchos River, northern O’dam, Rarámuris, apart from the Conchos - who became extinct at some point during the seventieth century - were named after linguistic-based generic terms; Tarahumara, Pima, etc., with the differentiating criterion of grouping them by inter-intelligibility of the tongue. Yet, this categorisation leads to occasional overlapping of names among neighbouring groups. This way to categorise, although less confusing in terms of the high number of names, lends itself to other kinds of misunderstanding as, many times, given the neighbouring territoriality, their proximity would make them understand each other, which served to be grouped sometimes within one group or another, such is the case of neighbouring Mayos and Rarámuri people in the region close to the coast and the Rarámuri and Tepehuanes people in the valleys (Cramausell 2000: 274).

This point is better illustrated in the following extract from a letter:

On this side faith has been spreading, with some villages receiving it. Almost all of them, except for only three or four rancherias of consideration [are] left. So that we have formed out of various rancherias two partidos. The first [one] is [that] of Jesus del
Monte Tuhuiaca and the other of Matias Harosaqui. The first [one] has four villages [...] The second partido has three villages [...]. Apart from them, there are two villages, far away, that are under my care, out of four I am in charge of [...] wherein, until today, there are a few Christians. But all of the people of those towns turn out to be reduced swiftly once they have sent for me’ (Thomas de Guadalajara 1678 Jesuitas I - 16 - 19 f2r).

Undoubtedly, the use of specific categories and the historical development for the north has strongly influenced the perception about the ‘vanished’ Native people; Traditionally, the Native people of central New Vizcaya, are divided into two blocks, different from each other: on the one hand, the serrano group, considered sedentary and agriculturalists, generally Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras. In the other group fall the inhabitants of the arid plains, organised into small ‘nomadic’ or ‘semi-nomadic’ bands dedicated to hunting-gathering, and about which we tend to think were ethnic and culturally opposite to the former. About the inhabitants of piedmont, however as Chantal Cramaussel (2000) possess, the views of modern authors are diverse, even contradictory. But if viewed closely, the colonial documentation may offer us a much more nuanced picture of these peoples. (Cramaussel 2000: 276).

Thus, ethnocide in the Nueva Vizcaya, in the shape of the ‘banishment’ or the disappearance of ethnic groups in the historical records can be related to specific ways of space ordering. It is also linked to a narrative about native people’s capacity to be inserted in the Spanish political sphere, either feeding the colonial labour needs, being

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1 ‘De este lado la fe se ha ido esparciendo, recibiendo algunas pueblos. La mayoría de ellos excepto por tres o cuatro de tamaño considerable quedan. Es así que hemos formado de varias rancherías dos partidos. El primero es el de Jesus del Monte Tuhuiaca y el otro el de Matias Harosaqui. El primero tiene cuatro pueblos […] el segundo partido tiene tres. Aparte de estos, hay otros dos pueblos lejanos bajo mi cuidado, de los cuatro que estoy a cargo […] en donde hasta hoy en día hay pocos cristianos. Pero toda la gente de esos pueblos probaron ser reducidos prontamente pues pidieron por mi’ (Thomas de Guadalajara 1678 Jesuitas I - 16 - 19 f2r).
settled in the missions, or their resistance.

Native people’s resistance in Nueva Vizcaya, as mentioned elsewhere, resulted many times in their moving into new territories as consequence of the loss of their lands to the advance of Spanish colonialism. Mostly, native people moved into the Sierra Tarahumara, the popular name, after the group, under which this stretch of the Sierra Madre Occidental has been known since the colonial age. This movement, building on Scott’s work ‘The Art of Not Being Governed (2009)’, is addressed as a passive-resistance strategy (Pintado Cortina 2010, Deeds 2011, Valiñas 2010). In using the mountains, caves, and other natural shelters as refuges, their strategies were not altogether new. From the times of the first rebellions in the late sixteenth century onwards there are many accounts of indigenous rebels fleeing to take refuge in the mountains and even using them as departing points for raids and rally points before and after uprisings.

The Captain Juan de Retana reporting on native people rallying in the Sierra and being suspected of being preparing another revolt illustrates this point. He writes, in a letter addressed to the Governor (1699):

‘Real Coyachic: on my way to Papigochic, in December, because of [the] news of [that] those taraumares have rallied in the ridges bordering with the Pima to revolt’...’there was substantial evidence of the suspected uprising. The Pima nation, because, is so numerous, it comprises most of that kingdom, on top of that [they are] so difficult to put in reduction or to work (obraje), because of the ruggedness of the mountains where they live and more impassable places they retire to’ (Audiencia de Guadalajara 1699: 146).²

² ‘Real de Coyachic: en mi camino a Papigochic en diciembre, debido a las noticias de que esos taraumares se han reunido en los cañones bordeando a los pima para levantarse... había mucha evidencia del sospechado levantamiento. La nación pima es tan numerosa que abarca la mayor parte de ese reino, y aun más son tan difíciles de poner en reducción o en obraje, debido a lo escarpado de las montañas donde viven y los pasajes tan imposibles a donde se retiran' (Audiencia de Guadalajara 1699: 146).
Thus, the canyons of the Sierra Tarahumara were a pole of attraction for rebellious native people, or for those wanting to live outside the Spanish rule. Other parts of the territory of Nueva Vizcaya became negotiated spaces (see Chapter 2), at least partly subject to Spanish control, particularly those spaces around the missions in the Sierra Tarahumara. The following section frames the community as a negotiated space as the result of native people's agency, after the 1616 rebellion.

Community; a negotiated space

In Chapter 2, I argued that the native mission communities of the Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century were spaces negotiated over the memory of past violence against the colonisers. In this section, I address further this issue connecting the narrative of a Tepehuan governor negotiating the settling of his community in the territory under control of the Spanish colonisers within the general colonial context. By this, I argue, the process of *raramurización*, as the recreation of native communities linked to ethnic identities, can be analysed. It will also help to situate the native communities spatially and in the narrative as the outcome of negotiations between native people and powerful outsiders after the 1616 rebellion. In addition, this narrative is useful to connect the violence in the past and the succeeding *raramurización* of the region with the modern ethnic landscape and with the issue of ethnogenesis in the long turn. These subjects are addressed in the last section of this chapter.

As mentioned previously, the arrival of the Jesuits in the northern confines of New Spain resulted in a missionary model that allowed for expanding the domain of the Spaniards in the uncontrolled territories, complementing the military incursions. Hence
the missions can be seen as a more subtle, political element of the territorial expansion northward, and as a solution to a problem that unsuccessfully had been tried to be solved through punitive actions with the incipient Mexican army in the north. It must be remembered that *presidios* were usually located near Spanish settlements, villages, mines and trading routes. They were composed of a *presidio* commander and a 'volanta', around twenty to forty horsemen, which were designed with two specific purposes: on one hand, to look after the transport of goods, mostly silver and gold thought its journey along the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* from the Reales de Minas down to the city of Mexico, and the merchandise necessary for the upkeep of the towns and mining camps on the way back. On the other hand, they had the task of pacifying and subjugating the indigenous population (Peñagos Belman 2004: 160). The mission was settling spaces and so organising the nomadic and transhumant indigenous into new settling patterns, particularly moving them into Spanish urban spaces and around them, therefore transforming the political organisation. The *presidio* was the force that helped to keep an armed peace, and reinforce the Spanish territorial possessions in the colonial expansionist landscape.

The Tepehuan governor’s petition of settling his native people to create a new community as it is asked in the lines below, arise amidst a specific context. If the sixteenth century was a constitutive period for colonial America (Huerta Preciado 1966: 17) then, for the north, it could be said that the seventeenth century was one of constant war (Gonzales Rodriguez 1992: 237). This century would witness large-scale changes in Nueva Vizcaya’s ethnic composition. The plunge in indigenous population, a consequence of the arrival of the invaders and of the rebellions, caused many groups; Conchos, Chizos, Tubares, and Cocoyomes, Xiximes, Nuris, Baborigames, Arapobandas, Ataquitatones, Xacomes, Mesquites, Cacalotes, Pajalarnes, Manumetas, Tubines, Topalcomes, Poarames (Huerta Preciado 1966: 54), among many others, to become extinct.
due to diseases unknown in America before the arrival of the conquerors, famine, droughts, and forced labour.

On March of 1624 […] there appeared an Indian […] who said he was named don Baltasar, and that he was the cacique and governor of the Christian Native people of the pueblo de Ticonazo, and that he currently resides in the Cerro Gordo with his Christian native people by order and commandment of his lordship. He also brought with him another Indian of the Tepehuan nation, who […] showed his lordship a handful of maize, and said that they had come down in friendship, as [there were as] many unconverted native people as there were grains of corn [in his hand], men and women totalling eighty-five. He had settled them in Cerro Gordo [where they were] quiet and peaceful and very content and some of them were baptised. The said Don Baltazar […] comes to deliver, as he is doing [now], to his lordship account of who they [are] and to ask for asylum in the said pueblo where they [currently] live, called Santa María del Cerro Gordo. So that they may live and reside [there]. And also to ask that some clothing be given to them with which to dress themselves, for they are good and faithful native people, and will assist as they are now assisting in the service of his Majesty and in arresting any highwaymen that there may be. In view of this his lordship gave them license to remain and live in the said pueblo and ordered that they should reside there, acknowledging, as he did acknowledge, the acceptance of the said Don Agustín, and his subjects of the peace. (AGI Jesuitas 67-1-4 [1624]: 136).

This petition, made after the rebellion of 1616, illustrates the argument of raramuriza-

3 ‘[…] Se le apareció un indio […] quien dijo que fue nombrado don Baltasar, y que era el cacique y gobernador de los indios cristianos del pueblo de ticonazo [tizonazo], y que en la actualidad reside en el Cerro Gordo con sus indios cristianos por orden y mandato de su señoría. También trajo consigo otro indio de la nación tepehuán, que […] mostró a su señoría un puñado de maíz, y dijo que había bajado amistosamente, ya que había muchos indios no convertidos, como había granos de maíz en su mano -hombres y mujeres por un total de ochenta cinco. Él los había instalado en Cerro Gordo [estaban] tranquilos y pacíficos y muy cuidados, y que parte de ellos fueron bautizados. El dicho Don Baltazar […] viene a dar, como él da, cuenta a su señoría de que piden y anhelan asilo en dicho pueblo donde viven, llamado Santa María del Cerro Gordo, con el fin de que puedan vivir y residir [allí]. Y también para pedir un poco de ropa con la que vestirse, porque son buenos y fieles indios, y ayudarán, como ya están ayudando al servicio de su Majestad, en la detención de los salteadores de caminos que pueda haber. En vista de esto, su señoría les dio licencia para permanecer y vivir en el dicho pueblo, y ordenó que debían residir ahí, reconociendo, como lo reconoció, la aceptación por parte del dicho Don Agustín, y sus súbditos de la paz’ (AGI Jesuitas [1624]: 136)
ción of the space noted as the recreation of ethnic identities in the long turn linked to a new ethnic landscape. I argue that this petition should be seen as the negotiation done by the native people with powerful outsiders and the two colonial institutions listed above, the mission and the presidio, over the creation of communities in the space of the Sierra Tarahumara. In addition, to better position this petition in the colonial context, it should be seen as a device to negotiate not only the space but the continuity of a world, it must be related to the issue of translation mentioned in the previous chapter. While Taylor (2014) sees the role of the shaman as to conciliate different perspectives 'local and global', the Tepehuan governor endeavours to accomplish the same task, the local being the native community and the global the colonisers’ perspective. Thus, putting himself at the centre of this translations with a narrative around a 'Cristian Tepehuan peoples' who are willing to have a relationship with the dominant society and so must 'work' in transcultural contexts.

Additionally, this document suggests, I argue, that the Indian practice of presenting themselves as a potential ally in political terms to the Spanish State was a more common practice than has been previously recognised. Subjectivising themselves through their agency. But also, that the engagements with the colonial society were not an individual enterprise, but something enacted socially. Hence this community, spatially, is the result of the negotiation of a native people’s agency, territories, narratives and translations with powerful and dangerous outsiders.

