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REPORT ON AN ETHNOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE OF SPAIN¹

By GEORGE M. FOSTER

I

BEGINNING about the year 1500, and for a period of over three centuries, Spanish culture was forcibly exported and brought into contact, in a planned and guided manner, with a variety of very different cultures, particularly American Indian and Philippine. The complete, thorough, and internally consistent philosophy of Spanish conquest and rule marks it off as quite a different thing from colonizing activities of other European countries of the same period. This philosophy was instrumental in producing a carefully conceived and meticulously planned colonial policy which had as its goal the extension of Spanish culture and culture values to all parts of the world where it was physically possible.

One result of the Spanish venture has been a fortuitous combination of circumstances which offers unequalled opportunities for the student of culture processes. In a sense, Spain and the areas she dominated, in their historical, geographical, and cultural aspects, afford a near-laboratory setup for certain types of social science research. To a degree rarely characteristic of the raw materials of the social sciences, significant factors are relatively constant. The effect of these constant factors can be observed over a long period of time under varied cultural and geographical conditions, and the end results analyzed. The constant factors are, of course, the component parts of Spanish culture. The aspects of Spanish culture that were to be exported, how, and to what end, were carefully outlined and described by crown officials, and the working plan was modified from time to time in the light of changing condi-

¹ The field work which serves as background for this discussion was carried out during the periods March-April, 1949, and September 1949-September 1950. This work was in large measure made possible by generous grants from the Viking Fund, Inc., and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. I am also indebted to the Smithsonian Institution for permission to absent myself for so long from my regular work.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the high degree of aid and co-operation received from official Spanish circles. Particularly to be mentioned are Dr. Pablo Merry del Val, Cultural Relations Consul of the Spanish Embassy in Washington, who introduced me to individuals and institutions in Spain with corollary interests, and Dr. José María Albareda, Secretary of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid.

tions and new knowledge concerning the conquered areas. In general the same forces were at work on a cultural spectrum ranging from the simplest hunting-fishing-gathering societies to highly developed indigenous civilizations. And there was not just one of each type, but many—hundreds in all and hence, hundreds of contact situations to be studied—so that statistical verification of qualitative hypotheses becomes possible.

Moreover, there has never been until modern times a comparable case in which such complete documentary records were kept of all aspects of a gigantic undertaking. These include detailed data on each individual who applied for license to go overseas, descriptive data on the geography, natural resources, and cultures of conquered areas, laws and orders which guided administration, records of litigation—in short, an unparalleled mine of historical information. Hence, modern observations can be related to a time-space continuum of 500 or more years, and origins and continuities explained.

Today, though there are many common themes throughout Hispanic-American countries and the Philippines, the cultures are by no means identical. In each case there has been a differential acceptance of Spanish culture. This is explained, first in terms of the form and condition of each recipient culture, and second in the precise local circumstances of Spanish contact. The nature of continuing contact under Spanish domination, and subsequent contacts following independence with other countries, are also important.

By knowing the historical and modern characteristics of the cultures concerned, the nature of Spanish culture at different periods, and the mechanisms of its extension overseas, valuable insights into culture dynamics can be obtained. It should be possible to determine, with a high degree of probability, why certain common elements of Spanish culture were accepted by one group, rejected by a second, and profoundly modified by a third. And it should be possible to determine common patterns of secondary reactions in aspects of culture not directly connected with the primary change.

These qualitative observations and quantitative analyses should eventually make possible delimitation in the areas studied of recurrent cross-cultural regularities characteristic of certain aspects of culture dynamics. Cause-and-effect relationships should become apparent which, because of their predictive value in wide geographical areas, would be of immediate practical value. On the level of a general science of culture, significant leads toward the formulation of cultural generalizations of wide validity may ultimately emerge.

II

In recent years increasing recognition has been given by anthropologists to the importance of wider perspective in Hispanic American studies. Nearly every field worker who has made community studies in this area has commented upon the need of better data from the Iberian Peninsula to give sharper

focus to research results. This has been equally true for analyses of Indian and non-Indian cultures alike, for there are few Indian groups without strong Spanish influences manifest in their ways of life, and few non-Indian societies which have not been profoundly affected by indigenous American culture. As a result of decades of traditional ethnographical research, the Indian components of both culture types have come to be fairly well known. A good many accurate guesses have been made about Spanish elements, but precise comparable data for the most part are lacking.

