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THE CARNIVAL OF THE “CABRESTO” BULL AS A SCENARIO OF CONFRONTATION OF IDENTITIES, HUEJÚCAR JALISCO

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Abstract: This research analyzes the carnival of the Torito “Cabresto” approached as an expression of confrontation of identities of hegemonic groups and subaltern groups who year after year symbolically take the streets of the town of Huejúcar, a moment of permissiveness to carry out riots in streets, houses, squares, schools and public institutions, creating a unique moment of coexistence. These antagonistic relations have their explanation in the colonial past when there were lawsuits for the invasion of communal lands that both Creoles and Spaniards committed against the inhabitants of the Tapias neighborhood where the Torito “Cabresto” played a leading role in the solution of the agrarian conflict. For the analysis of this festival, an ethnohistorical methodology was chosen, characterized by combining ethnographic techniques such as field visits, open interviews and key informants; in combination with historical sources such as personal documents, photos and video recordings from previous years and even decades ago, information that generates data with a qualitative approach. Among the results, two backgrounds of the carnival were found; the first with a multicultural bias (confrontation between Indians, mestizos and Spaniards) and the second agrarian (invasion of lands and destruction of crops by large cattle), both of which occurred three centuries ago and whose backgrounds reveal the different collective identities confronted by communal lands, the most valued resource by the Indian peoples. It is concluded that the Torito “Cabresto” is the conciliatory element that helps to overcome the antagonisms existing for centuries between the different multicultural groups.

Keywords: fiesta, bull, carnival, collective identities, Huejúcar, Jalisco.

INTRODUCTION

The carnival celebration of the Torito “Cabresto”, as the protagonist bull is called locally (the original word is cabestro) is an expression of the cultural arsenal of the inhabitants of the neighborhood of San Pedro in the town of Huejúcar, Jalisco. This celebration is of regional importance as it is one of the few colonial festivities that, despite being “immersed in the vortex of modernization and social change” (Homonobo, 1990), has survived to the present day in the entire northern region of the state of Jalisco, made up of 10 municipalities, and in the south of Zacatecas (with another 10 municipalities), hence the importance of describing and analyzing it. In this last region only two more carnivals are held, also on Carnival Tuesday, such as those held in the towns of Cicacalco (Tlatenango) and in the municipal capital of Susticacán, where the bull is also the protagonist.

Likewise, the Torito “Cabresto” festival held in Huejúcar Jalisco is more than three centuries old, associated with a historical narrative in the eighteenth century, the colonial period. Decades ago there was a record book of the festival dating from the year 1700, however, this document is lost, so in 2001 some municipal authorities offered a reward to the person who could deliver it, recognizing the importance of this ancient document (SASJG, 2001).

The eighteenth century represented a turning point in land tenure for the indigenous communities, as the tenure of their properties was violated in favor of a capitalist dynamic that made their legal sale possible, giving rise to disputes between indigenous communities and the small and large private landowners adjacent to their lands. It is in this context that the antagonisms between these groups began. In addition to this, the invasion of cattle from the haciendas to the communal lands was the triggering event that gave birth to the narrative and execution of the festival by the Indian population of the San Pedro neighborhood.

This invasion of cattle was very recurrent during the colonial period in all of New Spain and in Huejúcar was not the meaning, there is a reference to this place that exemplifies this problem in the early year of 1616, rescued by Licenciado Dávalos y Toledo in his visit to this region: “Y Asimismo dijeron que Juan de la Torre, Spanish who live in a ranch about two leagues from this town, usually with their cattle do them some damage, which they ask your worship to give them a commandment to remove them and did not say anything else that should be written”. (Jiménez, 2002, P. 347).

This is the context in which the inhabitants of the Indian quarter of San Pedro confronted the owners, almost always Spaniards or Creoles, of the hacienda of El Cuidado, where the confrontation of identities is expressed in this festival in the constant protest of the Indians of the quarter with the owners and administrators of the hacienda, almost always Creoles and Spaniards.

As a way to overcome the hyper-empirical analyses of a merely descriptive nature, the Carnival of the Torito “Cabresto” will be analyzed from an ethnohistorical perspective. The historian Romero (1994), has taken for granted the historical and symbolic background of the agrarian conflicts that took place in Mesoamerican societies, whose response is expressed in the legal defense of the members of the indigenous communities before the colonial courts, but also through myths and rites that narrate these ethnic and multiethnic events.

