Some Aspects of Family Structure of a Mayayucatecan Catholic Community, Mani.

Harukazu NAKABEPPU

The aim of this paper is to describe and clarify several aspects of religio-cultural integration of a small Catholic community, Mani in order to correct and improve Ritual Kinship and ejido in a Mayayucatecan Catholic Community, Mani (2002 H. NAKABEPPU).

The study focus is on the concrete description and analysis of ritual kinship in Mani, one of the oldest religious factors derived from Europe.

In a Mayayucatecan Catholic community Mani in Yucatan, Mexico, ritual kinship (compradruago and padrinozago) as the institution is the most widespread intimate spiritual social relationship, into which a man or a woman may enter on such occasions of contracting the main sacraments of the Catholic church as ocia (jetezem maya baptism), baptism, confirmacion, primera comunion, 15anos (15-year-old) ceremony and marriage.

The results of our investigation show (1) that the ritual kinship integrates their friends and acquaintances into a sacred social family relationships ; (2) The ritual kinship also functions as a supplementary social institution to nuclear families. It improves the tense relation between the family members and serves as a role model of Catholic virtue.

Key Words: social structure, family structure, ritual kinship, Catholic culture,

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Introduction

Religion is to be studied in terms of not only religious doctrines or rituals but also a socio-cultural integration view-point. A religion can exist only in the form of socio-cultural integration.

The aim of this paper is to describe and clarify several aspects of religio-cultural integration of a small Catholic community, Mani. The study focus is on the concrete description and analysis of ritual kinship in Mani. Ritual kinship is one of the oldest religious factors derived from Europe and it constitutes meaningful aspects of Catholic cultural integration in Mani. Religio-cultural integration includes such various socio-cultural as well as historic factors including *ejido*, one of the latest economic factors brought about by Evolution in 1910, and provides legitimation for the integration of the whole society and the functioning of other social organizations.

For the purpose of study the present author has chosen to summarize the results of investigations done before in Mani in order to raise a few fundamental questions to be studied.

Ritual kinship, ritual sponsorship, fictive kinship as the institution which is a sacramental parent-child relationship in the next world has been established and developed in Mani where people find it quite common to live in such large-scale web of family organization and the structure of family plays a prominent role in shaping social behaviour and interaction.

To investigate and analyze the structure and function of ritual kinship in the actual everyday life of the people in Mani is the central substantive problem to which this paper is addressed.
1 Institutionalized occasions in the life and ceremonial cycles when ritual kinship relationships are established prescriptively

There are several occasions in the life, ceremonial, and socioeconomic cycles of the people of Mani when a man, a woman, and even in some cases a child, can enter into a compadrazgo relationship, either as an individual or as a member of a group. The types vary in their intrinsic and symbolic importance and in the degree to which their concomitant events and activities are institutionalized.

A ritual kinship is established between two individuals, couples, or fixed number of related people (kinsmen and nonkinsmen) through the link of a person, image, object, or occasion (the mediating entity). On such occasions as jetz-mek (maya baptism), baptism, primera comunión, confirmación (confirmation), 15 años, (15-year-old ceremony), matrimony and the like, the ritual kinship relationship is established, which organizes at least two different dimensions of asymmetrical human relationships: compadrazgo (the compadres-compadres dyads) and padrinosazgo (padrinos-ahijados dyads).1

These two different dimensions of human relationships are asymmetrical in the sense that the dyad is composed of various reciprocal duties, obligations, behaviour patterns and so on, but these contents in practice does not constitute a system of mutually totally equal reciprocity concerning rights and obligations, and that the ritual relationship is established not only egalitarian-horizontally but also stratified-vertically with a wide spectrum of generations.

There are other occasions on which the people under normal circumstances enter into the ritual kinship: an image or saint, graduation, gremio (occupation union),2 maya traditional games (about 8 kinds), bendición de casa (benediction of new house). These types of ritual kinship require only one sponsor, a padrino or a madrina who is selected for not permanent but temporary functions, and it would be possible to distinguish these types from the others of permanent nature established at several stages of development in life.

