

## Ritual Kinship and ejido in a Mayanyucatecan Catholic Community, Mani

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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 and ejido in Mani. The ritual kinship is one of the oldest religious factors derived from Europe and ejido is one of the latest economic factors brought about by the Revolution in 1910. The religio-cultural integration includes such various socio-cultural as well as historic factors and provides legitimation for the integration of the whole society and the functioning of other social organizations.

In a Mayanyucatecan catholic community Mani in Yucatan, Mexico, the ritual kinship (compadrazgo and padrinzago) 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 *ocja* (mayan baptism), baptism, confirmation, *primera comunión*, 15-year-old ceremony and marriage.

The results of our investigation show (1) that the ritual kinship integrates socially such dissociative families as the first marriage family and the second marriage family; (2) that the ritual kinship integrates their friends and acquaintances into a sacred social family relationship; (3) that the ritual kinship throws them into an emotional and passionate spiritual integration.

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.

The ejido system is a product of the Revolution in 1910 and it is prescribed under Article 27 of the constitution. The management of each ejido is directed in a systematic and rational manner to the utmost extent. This sort of legal or rational formalities in ejido are clearly distinguished from the meaning and value of ritual kinship in Mani.

Any religion has actually developed itself comprehending a great deal of historical facts. It is a social phenomenon comprised of several changes as well as a traditional strong cohesion.

**Key Words :** ritual kinship, Catholicism, Maya, ejido, *cofradía*, *gremio*

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## I Preface

Any 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.\*<sup>1</sup>

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 and ejido in Mani. The ritual kinship is one of the oldest religious factors derived from Europe and ejido is one of the latest economic factors brought about by the Revolution in 1910. A religio-cultural integration includes such various socio-cultural as well as historic factors 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. Then, in connection with the questions, ejido system is to be described for further arguments.

## II Ritual kinship in Mani

1 Institutionalized occasions in the life and ceremonial cycles when ritual kinship relationships are established prescriptively

In a Mayayucatecan catholic community Mani in Yucatan, Mexico, the ritual kinship (compadrazgo and padrino) 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 *ocja* (mayan baptism), baptism, confirmation, primera comunión, 15-year-old ceremony and marriage.\*<sup>2</sup>

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 Mani\*<sup>3</sup>

1) padrino/compadrazgo

The ritual kinship in Mani, as is the case in other catholic communities in Mexico, is composed of the two different nonsymmetrical spiritual social relationships : padrino and compadrazgo which involves more than 60 or 70 socially connecting networks per each family. In such spiritual networks that are established between two individuals, couples, or kinsmen and non kinsmen through the link of a person or occasion, a great number of mutual economic educational or ethical aids are to be expected of padrinos/madrinas by ahijados/ahijadas in their everyday life, and this sort of reciprocal aid system actually functions in compadrazgo as well.

(1) keban (against God in Maya)

It is a sacred obligation, both to the people of Mani 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. It is impossible to reject the offer, which is considered to be keban (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.

(2) tzicol (salutation in Maya)

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

2) padrino/madrina

Jetzmek, primera communion, and confirmation require that the child should 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 confirmation, a madrina is required if the child is female, a padrino if it is male. By contrast, baptism, 15 años and matrimony involve both a padrino and a madrina of a married couple as sponsors.

### 3 Ritual kinship behavior and functional social relationships in the basic dyad of padrinos-ahijados\*4

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 behaviour: (1) the ahijados and his parents should present their compliments (tzic) before the padrinos do. (2) Ahijados should pay a visit to the padrinos with primicia, the first harvest of the season. (3) Ahijados, 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 not 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 before their compadres.

These specifically patternized social behaviours resting on respect and reliance, reciprocally but not exactly symmetrically, preserve due equilibrium with padrinos' or compadres' religio-moral and socioeconomic support to ahijados and their parents.

#### 1) Socioeconomic support

Ahijados have been supported in many-sided stages or facets of actual everyday life: defrayment of medicine and tenderest childcare, gratuitous presents of clothes and some philosophy of life, share in the payments of educational expenses and employment placements.

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 that a great variety of socioeconomic assistances 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.

