

Notas al margen y líneas al corazón
de una Antropología Crítica: apuntes
sobre las lecturas y las lecciones de
Carlos Buitrago Ortiz

Manuel Valdés Pizzini
19 de octubre de 2016



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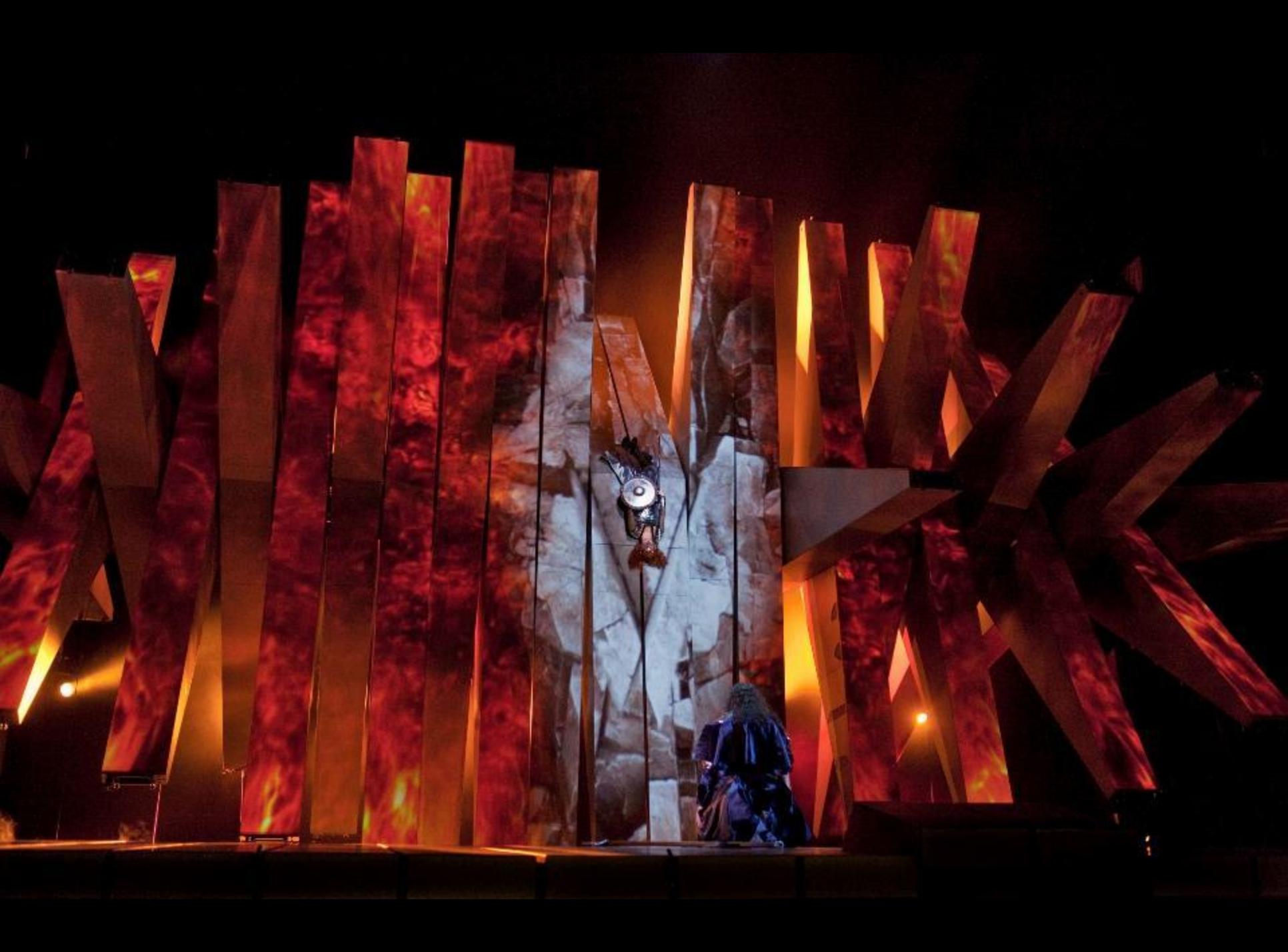
Richard Wagner