It is a sacred obligation, both to themselves and to the community as a whole, to comply to the best of their ability when asked to sponsor certain occasions or events involving persons, images, or material objects and ask others to act as sponsors. It is impossible to reject the offer, which is considered to be kaban (to give offence to the will of God in Maya). It is the custom with the people of Mani to be padrino or madrina only after they are selected out and asked to be, and they themselves seldom offer to act as sponsors. Only one-tenth of all cases is the type of self-recommendation.

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The parents discuss or even decide upon the choice of padrinos in advance of asking the padrinos in order to give themselves time to prepare for the occasion. The padrinos themselves are given notice beforehand so that they can also make the necessary arrangements. It should be emphasized that the ritual relationship itself cannot be fixed formally on this occasion even if they obtain the approval from the prospecing padrinos.

The parents of the child, sometimes accompanied by close kinsmen (usually parental relatives) go to the house of the prospective padrinos with a ceremonial gift of tzicol (salutation in Maya), that is, a turkey, in order to assure each other that the relationship they are enter into will become permanent. It is on the tzicol that all concerned agree upon the date or the proceedings.

Jetznick, primera comunión, and confirmación require that the child be sponsored not by a married couple but by a single sponsor, including an unmarried person or a widow. In the case of primera comunión and confirmación, a madrina is required if the child is female, a padrino if it is male. By contrast, baptism, 15 anos and matrimony involve both a padrino and a madrina of a married couple as sponsors.

The ritual kinship is to be established on jetznick, baptism, primera comunión, confirmación, and matrimony, which makes individual person in Mani have at least 10 padrinos, which means that each family keeps about 50-60 social relations on the average because the medium number of living children per family where mothers are aged 40 or older is 6 and 27% are from families of 7 or more children.1 From the viewpoint of diachronic development as well, the ritual kinship is established from generation to generation so that almost all the people in Mani are living in the synchronic and diachronic web of ritual kinship. What has been discussed is specified and analyzed through fact-finding investigation of a Catholic family in Mani1.

1) Detailed description of ritual kinship relations of Marcelo Gongora Carrillo

Marcelo is an ejidatario who cultivates his milpa (cultivated plot of land of corn). The term ejido was by free villages before the Revolution of 1910 to mean common grazing or farm land. It also referred to land given to floating Indian populations during the colonial period to induce them to settle down in villages. The term ejido now refers to a community which has received land to be used according to the rules of the Agrarian Code which has been developed during the past 80 years, based on Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917.

Marcelo is not a parcelero who belongs to a privileged social class because of the chance to
work one's own land and rise above mere subsistence, not being dependent on others for work, not having to accept even the most menial tasks in order to stay alive. But he has been leading a very reasonably decent life thanks to the minimum cost of living from his four sons who are living alongside him in the same solar (a allotted personal site for house and ground) and working in the big old ranch at the verge of Mani. The real conditions of ritual kinship establishment of seven children of Marcelo family which is one of the most typical Catholic families in Mani can be specified in the following Table 1.

(The numbers given under the relationship means duplication of the same person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Ritual kinship establishment of seven children of Marcelo family</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>sex</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6th</td>
<td>female</td>
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<td>7th</td>
<td>female</td>
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</table>

Such a large-scale web of ritual kinship relationship is developed not only horizontally in connection with brothers and sisters of Marcelo and his wife Ameria, but also vertically in connection with the generation of Marcelo's grandsons which will be discussed and analyzed in the next diagrams.

For the minute description of actual conditions of the ritual kinship network, four important compadraigo occasions of Marcelo's grandsons are specified in the following diagrams where A means a friend or a acquaintance and X means 'not finished'.

Diagram 1 Primera comunión

- A means a friend or a acquaintance.
- X means 'not finished'

Diagram 2 Confirmación

- A means a friend or a acquaintance.
- X means 'not finished'
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The lines showing the social relationship are crossing thicker in the sphere of the relatives than in the nonrelatives. Jetzmek and baptism are marking characteristic features different from the other occasions in the sense that the lines are crossing thicker in the sphere of the relatives only within the two generations in the case of jetzmek, while in the case of baptism the prospective padrinos are selected from among the relatives of the generation of grandfathers or grandmothers and there is an increasing tendency for the friends and acquaintances to be asked to act as padrinos. Primera comunión and confirmación can be described as an intermediate form between jetzmek and baptism, which will be discussed later in connection with the compadrazgo choice.