2) Religio-moral support

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-stranded support for taking course in life so that they can back up their ahijados in their struggle against the difficulties and hardships in life.

4 Reciprocal kinship activities in the basic dyad of compadres (padrinos)-compadres (kinsmen or owners of mediating entity)\*<sup>5</sup>

1) Socioeconomic support

In the compadres-compadres dyad, such socioeconomic assistances 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.

2) Religio-moral support

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.

Detailed directions about marriage life, presentation and action of various policies for a breakthrough of family problems, and proper guidances 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 socioeconomic aid but also as basis of moral or educational orientation.

5 Key individual requisites in the selection of compadres in ritual kinships\*<sup>6</sup>

The ritual kinship in a catholic community, Mani, as has been described, constructs the

core of the catholic social life and functions in various aspects of their actual life. Here it is to be specified what sort of situational contexts cause the relationships to be established in such a diversified network.

Whether the selection is made from among the relatives by blood and marriage or from among the acquaintances and friends, whether the selection functions as a social apparatus for the extension of kinship relations or for the enforcement of integrative kinship relations, whether the selection is made from among the paternal relatives or from among the maternal ones, whether or not the selection from among the relatives is connected with other problems such as their deep faith in Virgen Maria and religious mighty works, whether or not there is any different tendency in the selection on the occasions of baptism, confirmation, and marriage, whether the ritual kinship of compadrazgo is relevant to the economic position or occupational activities of those involved, are the main problems to be clarified in this section.

For an objective specification and clarification of those important problems, the historical catholic church documents on baptism, confirmation, marriage of Mani, in which personal applications, candidate's name, his/her parents' name, padrino/madrina's names (in the case of marriage two couples of padrinos/madrinas' names) have been recorded, are referred to. The present author transcribed all the documents concerned ranging from 1970 down to 1990 and had personal interviews with people in Mani in order to identify the relations between his/her parents and padrinos/madrinas and to specify the present land possession of his/her parents and padrinos/madrinas.

#### 1) Kinsmen/nonkinsmen

Concerning the personal and societal characteristics associated with the selection and recruitment of compadres, the factor of kinsmen/nonkinsmen is considered to be one of the most crucial requirements for the successful establishment of ritual kinship in Mani.

The percentage of kinsmen/nonkinsmen on the occasions of baptism, confirmation, and marriage, the selection of ritual kinships shows, respectively, 438 (71%)/178 (29%) · 235 (57%)/175 (43%) · 118 (40%)/176 (60%). The percentage of kinsmen is in a descending scale baptism, confirmation, and marriage. In baptism the percentage of kinsmen is comparatively high and in the case of marriage the percentage of non-kinsmen exceeds that of kinsmen by 20%.

#### 2) Paternal/maternal

The selection ratio of paternal kinsmen/maternal kinsmen on the occasions of baptism,

confirmation, and marriage is, respectively, 288 (66%)/150 (34%) · 123 (52%)/112 (48%) · 86 (73%)/32 (27%). In terms of the selection of grandparents/parents, is, respectively, 303 (69%)/135 (31%) · 106 (45%) · 129 (55%) · 0 (0%)/65 (100%).

In the case of baptism the percentage of grandparents is comparatively high, while it is 0% in marriage. In confirmation the percentage of the selection of brothers and sisters of parents exceeds that of grandparents by 10% and no case is found in marriage. The percentage of paternal brothers and sisters/maternal brothers and sisters is respectively 116 (86%)/19 (14%) · 80 (62%)/49 (38%) · 44 (68%)/21 (32%), and the percentage of paternal side is higher on all the occasions. The percentage of paternal/maternal grandparents in baptism and confirmation is respectively 172 (57%)/131 (43%) · 43 (40%)/63 (60%) and the maternal side exceeds the paternal one in the confirmation.