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Documentos

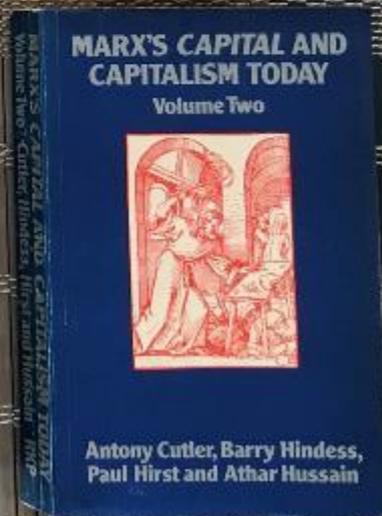
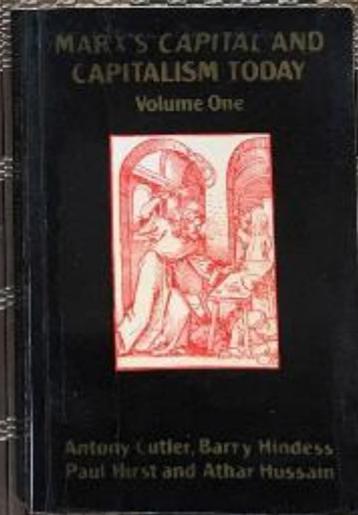
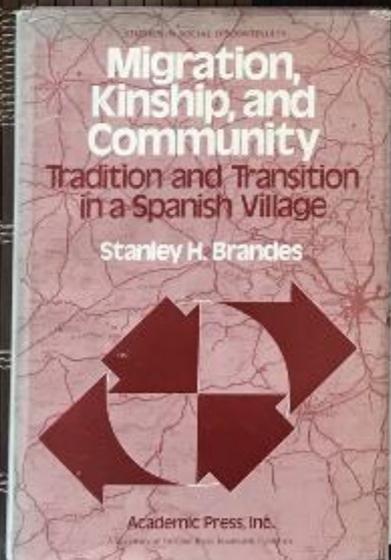
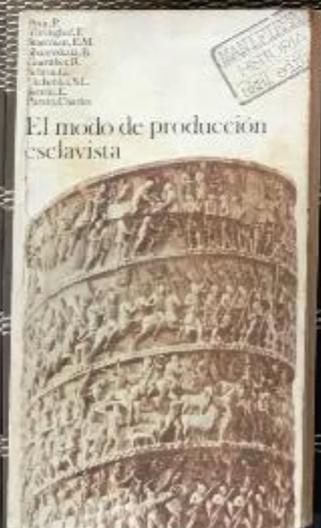
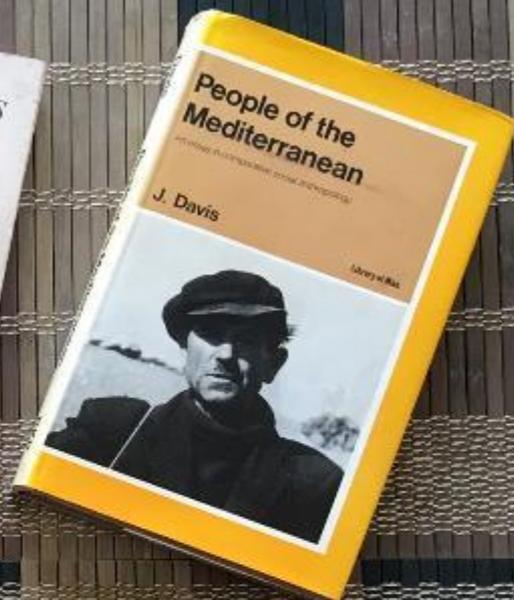
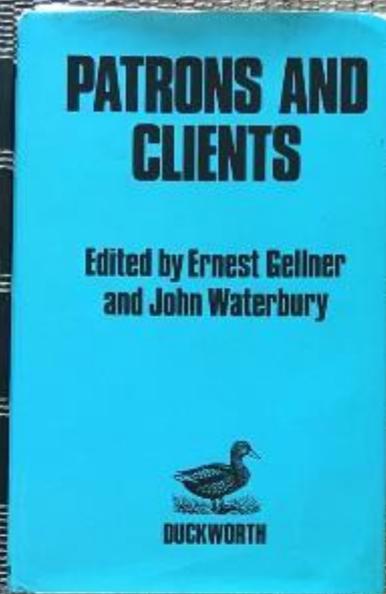
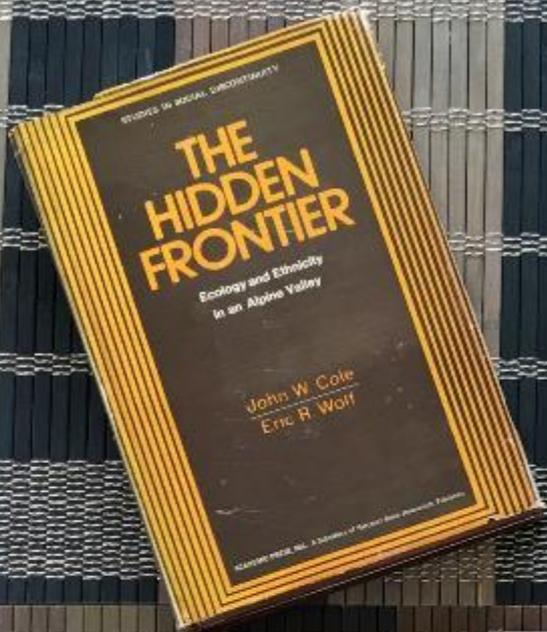
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0-31 (Tarjeta 18) *23 días y completa*
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UNA LECTURA DE LAS LÍNEAS Y LOS APUNTES DE CBO

may be - that is to apply the method of concomitant variation to a historical process, in an area in which there is enough history, and enough similarity, to make the enterprise worthwhile.