Ethnogenesis and Ethnicity

Overarching, ethnogenesis is understood in terms of indigenous political self-
representation. Or following Jonathan Hill, it is used by social anthropologists 'to describe the historical emergence of a people who define themselves in relation to a sociocultural and linguistic heritage' (Hill 1996: 8). Conceptually, is a term that has been often used to look at the processes of the construction of indigenous identity in contexts where allegedly extinct ethnic groups re-emerge in Latin America. Such is the case of many groups as the Diaguitas in Chile (Luna Penna 2014), the Manta in Equator (Hernández-Ramírez & Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011), the Mapuche in Argentina (Boccara 2002), and so on. In the present, ethnogenesis as the reappearance of such ethnic identities is seen as a response of ethnic societies to address modern issues of 'nations without a State'. That is, societies that in the past would not recognise themselves as belonging to the same 'nation', to conform 'nations without a State' (Bartolome 2002 in Bartolome 2003).

Following Miguel Bartolome (2003) 'Pueblos indios' or 'nations without state' are an aggregation of individuals without a pre-existing ethnically-based organisation that create (or re-create) groupings on the basis of shared ethnicity so that their chances for a positive, or better outcome in negotiations with the state are improved, either because of the larger number of individuals or of the shared collective demands. Therefore, they are bringing indigenous societies to a better position to negotiate power in asymmetrical relationships through reassessing a cultural identity, forcing acknowledgment as a 'true' native people, and gaining recognition as such by the State. Tarahumara people's opposition to the construction of the international airport in Creel, and to the gas-pipe line (See chapter 2), would constitute a good example of this instrumental view of ethnogenesis as empowerment of ethnic groups vis-a-vis the state in the context of conflicts over natural resources rights in the modern times.

Yet, I argue, this conceptualisation of ethnogenesis, in addressing these contemporary problematics linked to ethnic revival leaves aside the historical element of ethno-
genesis, does not frame and accounts for native peoples’ struggles in the past. And it is of little help when linking the native communities of the past with the current ethnic landscape. Therefore, I consider Hill’s argument about ethnogenesis as a concept useful to explore ‘the complex interrelations between global and local histories’ (1996 :9), closer to this research view of ethnogenesis, rather than the instrumental use of ethnicity in the face of modern conflicts over the historicity of native groups in the state societies narratives.

In this sense, taking borrowed Hill’s words on ethnogenesis, ‘it is not merely a label for the historical emergence of culturally distinct peoples’. Rather it should be used as a ‘concept encompassing peoples’ simultaneously ‘cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and discontinuity’ (Hill 1996: 8).

Building on this conceptualisation of ethnogenesis this last section endeavours to bring together the struggles of the native people of the sierra Tarahumara that are linked to ethnicity. In this case ethnogenesis, as the crafting and the narrative about native people’s ethnicity, is framed not as hindrance, but as the result of the agency of local native people in their engagements with outsiders in history. Thus, connecting local historical historicities with global narratives related to ethnicity issues.

In Mexico, indigenous rights are recognised in the law by the Constitution and by international agreements such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples⁴. The Constitution of the Estados Unidos Mexicanos, article 2, paragraph b recognises that;

‘The Federation, the states and municipalities, to promote equal opportunities for

indigenous people and eliminate any discriminatory practices, will establish the institutions and determine the necessary steps to ensure the observance of the rights of indigenous people and the development of their people and communities, which should be designed and operated together with them’ (Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos).

This article in the law belongs to a series of changes within the Mexican constitution following the uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in the south of the Country. The changes that shape the legislation took place in 2001, almost ten years after the first changes in The Constitution in 1992, that in turn recognised the multicultural composition of the nation and its many languages and cultures. The shifts of 1992 in the law also ensured that indigenous people have access to justice. Paradoxically and giving evidence that the violent ways of extractive companies, cattle ranchers and land despoliation did not cease, the rebellion in Chiapas of the EZLN in 1994 brought national and international attention to these issues. The neo-liberal government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari in 1992 had looked to bring to an end the land distribution program, touted as the main achievement of the Mexican agrarian revolution (Glendhill 2000: 116). The EZLN movement was the indigenous response to the neo-liberalist market program. Fixated on a 'identitarian' discourse, the indigenous-led uprising would bring the problematic of indigenous rights to the national agenda. It combined symbols of popular nationalism and revolutionary tradition along with an argument of the long historical indigenous tradition of resistance. The Zapatistas suggested ways in which Mexican national identity could be rebuilt from the bottom up: ‘Zapatismo threatened the

5 ‘La Federación, los estados y municipios, para promover la igualdad de oportunidades de los indígenas y eliminar cualquier práctica discriminatoria, establecerán las instituciones y determinar las medidas necesarias para garantizar la observancia de los derechos de los indígenas y el desarrollo de sus pueblos y comunidades, que debe ser diseñado y operado conjuntamente con ellos’ (Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos)
official nationalist ideology based on \textit{mestizaje}' (ibid). Thus, it rendered the problematic of power,\textsuperscript{6} ethnicity, and the Indian problem as categories still relevant after years of debates around \textit{indigenismo} and indigenous rights. The zapatista movement, as Holloway and Peláez argue, 'asserts identity and transcends it' (Peláez 1998 :4), transcending the local and national arenas and bringing to the modern globalized world the struggle of all indigenous communities not to acquire power but to live in a world where many worlds are possible. They desire recognition that their worldview is as valid as any other, thus making relevant indigenous ontologies and rights, which should be equally recognised, and calling for an end to the historical misrepresentation of indigenous societies as homogeneous individuals with limited political representation due to their ignorance of the modern world.

Correspondingly, during colonial times, a set of laws protected indigenous individuals and communities, mostly their lands, from the abuses of the conquerors and Spanish owners of haciendas and encomenderos. As Chevalier points out (1963), in theory, native people were as humans as Europeans, had the same rights and were not inferior. Europeans could only serve as guides to native people to leave their idolatries. As Francisco de Vitoria, the sixteenth century Christian philosopher, put it '\textit{Infidelitas non est impedimentum quominus aliquis sit verus dominus}'—'Paganism does not keep a man from being a true master in anyone's eyes' (ibid: 188). But as Chevalier later notes 'neither the philosophy's clarity nor the authorities' excellent intentions prevented incon-

\textsuperscript{6} The centre asks us, demand of us, that we should sign a peace agreement quickly and convert ourselves into yet another part of the machinery of power. To the we answer 'no' and they do not understand it. They do not understand that we agree with those ideas. They do not understand that we do not want offices or post in the government. They do not understand that we are struggling not for the stairs to be swept clean from the top to the bottom, but there to be no stairs, for there to be no kingdom at all' Communique of 8 August 1997 (in Peláez 1998 :4).
sistencies, blunders, and a good deal of groping when they had to translate them into practicable measures’ (ibid.). This would have been even worse in the north as ideas of differentiated degrees of civilisation were part of the narrative to forced acculturation through the institutions of the mission and the presidio, and in the communities around them.

So, while it was illegal, in theory, to enslave indigenous people, at least in central Mexico, things differed for those ‘living more ‘ferarum’ (wild animals-like), such as the Chichimeca people’ of the north (ibid).\(^7\) For them, the economic and expansionist drive of colonialists, disguised forced labour and debt would constitute many of the engagements with outsiders during the colonial times.

The following lines of a letter addressed to the Queen, helps to illustrate all the elements mentioned above;

In […] a letter […] the bishop of the cathedral of the city of Durango, in the province of Nueva Vizcaya wrote me in April […] He tells [me] how afflicted are the native people of that province. They are obliged to withdraw to the mountains, where they do not get administration of the holy sacraments, although many of them have been baptized. Others who are gathered in towns in repartimiento, which the governors give under title of encomienda to miners and farmers –this notwithstanding being prohibited by royal cedulas under heavy penalties– are grievously oppressed by the governors. All this has been reported to the bishop by the Indian governor of the Concho nation, Don Juan Constantino, who complained that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya had compelled him to go and fetch from the mountains the native people who had been in encomienda, and that he had done so at great risk of his [own] life, as they had revolted on account of the reasons given above … I the Queen (Agi 103 - 3- 1).\(^8\)

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\(^7\) Chevalier as many other of his contemporaries fails to draw a distinction between Chichimec and other native peoples of the north.

\(^8\) ‘En […] una carta que el obispo de la iglesia catedral de la ciudad de Durango, en la provincia de Nueva Vizcaya me escribió en abril … él relata cómo afligidos son los indios de aquella provincia. Están obligados a retirarse a las montañas, donde carecen de administración de los santos sacramentos, aunque muchos de ellos han sido bautizados. Otros que se recogen en las
I argue that this letter, besides telling of the customary abuse of indigenous people to the Queen, provides a good instance to render visible the sort of engagement between native people and Europeans in the northern territories in colonial times. It is also helpful to connect type of problematics about different types of Indians and the position they hold in regards of ethnicity, that connect the historical people of the Nueva Vizcaya with those living in the Sierra Tarahumara in the present time.

Firstly, it shows, if seen as historical conflicts over the access and use of natural resources, how little has changed over time in terms of the abuse, of both indigenous people and land, for extractive purposes, and of the lack of application of the laws devised to protect native communities from non-indigenous people.

Secondly, it provides an insight of how extended was and is the knowledge of the abuse indigenous people suffered, despite the sanctions and regulations against it, at the hands of the mestizos and other non-native people, and the commonly violent outcome.

Thirdly, it provides a framework to explore colonial narratives about nations as ethnicities. About how native people are represented, or misrepresented, in specific ways, but also why this same process was important for indigenous people’s resistance and to gain political representation. Also, it stresses the idea of translations between the local and the global societies, understood as different uses of the nature and renderings of landscape. Different assertions of what it contains and what is profitable in it, from the

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ciudades en repartimiento que los gobernadores dan bajo el título de encomienda a los mineros y agricultores - esto a pesar de estar prohibido por cédulas reales bajo fuertes sanciones - están gravemente oprimidos por los gobernadores. Todo esto se ha informado al obispo por el gobernador indio de la nación Concha, Don Juan Constantino, quien se quejó de que el gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya le había obligado a ir a buscar a las montañas a los indios que habían estado en la encomienda, y que él lo habían hecho en gran riesgo de su vida, pues se habían sublevado a cuenta de las razones expuestas anteriormente ... Yo la Reina’ (AGI 103 - 3 - 1).
traditional indigenous territories to the missions and haciendas. What is understood as ethnogenesis here is the incorporation of native people as subjects in Spanish economic circuits and then, after the missionary period, when they settle in the sierra (which is marked as another historical period). This movement provides an opportunity to challenge the notion of the isomorphic relation of culture and place (Santos Graneiro 2004), and how it is constructed and reinforced continuously through ways of producing community and sociality. This making of sociality is not only directed inwards, with the native community, which has been elaborated already as a rather diffuse figure in the Tarahumara case, but with other entities, either humans or not, that inhabit the territory.

Finally, this will allow us to assert the importance of ethnogenesis for indigenous people if seen beyond the utilitarian modern conceptualisation of the concept discussed above. Tarahumara people and other native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara are not ‘nations without a State’, landless peoples looking out for recognition of their rights over the land amidst an ethnic resurgence process. The native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Tarahumara and so on, since the colonial time tarahumarización, have exerted their agency in their engagements with outsiders. This can be seen illustrated in the following denunciation;

Parral 1666, Don Cristobal principal Indian and chief of the Tarahumara nation and villager of Banonoyaba said he was tranquil and peaceful in his town ... with the other native people of the nation, [when] Franciscan Father Fernando de Urabareza came with plenty of Conchos native people from different parts which settled and populated in this town where this witness received [notice]... very big humiliations and damages taking away their maize and lands violently and as chief and governor came to the presidency of the governor and on behalf of the king will protect him on their land and instruct these Conchos leave them and go to their villages and leave them
and their wives (Jesuitas III-15-21).  