### 3). Economic interests and socioeconomic status

In Mani parceleros have the precedence over milperos in the economic conditions. From among the two married couples in the ritual kinship relation recorded in the catholic church historical documents, only those married couples which are not related each other are extracted for our evaluation of their economic position. The economic conditions of the two married couples are evaluated and compared qualitatively and quantitatively in terms of household construction (the size and number of houses : construction materials)/furniture and effects/family altars (sacred images : sacred pictures)/hectares of parcelas and milpas/objective estimation by the third party in order to specify whether or not padrinos/madrinas hold the upper/the same/the lower position in comparison with the compadres. The percentage of the selection of compadres who are of higher socioeconomic position than the parents of ahijados on the occasions of baptism, confirmation and marriage is respectively 29%/34%/37% : 14%/57%/29% : 30%/21%/49%.

The result of our study in Mani shows no significant high percentage of preferential selection of the compadres who stand higher in the economic position. Including the percentage of the selection of the compadres in the same economic position, the percentage on the occasions of baptism, confirmation, and marriage is respectively 63%/71%/51%. If the ritual kinship relations function for the extension of kinship relations as well as for economic upward mobility for the lower strata of Mani, the selection of padrinos/madrinas in the higher economic position for the structure of ritual kinship will be more frequent than any other. But this mode of thought cannot be testified explicitly in Mani through our method of analysis. Our hypothetic inference should be tested and clarified by

the analytical investigation of development of matrimonial relations recorded in the church historical documents.

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 one. (4) that the ritual kinship integrates their friends and acquaintances into sacred social family relationships. (5) that the ritual kinship throws them into an emotional and passionate spiritual integration.

Out of these problems in connection with the ritual kinship in Mani, we shall confine ourselves to two problems. The first is why the ritual kinship with such traits and tendency has been overlapped with the actual kinship. The second is how the above fact is to be clarified in terms of our religio-cultural integration hypothesis.

## 6 The ritual kinship in the next world and the kinship in this world

### 1) Historical background of ritual kinship in Mani\*<sup>7</sup>

Until the 5th or the 6th century, there was a religious teaching that God is father, Church is mother and the other Christians are brothers. Still in the 6th century, parents were able to be sponsors at their children's baptism in Gaul.

Later in the 10th century they came to seek their sponsorship among those except their parents. This practice caused several kinds of ritual relationships as follows.

- ① spiritual fatherhood of the bishop and the priest officiating the baptism
- ② god parenthood of the sponsor and the infant to be baptized
- ③ coparenthood of the sponsor and the parents of the infant
- ④ spiritual siblinghood of the sponsor and the children of infant's parents.

The godparents used to take out the infant out of baptismal water. The male parent did it for a boy baptist and the female parent for a girl baptist. The godparents did not trust the baptists with any estate.

The marriages between the coparents were prohibited by the Sermon and the Canon in the 8th century. The coparents were formally friends and called each other cofather or comother.

Charlemagne and Pope Hadrian I were coparents, for Pope became a sponsor of his son in 781. After that Pope Hadrian I started to write down copater in his letters to



Charlemagne and so did Charlemagne in his letter to Pope.

In 723 the king in Lombard announced the proscription against the marriage between the spiritual kinsmen. Pope Zachary (741-752) also felt displeased with the marriage between the spiritual kinsmen in the north of Italy and said that it was cruel to allow his son to marry his spiritual daughter.

2) The prohibition against the marriage between the coparents

But it is a known fact that sexual relations are strictly prohibited between padrino/madrina and ahijado/ahijada. The inflexible rule holds true in the case of compadres. The padrino of baptism got married with the younger sister of father of ahijado some time after his wife disappeared from home. He himself expected the inhabitants of his village to excuse his behaviour but the result proved reverse to what was intended. The new couple were obliged to leave their village a week later.

Based upon our argument above we can set up a fairly reasonable hypothesis that the high percent of kinship preference in the selection of compadres may be closely connected with the strict prohibition against sexual relations between compadres.\*<sup>8</sup>

3) The function of ritual kinship

The child should be brought into the first stage of Christian faith. At baptism the newly baptized child is named after some saint so that there may be established a spiritual identity between the two. This way of thinking is the case when the different villages where they revere the same saint as the archangel visit the other village on the occasion of each fiesta. Baptism is to embrace the baptized into Church and is required for them to participate in such religious activities as *cofradía*, traditional organization for fiesta.