For while it is clear that the mediterranean presents a range of kinds of society and is in no sense a homogeneous culture area, nevertheless the mediterranean has produced history because in a sense, it is a unit: over the millennia it has proved impossible for mediterranean people to ignore each other. They have conquered, colonised, converted; they have traded, administered, intermarried - the contacts are perpetual and inescapable. Given this, mediterranean anthropologists should have, yes, a sense of failure - of having missed an opportunity to be historical and to be comparative. But one of the important characteristics of history is that, on the whole, it does not

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contemporary non-Communist forms of patronage, and especially with the forms of political patronage still prevailing in the West and which derive from the Jacksonian and pre-Northcote systems of the distribution of public spoils.

It may have been by accident that the original plan of this symposium put only one kind of patronage, *patronage under Communism*, under the conceptual heading of power. I must admit that this synoptical arrangement anticipated somehow my attitude. The factor of power so overwhelms the political processes of Communist polities, that the concept of patronage, which when seen from the vantage-point of these polities looks rather like a mitigation of power, can only with great discrimination be used for the study of these polities.

Two of the most relevant aspects of the concept of patronage are, to my mind at least, the nexus of reciprocal interest which forms the relationship patron-clientele, and, on the other hand, the end-product of this relationship: the allocation of posts and dignities. In both respects the concept of patronage does not fit exactly the original political processes of the USSR of before the Second World War. But it becomes more applicable to some of the contemporary Communist states.

If one compares from the above points of view the Western democratic system of patronage, and especially the system of enrolment and of reward on which the Western patronage is based, with *mutatis mutandis* the same functional system in the USSR of before the Second World War, one is bound to find at least the following four differences. (1) The classic Western patronage is ultimately based on an assumption of political stability, and routine, indeed of cyclical

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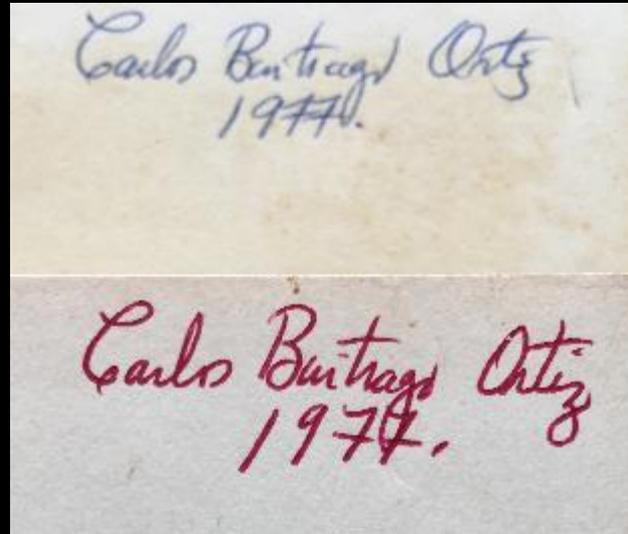
merchant brokerage. After the original issues were eclipsed, factions were named after the two candidate Bishops for the Archbishop's seat: The *Kiriniaki* and the *Kitiaki*. There were two competing merchant houses in the region. One, based in a village in the west of the area, Tricomo, supported the *Kiriniaki* or establishment party. The other merchant house, with its headquarters in Komi Kebir, supported the *Kitiaki*, the uncompromising nationalists. In each village of the region there were representatives of each house and the two networks were firmly established. Political relations were hardly distinguished from economic ones, although over time the issue of nationalist commitment no longer separated the two factions, uncompromising nationalism being common to virtually the whole merchant and professional class.

A clear hierarchical relationship of dependence existed, with brokers (*mesites*) in each village. Literacy was important in becoming a broker; many of them were or had been teachers. It also helped to have a larger landholding than ordinary peasants. The two merchant houses advanced credit to their respective brokers, who advanced it in turn to farmers and thus put them in their debt. On occasions when a broker bought on his own account rather than on account of his usual merchant, he was unable to dispose of the merchandise since both merchant houses refused to buy from him.