Many other cases like this are found in the records, which provide an idea that indigenous communities were aware of their rights as political entities during the colonial time. This documentation also unveils the government concern about the outcome of not resolving these situations favourably, thus annulling the purpose of the missions as peace-keepers and mediators in indigenous affairs and putting the figure of the translator, usually a native governor, at the centre of such processes.

This brings to the fore that indigenous communities seek to establish respect of their rights and lands, and use their ethnicity, however shaped by colonial encounters, to provide themselves with political leverage in their engagement with the state over history, thus historicising themselves. This is what I have described as raramurización. Thus, such peoples are transcending local historicity and inserting themselves in the global renderings of native people. They recreate themselves as subjects with agency in history. Such a conception allows us to explore violence as a category, that will be analysed in detail in the last chapter of this thesis. But in terms of history it seems that textual violence, or the reference of, brings indigenous communities and their affairs to the front. This accords with the observation of Neil Whitehead that:

Violence is the way by which indigenous communities came to the fore from being in the back, heroic evangelical redemption, or natural histories of the flora and the

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9 Don Cristóbal Indio principal y cacique de la nación Tarahumara y vecino del pueblo de Banonoyaba, dijo que estuvo quieto y pacífico en el dicho pueblo... y los demás indios de la nación. Llegó el padre franciscano Fernando de Urabareza con mucha cantidad de indios conchos de diferentes partes, los cuales asentó y pobló en el dicho pueblo, donde recibió este testigo [...] muy grandes vejaciones y daños quitándoles sus maíces y tierras con fuerza y violencia. Y como cacique y gobernador vino a la presidencia del gobernador, y en nombre del rey les ampare en sus tierras y mande a dichos conchos salgan de ellas, y que se vayan a sus pueblos y los dejen a ellos y sus mujeres. P 3
fauna, in which the natives figure only as an especially exotic form of wild life (Whitehead 2000: VIII).

On the other hand, ethnic identity as power negotiator for indigenous communities has been a way to attain agency in their engagement with the state. The colonial state dealt with native communities as objectified subjects of the crown that need to be tutored into civilized living, then, the national state recognised them as individuals with rights and finally, in the post-revolutionary times indigenismo or indigenista action has seen them as a problematic to be solved.

I suggest that native peoples’ resistance, whether violent or not, speaks to underlying elements at stake. In this sense, I draw on Neil Whitehead’s argument about the need for the theorization of violence to understand what was at stake in these rebellions; ‘Violence in war is also taken as a given, but that violence also needs theorization and cannot be treated merely as an epiphenomenon of structural, historical, or ecological conditions’ (Whitehead 2004: 56). Thus, I argue that while violence is obviously destructive - burnt missions, dead missionaries, attacks on the trading routes and colonial towns, and so on - there is a creative side to it. In this regard, I am talking about the alliances, intermarriage and other types of relationships set up in new communities having violence as the background but happening in, and giving shape to, landscapes. By landscape I mean, that what is created by the human interaction with nature as discussed in the previous chapters. In this regard Cynthia Radding’s (2005) approach to ecological conflicts further illustrates my point: ‘ecological approaches to narratives of colonial encounters anchor these histories in the web of multiple relations among diverse human societies and the terrestrial environments they fashion into landscapes’ (2005: 4).

As presented in this chapter, colonial narratives about native peoples focused on the evangelist action, the ordering of the space, and types of Indians. All these elements, I argue, are related to ethnogenesis. Ethnogenesis in the Sierra Tarahumara, should be
framed as a process that connects the native people of the past with the problematic native communities face today, through tarahumarización and raramurización. By this I mean, the landscapes shaped in the past through negotiating spaces, setting up communities, and linking to specific ethnicities that exist to this day. And conflicts over the control of the territory are still occurring. The following chapter looks into these conflicts over the nature of indigenous and non-indigenous societies and the relationship of the native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara with the environment as the grounds for these conflicts.
Chapter 5

In the previous chapters of Part II of this thesis, I explored the process of ethnogenesis in Nueva Vizcaya and the resulting movement of native people into the Sierra Tarahumara, in order to explain the modern ethnic landscape. I have characterized this process of ethnogenesis as *tarahumarización*: the creation of a specific narrative about types of Indians linked with the political and economic needs of colonial society. And additionally as *raramurización*: an ordering of the space following the *tarahumarización* narrative that has persisted since the colonial times. The combination of these two processes, I argue (see Chapter 1), has shaped the modern ethnic landscape, and located the native peoples of the Sierra Tarahumara within a narrative of ecological determinism to (mis)understand native people’s relationship with nature and so their under-development as a misuse of the natural resources available to them in the surrounding landscapes. This chapter departs from the observation that not all societies battle nature in a constant attempt to tame and control it like ‘Western’ people do, as has been pointed out by Mark Harris in an essay on Ribeirinho people in the Brazilian Amazon (Harris 2005).

This chapter looks into the conflicts over nature between native people and outsiders in history, exploring narratives about conflicts over territory and natural resources. An initial example comes from 1952, in a denunciation by the *Supremo Consejo Tarahumara* (SCT) regarding the despoliation the native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara were suffering:

‘All our lives and since our ancestors’ [times], we have been occupying lands. Most of these lack titles, some others have titles issued, by C. Licenciado Benito Juárez [...] others by perpetual concessions. Neither escape the manoeuvres of our exploiters. Because the former are stripped of the lands that belong to them by right of posses-
sion. [Our exploiters] use denunciations or requests to the corresponding authorities, counting on the support and help of official agents and engineers. As it is [...] confirmed that the land is vacant despite knowing that we Indians occupy the lands. The engineers, for economic benefits, falsify reports. It appears in their reports, that the demarcated lands are vacant and that the applicant’s property, is perfectly bounded and occupied by the applicant. Of the latter, that is to say, those who have communal titles, they are also stripped of their property, either by agricultural appropriations or by demarcation of lands in favour of mestizos’ (SCT apud Sariego 2000: 254).

The lack of resolution of the same problems denounced in 1952 by the SCT resulted in a threat to the government. A few years after the denunciation, and following an armed clash between native people and mestizo trespassers of their lands, an engineer was killed. In 1966, a group of seventy indigenous people of Memelichi, in the municipality of Ocampo, addressed a threat to the President of Mexico to rise in arms for not having their agrarian demands resolved (Sariego 2000: 260).

I argue that narratives about abuses of powerful outsiders against native people, like the one above, allow us to connect the native community of the sierra Tarahumara today with that of the colonial period. The problems denounced are rooted in different rationales about the use of nature that have persisted over time. This is illustrated in the 1638 letter of Perez de Ribas, in which he suggests that native people’ resistance to work, despite the benefits of the earned wages, made them rise in rebellion.

Mexico September 12, 1638. In their heathen state, they know nothing of tributes or taxes such as the Mexicans or other civilized nations had, and any charge or interference that is laid upon them angers and disturbs them, specially at the beginning of their reduction. Of this we have good testimony in that which happened a few years ago in the nation of Tepeguanes; at that time, wishing to oblige them to be assigned for working on the farms and in the mines, and although paying wages for their work, never the less they took it so ill that they rose and set fire to all the haciendas of Spaniards and to the mining camps in their districts. They destroyed the mining camps of Guanacevi, and of Indehe, and took the lives of all the Spaniards, large and small, that fell in their hands, even of the ministers and fathers who taught them, for it seemed to
them that making them Christians was for the purpose of making slaves of them to work. Father Andres Perez (AGI 67-3-32: Guadalajara 138).\textsuperscript{1}

The similarity between violent indigenous responses, in the colonial and contemporary times, allow us to draw parallels between these conflicts situated at two different moments in history, bringing to the fore issues of native resistance to colonialism. However, I argue that, these narratives also work as an entryway to underlying aspects linked to translations between native communities and western narratives over the negotiation of spaces, control of the territory and ethnogenesis. What I have framed as \textit{raramurización}. Which can be understood as the history of the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara, linked with the historicity of the local native communities. This chapter endeavours to frame the relation of the humans with surrounding landscapes, and to unveil how the native community situates itself in relation with nature, with its non-indigenous neighbours, and what is at stake in environmental conflicts in history.

\textbf{Negotiating Landscapes; Native Peo-}

\textsuperscript{1} ‘En su estado [de] paganos no saben nada de tributos o impuestos, como los mexicanos, u otras naciones civilizadas, y las cargas o intromisiones que están puesto sobre ellos les enoja y perturba. Especialmente en el comienzo de su reducción. De esto tenemos buen testimonio de lo que sucedió hace unos años en la nación de tepeguanes; en ese momento, deseando obligarlos en repartimiento para trabajar en las granjas y en las minas, y aun el pago de los salarios por su trabajo, lo tomaron tan malo que se levantaron y prendieron fuego a todas las haciendas de españoles y a los campamentos mineros en sus distritos. Destruyeron los campamentos mineros de Guanaceví y de Indehe, y se llevaron la vida de todos los españoles, grandes y pequeños, que cayeron en sus manos, incluso de los ministros y los padres que ellos conocían, porque les parecía que hacerlos cristianos fue con el propósito de hacerlos esclavos para trabajar’. Padre Andres Perez (AGI 67-3-32: Guadalajara 138)
ple's Community of Nueva Vizcaya and Nature in Colonial Times

The following lines belong to the account of a settlement agreed by the Governor Gonzalo Gomez de Cervantes, in the city of Parral on November 17, 1632. This agreement was with some Toboso chieftains: Don Jacobo, Don Pablo and Don Francisco, over the colonial exploitation of some salt flats near the Toboso county, and the settlement of Toboso people in them. The negotiation of this space has its roots in the colonisers’ need for salt as it was indispensable in the process of refining silver in the Real del Parral. This fact seemingly was known by the native people. The access to salt, as evidenced in the account, was of the greatest importance for colonial mining activity, the centre of Spanish economic power (Porras Muñoz 1988: 225-226);

[f: 487] This [...] day of the seventeenth of November of 1632 [...], Don Gonzalo Gomez de Cervantes Casus, governor and captain general of this kingdom and province of Nueva Vizcaya, by [appointment of] the king [...], said that, because in these new discoveries [of lands], there are many mines of metals that need azogue [quicksilver] being exploited [...], it is expected for new haciendas to be built for the smelting of said metals [...] and [that] because of lack of salt [this] smelting could not be done. Because the nearest place [the salt] could be, and have been, brought is from [f: 488] the province of Culiacan, which is at a distance of [... over one hundred and twenty leagues [...]. And that his majesty may be very interested in that for the lack of said salt the smelting of silver will not be stopped [...]. His lordship has been informed [...] that in the land of the Toboso indians, who come in peace [...] there are salt flats where a lot of salt can be collected [...] for the smelting of the metals. He summoned before his lordship Don Jacomo, Don Pablo, [and] Don Agustin, caciques and Toboso principals. [Who] said that in their lands there are salt flats that begin to dry up around the Lent, where it will be possible to load lots of salt onto mule trains and chariots [...]. Agreeing his lordship, they would come [...] with their people to pick it up and pile it up [...] and [Spanish people] could safely come in [...] around the time of the harvest with supplies [for the native people] and paid for their work [...]. Because on a yearly basis, [the native people] will go to serve their majesty in this [matter] = It was agreed by their lordship [...] and he made them understand, that every year they would bring supplies to them [...] and they would be paid for their work [...]. And that, they only could take the
salt agreed on by his majesty, because it was [f: 490] part of his real property […] They dismissed themselves of their lordship … the governor and captain general, handing in the scalps of raised indians … (Títulos y Rcaudos [1632] :f 487-490 apud Porras Muñoz 1988: 225-226)².