Folklore was the first aspect of culture to receive general attention within this conceptual framework. Boas emphasized the importance of the Spanish elements in Spanish-American folklore in 1912.² Subsequently, in 1920, Espinosa carried out his Spanish research which led to the publication of the largest single collection of Spanish folk tales.³ Corresponding interest in general ethnography did not develop until later. Redfield touched upon the problem in Tepoztlán, though this was rather incidental to his main theoretical problem of the concept of folk culture. To the late Elsie Clews Parsons goes credit for most sharply pointing up the problems involved in the study of Hispanic American Indian culture, as influenced by more than 400 years of Spanish culture contact. Though she personally worked only on one side of the problem, i.e., New World Indian cultures, she was fully cognizant of the need to study Spain and was, in fact, instrumental in sending Ruth Bunzel to that country in 1935.⁴ The success of the Herskovits studies of Negro African culture as a background for interpreting American Negro culture also has stimulated interest in applying the same technique to Spanish-Hispanic American problems.

Unfortunately, by the time investigations in Latin America had advanced to the point where the necessity of Old World research on a broad scale was apparent, it was no longer possible, because of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the subsequent World War. Were it not for these events, Iberian studies would be well along, instead of barely beginning.

The research here to be described was planned and undertaken within the conceptual framework outlined in the introductory section of this paper. That is, the sorting out of Spanish and Indian traits, and the documenting of changes that took place both in Spain and Hispanic America as the result of culture contact, are regarded as merely preliminary methodological steps. The more fundamental problems are those whose answers may explain why the changes that took place actually did take place, how they took place, and why other hypothetical changes failed to materialize. The ultimate goal

² Boas, 1912.

³ Espinosa, 1923-24. This research was sponsored by the American Folk-Lore Society.

⁴ Parsons, 1927, 1930, 1936.

of anthropological research in Spain is to tap a wider area—which should be extended to the Philippines and other areas once subject to Spain—whose peculiar historical and cultural qualities, properly exploited, should give us illuminating insight into the nature of culture process.

The original plan had been to make a community study in Spain comparable to those existing for Latin America. But preliminary survey work in the spring of 1949 raised doubts as to the wisdom of this as a first step in the study of Spanish ethnography by an Americanist. For Spain is characterized by tremendous cultural variety, which equals that of the most diversified Latin American country. A detailed study of a single community, assuming one could pick blindly and hit upon a significant village, useful as it would be, would leave unanswered more questions about Spain than it would answer. For conquerers and colonists came, not only from Andalucía and Extremadura, but from a wide belt extending from the Basque provinces in the north through both Castiles, Extremadura, and Western Andalucía.⁵ And, contrary to popular opinion, it is uncertain that either Andalucía or Extremadura is more typical of Hispanic American cultures than many other parts of Spain. Consequently, a general survey of Spanish ethnography, based both on published sources (which proved to be abundant) and on field trips to selected areas, seemed to be indicated.⁶ Work of this type in such a large area is obviously extensive rather than intensive, and the impressions and data which follow accordingly are subject to possible error and reinterpretation. Constantly, Spain was looked at through the eyes of an Americanist, searching for similarities and differences with the New World, and asking the questions “why” and “how” and, often, “why not?”

III

The traveler's first impression upon arriving in Spain, and it remains until the last, is that the country is somehow much less like Latin America than he had expected. It is difficult to put one's finger on the essence of this difference: it characterizes both the personality, individual and collective, of

⁵ For discussion of this point see Foster, 1949.

⁶ I was fortunate in enjoying the continual association and co-operation in both library and field research of Dr. Julio Caro Baroja, Director of the Museo del Pueblo Español, in Madrid. Approximately half of the available time was spent in library research in Madrid, and the remainder in a number of trips to those areas which, on the basis of reading, and Dr. Caro Baroja's intimate knowledge of Spain, promised to be most rewarding. During field periods more than 15,000 miles were covered by car. Provinces in which significant observations were made are: Pontevedra, Coruña, Lugo, Asturias, Santander, Guipúzcoa, Burgos, Soria, Valladolid, Salamanca, Avila, Segovia, Madrid, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Toledo, Ciudad Real, Mallorca and Ibiza, Valencia, Alicante, Murcia, Almería, Granada, Málaga, Cádiz, Jaén, Córdoba, Sevilla, Huelva, Badajóz, and Cáceres. As can be seen, the largest gap is that of Cataluña. It is also a source of regret to me that the highly interesting area of Orense-Zamora-León-Palencia could not be visited.