These social practices have been carried out in Mani through the ritual kinship.

Baptism is believed to be most important than any other sacramental occasion in terms of economic obligation and intensity of ritual relationship of *compadrazgo* as well as *padrinazgo*.

The vital function of ritual kinship is to initiate the small children into a catholic community and it is the duty of godparents to encourage their godchild to live a decent life.

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.

In a catholic community like Mani, they are calling each other *compadre* or *comadre*. The members of godparent relationship are not supposed to call each other by name, which shows that the ritual kinship is more ideal and its core is the mutual respect between them.

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.

### III Ejido

Any religion has actually developed itself comprehending a great deal of historical facts. It is a social phenomenon comprised of several changes as well as a traditional strong cohesion.\*<sup>9</sup>

#### 1 Cofradía

##### 1) Cofradía and padre

Cofradía is a traditional social organization for fiesta which has been maintained in Mani since the 16th century. Their everyday life and religious practices are in some respects carried out for the preservation of cofradía.

The fiesta of *cabeza de cochino*, traditional fiesta dedicated to Niño Dios, the village people in Mani have long maintained its cofradía and have got through a variety of experiences directly related with the cofradía and Niño Dios.

The fiesta is the largest and greatest one in Mani but Padre is not concerned with it in any way or form, though it includes, in fact, some crucial catholic factors like Niño Dios or images in the church. "The fiesta is not good. I have long wanted to change the cofradía but I cannot do that." said Padre in Mani.

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 Mani, 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 two 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 great many dimensions.

2) Several aspects of *cofradía*\*<sup>10</sup>

(1) Consumption

On the occasion of *cabeza de cochino*, a number of sacred utensils are to be carried out of the storehouse in the church, handed to those involved for their use. Before fiesta and after fiesta a large amount of money is spent generously and excessively.

If they are to be admitted into *cofradía*, they are ready to pay 100000 pesos so that they can pay for tortilla, bread, refreshing drink, alcohol, meal to treat every participant in the fiesta. It is their firm belief that the more they may spend, the sooner they will be rewarded, blessed and saved by Niño Dios.

(2) Miracles

While they are at fiesta, they cannot work in the field or in any other place, but they seldom have any difficulty or run short of money. This is believed to be one of the real mighty works by Niño Dios. *Cofradía* is correlated with their various experiences of miracles.

(3) Innere Mission

To each church in any village is affiliated a *seminario* where they educate the candidates about what to do for baptism, *primera comunión*, confirmation, 15 años and marriage. In addition to this sort of education in the church, at *centro familiares* (central families) in each *barrio* the candidates are given further religious education concerning the teachings of Christ. The religious education has been conducted by the whole community.

(4) Maya factor

The *cofradías* in Mani are organizations affiliated with the catholic church in the community and are a blend of the religious sodality, the trade guild. The regular members of *cofradías* are the Mayas and their descendants who live not in El Centro but in the *barrios*.

There is few overlap found between the residence of members of *cofradías* and those *ejidatarios*.

## 2 Ejido

### 1) Ejido\*<sup>11</sup>

Any religion can exist only in the form of socio-cultural integration, so religio-cultural integration is a complex of various different cultural aspects.

The agricultural land in Mani consists of *pequeña propiedad* and *ejido*. Every *ejidatario* who is qualified to work on the *ejido* have a certified copy of property (un *título de propiedad*) issued by the president of Mexico.

The Agricultural reform (*Reforma Agraria*) lies under the jurisdiction of the President of Mexico. A supervisory committee (un *Consejo de Vigilancia*) is established for each *ejido* and a representative of *Reforma Agraria* is sent to each community for inspection.

### 2) Legal and rational formalities in Ejido system

The *ejido* system is a product of the Revolution in 1910 and it is prescribed under Article 27 of the constitution. The management of each *ejido* is directed in a systematic and rational manner to the utmost extent.

The executives of each *ejido* are made up of president (*presidente*), secretary (*secretario*) and accountant. Every *ejido* organizes an association or union and there should be held an assembly of directors or leaders (*directivas mesa*). All *ejidatarios* have to belong to CNC (*Confederación Nacional Campesina*: National confederation of farmers) to which are sent the representatives from federal states and provinces. In the organization and management of *ejido* exist legal formalities and rational decisions which also regulate other aspects of *ejido*.