Brokers actively sought out new suppliers, attempting to put them in their debt in order to increase the amount of merchandise which they collected. In fact brokers went to fairs and 'cried' the availability of loans. Often these loans were given without any written agreement. If a borrower was unknown to the broker, it was frequently sufficient for a fellow villager who was known to the broker to vouch for him. Products that were sold through the brokerage network were carobs, silk, cotton and tobacco, all in demand for export. Other products

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LA SIGNATURA DE CBO

... were important, involving enduring relationships between individuals of unequal wealth or power and the asymmetrical exchanges of goods and services. The 'myth' refers to the fact that such relationships were surrounded by a rhetoric that magnified and distorted the real exchanges, while other relationships in which exchanges were minimal were couched in an idiom of patronage.

Most land in Colleverde was worked under the *mezzadria* system, and most household-heads were parties to *mezzadria* contracts either as landlords or peasants. The contract stipulated the contributions required of each party, the division of produce, and subsidiary rights and obligations on each side. For a number of reasons, the Central Italian *mezzadria* tended to create a more continuing and personalised relationship between landowner and cultivator than is often the case in sharecropping systems. A peasant family usually occupied the same farm for many years, sometimes for generations. The contract provided for both parties to contribute working capital and for both to participate in decision-making; the landlord was generally involved actively in operations, and there was necessarily a great deal of contact between the 'partners'. Furthermore, the contract stipulated other terms that furthered the tie between them. The landlord was obliged to assist the peasant family in times of crisis, and in times past he could control the peasant family's activities in many ways (prevent a son from leaving the farm, disapprove a marriage, prohibit unseemly behaviour, and so on). The peasant was required to provide the ... (such as poultry and eggs

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Corchete abrazador

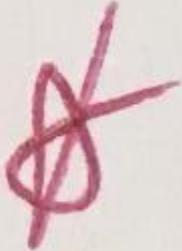
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(b) Asteriscos, (c) Estrellas

of the different contestants.

If power is a function of control over resource problem is to determine 'who controls what, where national or a regional political system. Since resource many and varied, studies are likely to discover fragmented among a number of competing client study of the Moroccan elite makes this point, just clientele politics point to divided or contesting 'based upon control over some resources. If we then coherence to such a national or regional system already appear obvious. Namely, coherence (or in of a *balance of power* that arranges the otherwise fragmented a system. The various clienteles aggregate power, groups also control resources and consequently neutralise or to 'balance' the clientele's potential. These are equilibrium systems of a kind, and the resources and power is a key to the balance.

(d) Flechas

brokerage... most of factors, ranging from the weakness of centre-periphery linkages to social segmentation, are likely to contribute to the emergence and maintenance of political patronage, its principal cause is socio-economic and political inequality.

Although it is true that higher rates of socio-economic development may change the form and bases of patronage, it is also apparent that varieties of patronage-oriented behaviour exist in societies of different developmental levels. In general, a mixture of both vertical and horizontal types of solidarity networks are to be found in most social systems. But where horizontal group or class affiliations are relatively weak, we would expect to find a greater frequency of clientelist-based social interactions. As Chalmers has pointed out, it is therefore possible to differentiate between systems which are more 'vertical' than others depending on whether or not 'the rate of innovation of new vertical, dependent relationships exceeds the rate of breakdown of the old ones into horizontal patterns' (Chalmers 1974, p.11).

Since there appears to be an inverse relationship between the strength of horizontal solidarities and patronage, a number of social scientists have come to feel that political loyalties in developing countries cannot satisfactorily be analysed through theoretical perspectives derived from the historical evolution of Western Europe and North America (Lande 1973; Scott 1972a, pp. 91-2). In the latter, the modernisation process has been accompanied by the emergence of common class or group affiliations as the bases of political behaviour. The breakdown of most vertical hierarchies and their replacement by horizontal ties has been a critical turning point in the structuring of mass politics in the industrialised Western nations.

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(e) Signos de interrogación y (f) Exclamación

Por eso, algunos reyes intentaron atenuar la avaricia de los usureros. Hammurabi, por ejemplo, prohibió a los acreedores apoderarse de los bienes de sus deudores por propia iniciativa, sin intervención judicial. Si el acreedor burlaba la ley exigiendo que le devolvieran una cantidad mayor de la que figuraba en el recibo de préstamo, perdía toda la suma prestada.

Según las leyes de Hammurabi, no se podía mantener a nadie en la esclavitud por deudas durante más de tres años. Las leyes vigentes en la antigua Palestina fijaban seis años. Pero todas se violaban con frecuencia. Los ricos y los mismos reyes seguían esclavizando a los labradores arruinados.

La existencia de las comunas, la cruel explotación de sus miembros por el rey y otros grandes terratenientes, la esclavización de prisioneros extranjeros y de compatriotas, eran los rasgos distintivos de las sociedades esclavistas del Antiguo Oriente.