the Spaniard, and the appearance of the landscape and man's work. Perhaps personal experiences will illustrate. The traveler draws up to a small village, leaves his car, and walks a block to the widening of the main street that passes for a plaza. People are coming and going about their work, are greeted in friendly fashion, and reply with courtesy. A man in a dark suit stands on a corner, eyeing the stranger with interest. He turns out to be the village doctor, who insists that the visitor accompany him to the *casino* for a cup of coffee and an hour of animated conversation, meanwhile urging a longer stay in his town. Or it may be the local tavern keeper, proud of his *vino de cosecha* (new wine) which he insists is the finest in all Spain, and which must be sampled—but with caution—as well as ripe olives and fresh almonds from his patio.

The foreigner finds that the Spaniard is genuinely a most courteous and friendly individual. Time after time one protests with friends, in small villages, that hospitality incurs a reciprocal obligation. But the answer is always the same: "It is my duty as a Spaniard," and indeed each Spaniard feels that it is his duty, and his pleasure, to be sure that the foreigner leaves with a happy memory of himself and of his country. This is a feeling entirely apart from politics or propaganda; it is the feeling that the *caballero* naturally can act in no other fashion. The Spaniard has full confidence in himself and in his culture, and in his ability to take care of himself; accordingly, he has no fear or suspicion in meeting an outsider—would, in fact, laugh at the very idea.

Though a foreigner comes to enjoy fine friendships in Latin America, the initial overtures usually are marked with far more reserve and, frequently, in small villages, with undisguised suspicion. Certainly, the influence of Indian factors has made for a rather different Latin American personality type.⁷

As the traveler journeys from one part of Spain to another he is struck with the great differences in the physical characteristics of the landscape and man's adaptation to it: the tremendous sweep of the barren Castilian plains, and the earth-colored camouflaged villages; the blindingly-white, tightly-packed towns of Andalucía; the enormous extensions of olive orchards in Córdoba; the even rows of green spots, vines against brown earth, from a distance suggestive of Mexican maguey plantings, in most parts of the country; the fishing villages of Galicia; the alpine valleys and lush greenness of northern Spain; the walled towns of Old and New Castile. One feels that the Spanish environment is somehow harsher than that of the New World, more exacting in its demands on those who seek to wrest a living from it. Houses stand wall-

⁷ Because of the complex factors in both areas, I am to a large extent leaving out of consideration the peoples of cities. The impressions contained in this article are based primarily upon experiences in rural areas in both Latin America and Spain. Naturally, much of what is said holds good for cities as well, but this is incidental and secondary; also, the general characteristics of large cities in all parts of the world often override purely national or local characteristics.

to-wall and back-to-back, tightly pressed into the smallest possible area, as if physical proximity somehow gives them the necessary strength to stand against the incessant winds, the heat, and the cold. Their solid stone construction lasts for centuries, but windows are only rarely graced with flowers, and patio shrubs and trees are the exception. Apart from northern Spain, and with certain other exceptions, the average Spanish village is forbidding and unattractive in its physical characteristics, and but little suggestive of Latin America. It is only in passing along the coast of Cádiz, where low, thatched huts hide behind nopal cactus plants in patches of land separated by maguey plantings, where flowers bloom in profusion, where squash lie in the sun on the cornices of flat-roofed one-story buildings of nondescript architecture, that one feels the similarity to Latin America. And here, much of the similarity is due to "lend-lease" from the daughter countries.

This overpowering feeling of unexpected difference between Spain and Hispanic America, when looked at analytically, is both surprising and not surprising. It is not surprising, in that North American culture certainly has differentiated as much or more from parent British culture, and in a considerably shorter space of time. But it is also surprising for other reasons: England never attempted to recreate a new empire in her own form, in the way that Spain did; there was much less conscious effort to guide and implant. Moreover, Spain and Hispanic America, outside the mainstreams of mercantilism and the industrial revolution, have developed less rapidly than England or the United States, with less resultant opportunity for divergence. The Spain of today, for all its differences, is closer to that of Carlos V than the England of today is to that of Henry VIII. This similarity is manifest in language, in the economic life of a majority of the people, in the concept of Church and State, and in the feeling for past glories.