Under the aforementioned historical context, the interactions in conflict between groups intensified the collective “Indian” identity against the mestizo, Creole and Spanish enemies, whose cattle invaded their lands to the point of losing the production of the main resource of these peoples, corn. This confrontation, as we will see, is expressed and resolved both in the narrative of the festival

and in the ritual representation that year after year takes place in the carnival of the Torito “Cabresto”, becoming a moment of truce between both antagonistic groups.

Within the framework of explanation we will take up the study of the anthropologist Homobono (1990) who defines the fiesta “as an expression and reproduction of collective identity” which, far from constituting archaizing survivals, are functionally operative traditions in today’s complex society. In this way we glimpse the existing rivalry between the inhabitants of the neighborhood of San Pedro catalogued as “Indians” by the inhabitants of the central town of Huejúcar who are identified as mestizos, and that in the colonial past there were also Creoles and/or Spaniards. This antagonism is known from oral history, where there are passages in which the inhabitants of the neighborhood manifest a latent rivalry with people who live in the central part of the municipal capital.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological strategy with which it was possible to understand the historical background of this festival, as the theme demanded, was the Ethnohistoric, anthropological discipline, which is defined as the ethnology of the past and that in Mexico is par excellence the study of the processes that affected the ancient civilizations; however, this type of analysis does not exempt it from approaching the culture and contemporary indigenous thought, or the descendants of these societies regardless of the acculturation process in which the group is located (Romero, 1994). (Romero, 1994). In accordance with an ethnohistorical perspective, it was necessary to propose a methodology in which ethnographic techniques and historical documents complement each other in order to carry out a diachronic (historical) and synchronic (anthropological) analysis of the Torito “Cabresto” festival.

As far as ethnographic techniques are concerned, we could not omit field trips to places where this carnival is currently taking place, as well as those sites described in the historical narrative. The key informants were a fundamental guide to understand the various processes into which the festival is divided. The historical part was covered by personal documents such as narrations of the festival, photos and video recordings of it. The hemerographic consultation of a regional newspaper was important, as well as specialized historical essays on the problems that afflicted the indigenous communities with the invasion of cattle to their lands during the Colony, which was the event that detonated this party with an antiquity of more than 300 years; but that also has a background of invasion and dispossession of lands before the expansion of agro-livestock ranches that were developed to cover the demand of food for the mines in Zacatecas.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: BOOM IN SILVER PRODUCTION, CAPITALIST EXPANSION OF AGRO-LIVESTOCK ESTATES AND THE INVASION OF COMMUNAL LANDS

By giving a historical explanation of the intention and background of this carnival celebration, we will present in detail the context that marks the beginning of this celebration, which is a consequence of colonial policies on land tenure applied from the eighteenth century, as well as the introduction of cattle by the Spaniards since their arrival (sixteenth century) throughout the territory of New Spain, affecting the Indian crops.

This celebration is a testimony to the problem that the indigenous communities throughout New Spain began to suffer when large livestock multiplied, causing the invasion of their lands and the subsequent destruction of their crops.

In fact, this problem of land invasion by large cattle (oxen and horses) on indigenous lands was not endemic to this kingdom, it extended to the other colonies of America, as happened in the province of Honduras or Comayagua where it was so recurrent that by the early year of 1555, there was a prohibition to establish cattle ranches near Indian villages. Another decree from 1618 mentions that cattle ranches should be located one and a half leagues from the indigenous communities (Newson, 1992).

An important reason why the viceregal authorities gave a quick resolution was because the destruction of the crops deprived the indigenous people of their means of subsistence and thus their ability to pay their taxes, as happened in the town of Cuecillo, near the Villa de León, in the first half of the seventeenth century, inhabited by Tarascans and Otomíes (Pérez: 2010, p. 21).

Chevalier in his monumental study of Mexican haciendas explains that by 1538 or 1540 cattle grew at a fantastic rate in the central part of New Spain. The testimony of a prosecutor of the time explains this amazing biological phenomenon that had such an impact on the interests of the indigenous societies: “cattle of all kinds and species are abundant and multiply a lot, almost twice in fifteen months”. In addition, there were not enough cowboys, so they destroyed the Indians’ milpas (Chevalier, 1999).

The solution given by the viceroy was to send the herds, mainly sheep and oxen, to the less inhabited areas, that is, to the north. In this way, these “cattle lords” would be the first to penetrate the dangerous domains of the nomadic Indians and discover the first mines in Zacatecas (Chevalier, 1999).