Compadrazgo is a relationship that is established between two individuals, couples, or a fixed number of related people (kinsmen and nonkinsmen) through the link of a person, image, object, or occasion. Compadrazgo relationship is considered sacred, which forces the people to construct the axis of social relationship in terms of respect and confidence. The establishment of such ritual coparenthood involves following several patterns of behaviours: (1) the ahijados and his parents should present their compliments (taz) before the padrinos do. (2) Ahijados should pay a visit to the padrinos with primicia, the first harvest of the season. (3) Ahijados and their parents and the padrinos should call each other not by name but address each other as compadre or comadre. (4) Ahijados and their parents should use the term usted instead of tú and should not talk with undue familiarity. (5) Ahijados and his parents should talk about nasty and dirty topics. (6) Ahijados and his parents should dress themselves up when they visit their compadres. (7) Ahijados and his parents should be obedient to their compadres and should not talk back to them. (8) Ahijados and his parents should not get dead drunk. These specifically patterned social behaviours resting on respect and reliance, reciprocally but not exactly symmetrically, preserve due equilibrium with padrino’s or compadres’ religiomoral and socioeconomic support to ahijados and their parents. Here we can proceed to specify many-stranded roles and functions of padrinos/madrinas on all the occasions of ritual relationships, focusing the exhaustive descriptions on baptism.

2) Social behaviors and obligations of padrino/madrina in the ritual kinship of Baptism

In Mani baptism has been called ocía - to scoop up water with hands in Maya- which all the Catholic are obliged to undergo according to Catholic practice. Those who have not been baptized a year after birth, kas yila’s-being ugly and against God in Maya-, are believed to
turn into nocturnal birds so that they may cause people in Maní to die or to be ill seriously.

A few months before a child is born, the parents start to talk carefully about whom they should ask to be padrino/madrina. Though there is no particular custom for the time and date of baptism, a child is generally baptized five or six months after birth; if not, within a year at the latest. Baptism in Maní shows a tendency to be carried out preferably during Pascua de Navidad -24 or 25 December-and Epifanía -6 January-.

The parents of a child are supposed to visit the house of prospective padrino/madrina in order that they may have a talk about their child’s baptism. If they get an informal or unofficial consent from them, it is their custom to do taicol-greeting or salutation in Maya-in which the parents some other time revisit the prospective padrino/madrina with a gift of a turkey or a chicken for the official establishment of ritual relationship of compadrizo. On the occasion of taicol, the time and date of the child’s baptism is fixed and they assure each other that the relationship has been formally instituted. After the taicol all concerned address each other by the appropriate ritual kinship term, as compadre and conadre. Padrinos/madrinas are expected to offer financial aids for the followings which show the approximate minimum expenses incurred by the padrinos. The exact expenditure depends on the economic situation of the padrinos.

clothes(dress, shirts, sets of baby clothes,
a pair of shoes and socks, underclothes and so on) some 50,000 pesos
a candle 500 pesos
payment for the church 2,000 pesos

The total sum of 52,500 pesos is approximately equivalent to the average wage of 3 or 4 -day-labour of an adult man who can get about 15,000~20,000 pesos for 7 or 8 hours of hard work per day.

After the baptism a small social reception (banquet or pequeña fiesta) is to be held in and around the house of ahijado, inviting numerous relatives, acquaintances, friends, neighbours of the family. The size of social reception may depend on the social and economic position of each family, the number of attendance ranges from some 30 to 50~70. The food expenses of a larger size of social reception amounts to as follows:
turkeys, meat and other ingredients 100,000 pesos
soft drinks, beer, local brand sake 200,000 pesos

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payments to cooks 30,000 pesos