When viewed in this perspective, the enormous strength of early passive Indian and emergent Mestizo cultures is more apparent than when they are studied at close range. Some of those who have worked among the Tarascans of Michoacán have at times felt that this "Indian" culture is more nearly 16th-century Spanish than anything else. Seen from Spain, one is more aware of the persistence of the native indigenous ways, and of the readaptation of foreign elements within a fabric which maintains native feel and personality. Even in non-Indian areas of Mexico, for all the influence of Spain and the modern world, one is impressed with how thoroughly Native American culture has left its imprint. The impression is somewhat akin to what history teaches about China; overrun countless times by outsiders, accepting and absorbing what it wished, but in the end dominating the invader and making him Chinese. The parallel should, however, not be taken too literally. In spite of large Indian population segments in the New World, and of large areas of Indian influence in non-Indian culture, contemporary Hispanic American

culture cannot be described as Indian any more than it can be described as Spanish. It is a new, distinctive culture, with roots deep in two separate historical traditions, but with a unique and valid ethos of its own.

When one focuses his attention more sharply on categories of culture, and on individual elements, a number of problems and questions arise. When working in Latin America the ethnologist continually asks himself, "Does this exist in Spain?" or if it is a trait of obvious Spanish origin, "What is the precise form of this in Spain?" When confronted with the bewildering variety of Spanish cultural manifestations, the shoe is on the other foot. Is San Blas celebrated in Latin America? Jueves de Comadres? Santa Agueda? Is the Castilian plow (*arado de lanza*) to be found? Harvesting and shearing songs? *Las dádivas* in the marriage ceremony? One is impressed with the fact that, in spite of quantitatively large amounts of Latin American field work, how very little synthetic work has been done, how few are the attempts to pull Latin America together into a coherent whole.⁸

IV

Among the culture elements whose presence or absence impress one are both material and non-material traits. The apparently planless form of most Spanish cities and villages continues to amaze an ethnologist familiar with the New World. Actually, many of the old Spanish cities were built in accordance with very definite plans, but plans which are entirely different from the grid pattern.⁹ This latter form becomes apparent only in a few post-conquest settlements: Puerto Real, Cádiz, founded by the Catholic Kings in the 16th century; La Carolina, Jaén, and other smaller "New Colonies" of German settlers, founded in the reign of Carlos III during the latter half of the 18th century; and Nuevo Baztán, Guadalajara, established by a Basque nobleman from Baztán, also during the same period. Plans of these settlements are not identical to the common New World patterns, but the contrast with older Spanish towns is striking. The smallest Spanish villages more often than not have no plaza at all; larger towns may have several, but usually they are less well defined, and less imposing than those in Latin America. Consequently, the feeling of a central focal point for town life, with social and economic concomitants, is less well marked. A central plaza is most typical of Old Castile, and perhaps Extremadura follows. Plaza towns in Andalucía are rare.

⁸ The Viking Fund Seminar on Middle American Ethnology, held in conjunction with the International Congress of Americanists meetings in September, 1949, was an important step in the right direction, and similar efforts should be continued.

⁹ The grid pattern was common in Roman times, as can be seen at Itálica, Numancia, and other archeological sites. It appears to have had little or no effect on post-Roman city construction.

A dual *barrio* system in Latin American towns is sometimes looked upon as a possible survival of an indigenous moiety pattern. It is therefore interesting to find many Spanish towns divided into a *barrio de arriba* and a *barrio de abajo*, the precise expressions so commonly found in Latin America.

In all parts of Spain stone is the preferred building material, even for the simplest houses. Adobe, while not rare, is of secondary utility, a substitute when stone is not available. Adobe bricks are smaller than those common in Latin America; more often, such construction is *tapial*, rammed earth in large wooden frames which are constructed *in situ*. Tile roofs are most common, but much slate is also used. Flat roofs are clearly a Moorish legacy, and for the most part are restricted to parts of the Mediterranean coast. Buildings of two and three stories are common even in small villages.