This account about the settlement of Toboso Indians in some salt flats of Nueva Vizcaya near the city of Parral, touches on various elements I have noted as related to tarahumarización. There is a negotiation of territory over the economic needs of the colonial society. This negotiation is done through the figures of the caciques or indigenous governors who represented their community before the Spanish authorities. And it is done in full memory of violent actions in the past, which is highlighted in the mention of the surrender of the scalps of rebel Indians. My use of tarahumarización here frames these

² [f 487] ‘Este dicho día del diecisiete de noviembre de mil seiscientos y treinta y dos años, el señor gobernador don Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes Casus, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que, debido a que en este nuevo descubrimiento hay muchas minas de metales de azogue que se laboran … se espera irán haciendo haciendas para beneficiar los dichos metales … y por falta de sal no se podría conseguir su beneficio, porque de donde más cerca se podía traer y ha traído es de la [f 488] provincia de Culiacán, que dista… a más de ciento veinte leguas … y su majestad podrá estar muy interesado en que por la dicha sal no falte el beneficio de sacar plata … su señoría ha entendido … que en la tierra de indios tobosos que han venido de paz … hay salinas donde se podrá coger mucha cantidad de sal para … beneficiar a dichos metales. Mando a parecer ante su señoría a don Jacomo, don Pablo, don Agustin, indios caciques y principales tobosos. [Quienes] dijeron que en su tierra hay salinas que empiezan a cuajar por tiempo de cuaresma, donde se podrá coger mucha cantidad para cargar recuas y carros … y que estas salinas están a nueve días de camino de este real, y que gustando su señoría, ellos acudirían … con su gente a cogerla y a amontonarla … y que podrán entrar con toda seguridad carros y recuas a cargar y que en la época de cosechas se les lleve bastimento para que coman y se les pague su trabajo … porque con puntualidad acudirán cada año a servir a su majestad en esto = visto por su señoría … les dio a entender y quedaba echo asiento de que cada año entrarían a llevarles el bastimento … y se les pagaría su trabajo … porque solamente por cuenta de su majestad se había de coger dicha sal, por ser [f 490] de su real patrimonio todas las salinas que en sus reinos hay = dichos indios caciques aceptaron el asiento y prometieron cumplir lo acordado … se despidieron de su señoría … el gobernador y capitán general, entregando las cabelleras de los indios alzados…’ (Títulos y Rcaudos [1632]: f 487-490 apud Porras Muñoz 1988: 225-226)².
engagements over uses of nature as something central in the narratives about negotiations between native and western colonial society. Accordingly, it helps us to understand how space was ordered following a utilitarian approach that included native people within the Spanish political sphere. Thus this approach transcended ethnicity and undermined narratives that fixed ethnic groups to specific territories. And instead signals and opens the indigenous side to negotiation as subjects with agency, included in the larger regional economic and political dynamics.

However, it must be noted that the Toboso 'nation' is one of the ethnic groups that disappeared from the ethnic landscape, at some point in the nineteenth century. Luis Gonzales Rodriguez notes the last mention of the Toboso people in the records has them attacking the territory of Nuevo Santander, around 1845 (Gonzales Rodriguez 2000: 374). This disappearance stresses the flip side of tarahumarización. This is, despite successful negotiations of native people's communities (raramurización as the negotiation, or not, of spaces) with powerful outsiders to create native communities in the Sierra Tarahumara (see Chapter 3), the disappearance of nations from colonial and national societies' narratives. Both resistance to settlement and also settling in and becoming 'acculturated' can, however, be seen as the expression of native peoples' agency in their engagements with expansionist societies.

Another colonial account from a Jesuit missionary of 1666, sets out the colonial landscape and the different entities interacting in the territory, implicating the daily lives of native and non-native people. This document from 1666 describes how the territory is shared with other entities. These entities - presented as endemic to Nueva Vizcaya - fall in line with the Christian discourse of the need to unveil and defeat the evil nature that pervades this region. Thus, the Christian mission to banish these mischievous entities from the land is justified. I propose that it works as an analogy for how missionaries addressed the agency of the others throughout the land. I propose that it also stresses the
negotiation of spaces between native and non-native societies, a translation between different world-views where the missionaries put themselves at the centre of such engagements, at least in the narrative.

This summer, goblins infested a family of Tlaxcalan people in different homes. First, they appeared during the day to an eight-year-old girl, to make her abandon her family’s house with pleasantry […]. She replied very seriously that she would not do that. She started to lose weight and turned yellow, so her parents brought her to our church asking us to remedy [her affliction], in reply we told them to take her up to Nuestra Señora Consoladora de los Afligidos […]. Also, I told them to invoke our father St. Ignatius for that work, as fathers and brothers of the college of Loreto had done [in the past], getting the goblins exiled, who fled from the school under the apparition of the Saint. Then, I put the child to the devotion of the Holy Cross, that I had on me all day, on my hand or my chest, and [told her parents] to put [the cross] on her head during the night. The following day she came and confessed [to me] that since that day […], the goblins never harassed or talked to her, nor appeared [again]. The same day, it seems, these demons moved out from the house of the girl onto his grandparents’, where many people had their peace and their daily movements disturbed in several ways. [Around] noon the figures made stronger appearances in the shapes of five or six Carib-Chichi native people, with long hair and totally naked, bows and arrows in their hands. A woman of that household, of twenty years old, was coerced to leave her family by the goblins, threatening her that if she did not obey they would stone her. They [the goblins] made some noise to frighten her and burned some wood coverings on the house. […] This woman having gone to the orchard to collect water, saw one of the elves in the noon, in the said figure [of the Carib native people], and seeing that it was calling her, her horror was such that she fell half dead on the ground. […] [The people] of that household spotted that the demons left traces of footprints and they would all end up in a corner of the orchard where there is one stick. Later, last night [the goblins] made some noise to disturb the people, but they were not only the middle devils, but also luciferous whom threw stones hardly, but no one got injured.

The discomfort felt by the inhabitants of the house was to the point that they have to lock down the house at night and sleep far from it to have some rest. In order to escape these grievances [they] took confession and communion, run errands for the jubilee of the glorious Assumption of Our Lord. I was asked [by them] to commend them to Our Lord. I went to the house and said the blessing from the missal, told them to

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3 In sixteenth-century Spain, the goblins were considered the fallen angels who occupied caves and wells and were in charge of mines and mineral wealth (Platt 2002: 137)
carry the cross over the trees and around the house and the garden, and [told them] to
go to the oratory in the evening and to spray their home and the orchard with holy wa-
ter. I also ordered them several times not to get angry nor to use angry words in this
pursuit, but to suffer it with patience and in accordance with the will of Our Lord, and it
seems the pious native people’s actions, and the demons’ inability to withstand the
earnest acts and virtues exercised in that household, has chased them off [for] more
than two months now […] Giving thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for the blessing.
(Jesuits III-15-21)4.

This account of goblins harassing indigenous people in the Sierra Tarahumara is in-
teresting in many ways. As I noted above, it puts missionaries at the centre of the transla-
tions between different understandings of nature, one native and one Christian; yet, the
Christian narrative recognises the agency of nature as potentially dangerous: attacking
the native people and creating great distress in their household. However, at the end,
the Tlaxcalan people get rid of the goblins through Christian ritual acts such as using
crosses and spraying holy water on the space of the household and the garden, thus
winning over these spaces and banishing the dangers found in the territory.

This account differs greatly from the earliest one in this chapter in the way that it is
not focused in the economical profit of negotiating spaces for the exploration and ex-
traction of natural resources. But it is useful to frame nature at the centre of these nego-
tiations, although, in this case, the negotiation are with other beings inhabiting nature.
It also illustrates that during colonial times, and despite the economic drive behind the
colonial expansionism, differentiated but not mutually exclusive narratives about under-
standings were produced by western society. While the account of the indigenous set-
tlement in the salt flats stress the economic argument for raramurización argued
above, it is easy to connect it with the ecological conflicts in the Sierra Tarahumara to-

4 See appendix A.2 for the Spanish version of the document
day; on the other hand, the Jesuit account of goblins illustrates my argument about different understandings of nature between local native people and outsiders, whereby the underlying elements implicated in these engagements are the source of conflicts through history (See Chapters 1 and 2).

In this way, the anonymous Jesuit account is relatable to other Tarahumara contemporary accounts where humans and non-human interact with each other. Sometime these beings can take the shape of birds or other animals, including humans (Saucedo Sánchez de Tagle: 94), as in the apparition of the Carib people from the Jesuit account above. Such is the case of one of the beings known as *uribi*. It is said that the *uribi* usually appears to those who walk alone for long periods of time, ‘sometimes taking the form of a bird, a fox, and sometimes even of a human being of the opposite sex of the hiker’ (ibid.). Rarámuri people say that the *uribi* are like ‘small human beings’, that inhabit the interior of the hills, where it is said that sometimes they keep water, food or money and wealth. In this they are very similar to the European figure of the goblins. In addition, and clearly relatable to the Jesuit account, the *uribi* will generally try to deceive anyone they find in their way, get entangled with them, take home, and so become ‘the walker’s boyfriend’. ‘Their goal is to take or make the people sick, and eventually cause them to die’ (ibid.). Indigenous people’s understanding of nature also frames the account of Maria Teresa about the pollution in the watering hole in the community of Repechique (See Chapter 1). Which is opposed to the utilitarian view of nature by the constructors of the airport in that community, and governmental officials who, off-hand during one of the meetings with the community, stressed to a journalist the difficulties of achieving any agreement with an indigenous community because ‘they do not know what a legal process is, are led by irresponsible people and that they do not understand reasons, for biological and intellectual reasons’ (Referente: April 21, 2016).
I argue that in order to see renderings of nature as equally valid, indigenous and western, now and in the past, we must use a framework that goes beyond the argument of what Joan Martinez Allier (2002) describes as 'political ecology', as the conflicts over access and control of natural resources (apud Escobar 2008: 6). To understand these conflicts and what is at stake in them would in turn result in understanding the native people’s community as result of their own agency in history, the relations native people hold with the surrounding landscapes, and would frame narratives about native people of the Sierra Tarahumara as the result of encounters of native people with outsiders. To do this, I follow Arturo Escobar’s call to stress these conflicts as the clash of societies over natural resources and to consider the power differentials between various knowledges and cultural practices (ibid.). He calls these engagements 'cultural distribution conflicts' (2008).

In the following section of this chapter, I explore the modern native community of the Sierra Tarahumara, in relation of its surrounding landscape, to locate it within narratives of colonial negotiated spaces, modern 'ecological conflicts', and indigenous exegesis about community.

**Community and Nature in the Sierra Tarahumara**

The narratives about native people, such as tarahumarización and indigenismo discussed earlier, have been noted as epistemological devices of western narratives that create categories of types of Indians, and ways to incorporate indigenous societies into the state, so they have had a monumental importance in the historical development of
indigenous communities in the Sierra Tarahumara. As noted earlier, an economic component of this process has always been an important element in narratives about the need to 'acculturate' and incorporate native people. This is very well represented in the following lines:

‘There are news of the discovery of many other mines by [the] explorations made, and I am giving orders that as fast as time allow they shall be opened. Our lord will be pleased to help it along in order that the natives may be converted and your majesty receive great profit’ (Diego de Ibarra mayo [1582] (AGI 66-6-18), also in Bandelier 1923 :113).  

Thus, there are accounts of native peoples willing to settle down in Spanish-controlled territories. Such as the following document of 1623 where Don Francisco’s words, a Tepehuan leader, are portrayed coming into a Spanish settlement requesting a mission be sent out to his people.

‘On behalf of all the people of my village […] I have expressed to your lordship, that since we do not have any religious people to confess with, and administers [sacraments] in our Tepehuan tongue, and Lent is passing by. And [being] myself and the other native people, good native people, that sow and give to the travellers everything what is necessary. Your lordship can see is given to us a religious person to have confession and administers [the sacraments] in our Tepehuan tongue and gives comfort to our Christian hearts. Because as Christians, we ask to your lordship for what is best for us, and we ask for justice in the name of all the people of Santiago Papasquiaro’ (Jesuitas 111-16-7).  