Some of padrinos/madrinas may pay the total or some of the expenses above. Baptism in Maní, just as the other recurrent rites and ceremonies, involves so much expense that padrinos/madrinas are as a matter of course expected to provide as much expense as is needed. If not, they find it very hard to be padrino/madrina in Maní, as is often the case with ideal and trustworthy Catholic like Don Alux who gets up at 4:30 in the morning, finishes his light meal of corn, walks 12 kilometers to his milpa, cornfield, works there until 2:00 p.m. and comes back home on foot around 4:00 p.m.. He, after one or two hours of siesta or recess in the afternoon, comes down to church so that he can work for the Catholic in charge of catequista, seminario for Catholic religious education. It may be true that his faithful religious life makes him respected by the Catholic in Maní, but none of them except his relatives has asked him to be padrino for their children. The only reason for this is, as they say, that he is a nice person but very poor, “es buena gente pero muy pobre”. People in Maní always argue that padrino/madrina is not supposed to be a quarrelsome sake drinker, of devil’s luck, or too much aggressive, but he or she should be a person of character. But from this it does not necessarily follow that such a reliable and respectable person as Don Alux will be implored by the non-relatives for some ritual kinship if they find it very difficult to expect from him as much economic aids and obligations as previously mentioned, or discussed in later sections.

2 Concomitant events and activities institutionalized in the ritual kinship relationships on the occasions in the life, ceremonial, and socioeconomic cycles of the people of Maní

Ritual kinships should be maintained as long as they live because the relationships are believed sacred ones to keep each other in the world to come. For a more analytic clarification of the function of ritual kinships it is indispensable to observe through concrete research materials of our own in Maní how the fictitious kinships virtually work in their everyday life.

1) The reference case of Maria Eulalia Tuz Balam (married, 26 of age, teacher)

The first support from the ritual kinship for me was from my padrinos of jetensk who was an acquaintance to us. When a small child, as my mother told me, I used to be constitutionally very weak, so my parents were forced to spend lots of money on the medicine for me. There
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... Son-in-law who had been working for SEP (Secretaria de Educacion Publica) was also targetting at. She after a little while made excuses for not capable of helping me more in the latter case, saying that she would instead present to us some meat twice a month. She was kindly supporting our family in this alternative way for a good while, until she came to stop it at last.

Almost each time Father brings home fresh corn from the field or we make fresh corn soup, *atole nuevo*, in our house, I visit my *padrinos*/*madrinas* with them. I do not pay a visit to them so often as I used to after marriage, because I am working now and so are their daughters who seem to me so haughty and unfriendly that they do not say a cordial hello to my greetings on the roads or at the stores.

In this reference case of a young Maya woman, she has been supported in many-sided stages or facets of actual everyday life: defrayment of medicine and tenderest childcare are from a *madrina* of *jetznek*, gratuitous presents of clothes and some philosophy of life from a *madrina* of *confirmacion*, share in the payments of educational expenses and employment placements from a *madrina* of *primera comunión*.

As has been made abundantly clear through the occasions in the life and ceremonial cycles of the people of Mani, to be a man of means is one of the requirements for *padrino/madrina* and it is a hard fact as described in the preceding reference case and in the following cases as well that a great variety of socioeconomic assists to *ahijados* and their parents are expected from *padrino/madrina* on the other social economic cycles of those living in Mani. On the other hand *padrinos/madrinas* themselves are able to count on moral or material support derived from the network of a great number of ritual kinships of their own.

Here we move to specify reciprocal socioeconomic aid focusing our description on *padrinos/madrinas* not only in the the *compadres-ahijados* dyad but also in the *compadres-compadres* dyad.

2) Ritual kinship behaviour and functional social relationships in the basic dyad of *padrinos-ahijados*.

① When suffering from a food shortage, I visit my *padrino* of *baptism, confirmacion* and *primera comunión* (D-3)

② When I had no clothes to put on, I visited our *padrino*. Then he took my measurement so
that he could have my dress made (D-3)

③ My madrina of primera comunión presented me hipiles (traditional Maya women's dress) and paid all my debts for me (D-18)

④ When my children are taken ill and I cannot afford their charge for medicine, I implore my padrino of jetzmek for money and some other help (D-1; D-2; D-5)

⑤ I solicited my madrina of primera comunión for the partial discharge of funeral expenses of my child (D-5)

⑥ I asked my padrino of baptism, confirmación and primera comunión for the partial payment of marriage expenses (D-11)