B. LAS SOCIEDADES ESCLAVISTAS DEL MUNDO ANTIGUO

1. Descomposición total de las comarcas y desarrollo de la propiedad privada de la tierra

El régimen esclavista de la antigua Grecia, de la antigua Roma y de Italia, en su conjunto, se constituyó bastante más tarde que el del Antiguo Oriente, y en condiciones algo diferentes.

Los antiguos egipcios, babilonios y otros pueblos orientales fueron, con su propia experiencia multiseccular, perfeccionando los instrumentos de trabajo y los métodos para organizar la economía empleadas en la época del régimen comunal primitivo. Los griegos y los itálicos, desde el comienzo de su historia conocida por nosotros, establecieron relaciones con los ya desarrollados pueblos de Oriente, copiando de éstos muchos adelantos que después ampliaron y mejoraron.

Más tarde aprendieron a confeccionar instrumentos de trabajo y armas de cobre y bronce, excelentes vasijas de barro y tejidos. Empleaban también arados con hoja de metal y conocían la rotación de cultivos de tres en tres años.

A comienzos del siglo X antes de nuestra era, empezaron a elaborar objetos de hierro. Al principio, este metal era considerado raro o valioso, y se empleaba solamente para hacer aderezos. Pero, muy pronto, herreros y fundidores perfeccionaron su trabajo hasta tal punto que comenzaron a utilizarlo para fabricar armas y numerosos instru-

mentos y herramientas, mucho más baratos y sólidos que los de cobre o bronce.

La difusión general del uso del hierro facilitó el rápido desarrollo de la agricultura y la artesanía. El hacha de hierro permitió desmontar grandes extensiones de bosques para fines agrícolas; el arado con su reja de hierro permitía arar no sólo los terrenos blandos, sino también los duros; el empleo de instrumentos de hierro (martillos, tenazas, sierras, cortafíos, formones y barrenas) aceleró la construcción y aumentó la solidez de casas y embarcaciones de altura. La complicación de la técnica apresuró la separación del artesanado de la agricultura; y la aparición de una capa especial de artesanos, ocupados solamente en su oficio, contribuyó, a su vez, al ulterior perfeccionamiento de los oficios.

El trabajo se tornó más productivo.

En los países europeos de las orillas del Mediterráneo, con suficientes precipitaciones pluviales y sin caudalosos ríos que se desborden anualmente, no se precisaba la construcción de grandes sistemas de riego y, por tanto, tampoco el trabajo permanente de grandes grupos colectivos como los que agrupaban las comunas de familias numerosas y rurales del Antiguo Oriente.

Todo esto contribuyó a que las relaciones comunales de los antiguos griegos, romanos e itálicos se debilitaran rápidamente, y que la comuna, como organización económica y social, desapareciera. Los nuevos repartos de tierra cesaron. Las parcelas que en otro tiempo se habían destinado a las familias pequeñas, se transformaron en propiedad de estas familias o, más exactamente, de sus jefes, los cabezas de familia. El propietario de la parcela de tierra, que no estaba ya cohibido por ninguna limitación impuesta por la comuna a sus miembros, podía testar, vender, regalar o hipotecar su tierra.

Al surgir la propiedad de la tierra se aceleró la escisión de la sociedad en ricos y pobres.

Los ricos pertenecían a la nobleza gentilicia. Lo mismo que en otros pueblos, esta nobleza había conseguido —cuando aún existían las comunas— hacerse de varias parcelas de tierra y apoderarse de la mejor parte de los terrenos de las comunas. Le pertenecían también numerosos rebaños de ganado.

El desarrollo de la agricultura y el artesanado, y las relaciones con los Estados occidentales, alimentó un activo comercio con estos últimos. Los navegantes y mercaderes de Egipto, y sobre todo de Fenicia, pequeño país costero, dedicados esencialmente a servir de intermediarios comerciales, llevaban hasta Grecia e Italia objetos artísticos, obras

Mediterráneo

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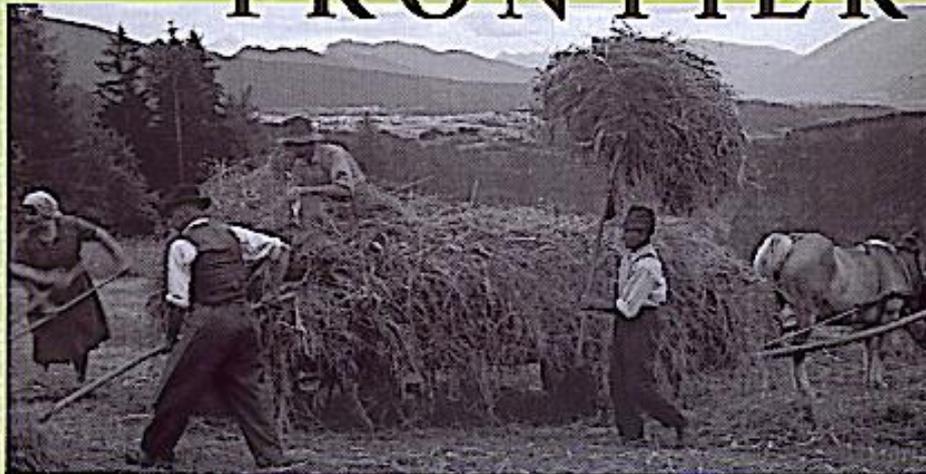
Michael Attalides