This marks the beginning of the colonial history of northern Jalisco and southern Zacatecas, which in those centuries belonged to the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, which will de-

velop from the betas found in the latter city, where it was necessary to pacify the dominant populations in this territory and the need to found market-oriented agricultural and cattle ranches whose products contributed to supplying the royal mines of Zacatecas and Bolaños (Jiménez, 2009). (Jiménez, 2009).

In pre-Hispanic times, we find that in the valley that extends from Teúl to Jerez, the most numerous human groups were the Zacatecos in the northern portion; Tepehuanes, Tepecanos in the central part and Caxcanes in the extreme south. (Güereca, 2013) Many of them were pacified and located in barrios, as happened in Colotlán.

In Huejúcar, the colonial administration created some settlements of Caxcan and Zacatecan Indians (Güereca, 2013). (Güereca, 2013) Most likely with these groups the neighborhoods surrounding the central town were populated, such as the neighborhood of San Pedro where the story of the Torito “Cabresto” takes place. These new Indian settlements were affected by the expansion of the haciendas by illegally occupying their lands, as well as by the invasion of their cattle onto communal lands.

But what events triggered this expansion of the haciendas affecting the communal lands of the inhabitants of the San Pedro neighborhood in Huejúcar? First of all, in 1705 one of the richest silver veins was discovered in the surroundings of Bolaños, to which new discoveries were added until between 1730-35 the Real de Minas de Bolaños was founded (Cabrero, 2021), a town that like Huejúcar was part of the Frontiers of San Luis de Colotlán, a region located to the northwest of the kingdom of New Galicia. With this series of silver discoveries, more food production was demanded in order to reach this new mine, and it was then that the expansion of agricultural and cattle ranches began to invade communal lands throughout this region.

For the year 1782 it is known that the Indians of Huejúcar and Tlacosahua promoted a lawsuit against a hacienda for illegally occupying their common lands (Güereca, 2013); everything points to the hacienda known as El Cuidado (today converted into a town), the only one adjacent to its west side, with the communal lands of the neighborhood. The following narration refers to the hacienda of San Juan Nepomuceno, which in reality is El Cuidado and is where the Torito “Cabresto” (fighting bull) went out to invade the communal lands and springs, causing great discomfort to them.

NARRATIVE LITERATURE OF THE TORITO “CABRESTRO”

The story about the Torito “Cabresto” is part of the oral tradition of the inhabitants of the neighborhood of San Pedro, which was captured on paper 36 years ago by Mr. Santos Rosales (+), being already part of the narrative literature of this neighborhood. As a way to expose the narrator’s landscape knowledge, as well as to respect the stylistic characteristics and the particular use of the lexicon, it was decided to expose the whole written story, a very recurrent genre performed either by indigenous communities (Montes, 2005) or, as in this case, by members of a rural locality.

This bull came from San Juan de Nepomuceno through the Cabral paddock, passing through the paddock of the Virgin and the paddock of the Cross, passing through the Jomate, arriving at the orchards of the neighborhood of San Pedro where this bull began to give war to the people of the community. At that time in what we know today as the orchards of the neighborhood they planted vegetables such as: wheat, lettuce, onion, potatoes and others, then the bull began to damage them and the owners of those crops could not find what animal was harming them and they began to take care of their crops realizing that it was a fierce bull and then they warned the owner and he gave or-

ders to run it but this bull was already *fattened*, They went down to the waterhole of the land and began to run it and the bull kept insisting and they were forced to complain to the owner of the bull, who was the owner of San Juan de Nepomuceno, now known as the Hacienda del Cuidado. Some commissioned men from this community went to complain to the owner that the bull was harming them and the owner of San Juan de Nepomuceno sent his caporales to take the bull to his pastures, but since the bull was already conceived to harm this community, it came again and the men of this community went back to the ranch to go to the and the cowboys of San Juan de Nepomuceno went back to complain and the cowboys of San Juan de Nepomuceno to take the bull and so they were battling for a long time with this bull, they were taking longer to take him away than the bull was coming, then the rancher of San Juan de Nepomuceno, bored of receiving the complaints of these men, said to them: "I give you the bull, if you give him to me, I will give you the bull, if you give him to me: I give you the bull, if you can catch him, then they came with this agreement to catch the bull and the cowboys of our master here present (he refers to the master who represents the former master) got together and began the fatigue of catching the bull and began to follow him and wanted to catch him, the bull when he was harassed went up to the paddock of La Cruz, From there it was lost, but the men, excited to catch the bull, looked for it, having reason to believe that the bull was in the paddock of the Virgin, then the master sent his cowboys to check if the bull was there, and they came with the news that the bull was there, so much sought after. Another day the master sent all his cowboys to follow this bull carrying "cristalillo" and "cabrestos" (animals tamed to herd this bull) to herd this bull they ran all day long after this bull around the side of Atotonilco. The tired men arrived at Atotonilco asking for a corral to put this bull together with his "cabrestos" and came to give the news to the master and when the master saw that they already had