⑦ My padrino of baptism and confirmación, and my madrina of primera comunión shared the marriage expenses with me (D-7)

⑧ My madrina of confirmation discharged some part of the expenses of land purchase and house construction (D-22)

⑨ I asked my madrina of confirmation for the financial assistance to the expenses of 15 años (D-23)

⑩ My padrino of jetzmek, baptism, confirmación and primera comunión helped me with the payment of my school expenses for years (D-13)

⑪ My padrino of confirmation helped me to defray my educational expenses for me to carry on with my study (D-22)

⑫ I turned to my padrino of jetzmek and baptism for the financial assistance to my school expenses (D-24)

⑬ I entreated my padrino of confirmation for some advice and warning to my son (D-2)

⑭ I was brought up under the care of my madrina of jetzmek after my mother's death (D-18)

⑮ My padrino of baptism presented me a small house to live in and found a job for me when I had difficulties and hardships when Mother was taken ill to death and Father's alcoholism made him abandon his family (D-26)

⑯ My madrina of primera comunión helped me to get a job (D-5)

⑰ I petitioned my padrino of baptism to place me with a good job (D-10)

⑱ My madrina of marriage shared the payment of my debts and assisted in finding a job (D-14)

Throughout these above-mentioned reference cases it has been made sufficiently clear that padrinos/madrinas offer free of charge to their ahijados necessities of life, financial aid on the occasions in the lifecycles, encouragement for further study, cordial nursery, and many

3) Reciprocal kinship activities in the basic dyad of compadres (padrinos) (kinsmen or owners of mediating entity)

In the compadres-compadres dyad, such socioeconomic assistance or obligations as financial aid for land purchase, educational expenses, daily necessities, rituals in the life cycles, and debts are fulfilled as far as practicable, and those moral or philosophical supports which include gratuitous donation of land and clothes, sincere admonition for the settlement of family problems, full instructions and warnings to questions of marriage and married life, family life, alcoholism, and juvenile delinquency are as well pledged to be put into practice.

① I asked my compadre of baptism, confirmation, and primera comunión for some share in the payment of land purchase (D-6)

② I solicited my compadre of baptism, confirmación and primera comunión for financial support for further study (D-6)

③ I implored my compadre of jetzmek and baptism to assist me with the living expenses (D-8)

④ My compadre of baptism took part of the expenses for baptisms of those children in our family who are not his ahijados (D-9)

⑤ My compadre of baptism helped me with the repayment of debts and the hospital charges of my daughter (D-18)

⑥ My compadre of primera comunión defrayed all the expenses of my daughter's 15 años (D-19)

⑦ I asked my compadre of baptism for financial aid to the birthday expenses of my children (D-21)

⑧ My compadre of jetzmek assisted me with the repayment of debts free of interest (D-21)

⑨ My compadre of my third son's jetzmek gifted me some harvest from the parcela (D-21)

⑩ My compadre of my daughter's jetzmek presented me with clothes and assisted me in the loan of money free of interest (D-21)

⑪ My compadre of jetzmek and baptism released to me a piece of land (D-8)

⑫ My compadre of jetzmek and baptism leased me a piece of land free of charge (D-12)

⑬ My compadre of baptism leased me a piece of land to construct a house for me to separate from my brothers and daughters in law (D-15)
My compadré of confirmation and primera comunion provided me with clothes (D-9)

My compadré of jetzmek gifted my children with clothes and some pocket money (D-17)

I petitioned my compadré of jetzmek to admonish my husband to get over alcoholism (D-16)

My compadré of jetzmek helped me with the payment of fees for Men with whom I consulted about the improvement of hostile relation between mother-in-law and me (D-16)

My compadré of baptism leased me his house in Merida free of charge when I was obliged to live apart from my mother-in-law because of the aggravation of our relation (D-16)

I petitioned my compadré of baptism, jetzmek and confirmation to find an employment for my daughter (D-25)

My compadré of jetzmek defrayed the hospital charges and the funeral expenses of my daughter because I had been afflicted with alcoholism and divorce (D-27)

The various social functions of padrinos/madrinas include not only financial aids but also moral instructions to a great number of aspects of daily life.