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5 ‘Hay noticias del descubrimiento de muchas otras minas mediante intentos realizados, estoy dando órdenes de que lo más rápido que el tiempo permiten que se abrirán. Nuestro señor estará encantado de ayudarle a lo largo con el fin de que los nativos pueden ser convertidos y su majestad reciben grandes beneficios’ (Diego de Ibarra mayo, 1582 (AGI 66-6-18), also in Bandelier 1923: 113).

6 ‘En voz de todos los demás indios de mi pueblo […] he dicho a vuestra señoría que como no tenemos religioso que nos confiese y administre en nuestra lengua tepehuana y la cuaresma se va pasando yo y los demás indios e indias somos buenos indios que hacemos nuestras
These types of accounts are part of what I have framed as the process of *ramurización* as the process through which territory was negotiated between native people and colonial society as the foundations of the modern ethnic landscape. These accounts have been used to see the native community of the Sierra Tarahumara as the result of the colonial expansionism already mentioned and describe it in terms of acculturated people (in an early moment of *indigenismo*, see Chapter 2), or, more recently, as native people who through resistance and having accepted baptism and the Catholic Church’s presence in their daily lives have kept some of their cultural practices and way of life (Velasco Rivero 2008: 47). However, while this narrative about the native community does account for indigenous resistance and agency, it reduces ecological conflicts to existing power relations rather than identifying different understandings of nature. This is, these views veil indigenous understanding about their community and the relationships they have with their natural surroundings, which I argue, is fundamental to understanding these conflicts. Following Blaser: ‘not all cultures have the same standing in rational politics, the arena where decisions affecting a territory and its population are debated’ (2013: 15). I propose that this view empowers indigenous struggles in ecological conflicts, positioning indigenous people’s narratives at the same level as western society’s.

Alejandro Sariego’s description of the Tarahumara conceptualisation of territory makes a clear contribution into looking at what other entities inhabit the land.

‘The very concept of territory of rarámuri or Tarahumara people is founded on a
number of constituent elements of their worldview, such as the notion that the territorial space is a vital element symbolic expression of their identity. In this space the ancestors are buried there, from the ancestors to the governors, and other indigenous authorities. And [it is also the space where they] have been holding, for centuries, meetings, fiestas and rituals’ (Sariego 2000:37).

Expressed in practical terms by Pintado Cortina (2013), ‘we must see the geographical, [and ecological] environment as close as possible to the complex relationship between nature and society’. For instance, in Tarahumara awalichi7, and other fiestas (community celebrations), it is possible to see the close relationship between the elements and natural phenomena such as the rain and storms, sunrises and sunsets, animals and plants. ‘Each party itself comprises a series of actions linked to a ceremonial sequence, which in turn is related to a cycle in nature’ (Pintado Cortina: 92).

In this regard, Sabina Aguilera’s informant, named Catarino, likens the Sierra Tarahumara to a parent, explaining to Aguilera that the hills are like 'the mother'; 'Ralámuli

7Awalichi is the space where the Tarahumara people celebrate their patio fiestas, is not a specific place in the patio, and represents the cosmos for the duration of the party. (Pintado Cortina 2004). Further, Pintado notes a distinction between the comunal patio parties Walú Omáwala, and those at the level of the household. She notes that the same term can be used for those parties in the church but with a different connotation. Bieng most common terms; Noliwáchí, ”when they return”, reichi, wise men o walupa, for the celebration of the 12th of December (Pintado 2013). I argue that, following her argument, in taking part on the parties constitutes a big part of being ralamuli, is where sociality is expressed beyond kinship, and because it holds many similarities with neighbouring groups celebrations is an expression of the conviviality and potential affinity between humans that not hold kindred. In this celebrations there is also a large shared ingest of tesguino, maize beer, so everybody gets inebriated with the same substance, hence these celebrations are also called tesguinadas a derogatory term used also in the colonial accounts of mitotes. This subject should be researched later in further investigations. However, on this subject, Robert Kennedy has argued that the basic structure of the Tarahumara community 'is a combination of mountains, the ecological adaptation of agriculture and grazing and the institution of tesguinada'[…] 'a centrifugal social system composed of a vast network of group ranches that are intertwined to form a plexus-like network' (red del tesgüino) (Kennedy 1970: 124-130).
people live on the hills, they are our home and care for us and protect us' (Aguilera Madrigal 2010: 21). Aguilera notes also that the idea of shelter is likened to a womb or the placenta. Aguilera argues that this is reflected in the use of the words to refer to shelter; Kawisore, kemaka or kimala, also mean blanket, or placenta. Likewise, the word wichimoba which is used to describe inhabited land, as for the surface of the earth, also refers to the human skin.

Catarino himself further illustrates these analogies to the humans of the Sierra, when he asserts that 'the Sierra has skin, or dust, and bones, just like us'. [...] 'Once, there was just water around here, but it dried up and the only thing left were the bones; the bones are the rocks and the hills in the landscape' (Aguilera Madrigal 2011: 21). Mario Blasser (2003) notes that in conflicts where nature is at the centre of confrontation between native people and outsiders, such as those in the Sierra Tarahumara, native people 'are defending not simply access to and control over resources'; rather 'they are defending complex webs of relations between humans and nonhumans, relations that, for them, are better expressed in the language of kinship than in the language of property' (Blaser: 14).

On the other hand, William Merryl, also looking into better frame terms Ralámuli people use to describe territory, and landscape, and how it is analogous to the human feminine body in Tarahumara exegesis. He notes that the word kawi means 'outside', in contrast to the places where Tarahumara people usually perform most of their daily activities (Merryl 1992: 115). Merryl goes on to argue that kawichi is associated with the devil, a moral antithetic to inside, while the cultivated land is associated with God. Thus, to be 'outside' entails connotations of not-human, wild and potentially bad, locating outsiders as potential enemies to the Tarahumara people. Opposing outside, inside, brings the values of humanity, domestic and good, which are attributed to areas of more intense daily activities (Merril 1992: 116).
So, the native community from an indigenous perspective does not merely have, but rather indexes a number of relationships with the landscape, which is understood not only as the extractive resources the Spanish were so keen to transform and profit from, but also comprehends the social relations between a series of humans and other beings, that the western view fails to address. These other beings are those such as in the account of the goblins presented above, that embody the potential dangers that exist in nature and are relatable to the notion of 'outside' noted by William Merryl. Dead Tarahumara people would fall into this category of potential dangers. As Abel Rodriguez Lopez notes, Tarahumara people are all linked through invisible 'threads', or rimuká to each other, and to a non-perceptible world, riwigachi, inhabited by the souls of all the dead Tarahumara people either baptised or not\(^8\). This world exists 'here and now', but it is also the final destination of Tarahumara souls. However, these threads can be dangerous as they can make you dream of dead people and cause you to be sad. Sadness for the Tarahumara people is a disease that can even be lethal. This why nutema, or send-off parties for dead peoples' souls, where the rimuká are cut, should be held to send the souls that are still 'around' to go 'live there for good' (Rodriguez Lopez 2015: 17-19).

In this same way, within the group of other beings the native community hold relationships with are the anayáwali or ancestors, who were the first to have danced the baskoli so that the piece of land surrounded by water would extend its size to the size of

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\(^8\) The Tarahumara communities are fragmented by the identities gentil or cimarron, and by the so-called pagótame or baptized. These divisions have a colonial origin. The first two were used to designate groups that rejected Christian baptism, while the baptized person were called pagótame, from the verb "wet" in Tarahumara language (Pintado & Muñoz 2010: 144). Today, there are gentiles who are baptized and pagótame without baptism, which reflects that it is a much more complex aspect than a simple opposition: cimarrón / baptized (Ibid: 148)
the earth today: 'those who, being "dead" are hanging around the house and in the
lands of Tarahumara people without being seen, but it is possible to feel them around,
but you sense them as winds for instance' (Sanchez Jorge Palma, 2002, and Valentin
Catarino, 2004 apud Pintado 2012). **Onolúame,** which is a rather diffuse concept as it
encompasses virtually everything, especially religion and so is difficult to study. For ex-
ample, Miguel Bartolome reduces them to a divine couple, father and mother (Bar-
tolome 2014). Pedro de Velasco, meanwhile, sees them in closer relationship with na-
ture, and what it represents, when the tesiño is offered to the sun, the moon and the
morning star in the tesgüinadas of the seventeenth century (De Velasco Rivero 2006), in
turn Eduardo Gotez protrays it like an androgynous couple **Onolúame-iyelúame,** God
the Father and God the Mother (Gotez 2012).

So, while it is tempting to take this issue up to a broader discussion of ontologies, it
goes beyond the scope of this research, but remains an interesting subject to be ad-
dressed in the future.\(^{10}\) However, I argue, the ethnohistorical accounts of native peo-
ple’s communities presented in this chapter, despite the scarce information on indige-
nous understanding of nature, allows to hypothesise a connection between contempo-
rary ethnographic material recollected about indigenous understandings of nature and
of their own community and how these two entangle in a series of relationships that
western narratives seem to fail to grasp. What I want to stress from my argument about
framing ecological conflicts in the Sierra Tarahumara beyond power relationships, is that
nature and the relations it encompasses, including with non-human beings, rather than

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\(^{9}\) Onolúame is a key figure in Tarahumara mythology. Apart of being an ancestor, he is who
thought Tarahumara people how to make batari. He gave this gift to the Ralámuli so they could
have parties and be joyful (De velasco 2006 :92)

a specific territoriality, is what seemingly gives Tarahumara communities placement in the world. This connection is helpful to understand what was at stake during the colonial rebellions, and why, despite the years of congregation in missions, conversion was never totally accomplished. In addition, it helps to see what other things were negotiated along with the settlement of the communities through the *raramurización* that (it has been argued) shaped the modern ethnic landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara, and is still at the centre of conflicts between native people and outsiders in the Sierra Tarahumara.
Chapter 6

Indigenous people’s tarahumarización, raramurización and violence.

In Chapter 2, I described the native community in colonial times as ‘formed out of spaces in the territory created by negotiations between the indigenous people and colonial agents over the memory of past actions of violence against the latter’. I argued that through settlement and incorporation of native people into a spatial and legal order, these negotiations created new landscapes. Also, I noted that when these negotiations failed the most common result was violent uprisings and/or abandonment of missions. One of these violent uprisings is presented in Chapter 3, to explore colonial warfare in Nueva Vizcaya as the context for ethnogenesis, framed as the interlacing of tarahumarización and raramurización: the taxonomical division of indigenous groups in types of Indians in colonial narratives, and the settling of native people in or around the as parts of these processes.

Colonial accounts used in this research show that violence was the single most outstanding element in Nueva Vizcaya. This is also noted by Neil Whitehead when he states that ‘violence is the way by which indigenous communities came to the fore from being in the back’ (Whitehead viii, 2000). On the one side, violence was the force used by the Spanish conquistadors to gather indigenous people in the missions, at the same time, native indigenous people resorted to violence, in many cases, as a way of resistance to
forced accommodation in missions. So how should narratives of violence be framed within the complex mixture of elements in the colonial ethnogenesis in Nueva Vizcaya? Further, what were the consequences of violent actions beyond the settlement in missions or the uprisings for the native people of the Nueva Vizcaya?

Colonial accounts, such as in Fonte's (See Chapter 2), justify the first incursion into the Tarahumara territory as motivated by a need to forge a peace between Tarahumara and Tepehuan people, who had been at war for an unknown period of time. Thus, the indigenous inter-ethnic dynamic was framed as violent and bellicose, which was used to justify initial missionary actions, and the later conversion and reduction of native people.