the bull in Atotonilco on another Tuesday of "carnestolendas" (carnestolendas from the Latin caro, *carnis carne*, and *tollendus, from tollere*, to remove, to withdraw), he sent all his caporales, leading the caudillo and the caporal mayor of our master, very early in the morning of this so important day that they went to bring the bull.

Leaving with the bull from Atotonilco very early in the morning and going to the community of San Pedro, they ran and fought all day long, arriving with the bull at Huejúcar where they fought through the streets with the neighbors to ask for water and from there they went to the small square of the neighborhood, arriving in the afternoon to this place, The master was very enthusiastic and happy with his cowboys and received them with great pleasure, giving them pulque and food, so they began to bullfight and ride the bull until they saw it completely tired, seeing this, the master ordered the caporal, the caporal and his secretary to talk to the caporales one by one, to pay them for their fatigue.

He gave them cheese and bread for their capirozada the next day (Ash Wednesday), *sending them* to a dance that he had prepared for their fatigue at night, they all danced and drank pulque, happy for the work they had done for their master. But this was not all, they continued to battle with this bull and began to uncircle him (put straps) to pull him to make him a working animal, achieving with this to make him a working animal, achieving with this to tame him, seeing that the men that the bull was responding in a very good way, they began to stick him to a cart bringing with this bull the first stones to build the building that we now have as a chapel and this is the history of this party that we have just seen.

J. Santos Rosales Román, 1988¹.

This narration is represented in the Torito "Cabresto" festival. Below we will describe each stage in which the organization and final representation of this celebration takes

1. We would like to thank Mrs. María Dolores Rosales Rosales Rosales, for providing us with this transcribed interview she conducted with Mr. J. Santos Rosales Román, who served as "amito" in the Torito "Cabresto" festival. (Román, 1988).

place, since only a few people know the whole process of this celebration.

STAGE 1: ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PARTY

The main character of this stage is the master or amito, as he or she is called, who has been self-proposed for this position one year in advance and approved by the participating community; these are those men or women who have been involved in the organization of the fiesta. This election is based on several aspects; preferably he or she has to be a native or be related to a descendant of the San Pedro neighborhood; or the person who has participated or has been involved for several years in this celebration: for example, who has allowed the visit of the bull to his or her house or has given a present for the celebration.

This first stage begins on January 6th or one month before Shrove Tuesday. The master and his family participate and must be accompanied by tamborazo music, composed of a tambora, saxophone, trumpet and tarola. The appointment is the small square of the San Pedro neighborhood; this is the way to announce to the inhabitants of the neighborhood that there will be a party in the current year.

Once congregated in this place they wait for the presence of more people and the master together with his family and an assistant, they advance towards the chapel of San Pedro to go up and place two white flags on two flagpoles placed on the sides of the bell tower, while the bells resound, these flags will remain in this place until the Tuesday of carnival, whose date is variable since it depends on the Christian Lent.

On this day there is a short get-together among those present, which ends shortly after the flags are placed and the master is in charge of sharing snacks and refreshments.

STAGE 2: THE SEARCH FOR THE TORITO “CCABRESTO” THROUGH RANCHES, COMMUNITIES AND PADDOCKS

Days after the flags are put up, the outings begin to the different points where the Torito is said to have traveled in the past, but which have also been modified according to the acceptance and relations that the new master has with the inhabitants of the ranches and neighborhoods.

In these tours only caporales participate on foot, a tame bull (toro cabestro) and a caporal who plays a bull horn that serves to attract the Torito “Cabresto” which, paradoxically, is the raging bull that invaded the former communal lands of the then Indians of the San Pedro neighborhood, which is being sought by the caporales.