Whether an *ejido* can purchase a machine or not is to be decided at the *ejido* assembly. Convocations have to be delivered to all the members of *ejido* before the *ejido* assembly is held and the convocation gives the members the legitimate right to attend the assembly. Such convocations can be sent only after they ask permission from superior authority (*autoridades superiores*) which supervises the procedure.

At the assembly every item on the agenda should be decided by the majority rule. 51% of majority voting will resolve the subject of discussion. This sort of rational aspect is substantially different from religious way of thinking or behaving. Each *ejido* keeps the large books bound in leather in which all the affairs involved with *ejido* and all the items on the agenda in the past have been recorded by the accountant. The *ejidatarios* have given their consent to all the items on the agenda and have also affixed their signature to some important items. In addition to the large books, there is another roll book in

which the number of their attendances to the assembly have been checked.

3) Transactions and loans in ejido

One ejido land is to be divided equally among the ejidatarios. Each ejidatario, as a rule, shares 1H, 2H or 3H according to the size of the ejido. The transactions of each allotted ejido land is strictly prohibited by law. The ejidos have been allotted to all of the people in Mexico through the Revolution so that every one of them can lead a decent life by working hard on them. However, as a matter of fact, some ejidatarios are involved in transactions in ejido. Widows or small children laborer left in charge of ejido are given tacit approval to lend it to other ejidatarios for the sake of their life. Except them no other ejidatario must not sell, purchase or loan the ejido ; nor does he put an ejido to any other use than cultivation. Guidelines are set for proper use of each ejido in Mani.\*<sup>12</sup>

When an ejidatario is taken too seriously ill to work on his ejido, the other ejidatarios are expected to cooperate each other not to let the ejido uncultivated land. As ejidos have been produced only for those who will cultivate them for their life, they are not supposed to be left unused by any ejidatario. Every ejidatario must abide by the conditions of the agreement and so any matter involved with his ejido is a matter of every ejidatario.

4) Inheritance of ejido

If he is to be qualified as an ejidatario, he has to secure the consent and signature of all the members of the ejido concerned. The ejido land is in principle allowed to be transferred only among the family members of ejidatario.

An ejidatario is the first in the order of inheritance of the ejido, his wife the second, his children the third, his relatives the fourth, and the fifth is the person who is not his relative but certified by the ejido assembly to be the right person for the inheritance.

Every ejidatario is permitted to share his ejido with his children, but when he comes to be not entitled to it, the ejido is to be transferred not to all his children but to only one of his children. However, all his children can be qualified to inherit the ejido from his father only through a concurring vote of 51% at the assembly.

5) Ejido and gremio

The above mentioned legal or rational formalities in ejido are clearly distinguished from the meaning and value of ritual kinship in Mani. The ejido has been incorporated into the gremio for the fiestas in the community. During some particular fiestas, like cabeza de cochino (head of a little pig), the gremios in Mani take turns day by day. In this case an association or union of ejidatarios participates in the fiesta as one of

gremios.

This is one of the aspects in which the religion integrates the ejido into the huge religio-cultural complex.

## IV Conclusions

In a Mayanyucatecan catholic community Mani in Yucatan, Mexico, the ritual kinship (*compadrazgo* and *padrinazgo*) 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 *ocja* (mayan baptism), baptism, confirmation, *primera comunión*, 15-year-old ceremony and marriage.

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 throws 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 godparents to encourage their godchild to live a decent life.

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 present 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 Mani, 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.

The ejido system is a product of the Revolution in 1910 and it is prescribed under Article 27 of the constitution. The management of each ejido is directed in a systematic and rational manner to the utmost extent. This sort of legal or rational formalities in ejido are clearly distinguished from the meaning and value of ritual kinship in Mani. Any religion has actually developed itself comprehending a great deal of historical facts. It is a social phenomenon comprised of several changes as well as a traditional strong cohesion.

## Footnotes

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