These accounts stressed killings, wars and barbarism in general, and while they explore relationships between indigenous peoples, not just their relations with the Spanish, they also set the epistemological, legal and political roots of a narrative that framed the indigenous people of Nueva Vizcaya as warlike and statelessness, whose actions were said to reveal their barbaric nature.¹

The violence exerted upon other groups and tribes and that suffered by the missionaries and the colonisers upon their arrival in the region are an ever-present element in the colonial narratives. My argument here is that through violence a narrative about the other, and what constitutes the other, is presented. A similar observation is made by Casevitz & Saignes y A C Taylor (1988) in their study about colonial Andean and Amazonian societies: 'to speak of violence and war is to recognize immediately a form of dualism, that of a social alterity; Is to question the definition of the opponent, the

¹ The use here of the term the tribe is not as the stage in a political evolutionary sense, from stateliness followed by bands and then tribes until reaching the political organisation of the state, but as a synonym for ethnic group, or as discussed previously, nation, a closer term to the used in the documentation of the colonial times.
adversary, in short, the other in front of oneself ‘ (Casevitz & Saignes y A C Taylor 1988: 311).

On the other hand, violence in the form of uprisings and wars, paired with other elements, such as epidemics, deceases, famine, has been used as an argument for the disappearance of native peoples from the colonial records in the Nueva Vizcaya (See Chapters 2 and 4). Muratorio (1991) describes the initial period of epidemics and abuses brought by Europeans in the Amazon as: ‘The ethnocidal simplification of the Amazon’s rich ethnographic variety’ (1991: 42 apud High 2015: 30). A similar situation prevailed in Nueva Vizcaya and is incorporated (in the previous chapter and above) as part of the historical process of tarahumarización and raramurización, because the disappearance of ethnic identities goes alongside the creation (or recreation) of new ethnicities. From this perspective, the processes encompasses both ethnocide and ethnogenesis. This argument is also made by Whitten on his work on Canelos Quechua in Amazonian Ecuador (1996); ‘[Where] these processes, ethnogenesis and ethnocide, have been taken to be complementary features in systems of radical change’ (Whitten 1996: 193).

I have argued in the previous chapter and indeed throughout this thesis that besides the ethnocidal character of the violence inflicted on indigenous communities, violence is also an inseparable component of ethnogenesis. Framed as a component of ethnogenesis, violence allowed indigenous societies to subvert the colonial enterprise of making a specific kind of native people, by strengthening and creating intra- and supra-community relations. While missions, semi-closed enclaves under the eye of the missionaries, different groups interacted with each other, their porous boundaries allowed underground networks of sociability that made resistance became the main preoccupation for colonial authorities (see Chapter 3). These networks, apparently, ran freely without any control, which perpetuated bouts of violence and in some cases, rebellions, with
the deaths of settlers, missionaries and the subsequent spending of resources on military campaigns to chase the rebels down. Such missions were often futile, as the rebels could flee to the mountains and caves not to be seen again. So, despite Spanish attempts to change this, indigenous people kept reproducing their sociability regardless of the creation of new landscapes.

Narratives of native resistance to incorporation, subjugation or elimination, framed as the Others' violence, also positioned the native people of Nueva Vizcaya in opposition to other ethnic groups who were deemed as barbarous in early colonial moments, such as the neighbouring Chichimeca groups in the sixteenth century (Navarrete Linares 2001: 390). These groups were more distant and were differentiated from the highly hierarchical Indian cultures of central Mexico. After the fall of Tenochtitlan, the more centralised groups did not mount any important uprisings during colonial era. This is attributed to the atomization of large indigenous administrative communities and the subsequent takeover of smaller subjugated communities by the Crown, in addition to the dwindling space for political agency available to the native people (see Navarrete 2001). Navarrete argues in this regards that, as subjugates, native people of central Mexico could not see any reasonable difference in the continuity of their communities before and after the Spanish conquest. This situation contrasts with the circumstances of the Tepehuan and Tarahumara people, which will be discussed in the following sections. I analyse how, throughout history, the inhabitants of the sierra have created spaces over negotiations of their ethnic self-adscription.

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2 Federico Navarrete notes that this is clearly reflected in the writings produced by small communities called ‘Titulos primordiales’, elaborated at the turn of the 17th century; ‘This point of view is emphatically expressed in the ‘Titulos Primordiales’ written by small indigenous communities of the basin of Mexico in the seventeenth century’ (Navarrete Linares 2001: 393). Also, see Gibson (1964) for the political development of the native people of central Mexico.
Indigenous communities of Nueva Vizcaya are portrayed as violent by nature in colonial accounts. This ubiquity of barbarous behaviour encountered (from a Eurocentric perspective) in the colonisation of Nueva Vizcaya is used as a trope to highlight differences between the local people of Nueva Vizcaya, other indigenous communities, and western people. The point is how the narratives of the dominant society emphasise the malicious character of indigenous people of Nueva Vizcaya in the historical records, producing a narrative of the use of weapons and violence as necessary to the missionaries’ acculturation programme. I contest that these are grounds to see indigenous alliances and affiliation, driven by colonisers’ violence, as anti-colonial (Graeber 2004). These alliances and networks of resistance, which in turn stress people’s agency in the acculturating space of the missions, are highlighted through the use of violence as a way to conceptualise the other.

**Violence and Types of relationships**

As noted previously in Chapters 2 and 3, the way the Spaniards achieved control over the territory of the Nueva Vizcaya was by superior military power paired with a Christian discourse that allowed them to force indigenous communities into missions to be acculturated. The relative peace with indigenous communities allowed the invaders to accomplish their economic goal of consolidating an extractive frontier. As evident in some of the Spanish documents used in previous chapters, colonial records show a narrative about the transformation of native people in terms of bringing them out of their barbaric, savage living and into the civilised culture. For instance, the document below shows a vignette of a simplistic and shallow life of a people who live without hierarchical state formation and, could not have an elaborated a system of religious beliefs as they
knew no better than to worship the air.

Opposite to the real de minas of San Andres, about a half-days' walk, [there are] some very rough and large lands where the Taxa live, an atheistic nation. That is if not the wind, [they] do not worship, or recognise any other god. Their customs are barbarous. [they live] without government, settlement, or good customs not only in [their] words, but in [their] actions, as in all its language [there is] not [a word] equivalent to respect or good manners, even if you [talk to] old or young [people], or small boys (Jesuitas III - 15 f. 10).³

Another common trope in colonial documents, specifically when addressed to the King or any other high functionary in the court, is the benefits in 'temporal matters' that the transformation of indigenous individuals could bring about. This narrative also aligns with that of permanent indigenous warfare which reinforces the representation of inherent indigenous savagery. In addition to this, I argue that the violence of the conquest and 'pacification' generates a form of domination based on de-territorialisation and the ethnocide of native communities. Although, as I have already noted, this also laid the foundations for new ethnogenesis, because of the breakdown of pre-existing cultural systems necessary to acculturate indigenous communities. These lines, used also in the previous chapter, give a brief version of a theme present in many documents, they illustrate the economic component of the acculturation of indigenous people:

There is news of the discovery of many other mines by assays made, and I am giving orders that as fast as time allow they shall be opened. Our lord will be pleased to help it along in order that the natives may be converted and your majesty receives

³ 'Enfrente del real de minas de San Andrés caminando hacia el medio día [...] [hay] unas muy ásperas y dilatadas tierras que habitan los taxas, nación ateísta que si no es el viento y otro dios no adoran ni reconocen. En sus costumbres son barbaros sin traza ni gobierno policía cortesía no solo en obras, pero en palabras pues en toda su lengua no se halla significante a respeto o buena cortesía aunque se trate con grandes o chicos altos o bajos (Jesuitas III- 15 f.10)'.

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great profit' (Diego de Ibarra mayo [1582] (AGI 66-6-18), also in Bandelier 1923: 113).

European economic accumulation needed to not only extract the resources but also a flow of workers, these needs from the periphery have been represented as a ‘Cannibal war-machine’ by Neal Whitehead (2006), because of the predatory and violent nature of the relationship. The savage indigenous communities needed to be ‘decodified’ or acculturated. This is not a metaphor in Spanish records for Christianisation, but a ‘physical, economic-physical processes’ (Deleuze 2005: 103). According to Deleuze: ‘workers continued to be decoded and encoded always in a close relation to the demands of capitalism’ (ibid.). This represents very well the ways the socio-political units of Nueva Vizcaya were dealt with. De-territorialisation in Deleuze’s terminology frames an important part of the colonial narrative, justifying the use of the violence exerted on the communities for their transformation from savagery into civilised life. The words of a Jesuit missionary in 1633 talking about the Xiximes, a group famous for their alleged cannibalism, highlight this point:

Sometimes I have asked them why in the old times they were so infamous for waging remarkable wars, and they have replied that the cause is the old people indulged on human meat, that they held it to be tastier, they kept their [prisoners] heads and bones to show them as trophies at dances. The name Tarijas does not fall short [of what they were], which means ‘the bullies’ or ‘the quarrelsome’. It comes from the verb Teje which means to quarrel. Accordingly, they were engaged in perpetual wars running around the land and making a thousand assails and even if it was people of their same nation. [They are] among the most treacherous and warlike [and rightfully] deserve this name (Jesuitas III-15 f12).

4 For the version in Spanish see Chapter 2.

5 ‘Algunas veces he preguntado por que en su antigüedad se hacian tan notables guerras y me han respondido ser la causa por que sus viejos se les antojaba carne de gente que la tenian por ser mas gustosa cuyas cabezas y osamentas guardaban para en los bailes mostrar sus trofeos. no menos ajusta el nombre de tarijas que quiere decir los que riñen o los pendencieros de
The first line of enquiry is how violence is used in the narrative for inter-cultural comparison by Spaniards in Nueva Vizcaya over time. The framing of violence is crucial to the creation of a set of categories and ethnic identities of the people of the Sierra Tarahumara, already discussed previously as tarahumarización. One thing that is problematic about the change in indigenous ways of social reproduction is the lack of information available about kinship systems in pre-conquest times. Even the few lines present in the records do not tell much about social kinship production beyond a few reports of inter-ethnic raids to 'abuse' and hijack women. To illustrate the type of information available in the records, I use a document produced in 1713 when an indigenous captive called Gaspar is interrogated about recent violence and a mitote in the Sierra Tarahumara that the Spaniards feared would lead to more violence;

He was asked how many people belong to his nation and answered that they are thirteen; although another three [persons] are with the [others] because of marrying there, and that these three are brothers and are the ones who defended Antonio (a Christianized Indian) and his two companions in self-defence (Jesuitas 672 - 1)\textsuperscript{6}.

Consequently, the information that can be recovered from the documents is not useful to make any theory about the cognate nomenclature or filiation system. In addition, even the present-day Tarahumara kinship system is hard to define. Tarahumara affilia-

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\textsuperscript{6} ‘Le preguntan cuantos son de su nación y responde que son trece el por que aunque a otros tres este con los por causa de haberse casado al y que estos tres son hermanos y son los que defendieron a antonio y a sus dos compañeros para que no los mataren’ (Jesuitas 672 - 1).
tion and locality are based on a pragmatic system with no defined rules of settlement. Land is inherited at a very young age, so choosing a place of residence is not permanent and Tarahumara people could have two or more plots of land in different places within the Sierra. Following Kennedy (1978): ‘A remarkable characteristic of this system is a tendency to classify relatives by generation and sex in relation to ego, i.e. ‘a male calls his younger sister wayé, while a female calls her younger sister bini’ (ibid.: 170). The difficulty in defining kinship within indigenous history needs to be framed as a consequence of the arrival of the conquerors. I propose the conquest stressed the potential to be part of the community (or not) through social practices of community-making. The volition involved in this process is indicated by the relative lack of social importance of kinship terminology in Tarahumara life, such as their custom of using first names instead of the kinship category. The kinship term is instead only used in specific contexts where clarification is necessary, as in ceremonies (ibid.: 171).