In the first stage the outings will be through different pastures such as La Cruz and La Virgen until arriving at Atotonilco where they will be received with the previous agreement of the owner and a family of this ranch. Another place where the Torito “Cabresto” visits is the community of Achimec and Nestores. These visits are made in the afternoons either during the week or on Saturdays. It is important to note that these corridas take place on the outskirts of the municipal capital.

In the homes where all this procession is received, it is called aguajes, alluding to the stops made by the bull to drink water, which has been replaced by pulque² and food. Relatives and neighbors are also included in this conviviality.

2. It is worth mentioning that pulque is the drink that will accompany this celebration from its beginning until the last day. In the ranches of Achimec and Atotonilco there are extensive plantations with this plant, since the consumption of aguamiel and pulque is widespread.

STAGE 3: THE INVITATION TO THE CARNIVAL PARTY

For the bullfights that the “Toro Cabresto” and his retinue will perform on the Tuesday of Carnival, invitations will be delivered one Sunday prior to this day to those people who have traditionally received the “Torito Cabresto” and, in the past, most of them were cattle breeders, and the new families that the new owner wants to link with this tradition.

On Sunday at noon, four to five caporales arrive at the garden of the main square of Huejúcar mounted on horseback and accompanied again by the tamborazo, they carry the written invitations that can be in various formats as the master likes. Such as backpacks, parchment cases or letters, which will be distributed among the people assigned by the master, there they are informed that the bull will probably pass through their aguajes, which can be houses, schools or government agencies, and in advance they are thanked for their upcoming hospitality. If they accept the invitation, on the day of the fiesta they will place a red flag outside their portico.

This tamborazo will accompany this procession in the delivery of invitations of the people who live in the center and in the outskirts of the headwaters if the master can afford it, otherwise they will be delivered without the accompaniment of the tamborazo.

This day the caporales will return to the central plaza and will be able to eat and drink as they please, since the expenses will be paid by the master.

STAGE 4: THE DAY OF THE FESTIVAL, SHROVE TUESDAY

For this stage when we talk about the Torito “Cabresto” we are referring to the retinue that makes up this celebration. In the morning the caporal mayor, the caporales, the caudillo and the girls of the hacienda will meet at the house of the master, if he lives in the neighborhood of San Pedro, otherwise they will meet in the small square of the neighborhood of the same name. First among the girls will be distributed clay pots with pinole decorated with chopped paper flags of various colors; they also carry snacks and previously carried a sugar figurine in the shape of a bull. All this covered with transparent cellophane paper.

The girls are dressed in long skirts, white blouses that may have embroidery, black or blue shawls with faint stripes or mottled, braids and huarache shoes; as accessories they may wear arracadas and necklaces.

The caporales wear pants, threadbare shirts, hats, chaps, and footwear in poor condition, trying to imitate the costume of a caporal de hacienda, so many of these elements are substituted or imitated with other materials such as sacks instead of chaps (See photograph 1).

Other accessories are the leather, ixtle or blanket backpack, where the caporal will carry the pinole that symbolically is the salitrillo with which he will attract the bull, and that will be distributed to the spectators during his journey in individual bags. In the past, each caporal was in charge of preparing the pinole he would carry, since most of them were farmers who cultivated corn and other ingredients used in this food.

As a distinctive ornament they wear stuffed skins of animals of the region such as wild boar, skunk, deer, deer, cattle, lamb, pig, rabbit, snake, anything they want to distinguish themselves from each other. The mouth can be covered with a bandana or natural beard, glasses, some wear a wig with a hat made of di-

fferent materials such as felt, sollate and palm, all of them with the characteristic of being in bad condition. Some caporales carry hanging or dragging canteens, pans, pots and pans or any artifact that helps them in the symbolization of the daily work of a rural worker.

The caporal mayor is directly in charge of directing the task that the caporales will do to guide the bull to the neighborhood's placita. The master will give him the guide, which is the permission granted by the Huejúcar Livestock Association so that the bull can move freely through the streets. This document proves that the bull belongs to the cattle ranch of the hacienda of San Juan de Nepomuceno, whose owner is the master in turn. The guide is requested days before the cattle ranch, since a horseshoeing iron is available.

Another character that intervenes is the caudillo, subordinate of the caporal mayor, whose function will be to attract the animal by bullfighting it. His clothing consists of a beret, a shirt of shiny fabric, knee-length shorts, a vest, black sneakers, and knee-high socks, with a mustache, trying to simulate a bullfighter (See photograph 2).