*Forms of peasant incorporation in
Cyprus during the last century¹*

Social scientists who have studied Mediterranean societies have generally emphasised the predominance of patronage, brokerage, non-corporate groups, and generally free-floating particularisms. The idea that this is the dominant fact about such societies has been reinforced by intensive study of face to face relations in village communities. There is a tendency in what has been called the 'village outward' view (Fox, n.d.) of peasant communities to see them in terms of relations linking individual villagers to urban centres through patron-client ties.

It seems theoretically possible that individual linkages are a historically specific type of interrelation between peasant communities and urban centres, or at least may predominate at a certain phase of development. It is argued here that peasants may be seen in a wider perspective: as well as being part of the village, a vertical segment of a region or a state society, peasants are also members of horizontal segments, such as classes (see Steward et al. 1956). Class linkage is not a conceptual alternative to 'non-corporate' linkages (Schneider et al. 1972), but rather the two are interacting principles of social organisation.

THE HIDDEN FRONTIER



Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley

JOHN W. COLE and
ERIC R. WOLF

WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION

PATRONS AND CLIENTS

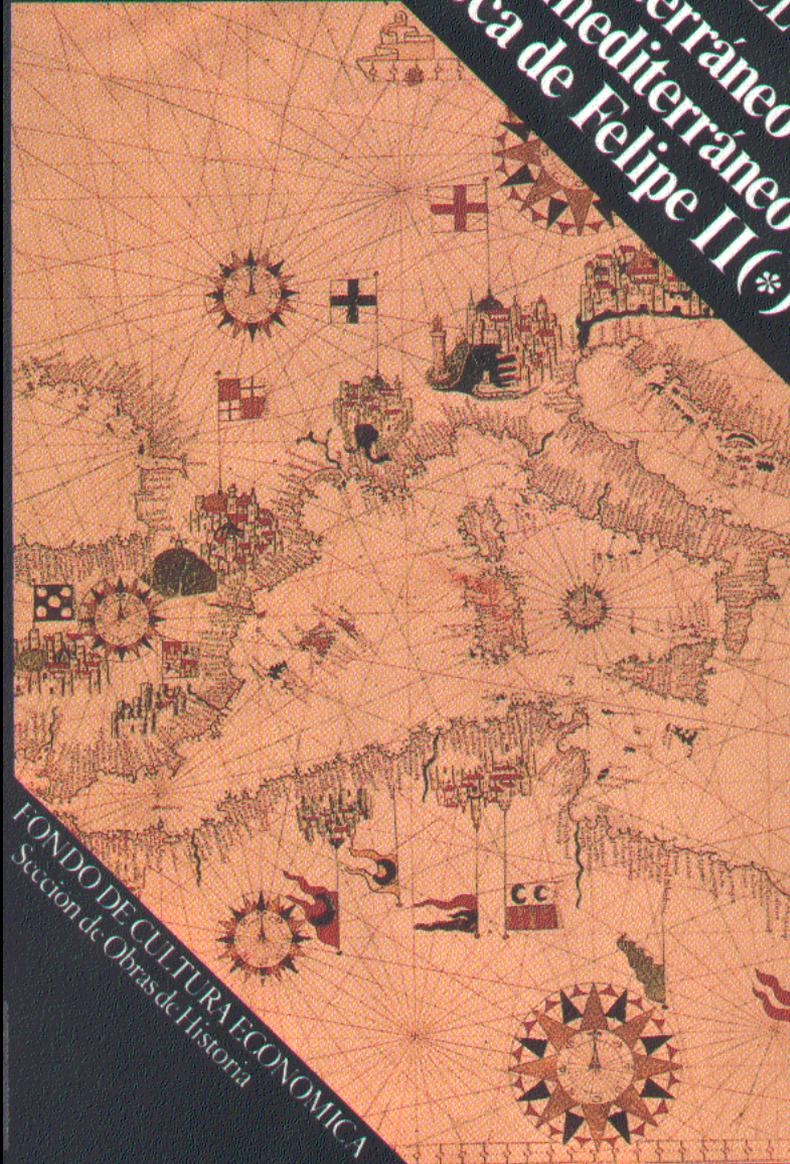
**Edited by Ernest Gellner
and John Waterbury**