However, a lack of information on pre-Conquest kinship supports the idea that current kinship relations came about through tarahumarisación. Yet another element that is visible in the above-mentioned document of 1713 is inter-ethnic violence. Their allegedly violent character, linked to their cultural practice of a tesguinada, is nowadays regarded as central to community-making practices, and at the time worried the Spaniards as a possible source of indigenous rebellion. Even more important is the relationship between indigenous communities that does not make distinctions between savagery, ritual drinking gatherings after a communal reunion, and what is feared by the colonisers as the planning of a dangerous uprising. I argue that inter-ethnic practices of socialisation and endemic warfare are central in the records during colonial times.

Then [he] was asked if he knows if there have been meetings of his nation with Cocoyomes and Acollames (Acoclames) to fight the Spaniards and [he] accepted that to be true, but he said that his nation had to accept forcibly, because if they did not do
To frame this episode, I suggest that indigenous groups were entangled in exchange practices where not goods but people were the central part of alliance-making. Hence the raids and other forms of violence were ways of forging affinity or alliances between groups. This explains the tesguinadas and mitotes between different naciones during the mission era, and also some kinship obligations like the instance where Antonio is saved by the three brothers married with people from another community. Then upon the arrival of Europeans, to be extremely simplistic, this exchange transitioned into one of a labour-exchange culture, where violence could erupt at any time in the form of Indian uprisings.

The documents of the conquest of Nueva Vizcaya that narrate the transition of indigenous people into Spanish institutions provide a way to analyse violence as a category. Violence was used instrumentally by Spaniards: missionaries and other agents, without having to know too much of the Other, who justified wars and coercive use of force to achieve their goals, in the sort of institutional violence described by David Graeber (2007). The shallow understanding of Indian socio-political organisation is can clearly be seen in contrast to the thorough registry of exploitable resources in the new territories. We can also portray the convergence of different economies as violence: the accultura-

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7 ‘Fuele preguntado si los chizos tenian consumacion con los acoclames y collomes. Dijo que no, que ha muchos años que están muy encontrados que ahora un mes que los chizos fueron a buscar a los cocollomes, los hallaron en taque donde les dieron albazo y mataron tres cocollomes y les quitaron caballada. (AGI 672-1 f.18).’
tion of people on economic grounds; the exchange, reciprocity and production of people; and the encounter of these different production needs, had obvious violent and war-like consequences. This provides grounds to understand the resistance of indigenous communities to the imposition of new cultural forms, from the colonial age until present times.

Of Ethnocide as creation

As elaborated above, differences in cultural and social practices between the people of Nueva Vizcaya and Europeans, and even with other indigenous groups of Nueva España, is a component of the narrative about the need to transform and incorporate groups into the state. One of the first things missionaries developed was a system through which they could homogenise people, using terms such as chichimecas and others listed above to categories different indigenous peoples outside the Mesoamerican cultural area, or Central Mexico (see Chapter 1). Pursuing their objective of providing labour for economic activities, rather than a complete obliteration of indigenous communities, ethnogenesis can be understood as the colonisers’ process to incorporate the other into a specific set of relationships, that in Nueva Vizcaya was reinforced by militias and missions. The Spanish had to break down the old ways of socialisation among small, fragmented Indian societies and create more Spanish-like people to have the native people they needed. So, building on the idea that people did not disappear but were rather inserted into new categories (Whitehead 1996), coming from societies without a state, then invaders had to change cultural codes to homogenise differences and turn all those communities into one. The above-mentioned codification of bodies can be
explained as ethnocide because of the effect it had on the indigenous landscape.

I think this type of ethnocide should be framed as a consequence of the invaders’ need to produce a specific type of native people to exploit the natural resources present in Nueva Vizcaya. Through this framing of ethnocide, as component of ethnogenesis, the transformative violence, now and then, is expressed in the ethnic landscape as a negotiation of ethnic self-adscriptions and territories to avoid further violence (such as a generalised war). In consequence, it is possible to argue that, despite the continued effort to incorporate and acculturate indigenous people, the Spanish found ways to counteract the indigenous responses. Those actions framed as violence would not completely stop, as exchanges between indigenous people and the state continue to work at cross-purposes, as we saw in the history of rebellions and uprisings that continued well into the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2). But it remained necessary for indigenous societies to achieve political representation, thus making negotiations with outsiders necessary. This can be seen in the way that indigenous communities in the past embodied crafted ethnicities in order to be included in the Spanish political sphere. Yet they found ways for the exchange to be done on indigenous terms, thus rendering the modern ethnic landscape as the partial result of their agency in history.

Finally, to analyse violence as a cross-cultural category, it is necessary to frame it in a way that takes into consideration different juxtaposing worldviews that converge in a territory and the narrative created around them, while taking into account the muted indigenous voices in the documents. On one side, there is instrumental violence that builds on narratives of violent and un-acculturated native people in need of culture. This accords with the famous concept of violence coined by David Richies in ‘The Anthropology of Violence (1986), which states that violence is “an act of physical hurt deemed legitimate by the performer and illegitimate by (some) witnesses” (ibid.: 8), and which reveals a “core purpose” (ibid.: 5).’ A core purpose of such violent action is to transform
indigenous peoples and deny them agency, such as rising up or having a voice in the documents. Violence is also coercive action viewed as the best way to deal with the native people in documents produced by military and other state officials. This brings us to the idea that there were two kinds of violent actions perpetrated on indigenous people. One coercive and the other discursive. On the coercive and physical, we can see the purpose of violence, as described by David Graeber (2007);

Violence is veritably unique among forms of action because it is pretty much the only way one can have relatively predictable effects on others’ actions without understanding anything about them. Any other way one might wish to influence others requires that one should at least know or figure out who they think they are, what they want or find objectionable, etc. (ibid.: 101).

The Spanish use of coercion, such as bringing indigenous people to the presidios, or hunting them down after rebellions, helps us to assert that indigenous people’s violent otherness was necessary in order to create a narrative about the mutual unintelligibility between cultures. Spanish actions were not violent in their eyes, but a part of a failed exchange of culture for labour, where indigenous people did not reciprocate in the ways expected because of their pre-contact barbaric ways, thus explaining why the Indian savage-stateliness had to be neutralised. In turn, these comparisons will feed the ethnocidal narratives of acculturation that in the Spanish discourse justified the creation of ethnicities such as Tarahumara and Tepehuan as moral categories of types of Indians, and the accompanying raramurización, in the colonial set up of Nueva Vizcaya.
Conclusions

In this thesis, I studied the people of the Sierra Tarahumara, in their historical engagements with expansionist societies and their narratives about these encounters. I started by examining their resistance to incorporation into the Spanish state during the colonial age in Nueva Vizcaya, and how this history is connected to the contemporary context of conflicts and landscape of the Sierra Tarahumara. To do this, I used and framed the concepts of community, resistance, violence, ethnogenesis and ethnocide, and territory and history, to frame the historicity of the ethnic groups of the Sierra Tarahumara and how these concepts interlace in the history of the ethnic landscape in such a way that the Sierra Tarahumara and its inhabitants cannot be completely disassociated one from another. In doing so, I emphasised the long history of conflicts over the Sierra Tarahumara between its indigenous communities and expansionist outsiders. This history has made Tepehuan, Warijó Pima, and more notoriously so, Tarahumara people, noteworthy in Mexico because of ‘their misery, their ignorance, the exploitation to which they have been subjected and what has been done to help them […], [in terms of] their disappearance, incorporation and acculturation’ (Bennet and Zing 1978 :11).

I contend that this kind of narrative, portrayed by the anthropologists Bennet and Zing in the nineteen-seventies, veils native peoples’ agency in history in their engagements with dominant expansionist societies during the colonial and national historical periods. Not only does this reify local native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara as passive, conquered subjects of colonial encounters, but it deems the conflicts over access to land and ownership as the consequence of their lack of knowledge of modernity. Furthermore, this view oversimplifies complex processes of resistance and ethno-
genesis, reducing native people’s worldviews to discourses of ‘backwardness’. In this regards, this thesis approached the native communities of the Sierra Tarahumara as the result of processes of resistance, ethnogenesis, and ethnocide, which I discussed as tarahumarización and raramurización.

Whilst tarahumarización is the taxonomical ordering of the native peoples of Nueva Vizcaya in colonial narratives to make types of Indians, rarahumarización frames the settlement of native communities in, or around missions, following the taxonomy created by the tarahumarización. This, I argue, allows us to see the native community of the Sierra Tarahumara as formed out of negotiations between the indigenous people and colonial agents over the memory of past actions of violence against the latter. This perspective allows us to see native people’s agency in these negotiations and reveal what elements are constitutive of the native community, and to connect the native community of the past with the modern ethnic landscape.

In the first part of this thesis, I presented two chapters dealing with the physiographical aspects of the Sierra Tarahumara and the historical encounters of local indigenous people with outsiders. I proposed that when we talk about native peoples of the Sierra Tarahumara we are also talking about the ecological and physiographical space they live in and interact with every day. Thus, in order to better frame the processes undergone by local native people since the arrival of Spanish people which have shaped both the ecological and ethnic landscape, an accurate description of the natural landscape is necessary.

Chapter 1 presents the physiography of the space of the Western Sierra Madre and its neighbouring spaces to situate it within its geographical context in relation to other regions of Mexico. This chapter also presents a western narrative of classificatory systems, in the sense of the types of peoples who have inhabited the sierra and have formed different archaeological, historical, ethnohistorical landscapes. This first part
makes an ecological and physiographical overview of the Sierra Tarahumara and the
neighbouring areas. The rest of the chapter introduces ecological and archeologic ren-
derings of the territory to have a more comprehensive view of how both nature and pre-
contact native people have been portrayed in scholarly works. The chapter acts as the
foundation for the more detailed ethnohistorical and ethnographic material that will be
used to analyse tarahumarizacion and raramurizacion in the following chapter.

Chapter 2 frames the history of the engagements of the native peoples of Nueva Viz-
caya with outsiders in a chronological order. It starts out by looking at narratives of the
arrival of Jesuit missionaries in European writings of the time (cuando?), which show
tropes that framed those encounters and the people engaged in them. These idioms
about types of native peoples, I argue, locate people in a continuum of categories in the
colonial narrative, from the most to least barbarous based on whether they had a peace-
ful integration or violently resisted it. These idioms allow us to understand the historicity
of ethnicities of Nueva Vizcaya as the result of the interplay of the transformation of the
native societies and nature by outsiders. I framed this as a colonial ethnogenesis, and
linked the transformations of the colonial societies with the modern ethnic landscape.

The narratives of the nature of the social systems of native societies, and the trans-
formation suffered by these systems following the initial encounters between locals and
Europeans and other outsiders that continue until today, constitute the focus of this
chapter. In this chapter I also shed light on the debates that have permeated the scholar-
ly views on the indigenous people living in Nueva Vizcaya. Descriptions of their no-
madism, and violent resistance to be settled in mines, along with research on colonial
epidemics, have created a false disassociation between the people described in archival
documents and contemporary indigenous communities. I showed how Spanish pragma-
tism in naming Indian naciones as categories is not the best way to frame the ethnic
landscape and the intra and supra community relationships as these are far more com-
plex than what has been acknowledged in the specialised literature (Braniff 1992; De Velasco Rivero 2006; Gerhard 1982; Spicer 1967). The reason for the contemporary persistence of a few ethnic groups is more closely linked to resistance strategies on the indigenous side than other external factors such as the protection some received from missions or laws aimed at protecting them from abuses from non-indigenous people. In this sense, I argued that ethnic identities in the colonial context should be examined through a framework that encompasses ethnogenesis and ethnocide: *raramurización* and *tarahumarización*. This framework reveals the complex interlacing of factors that shaped the ethnic landscape which, in turn, allows for a better account of the history of resistance and ethnogenesis through a taxonomical division of the Indian nations that took place during the colonial period based on the moral views of European epistemology. This chapter also focuses on the ecological potential of the territory as the source of conflicts since the time of conquest. The territory has been appropriated piece by piece by outsiders throughout history, resulting in violent consequences for both sides. Indigenous peoples were the most aggravated, suffering from the continuous dispossession of their lands since the sixteen century. Divergent indigenous and western views of what is contained in the territory partly explain what is at stake in the modern conflicts over territory like those described in Chapter 2 and 5. This reveals nature as a fundamental category to understand indigenous societies and frame colonial rebellions in a new light that contests the theories of a relative simplistic culture that comes from the comparison of the cultures of the north of Mexico (Beals 1944; Cuello 1990; Hillerkuss 1992), with the Mesoamerican ones.