My madrina of 15 años advised me in great details how to live a decent life as a woman and how to make up for what I had done to my parents when I came back home after separation from my husband to whom I had got married by pudz (elopement) at the age of 16. She once taught me how to get along with men when I was going around with a young man (D-28)

When I was getting married, my padrino of baptism showed me how to share our food in our family life and how a wife should manage household (D-29,D-32 in this case advice was given from his padrino of confirmation and marriage:D-40)

When I, who had entered into matrimony by pudz, held an official marriage in church soon after I had got a child, my padrino suggested to me a lot from various points of view about how to lead a life worth living (D-33)

The parents were so much distressed by her daughter’s immodest relations with young men that they implored their compadré of confirmation to persuade their daughter out of keeping it (D-36)

I got married with my husband not out of true love but only for money, which made me depressed all the time. Learning of such weight on my mind, my madrina of marriage offered a lot of suggestion to me how to get well along with my husband with great respect deep in my mind (D-42)

I was going to live apart from my parents after marriage, which my padrino told me out of doing (D-31)

Once my daughter got pregnant before marriage, about which we were going to get into a terrible quarrel between our children and us. My compadré was good enough to put down our explosive situation and persuading us to reflect on where we did wrong in home education for our children, he instructed our daughter how to lead a better life (D-35)

My compadré remonstrated me against the poor management of allowance which my husband, who left alone for USA to earn more money, sent for me to maintain our family (D-37)

My padrino of baptism fetched me home when I ran away from home because Father was such an alcoholic that he was always wasting a large sum of money and resorting to cruel violence. I ran away from home once again since things grew more and more serious. When I proposed to my padrino that I should stay near our house to watch over Mother, he took charge of me at his house, encouraged me to go to school and provided Mother and me with daily food. At the death of Mother I severely blamed Father for what he had done to us, then my padrino dissuaded me from accusing Father that much (D-39)

When I complained to my madrina of jetzmek about my parents’ frequent terrible violence, their alcoholism, my husband’ alcoholism, ill-treatment of mother-in-law, she let our family separate from my parents and dissuaded my husband out of his alcoholism (D-41)

My padrino of baptism remonstrated with me against my alcoholism, and I was dissuaded from it after my mother’s death (D-39)

My padrino of baptism criticized me rigidly for a theft (D-34)

My padrino dissuaded me out of stealing bicycles in Cancun and led me to work steadily in the parcela (D-38)

Detailed directions about marriage life, presentation and action of various policies for a breakthrough of family problems, and proper guidance to juvenile delinquencies are without hesitation appealed to padrinos/madrinas to be fulfilled in many cross phases of social life in Mani. The stratified network of ritual kinship covers all over the community of Mani, functioning not only as reciprocal socio-economic aid but also as basis of moral or educational orientation.

Here it is to be pointed out that there is not a meaningful tendency found in their actual everyday life in Mani that the baptismal ritual kinship functions much more practically and effectively in the padrinos-abijados dyad than any other, even though all the 56 Catholic
families in Maní argue that the ritual kinship of baptism really means a great deal to our life more than that of the other occasions. It is, not in the padrinos-ahijados dyad, but only in the compadres-compadres dyad that the tendency they emphasized is to be found to a noteworthy extent, and what is more, this ritual relationship is composed of jetznek as well as baptism. The tendency that the ritual kinship of baptism plays most important prominent role in the total network of ritual relationship cannot be extracted even where the ritual kinship functions as moral or educational orientations in their life.

Conclusions

As we have described it in Chapter 1, Bernarda, daughter of Marcelo Gongora Carrillo, can easily remember all the names of padrinos/madrinas of her 5 brothers and sisters and those of her nephews and nieces. Her unfailing memory shows that the ritual kinship is not just an ostensible custom but that it fulfills actually many-stranded socioeconomic and educational functions in their everyday social life in Maní.