Agricultural tools are simple, but more varied than in Latin America. Primitive plows of widest distribution are of two main types, the Castilian *arado de lanza* in which the share is a lance-shaped bar running the entire length of the plow head, and the Mediterranean *arado con reja enchufada*, in which the share is an iron plate curved to cover the tip of the head,¹⁰ the latter form appears to be the only one known in Latin America. In northern Spain more complex types appear, including wheeled varieties. Threshing is done with one of two implements, both commonly used before the conquest: the *trillo de tabla*, a sledge-like board two meters long, encrusted with flint flakes on the underside, and the *trillo andalúz*, a type of cart with numerous toothed iron wheels. In both cases the thresher is pulled around the floor over the grain to loosen the kernels, after which simple winnowing is done. Wheeled vehicles are more numerous in Spain, and far more varied in size and form than their American counterparts. The solid wooden wheel of the squeaking *carro chirrión* remains in the Basque country, and lighter modifications are found in Asturias and Galicia. But the more efficient spoked wheel is driving the simpler types out. In much of Spain mules have replaced oxen as the main draft animals; the wisdom of this move—or its lack—supplied grist for the mills of Spanish political economists for a century or more.

Northern Spain is characterized by *minifundio*, or dividing of agricultural land in tiny, uneconomical plots. At times this leads to an extended family unit, typified by the Galician *compañía*, which co-operatively works family lands to prevent their dispersal. *Latifundio* and large estates mark the fertile parts of southern Spain; people are crowded into large towns and work for wages. The term *hacienda* is but rarely used for these estates; they are *cortijos*. Maize is widely cultivated in northern Spain, as well as other areas, and beans and squash are common in much of the country. The prickly pear cactus and the maguey also have taken hold in most of southern Spain. The greatest

¹⁰ For excellent studies of Iberian plows see: Aitken, 1935; Caro Baroja, 1949; Dias, 1948.

difference in agricultural patterns is due to the importance of the olive in most of Andalucía, and the vine in nearly all sections of the country.

Spanish "folk" clothing, except for occasional fiestas, is a thing of the past (as contrasted to Portugal, where it is still to be found). Though Spanish influence is apparent in many clothing styles of New World Indians, precise parallels are fewer than might be expected. The tight jackets and knee breeches of Peruvian highland Indians show stronger evidence of Spanish origin than do Mexican garments. There appears to be no Spanish equivalent to the Mexican rebozo, though the term is occasionally found, more often in the form *rebocillo*. This is usually a simple head cloth, with little or none of the function of the Mexican cloth. The Andean poncho, with head hole, appears to have no Spanish parallel. The Mexican serape, however, particularly the ornamental form worn over the shoulder, goes back to the Spanish *alforja*. This is also found in Peru. In Mallorca tie-dyeing of the *icat* variety was common until about a century ago. This *lengua de gato* cloth is more suggestive of Chiapas and Guatemalan textiles than of the classical rebozo patterns. The Mallorcan occurrence is presumably Arabic in origin.

Basketry techniques and styles are very similar to those of Mexico; the finest work is done in Mallorca and Alicante. Some similarities may very well be due to inherent limitations in materials and techniques. Use of a sewing machine to stitch together braided palm tresses, for example, is found in both areas, yet this must be due to more or less simultaneous and independent application of a new technique to old materials.

Pottery techniques are fewer in variety than in the New World, being in almost, and perhaps all cases limited to the wheel. Common Spanish forms are suggestive of the ancient Mediterranean world. In the New World the pitcher appears to be the only Spanish introduced form to receive fairly wide acceptance; otherwise, most simple pottery forms carry on Indian patterns.

Fishing techniques, on the other hand, seem to stem largely from Spain. The *chinchorro* seine of Mexico is similar in form and function to the Spanish *chinchorro*. The circular hand-thrown *alarraya* is common in Spain, as is the long gill net, both common Mexican nets. Trot lines likewise are found in Spain, and are called by the same terms as in the New World.

The periodic market is characteristic of Spain as well as the New World. Such markets sometimes conform to a weekly pattern; at least as often they come every 15 days, thereby differing from the latter area. Highly characteristic of Spain, and little so of Hispanic America, is the cattle fair, held once a year or more often in certain towns and cities. In fact, most Spanish towns have two high points during the year: the fiesta of the patron saint, and the cattle *feria*.