Part 2 of this thesis deals with ethnogenesis, resistance and violence in Nueva Vizcaya. Using colonial accounts of native people’s uprisings, interethnic relationships, and indigenous encounters with non-native people, this part (or chapter?) frames the changes that *tarahumarización* and *raramurización* brought about in indigenous socie-
ties in Nueva Vizcaya from an anthropological perspective. I argued that colonial ethnogenesis, the way in which indigenous communities coalesced and contested the unbalance of power and ethnocide brought about by Spanish establishment of an extractive frontier, has its foundations in colonial needs of specific types of Indians for colonial labour needs. These needs are portrayed in accounts about the benefits for the colonial order of specific actions of the colonisers; settle indigenous people or fight them. This is further explored to explain conflicts over territory and indigenous political representation in the past and in the present.

In order to engage with narratives about the creation of the colonial ethnic landscape, and understand how ethnogenesis transformed indigenous societies, I have divided this part into four chapters. Each one looks at different aspects of ethnogenesis and indigenous people's resistance to better understand indigenous people's agency in history.

Chapter 3 addresses the Tepehuan-led rebellion of 1616. This chapter shows the Spanish narratives about a general uprising in Nueva Vizcaya and the transformation of how native people were categorised because of this rebellion. I look at how ethnicities as categories to divide taxonomically indigenous societies had an impact in the ethnic landscape of the Nueva Vizcaya. This ethnogenesis is based on narratives associated to needs of labour and peace for colonial economic circuits to flow uninterrupted. In turn, these identities allowed indigenous people to self-ascribe to one or another identity. Something that comes across when looking at the documents of Nueva Vizcaya is that the way in which Spanish people portray indigenous people has nothing to do with cultural relativism, and all to do with a need to justify the conversion, acculturation or annihilation of native people by Spaniards. This excluded Nueva Vizcaya peoples from the groups with a similar culture to that of Spaniards, rendering indigenous societies north of the Mesoamerican boundaries as savage and stateless. This way to frame Nueva Viz-
caya indigenous communities have persisted over time and it has been connected with the native people of the Sierra Madre. This chapter also showed how this violence is counteracted through the community, highlighting the not always violent practices of resistance through which native people have engaged with the State. I contested that the indigenous governors today, are the transformation of the war chief that leads the Tarahumara, Tepehuanes, Conchos and many other groups into battle against Spaniards. This transformation is due to the change in the way the ethnic groups engaged with the exterior because of the *tarahumarización*. I have also shown a process of ethnogenesis that took place during the times of the missions. I have called this process *tarahumarización* because it represents what happened historically as consequence of the indigenous transition from the plains and the mountain into the missions, and back again to their Rancheria settlement way of life. The moral boundaries drawn by Spanish narratives about different types of indigenous societies have surprisingly persisted until today as categories linked to access to political representation.

Chapter 4 deals with ethnicity and *tarahumarización*, and how they intertwine as a state resource to produce narratives about types of Indians. In other words, it looks at *tarahumarización* as a way to help to understand narratives about the ethnic landscape in Nueva Vizcaya between initial colonial contact and the disbandment of the Jesuit mission. I also take further the argument made in Chapter 2 about seventeenth century native mission communities of Nueva Vizcaya are spaces negotiated over the memory of past violence against the colonisers. I argued that the process of *raramurización*, as the recreation of native communities linked to ethnic identities can be analysed and seen as an expression of indigenous agency in history, rather than a forced acculturation process. *Tarahumarización* will also help to situate the native communities spatially and in the narrative as the outcome of negotiations between native people and powerful outsiders after the native rebellion of 1616. In addition, this narrative is useful to connect
the violence in the past and the succeeding raramurización of the region with the modern ethnic landscape and the issue of ethnogenesis in the broader literature.

Chapter 5 dealt with conflict over nature between native people and outsiders throughout history. It explored narratives about conflicts over territory and natural resources as a consequence of the negotiations after the settlement of native people in territories under Spanish control in the Sierra Tarahumara, to frame them beyond the argument of power relations in order to see what is at stake in them. I argued that narratives about abuses by powerful outsiders against native people allow us to connect the native community of the Sierra Tarahumara today with that of the colonial period. The problems explored are rooted in different rationales about the use of nature that have persisted over time.

Finally, in Chapter 6 I explored violence and ethnocide as components of the intertwine of raramurización and tarahumarización. This is, both are complementary to the process of ethnogenesis in the Nueva Vizcaya. In this chapter, I framed violence as a category that, apart from allowing us to see the disappearance of nations from historical sources, also highlights narratives of the malicious character of indigenous people as a reason to exert violence against them, or for their assimilation into the Spanish political sphere.

To conclude this thesis I want to draw attention to the centrality of the notion of community for indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara and how it is constantly expressed, reproduced and re-elaborated throughout history. I also want to highlight how the differences between indigenous and western worldviews have shaped a narrative about their ignorance and backwardness, which has justified centuries of violence towards them. Although not a homogenous community, the groups of the Sierra Tarahumara have resisted the imposition of cultural models throughout time and continued existing as differentiated societies. I contend that it is in this way that they counteract the
State and express their agency throughout history. Despite the fact that the historical agency of indigenous groups has been largely misunderstood and misrepresented, Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Warijó and O’oba native people in the Sierra Tarahumara remain resisting the State and its violence. That is why I think the title of this thesis describes what indigenous people of the Sierra Tarahumara feel about their chabochis neighbours and its institutions.
Appendix

A.1 Rarámuri governor’s speech in Basihuare in 1978

Kennedy (1978) recounts a speech delivered in front of the Basihuare church on the 1st of January 1978 by the governor of this town [NAME?]. It was his last sermon as governor, after a tenure of six years. ‘Yes, you good people, who gathered here earlier to ask forgiveness of Our Father and Our Mother. May each of you arrive with strength back at the homes from which you came this morning. Come again to ask forgiveness here. Follow the path of Our Father and the path of Our Mother. Do not be sad or disheartened. What good is being sad? Do Our Father and Mother get discouraged as they go caring for us here on earth? Everyone seek a long life. Vigorously pursue another day, another night, another year. Our Father and Our Mother never miss a day or year. They always are here on earth. Like it has been from the beginning, this house ‘church’ is standing here in which to ask forgiveness. Follow the path of Our Father and also the path of Our Mother. May you encounter old age a long way away. Grasp the staff of Our Father and also the staff of Our Mother, the flower of Our Father and the flower of Our Mother. In this way each of you who is standing here will have strength. Do not be unduly discouraged. Do Our Father and Mother become discouraged as they unfailingly provide light so that we can go around contentedly? Do not fight. Always greet one another peacefully. That is good. Do not become angry as you sit together whenever someone makes beer to get
some work done. Always ask permission to drink. Do not drink in secret. Sometimes bad things happen during drinking, causing people to cry. Fighting while drinking always makes a lot of work for your leaders.

This is what I have to say to you people standing here. Yes, you women who have gathered earlier, come here again to ask forgiveness of Our Father and Our Mother. Each of you have walked vigorously along Our Father’s path and Our Mother’s path. Return again on Sunday. You women are not coming here in large numbers on Sunday. When you are drinking with other women, encourage them to come here on Sunday. Do not drink on Sundays. It will be good if everyone gathers here. In this fashion I speak to you people. In this way I give you my thought. Others will now care for you and give you advice. From now on I will be resting. Listen well, you people: from now on I will be resting. I will simply sit when I drink with you. Realize, you people, that two new officials have been appointed. Listen you people who are standing here so that you will know who will help and care for you. In this fashion I speak to you people. Is this talk not good? The crowd replies in unison, ’It is good.’ The governor responds with, ’Goodbye. Thank you,’ (Merryl 1978: 64-66).
A.2 Goblins infest the land... Jesuitas III-15-21 (parras 1666).

‘Este verano duendes terrestres infestaron a una parentela de indios tlaxcaltecos en diferentes casas de ella. Primero se aparecían de día a una niña de ocho años hacinándose familiares apartabanla de la casa halagüeñamente persuadiéndola que se fuera con ellos ella enseriada de sus padres respondíaia que no hacia tal y como se fuese enfla- queciendo y poniéndose amarilla sus padres cuidadosos la trajeron a nuestra iglesia pidiéndome mirase que remedio podía tener su desconsuelo respondíes semos a la nuestra señora consoladora de los afligidos que desde su Inmaculada Concepción quebranto con su caricia la cabeza de la serpiente infernal asimismo le dije invocar a ver nuestro padre San Ignacio en aquel trabajo como antiguamente lo habían hecho los padres y hermanos del colegio de Loreto con feliz suceso contra los duendes que huyeron desterrados del colegio por mandato del Santo- a la niña en puse en la devoción de la Santa Cruz que del día la traje ese siempre en la mano o el pecho ir Y de noche la pusiese a la cabeza vino al día siguiente y confeso desde aquel día gracias a nuestra señora nunca más los duendes inquietaron a la niña ni la hablaron ni la aparecieron este mismo día según parece se mudaron estos demonios de casa de la niña a la casa de sus abuelos donde mucha gente cuya quietud turbaban los trasiego de varias maneras mediodía eran más fuertes apariciones figuras de Indios chichi caribes con melena he totalmente desnudos arcos y flechas en las manos era el número cinco O seis. Una mujer de aquella parentela Y casa del veinte años de edad era con quién más se familiarizaba aquellos duendes convidaba la a que se fuese con ellos amenazándola si no lo hiciese apedreaba la amenazaban la con el ruido para espantarla quemaron alguna madera de la cubierta de un aposento Y del temas cal de la casa esta mujer habiendo ido por agua
a la huerta mediodía vio a Uno de los duendes en la figura dicha Y yo que le hablaban Y fue tanto su espanto que cayó en tierra media muerta Y por muestra la tuvieron los que viendo que tardaba en la forma buscar finalmente después de mucho rato volvió en sí de aquel desmayo esta diligencia cuidadosa de los de aquella casa advirtió que los demonios dejaron rastros de las pisadas Y que todos iban a parar a un rincón de la Huerta donde esta un Vara al espeso Y ojo eso en parte húmeda Y que desde allí no pasaba anoche comenzaron con un ruido a inquietar a la gente que no solo eran demonios medianos Sino también Lucy fuegos traer de lejos piedras lastimado y las tiraban con fuerza pero nadie hirieron. Llego ah tanto la molestia que sintieron los moradores de la casa que no forzados a cerrar de noche en la casa ya dormir hasta lejos para poder tener reposo. En orden a librarse de esta penalidad tomaron por medio confesión Y comulgaron de hacer las diligencias para el jubileo de la Asunción gloriosa del señor lo cual hecho te templo una calamidad después los vecinos de la casa contándome lo que pasaba me pidieron los encomendaste Nuestro Señor fue en la casa vendí dice dije la con la bendición que contiene el misal dije les pusiste el cruce sobre los árboles Y alrededor de la huerta y casa Y que por las tardes antes de irse entrasen todos en el oratorio Y rociasen con agua bendita la casa y huerta. También les encargué varias veces que no sea indignasen ni dijesen en palabras iracundos en aquella persecución Sino que la llevaran con paciencia y sigue así conformidad con la voluntad de Nuestro Señor así parece lo hicieron los piadosos indios y no pudiendo los demonios sufrir los fervorosos actos de virtudes que en aquella casa se ejercitaban se ausentaron de ella día más de dos meses que sus vecinos viven quietos contentos Y alegres dando gracias a Nuestro Señor jesucristo por el beneficio'.
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