The result of the analysis of church historical documents proves that kinsmen are selected as padrinos/madrinas more frequently, and that the ritual kinship functions more effectively within the kinsmen, to be more correct, within the paternal kinsmen. Various concrete economic and educational supports from ritual kinships are as a matter of fact fulfilled within the circle of kinsmen in Maní. An extensive and complex network of ritual kinship enircles all the Catholic in Maní, rendering many-sided economic and educational reciprocal assistances. The system of ritual kinship relation has supported diversified aspects of everyday life of all the Catholic in Maní where the physical and ecological conditions are extremely severe and almost all families are composed of seven children on the average, which could be a restricted social factor of a destitute living environment.

The results of our investigation show: (1) an observable inclination to establish important ritual relationships with kinsmen including paternal sides as well as maternal ones. (2) that the kinship in this world overlaps with the ritual kinship in the next world. (3) that the ritual kinship integrates socially such dissociative families as the first marriage family and the second marriage family. (4) that the ritual kinship integrates their friends and acquaintances into a sacred social family relationships. (5) that the ritual kinship throw them into an emotional and passionate spiritual integration.

One of the vital functions of ritual kinship is to initiate the small children into a Catholic community and it is the duty of god parents to encourage their godchild to live a decent life.

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The ritual kinship also functions as a supplementary social institution to nuclear families. It improves the tense relation between the family members and serves as a role model of Catholic virtue. Family problems are reduced in extent and importance by the ritually established authority which presents an ideal example to children.

The substantial function of ritual kinship does not stay only within the community but it goes beyond its boundary into several other communities. What cannot be done within nuclear families or living relatives is to some extent substituted and realized by the ritual kinship.

To Padre Catholicism means a deep belief in God and a real life with a central and unitary relation toward God in mind. In sharp contrast with this, to the inhabitants of Maní, the fiesta means processions, music, bullfights and some other constituent elements. The fiesta is indispensable to their Catholicism which differs in some ways from that of Padre. There exists a substantial difference between the cofradía and Catholicism but real Catholicism is a cultural complex of both phases. It never exists in the form of a religious teaching or doctrine but it exists only as a cultural complex of huge dimensions.

There still remain several problems to be solved in what way or to what extent the ritual kinship is correlated with the structure which is extracted through the analysis of the deep faith in Virgen Maria, miraculous works, the compositions of junior high school students, and a great number of responses to several semantic pictures.

Footnotes

The present author has been engaged in revising and enlarging the published works in order to publish a complete collected work : A Study of Catholic Culture Integration of Lowland Maya Communities in Mexico, part of which the paper is sure to form. Consequently some parts or sections of the paper duplicate closely the works already published before. The present author refers to it toties quotes in the Note and references to clarify the responsibility for it.

1 Elena Uribe Wood 1982 Compadrazgo en Apas Instituto Nacional Indigenista Mexico
2 Richard A. Thompson 1974 Aires de Progreso : Cambio Social en un Pueblo Maya de Yucatán. Instituto Nacional Indigenista Mexico pp.82-86
The *gremios* are festive associations which have both religious and occupational features, for they are a blend of the ancient cofradia, the religious sodality, and the trade guild, the organization of the individuals who represent a common trade.

Each *gremio* takes a regular position in the festive round, sponsoring from membership contributions processions and *fiestas*, either separately or jointly with other *gremios.*


4 See Harukazu Nakadeppu 2002 *Ritual Kinship and Ejido in a Mayayucatecan Catholic Community, Mani.* pp.228-233

See Harukazu Nakadeppu 2001 *Some Aspects of Social Structure of a Mayayucatecan Catholic Community, Mani.* pp.145-152

In Mani today, the core area is surrounded by three forms of land and territory, *fundo legal* (legal sites or property), *tierra de propiedad* (land of property) and *tierras ejidales* (land of ejido).

5 *Ejido* is a communal land the Revolution brought about and it is, in Mani, divided into 3H, 2H and 1H. *Ejido* is, in most cases, surrounded by *ko’ot*, stone low wall, in Mani and *milpas* (maize farms)

6 Parceles are included in ejidos. See Harukazu Nakadeppu 2001 op.cit.,p.146

7 See Richard A. Thompson 1974 op.cit.,pp.43-52

The *solar* is in most cases physically contained by a mortarless stone wall and spatially demarcates the functioning domestic group, which may consist of a single nuclear family of a married couple and their children, or an extended family composed of three or four generations of patrilineally related kinsmen.

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