DUCKWORTH

LA ENTRADA AL MAR MEDITERRÁNEO

Fernand
BRAUDEL
El Mediterráneo
y el mundo mediterráneo
en la época de Felipe II (*)



FONDO DE CULTURA ECONOMICA
Sección de Obras de Historia

Altura / Bajura

“Un mundo que recibe como basamento el rico caudal de las instituciones familiares y económicas del mundo hispánico y mediterráneo. Así se desarrolla la ingente tarea de modificación del mundo borinqueño, tal y como lo encuentran los emigrantes. Mundo que nos trae todo un complejo de estilos y concepciones de vida cuasi feudales y patrimoniales que en la larga y rica vida cuasi feudales y patrimoniales que en la larga historia del Mediterráneo se entremezclan con una cultura y sociedad altamente comercial y capitalizada” (Buitrago 1976:10).

La Bahía de San Juan

La zona portuaria

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
Facultad de Ciencias Sociales
Departamento de Sociología y Antropología

Metodología y Técnicas Etnográficas
Segundo Semestre 1974-75

Antropología 223
Dr. Carlos Buitrago

BOSQUEJO

La finalidad del curso es la de proveer experiencia de trabajo de campo al estudiante, desarrollar su capacidad para "hacer" etnografía, y luego poder llegar a niveles conceptuales y teóricos. El trabajo de campo será complementado con sesiones intensas de análisis del trabajo de los estudiantes. Se intenta trascender posturas meramente empíricas y descriptivas.

Durante este semestre, el trabajo de campo se hará en la zona portuaria de San Juan. El estudiante deberá estar disponible por lo menos un día por semana, el cual se escogerá previa deliberación de todos y de acuerdo a las necesidades del estudio.

Los estudiantes rendirán un breve informe inmediatamente después de cada sesión de trabajo de campo, lo cual se utilizará como materia prima para las discusiones de clase. Los materiales así recolectados servirán en adición para la redacción de un informe monográfico, requisito indispensable para aprobar el curso.

Todos los trabajos se harán bajo la supervisión directa del profesor.

Requisitos para aprobar el curso:

- a. asistencia regularizada a todos los aspectos del curso.
- b. elaboración de los informes periódicos y del informe monográfico final del trabajo de campo.
- c. tomar y aprobar una prueba final de tipo ensayo en torno a los temas centrales.