Finally, we will mention another important element that is the cavalry which has ironwork belonging to the hacienda of San Juan Nepomuceno. These horses are elaborated with sticks of different woods that have the characteristic of being light and resistant, such as the colorín, willow and poplar sticks, since they are found in the surroundings of the town. These will be carved by the caporales themselves giving the shape of a steed; the body and the head are two separate pieces, joined with a small fragment of wood that allows the head to have mobility. They also have a saddle made of the same wood. To distinguish them, they are painted in different colors such as brown, black or pinto (See photograph 1).

The horse's ears are made of leather, a material whose flexibility makes it easy to shape; the horse's tail and mane are made from the bristles of a real cow's tail. Marbles are used for the eyes. The horse's features will be painted. As an accessory the horse wears reins, a blanket rolled behind the saddle and a rope.

Social recognition plays a primordial role in the designation of the characters involved in the celebration, since the behavior that the person had throughout the year or in the previous celebration is taken into account in order to be accepted.

The choice of the person who will represent the bull is made taking into account the dexterity, strength and physical resistance of this man. On the other hand, it is important to have knowledge of the bull's movements and behavior. Some of the protagonists have played this role for decades, so they have kept the nickname or nickname, as is the case of Don Jesús, who played the role of Torito "Cabresto" for years, and became known as Jesús del "Toro" (Jesus of the "Bull").

A representation of the bull and the two steers (see photo 2) is made by those who play these roles, in a kind of mimicry since the attitude of these animals is adopted during the festival. In this way, the protagonist of the bulls must never get rid of them.

The Torito "Cabresto" is represented by a man, who will wear austere pants and shirt, will cover his back with leather, will wear boots or work shoes, will wear a bandana that will cover part of his face, from the nose down, may cover his hair and will wear bull horns on his head, the latter is optional. With both hands he will take the bull and from that moment on he will behave like a bull.



Photograph 1. Dress of the caporales.



Photograph 2. The caudillo, the Torito "Cabresto" (in the middle) guarded by the two tame bulls.



Photograph 3. Red flag representing an aguaje.



Photograph 4. Pre-school child torear al Torito "Cabresto".



Photograph 5. The arrival of the masters of the hacienda of San Juan Nepomuceno by carriage.



Photograph 6. The secretary of the hacienda and the easement and servitude.



Photograph 7. The masters of the hacienda waiting for the white flags in the chapel of San Pedro.



Photograph 8. Payment of the slaughter.

The “toros cabestros” (tame bulls) that accompany the toro bravo (Torito “Cabresto”) will also be represented by two men. They will dress austere and will wear boots or work shoes and a palm hat. With both hands they will take the bull that corresponds to them. Their function in the faena (work to be performed), will be to serve as guide of the brute bull (Torito “Cabresto”).

Under no circumstances will the person who represents the bull release or lend the animal he represents to another person, because it could get lost, a fact that has already happened in the past, and if the task of taking the bull to its destination is not fulfilled, it will be interrupted and this festivity will not be able to take place. Therefore, whoever performs this representation must understand that bull and man are one and the same.

The bulls can be carved in colorín, poplar or willow wood, they are light and resistant, covered with calfskin. The eyes are of mosaic, the tail is made with bristles of beef, the horns are of steel; pointed those of the rough bull and those of the halters with a horn, as it should be in a real halter bull. They measure 25 centimeters long x 20 centimeters high approximately and weigh about one kilogram.

STAGE 6: THE TOUR THROUGH THE STREETS OF HUEJÚCAR

The master has instructed the senior caporal to carry out the task: he asks him to bring the bull and lists the caporales that accompany him, while he must have a guide, so that they will not be accused of cattle rustling. From this moment on, all this contingent will be recognized as the “toro cabresto”. The retinue leaves. The brute bull (Torito “Cabresto”) runs following the “cabrestos” (the two tame bulls), behind them and running are the caporal mayor and the caporales mounted on horseback, the caudillo follows them on foot, the girls of the hacienda follow their steps in

a hurry but without running since they carry the pinoles and go on foot. This contingent will make a stop when it reaches one of the aguajes (house, school, or institution) which will have as a signal a red flag, same that has been placed at the entrance. In this place the Bull will be able to enter without any consideration (See photograph 3).