Motor patterns and gestures show both similarities and dissimilarities. In both areas one finds a preference for working with implements with short

handles: brooms commonly have no handles; the *almocafre* weeding trowel requires the worker to bend double, the short-handled sickle is common to both areas (the scythe, or *guadaña*, is also common in northern Spain); women do not like to use mops, preferring to kneel on the floor to scrub; shovels are largely unknown, and earth is moved by scraping it into *esparto* baskets, picking them up, and carrying them a shovel's throw away. Mexican gestures, at least, are more varied and extensive than Spanish, and perhaps represent an Indian legacy.

Psychology as such did not come within the scope of the field work carried out. Certainly, there are many value concepts common both to the Spaniard and most Latin Americans. Attitudes toward women, toward religion, toward government may be cited. An interesting minor parallel is in the group psychology of small communities. As in Mexico, each village consciously evaluates all neighboring communities. Most are considered neutral, but there is invariably one believed to be inhabited exclusively by cutthroats and assassins. Nevertheless, one has the feeling that basic Spanish personality is rather different from that of the Indian and non-Indian Hispanic American; in wide areas of personality structure, value systems and behavioral patterns probably will be found to be quite distinct.

An impression of considerable importance to acculturation theory has to do with the formal and informal mode of transfer of culture elements to the New World. It is well known that in the field of national economics, government, town planning, and the like, the Spanish crown drew up the most minute rules as to how things were to be done. It has been assumed by many ethnologists, however, that in other areas of culture, informal factors have predominated, i.e., the individual colonist or conqueror would bring a large part of his original culture, reasonably intact, to his new home. The great disparities, however, which exist in both material elements and "feel" between the mother and daughter countries suggest that even more of the mechanics of culture transfer belong to the "formal" level than might have been suspected. To illustrate, in going over the list of fiestas and saints' days in the New World one finds monotonous regularity: Candlemas, Holy Week, Day of the Cross, San Isidro, Corpus Christi, San José, San Francisco, All Saints' Day, the Assumption—from Peru to Mexico. And the basic form of celebration in all cases is much the same. Apparently lacking or of slight importance is a tremendous number of Spanish fiestas and observances of wide extension and significance: San Blas, Santa Agueda, Jueves de Compadres and Jueves de Comadres, Domingo de Piñata (though the *piñata* of course is important, in modified form, in Mexico), San Marcos, San Sebastian, La Trinidad, San Roque, the Burial of the Sardine following Holy Week, the *Tarasca* monster of Carnival processions, the pig of San Antonio, the "*estrechos* of the year's end," and the like. In short, the *popular* folk fiestas of Spain to a large extent

are lacking in Latin America. Apparently in the field of religion, just as in government and economics, the desirable elements were determined and rigidly imposed. Most fiestas that exist today in the New World exist, not because conquerors and colonists remembered the old customs at home, but because the Church decided what was good and proper, and what was not; and encouraged the former and discouraged the latter. Passion plays taught the Christian doctrine, hence were useful in converting the Indians; the sword dance of so many Spanish religious fiestas served no similar purpose. Hence, when it crops up in the New World it is a chance occurrence much altered in form.

One is much impressed with the way in which Indian and emergent Mestizo cultures successfully drew upon Spanish traits which reached them formally or informally and altered them in form and function to fill local needs. Illustrative is the widespread institution of the *compadrazgo*, or godparenthood. In Hispanic America this is one of the most important features of social organization, with significant economic, religious, and emotional overtones. In Spain it is (and from all evidence was) of moderate importance, invoked in the baptism and marriage of the individual, usually kept within the family, and relegated to the category of one of a number of routine *riles de passage*. It seems probable that crumbling Indian societies, in which aboriginal clan or lineage systems, or other forms of extended family and village organizations were breaking down, consciously or unconsciously recognized in the bare form of the *compadrazgo* a new device to maintain the social cohesion that was being lost. In Tzintzuntzan, for example, an adult may have 100 or more compadres scattered over half the state, effective allies in time of family stress or other danger. Nearly all studies which deal with the institution of the *compadrazgo* in Latin America stress its extreme sociological and economic importance.

