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Time and the Highland Maya. Barbara Tedlock.

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Author

Colby, Benjamin N

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stories, yes; a substantially revised interpretation of the experiences, no.

Could *Good Company* be recommended for a class? Although I thoroughly enjoyed the book for the strength of its description and fine writing, its specific focus, I feel, would not appeal to a wide student audience.

Time and the Highland Maya. *Barbara Tedlock.* University of New Mexico Press, 1982. xii + 245 pp. \$27.50 (cloth).

Benjamin N. Colby
University of California, Irvine

Ethnographers working in Mesoamerica usually are sensitive to the questions of validity raised by Oscar Lewis's *Tepoztlan*, a restudy of a town Robert Redfield described earlier, and Castaneda's *Don Juan*, a purported experience of an anthropologist apprenticed to a sorcerer which many believe to be a work of fiction. These examples emphasize the need to make one's data available in sufficient quantity and quality for others to make their own judgments about ethnographic validity. In Mesoamerica this has been done through verbatim records in native languages, through ethnographic semantics, and through the carefully structured interviewing procedures developed by Metzger and Williams. Another approach is Evon Vogt's project in Chiapas where the sheer number of workers involved (some with different cultural backgrounds) and length of time covered, provides another kind of validity check.

Where does Tedlock's book stand in this context? The author states that her account rests on talk about the calendar and divination and on learning the calendrical and divinatory language itself. But it is not a sociolinguistic study nor an analysis of verbatim accounts. It is essentially a traditional ethnography reporting interview type information brought together in normative statements (i.e., *the way one does X is . . .*). Tedlock tells us she and her husband underwent formal apprenticeship to a professional diviner. She states "our grasp of so many of the mnemonic devices of calendrical interpretation (chapter 5) and of the precise meanings of the "speaking of the blood" (chapter 6) was a marvel to several diviners" (p. 9). This was the same technique that Lincoln used when he first went into Ixil country. While he did not undergo formal training as did the Tedlocks, he

spoke of impressing the natives with his expertise. But we need more than these assurances. Here a great opportunity has been lost. Except for Castaneda's fantasy I am not aware of any other account of an apprenticeship in Mesoamerica. Tedlock does not give us a personal account of her apprenticeship nor does she tell us how she decided on the content of her divinatory readings. The closest we get are statements such as "during the preinitiation training period the novice is carefully taught that the lightning within the body is similar to the sheet lightning over the sacred lakes of the four directions" (p. 139). But there is no description or indication that she had these feelings herself nor a description of the conditions under which they occurred nor, having felt them, how she went from those feelings to a decision on how the results were to be derived from them.

Tedlock takes Thompson to task for seeking "to fix the divinatory meanings of the days to an etymologically constructed symbol system. But actual Quiche divinatory practice reveals that the days are interpreted not through the apparent meanings of their names but through a series of mnemonics that are frequently linked to the names by paronomasia" (p. 174). This principle had long been known to operate in Mayan divination. The main argument seems to be the extent of its usage. Here we must be careful, for Tedlock overgeneralizes from her own data in the claim that ancient Mayan interpretation of the days operated like the variant of present-day Quiche practice she studied. Ixil divination (which neighbors the Quiche) is of several different types, at least one of which is more rational and systematic than the system Tedlock describes. Divination data from the Department of Huehuetenango was recently collected by Eike Hinz of the University of Hamburg. This too has its distinct characteristics. With that information and the data provided by Tedlock and recent information from Ixil country, we should have a very useful triangulation on the process even though there are still many unanswered questions. For example, regarding the paronomasia question. I suspect that this surface principle may be overemphasized to the novice because it is such a convenient didactic device. But transcriptions of the instructional sessions the author went through have not been given to us so one can only speculate. Since no *systematic* analyses were made of the data beyond the cataloguing of mnemonics and associated information we cannot go very far in understanding the deeper aspects of a reading.

We need a decision model or some kind of formal model that would explain how divinatory readings actually are developed (this is not the same thing as a grammar). Simply showing the linkage between a particular divinatory reading and a calendrical count of the divining seed layout or reporting a typical divination, while useful, is not an explanation.

Finally, and on a different matter altogether, many of us who have worked in Guatemala are disturbed about what has come to be called "the situation." I was disappointed that not even in the history section which talked about rebels of the previous century was there a single mention of what is happening in Guatemala today, where thousands of Indians have been brutally killed by a repressive government in what is now a holocaust. One would hope that all contemporary scholarly contributions on Guatemala, even if only in a footnote, would make reference to this state of affairs.

Warfare Among East African Herders. *Katsuyoshi Fukui* and *David Turton*, eds. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, No. 3. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1979. xi + 227 pp. n.p. (paper).

John G. Galaty
McGill University

Emphasis was placed on the study of Mongolian pastoralism during the development of Japanese anthropology and archeology in the 1930s, since pastoral warfare and conflict with agriculturalists was a legitimate theme in the history of much of East Asia. A logical extension of these concerns was across the arid zone into the Middle East and East Africa, where recent postwar expeditions have been carried out by a new generation of Japanese scholars. Thus the preface to this volume describes the background to Japanese interest in the topic of "warfare among East African herders," which comprises the third in the series of conferences and ethnological collections sponsored by the Japanese National Museum of Ethnology, in which Japanese and Western scholars are convened to discuss issues of common concern.

Anthropological studies in general tend to represent brief analytical histories, sketches of momentary processes in small-scale societies, with comparison occurring at the topical or theoretical level. Anthropological vision has

often lacked sufficient temporal and spatial extension, its strength—the careful examination of co-present factors bearing on a delimited social field—betraying its major weakness—the tendency to identify causation with the system under examination, to the exclusion of historical or regional factors. This collection represents not only a valuable set of case studies, but integrates an anthropological approach (to such questions as the military role of age sets, aggressivity of pastoralists, and the nature of expansion) with regional and historical factors to make possible an account of temporal processes of conflict within and between most significant East African herding societies.

The first four papers represent a useful congeries of essays, covering such diverse topics as migration and intersectional relations among the Tanzanian Tatog (Tomikawa), intergroup conflict among the Maasai (Jacobs), comparison of military roles of Samburu and Maasai prophets (Fratkin), and the role of Boran age-sets in warfare (Baxter), the last three dealing with Kenyan groups. The second five papers represent a unique, implicit collaboration between five authors (from France, Israel, Japan, Britain, and Zambia) who have worked among five relatively little known groups north of Lake Turkana, along the Omo River in southern Ethiopia. While there is no evidence of collaboration during fieldwork (apart from the usual exchanging of notes), the papers themselves are directed toward a set of well-defined issues, and, being studies of *intergroup* warfare from diverse perspectives, make possible a set of controlled comparisons and a widened scale of analysis.

The Ethiopian series begins with a paper by Tornay concerning armed conflict from 1970–1976, between the Nvangatom and neighboring groups, including the Dassanetch, the Mursi, the Kara and the Hamar. After an essay by Almagor on the relation between generation-sets and warfare among the Dassanetch, Fukui investigates the question of the implications of the loss of one's name ox for intertribal homicide by the Bodi, usually committed against such eastern highland neighbors as the Dime, or against the Mursi during periods of mutual hostility. Turton's essay contrasts three relations of conflict among Mursi, who live north of the Nyangatom, including a permanent state of war between Mursi and the Hamar to the east, an alternating pattern of war and peace between Mursi and the Bodi, and a