Even so, the main caporal will take care that no damage is caused, such as: breakage of flowerpots or any furniture or other damage that could cause the Torito “Cabresto”, because if so, the damage will have to be corrected, paying the cost, which will have to be assumed by the owner of the hacienda. Upon entering the aguaje, one of the hacienda’s girls will give the hosts a casserole with pinole, which symbolizes the salitrillo that is given to the cattle. In turn, the hosts invite the hacienda guests to drink pulque, which symbolizes the water that men and animals need to drink. They are also offered a snack, salad or bean tostadas or tamales.

In this aguaje the hosts are usually accompanied by their families, neighbors and/or friends who will help attend to those who arrive. At the end of this conviviality, the hosts are allowed to fight the bull with the cape that the caudillo brings, if they wish, the caporal mayor, the caudillo and the caporales make a circle to control the bull and in this way facilitate the fight. The “ole” of those present is heard and a standing ovation is given to the one who dared to bullfight (See photo 4). The bull escapes and all the hacienda staff goes after him, the girls thank the hosts and hurry the pace).

The “toro cabresto” also receives gifts that can be drinks such as: bottles of wine, alcohol, soft drinks, as well as sealed envelopes containing cash. These gifts are collected by a person who will deliver them to the master so that days after the end of the party and when he so determines, he distributes them among those

who participated, being able to offer them a meal in gratitude for their collaboration in the party where he served as master.

Beforehand, the caporal mayor, together with his caporales, have planned the route they will follow throughout the day, to lead the bull and visit different aguajes distributed along the way. At three o'clock in the afternoon they must arrive at an aguaje next to the river where, year after year, they are welcomed with food. From here they will make a last visit to the aguaje located in a place known as Chavez Island, next to the stream or river, as it is called. Once they leave this aguaje they will wait there for the arrival of the master and his family.

STAGE 7: ARRIVAL OF THE HACIENDA OWNERS AND THEIR SERVANTS AT THE SMALL SQUARE IN THE SAN PEDRO NEIGHBORHOOD

The master arrives by wagon, or cart, accompanied by his wife and children (See photograph 5). They are also accompanied by his secretary and the servants of the house that can be: the nanny, the lady-in-waiting, the cook; who carry panela cheese and miniature rolls to deliver later to the caporales. This personnel can vary depending on the initiative of the master. All of them dress in the old style (See photographs 5, 6 and 7).

The master is one of the main characters and, according to his taste, he can be dressed as a *ranchero* or in a coat and hat. His attitude must be that of a wealthy man, since he represents the owner of the most prosperous hacienda. The mistress in her representation of the master's wife may be ostentatiously dressed in a long dress, jewelry, hat and/or parasol, wearing booties and a high hairstyle. The children of the masters dress as *charros* or in formal attire. The hacienda secretary carries his briefcase, a notebook, glasses, bowler hat and suit.

The wagon that transports the family is pulled by a donkey or horse, formerly it could be dressed with glasses, shoes and flowers on the head. The cart is adorned with crepe paper flowers. From this moment on, the *tambora* will be playing until the end of the party, well after midnight. This procession leaves towards the small square of the San Pedro neighborhood, and is joined by the girls of the hacienda, the *caudillo*, the caporal mayor and all the caporales. It is in this place where the retinue of the *Torito "Cabresto"* waits for the arrival of the master of the hacienda to leave to the small square of the neighborhood. Once they are all together, the *tamborazo* (drumming) follows and a great noise of satisfaction of having done the task of carrying the bull (rough bull), so they go to the neighborhood's small square. Meanwhile, people come out of their houses to see them pass by and greet them with their hands. In this way they arrive at the small square where they are received with applause.

STAGE 8. DELIVERY OF THE TORITO "CABRESTO".

The neighborhood of San Pedro is located on the east side of the river, this natural division was protected in times of conflict by the inhabitants of the neighborhood, since they did not allow people from the central part of the town of Huejúcar to pass through.

The master together with his wife and children get off the wagon and accompanied by his secretary, servants and his caporales go to the atrium of the chapel located in front of the small square. At this moment the two flags are lowered while the *tambora* plays some pieces (See photograph 7).

When the flags are taken down from the belfry, the *amitos* are given one each, the church bells are rung and the *tambora* plays a *Diana*. The masters followed by the retinue leave the atrium to go to the small square

where they will give an account of the work done during the year and the payment will be made. The master, his family, the secretary and his servants sit behind a table that has been placed especially for them, in it is placed, the secretary's typewriter if he has one, the basket of panela cheese (enchilado cheese) and bolillo bread, both in miniature size, this has been carried by the cook; also the basket of egg shells filled with confetti is placed (See photograph 8).