In the field of curing and superstitions, likewise, certain Spanish traits of limited distribution or importance seem, for unexplained reasons, to have filled a gap and been quickly molded to conform to indigenous patterns as they spread throughout the area. Illustrative of this point is the near-universal Hispanic American concept of "hot" and "cold" qualities, particularly as applied to foods, medicines, and illness. This concept, in the form of humoral pathology, goes back to Hippocrates and Galen, and was passed on to Spain via the Arab world but, apparently, remained largely a part of the learning of the educated classes. Humoral pathology was the basis of medical teaching in Hispanic America through the colonial period almost up to the time of independence. The ideas of "hot" and "cold" (but not the corollary concepts of "wet" and "dry") filtered down through all social and ethnic strata to become one of the most widespread folk beliefs, a status which the concept appears never to have enjoyed in the parent country.

Similarly, in Mexico a common cure consists in rubbing the nude body of the sufferer with a chicken egg, to draw out the illness or diagnose the cause; often the egg is cracked to examine its contents. Ethnologists have generally assumed, probably correctly, that this is an Old World trait. Yet in Spain the egg is of very limited therapeutic value; it is passed across the eyes "to clear the vision." Apparently this limited and routine Spanish trait filled some need in changing American culture, and seeped out through all the country, embedding itself in basic pharmaceutical practices. The reader familiar with the Andean area will note the similarity of the practice to that of rubbing the body of a patient with a guinea pig, afterwards opening the animal to divine. Spanish medicine, in general, appears to have been very successful in penetrating Indian culture. The evil eye is one of the most widespread American folk beliefs, and is correctly recognized as Mediterranean in immediate origin. Less well known to ethnologists is that the custom of placing *parches*, medicinal leaves, sticking plaster, or something similar, on the temples to cure headache is a widespread Spanish custom.

The manner in which non-formalized Spanish culture took root in the New World is one of the most intriguing of all problems. It has been assumed, probably correctly, that the priest was the single most important channel of communication. The success of European folk medicine in taking root in the New World bears out this hypothesis: priests and members of religious orders usually were the only learned men in wide areas, and reduced and classified native botany to the only system they knew, meanwhile treating their parishioners in the best fashion they could. A minor clue to the transmission of folklore also indicates priestly channels. A common Mexican motif deals with the wise man (in one case Solomon), who sees a boy taking sea water and pouring it into a hole he has dug in the sand. Upon telling the boy his task is impossible, the boy replies that it is no more so than something the wise man has just been attempting. In Spain, to encourage youthful listeners at indoctrination, priests explain the difficulty in understanding the mystery of the Holy Trinity by making use of the identical story: San Agustín was walking along the beach when he found a boy, who was an angel, pouring sea water into a hole he had dug on the beach. Upon telling the boy his task is impossible the child replies that it is even more impossible to understand *el misterio de la Santísima Trinidad*.

Another point which proves provocative is that of parallelism. One becomes more and more impressed with the fact that on reasonably comparable cultural levels, particularly in similar environmental areas, like needs often give rise to analogous solutions. This is more difficult to document than many other points mentioned in this paper, but it seems certain that when much more is known about Spanish and Hispanic American culture history, a high degree of parallel development from independent origins will come to light. Terraced

fields in Mallorca and Alicante are amazingly similar to those of the Inca—the size of stones, proportional height to width of terraces, and the like. Modern Basque dove netting was paralleled in ancient times by a similar practice in western Mexico. The vine suspension bridges of southern Mexico found parallels in eastern Spain. Reduced-fired pottery is common to both areas. The vow, or promise, in times of illness or family tribulation is basic to the *mayordomía* complex of the Spanish (and Latin American) *cofradía*, and of the Plains Indian sun dance. The use of adobe, thatched roofs, similar ideas of incorporeal property, differential rights to land, tie-dyeing, stylized abduction as a form of marriage, and periodic markets also come to mind as examples. The *prados artificiales* of northern Spain, irrigated pasture lands in which nothing is planted, find their parallels on a far lower cultural level among the Nevada Indians who practiced irrigation without agriculture, to increase seed supplies. The use of a conch trumpet by Spanish fishermen to announce a successful catch while the boat is still beyond shouting distance from shore, and by farmers to call field hands to eat, is suggestive of the same instrument in Peruvian fiestas and religious observances. Archeological evidence, or course, proves the pre-Conquest use of the conch in America.

Other parallels—fright and *aire* (air) as causes of illness, the belief that a toothache is caused by a worm eating the root, the hoot of an owl interpreted as an omen of death, comets and meteors as omens of unusual events impending, the pointing of an arm at a rainbow or celestial body causing warts, withering, or boils, and so forth, are types of superstitions which appear to go back to a common and very widespread substratum of ancient belief.