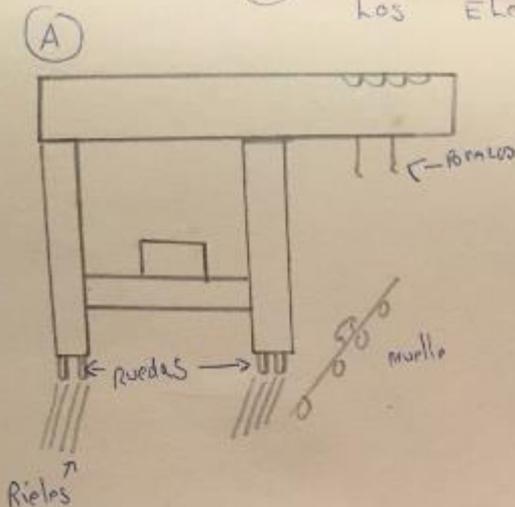
La zona portuaria de San Juan



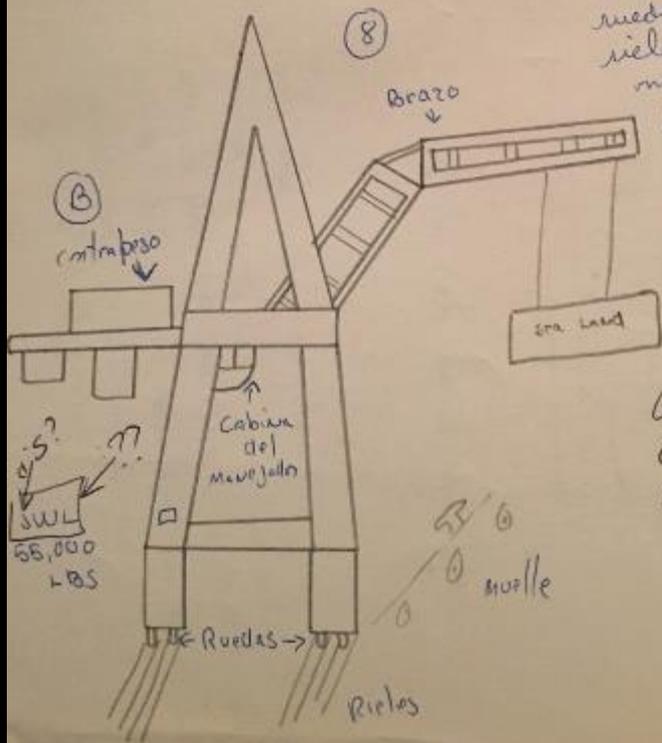
La zona portuaria de San Juan



Los Elevadores

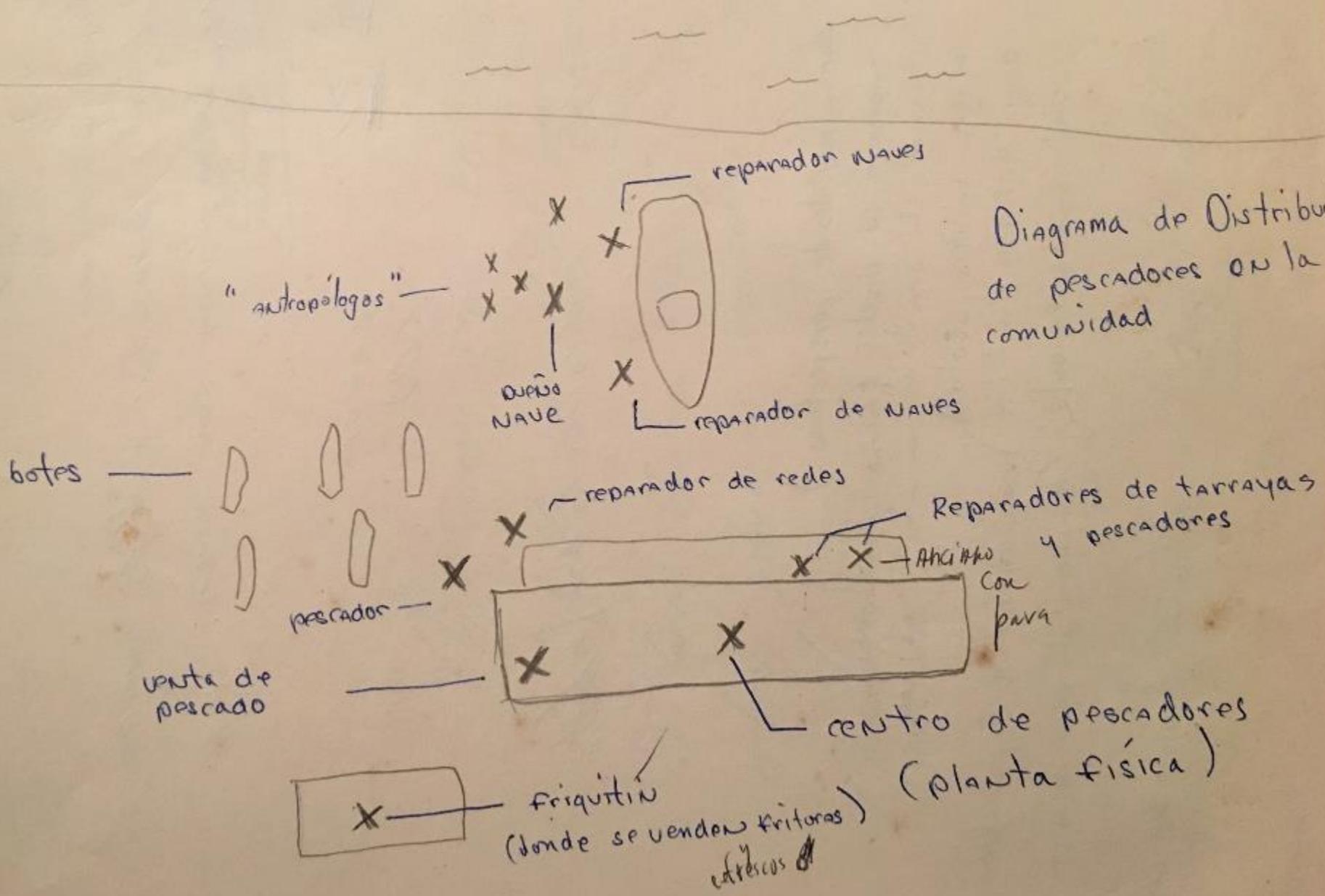


De estas gigantescas estructuras encontramos 7, dos de las A (con las mas grandes y 5 de las B. La función de estas estructuras es cargar y llevar los fuzgos de los botes a tierra y viceversa. Estas estructuras ~~se mueven~~ ^{se mueven} lateralmente pues poseen ruedas montadas en unos rieles (posiblemente para moverse de bote en bote, en un tipo de guía pero gigantesca).



Una maquina; básicamente de palanca

Bahía de San Juan



Garabatos finales...