All the participants as well as the dialogues are improvised. They interact with humor and mockery; you never know how it will develop or how it will end because it will depend on the expertise that each one of them has to improvise.

The character of the master can play the role of a generous or a stingy master, according to what he wants. The secretary is a character who is in charge of administering the hacienda, and is represented as a person who shirks his responsibilities. The caporales are appointed one by one to come to the table in the presence of the master and his secretary; the former, according to the information given by his secretary and in dialogue with the caporal, will decide how much will be paid in money and in kind to each one.

The caporales, as they are named, must pass in front of the master and his secretary where based on the name they carry, which is almost always the name of a medicinal or nutritional plant³ (except for a few like "el último golpe de la tambora"), they will tell the function they have, they will also speak in their favor about the work they did during the year and the importance of it, hoping to receive a good payment. During the same development of this dialogue they will touch on other topics such as the horses they ride, about their family or love affairs they may have.

The payment given to the caporales is in reals, so they are given some object that represents an old coin, which they replace with iron cut in a circular shape; chocolate coins wrapped in gold paper or coins that are no longer in circulation. On some occasions mention is made of the "tienda de raya" and the caporal may be told what he owes and that therefore he will be paid less or will come out owing. In addition to the payment the caporal will be given a loaf of bread and cheese for his capirotada (a typical dish that is prepared the following day which is "Ash Wednesday"). The caporal leaves very happy and the tambora plays a Diana.

After the arrival of the masters and the Torito "Cabresto's" retinue to the small square and while the party lasts, the servants offer those present the traditional drink of the San Pedro neighborhood, which is the "guisado" or "curado" pulque served in clay jugs; the caporales hand out pinole and the hacienda girls break confetti eggs on the heads of those present.

The pulque guisado is a drink prepared that same day by the inhabitants of the neighborhood in a house next to the small square of the San Pedro neighborhood. It consists of a mixture of pulque, soda, onion, oregano, peanuts and apple.

When the payment of the caporales is finished, the master and his wife go out to "take the bull out for a few turns", that is to say, to bullfight him. At this moment a short interruption is made to offer the attendants the "cabresto" bull, which means that the position of the new master for the coming year is being offered. If someone asks for the position and it is accepted by the participants of the fiesta, it will be given to him.

As the last act, the master in turn will offer a dance to the caporales, being he and his wife who "break" or start the dance that will last until dawn, also integrating the audience.

3. Some of these names are: Marjoram, Peppermint, Mullein, Skunk's Epazote, Cat's Claw, Estafiate, Hen Weed, Toadflax, Chamomile, Swallow Weed, Alfalfa, Albaca, Birdseed, Toloache, Belladonna and Viper's Weed.

CONCLUSIONS

What are the significant contributions of this contribution, in what way do they contribute to knowledge in the subject area investigated?

Previously, ethnographies or descriptions of the Torito “Cabresto” festival had been carried out that covered a merely synchronic level; however, on this occasion, the historical background of the narrative that accompanies the festival was analyzed. Thus, it is concluded that with the Torito “Cabresto” festival, the inhabitants of the San Pedro neighborhood reaffirm their collective identity as a group by having managed to convoke, gather and execute a carnival festival over 300 years that manages to transgress the social dynamics established between the people living in the neighborhood and those living in the central part, who have kept ethnic and coexistence differences since the founding of the town. It is worth mentioning that the Torito plays a very important role in overcoming these differences as it is the articulating element that helps to overcome the antagonisms that have existed for centuries among this population.

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This date represented and still does, a moment of transgression where the bull breaks with the established conventions by entering into the aguajes (houses, schools and public institutions) and making whatever damage he wants to do; since it will be the amito the one in charge of paying for them.

Similarly, the narrative states that the conflicts that the inhabitants of Barrio used to have with the El Cuidado hacienda, due to the invasion of cattle on communal lands, were also overcome thanks to the Torito.

Two backgrounds were found for this carnival celebration; the first of ethnic character and the second agrarian. The latter is located at a merely local level, within the municipality or formerly the town of Cabeceara, a very recurrent problem in the Colony due to the invasion of cattle from the haciendas to the communal lands. In this case, the Indians of Barrio de San Pedro were dispossessed of part of their lands by the hacienda El Cuidado, one of the most prosperous in this region, whose function was to provide sustenance to the workers and the rest of the population of the Zacatecan mines.