Still other examples of parallel occurrences may prove to be due to post-conquest historical connection, some of it from the New World to Spain. Illustrative is the use of a straw *capote*, or rain cape, and a form of head band for carrying burdens, both apparently limited to Galicia.

In general, however, the ethnologist who compares the culture of Spain with that of Hispanic America must bear in mind a theoretical concept that has been too often disregarded: that of "limited possibilities" in responding to the challenges of nature, and to the challenges of the culture itself.

The concept of parallels is also basic to a documented study of the mechanisms of the introduction of Spanish culture elements to Indian and emergent Mestizo culture in the New World. In the last chapter of *Milla*, "Indian or Spanish?", Parsons outlines an astonishing number of cases in which Spanish elements which were accepted by the Mitleños actually replaced or assimilated to indigenous forms more-or-less similar. Some of the elements she believes to be Indian probably are Spanish, in the light of the field experiences here reported, but this is beside the point. In general, one may agree with her that similar indigenous culture elements, particularly thought processes and behavioral patterns, furnish the most fertile field on which to graft new objects,

techniques and ideas. Of the many questions raised in this paper, it would seem that this problem of the precise mechanics of culture transfer and change will prove to be the most useful to the theory of culture.

A final point to which attention must be called is the extent to which Spain shares in a common sub-stratum of general European culture. Agricultural techniques, plows, yokes, herding practices, folk beliefs, many types of fiestas, dancing, costume, to name a few things, have their close counterparts in Italy, France, and other countries. To cite a specific case, the *trillo*, or threshing board of Castile is found in Greece, and doubtless other Mediterranean lands. Some of these elements have been looked upon from the New World as typically and perhaps exclusively Spanish, or, at least, Arabic in origin. The custom of setting up crèches, or *nacimientos*, for example, turns out to be Italian in immediate origin, and relatively late (18th century) in extension to Spain. The *ex votos* of Mexican churches have their counterparts in Spain—and also in Greek temples. At the same time that Hispanic American culture is placed in proper perspective with Spain, that country must be placed in proper perspective with the remainder of Europe.

V

A few broad, highly impressionistic, generalizations in the field of personality and culture may be mentioned. One of the basic feelings that any traveler in Spain has is the intense vitality and native ability of the Spaniard as an individual. One easily sees how, with the tides of history running in another direction, the modern Spaniard would be entirely capable of emulating the feats of his heroic ancestors. The Spaniard impresses one as being essentially a well-integrated individual, who has made a relatively satisfactory adjustment to his culture and environment. Among other things, this is illustrated by the general lack of alcoholism, in spite of large amounts of brandy and wine consumed. An intoxicated Spaniard is so rare as almost never to be seen, even at fiestas. Unlike his Latin American (and North American) counterpart, the Spaniard does not need to seek relief from his inner doubts and insecurities in drink. It is again illustrated in the general lack of overt aggression as a mechanism to solve disputes or release anger. Fear for personal safety is not to be numbered among the Spaniards' problems. Nor does the Spaniard's ego need bolstering with elaborate titles. Largely lacking is the Teutonic "Herr Doktor," the North American use of "Dr." in academic life, and the Latin American proliferation of professional titles. "Señor Don" appears to be adequate for the university rector, the cabinet minister, or the small landholder.

Since the expulsion of the Moors, Spain has had relatively fewer outside influences than other countries. In spite of intense regionalism, these five centuries have produced a curious homogeneity in spirit and culture; Spanish

culture and its component sub-cultures have crystalized like no other European or American culture. The final elimination of the Moors, the Inquisition and successful combating of heretical ideas, and the natural geographical barrier of the Pyrenees, have all played important parts in developing the idea of a completely unified culture-church-state, an idea which disappeared in the remainder of western Europe. This cultural unity and rigidity must be largely responsible for developing and maintaining Spanish character, the source of Spain's greatest strength.

For obvious historical reasons, Latin American culture is far from crystallized. This fact must have much to do with determining the range of permissible behavior observable, which appears to be considerably greater than that allowed by Spanish culture. The implications of this hypothesis may fruitfully be explored in future studies of this type dealing with the Hispanic world. For lack of space this article has been restricted to the limited goal of pointing out the variety of data and problems which await the ethnologist in Spain, and suggesting future avenues of research.

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