

## Marriage Form in a Mayanyucatecan Catholic Community, Mani. —with special reference to pudz—

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The aim of this paper is to analyse the marriage form of pudz (elopement, *escapo* in Spanish) in terms of poverty in a Mayanyucatecan catholic community, Mani in Yucatan, Mexico.

Our investigation of pudz in Mani shows that (1) pudz occurs with surprising frequency in 62% to 66% of all marriage cases, (2) the average age is 20 for men and 17.8 for women (a little less than the so-called marriageable age 22 to 23 for men and 18 to 20 for women) and (3) pudzs suggest the practice of several specific fixed ritual aspects of the process.

'Cruel treatments of the parents' and 'no sympathies on the parents' side' are the main motives for pudz suggested by the people of Mani. These two may be of great value for our clarification of pudz but are not sufficient to explain the high frequency and ritual process of pudz.

Marriage records for the 20 year period (1970 - 1989) list 207 legitimate marriages or nearly 66% of 310 marriages. The rate approximates the percentage of pudz. Therefore, we find it quite difficult to assume that such a high frequency of pudz, which is accompanied by psychological as well as physical distress, and with a fixed ritual process, is caused chiefly by 'cruel treatments of the parents' and 'no sympathies on the parents' side'. This consideration leads us to explore pudz in terms of *ejidatario* and *parcerelo*, that is, the influence of poverty in the lives of the people.

Out of the 58 cases of pudz, 19 cases are landless individuals and 17 are *ejidatarios*, which amounts to about 62% of the total. These people are, from the economic point of view, the most unfortunate in Mani.

Marriage custom in Mani requires the man to propose the marriage, send betrothal presents, hold the ceremony, and for the new couple to live together with his parents. Out of all the landowners, the cases in which the economical factors on the woman's side are more predominant than those on the man's side are 22, and 15 cases show that their economical factors are evaluated almost the same. These 37 cases indicate the economically unfavourable conditions on the man's side. Thus, economic conditions of the man's side can influence the marriage form in Mani. From this it can be claimed with considerable certainty that the high frequency of pudz (62% to 66 %) is caused by the poverty in life.

Key words : marriage, elopement, ritual process, poverty

- I Preface
  - II Marriage form in a catholic community, Mani
    - 1 Pudz
    - 2 Detailed descriptions of pudz
  - III Analysis of pudz
    - 1 Frequency
    - 2 The ways of pudz
    - 3 Ritual process of pudz
    - 4 Pudz and poverty in life
  - IV Conclusions
- 

## I Preface

Oscar Lewis and Erich Fromm have conducted a number of studies of catholic communities in Mexico in terms of poverty.

Oscar Lewis argues that the culture of the poverty or the subculture of the poverty regulate not only the people's economic attitudes but also their social character. Based on the results of his investigations, the organization of credit loan without any interest, congregation orientedness, alcoholism, acts of violence, the mother-centered family structure, criticism of churches and priests, deep faith in pilgrimages or images on the altar, traditional disease cure and present-orientated time sense are the products of the culture of poverty.<sup>(1)</sup>

The working hypotheses and the results of Erich Fromm are also of great value to our analysis of catholic communities in Mexico.

His analysis of the social structure of the community shows that 66% of non-ejidatario are ranked in the lower social class and 47% of those from the middle lower class are of what he calls passive-receptive character. This passive-receptive personality structure is, as he argues, a root cause of causing their alcoholism, dependence on violence, reduced concern with the realities of life or social activities, less enterprising spirit, deep faith in traditional cures, and mother-fixation.<sup>(2)</sup>

These findings lead us to research the conditions or causes of religious behaviour as well as those correlates of religious behaviour in other spheres of behaviour which can be regarded as the effects of religion. In this connection, social and economic factors are of great significance to our study of religious behaviour, beliefs and experience. The aim of this paper is to analyse the marriage form of pudz in terms of poverty in a Mayanyucatecan catholic community, Mani in Yucatan, Mexico.

Historical documents in the church in Mani reveal the noteworthy fact that the records of marriage are much

fewer than those of baptism, first communion, and confirmation. There are only 100 marriage cases recorded for the 12 years (1980-1991). The annual average is 8 cases, which is unreasonably small in the light of the average number of their children. The historical documents of marriage for the 20 years (1970-1989) have recorded 207 legitimate cases, nearly 66% of 310 cases. The rate is correlates to the percentage of pudz.

Pudz is, as will be described later, a practice with which all the people in Mani are familiar and its frequency is quite high. We shall confine ourselves in this study to consider the relations between the high frequency of pudz with poverty in the lives of the people.

## II Marriage form in a catholic community, Mani

### 1 Pudz

Most marriages in Mani are civil marriages (*matrimonio civil*) or church marriages (*matrimonio por la iglesia*). Some families celebrate both of them and others only one of them. For the 12 years (1980-1991) 363 civil marriage cases were recorded,<sup>(3)</sup> 263 more than the number of church marriage cases. These 363 civil marriage cases amount to 72% of all cases, including those of the Protestant, non-church marriages and marriages in communities outside Mani. Further study of these marriages may be worth attempting, but the present author has chosen to focus on another marriage form, pudz. It is hoped that this approach will lead us to a deeper understanding and interpretation of thought and behaviour in a catholic community in Mexico.

Pudz, elopement, is called *escapar* or *escapo* in Spanish. The word pudz or *escapo* is very familiar to almost all people in Mani.

Pudz means a marriage in which a young couple run away from home before marriage or instead of celebrating their marriage. As this form of marriage also occurs in other communities, the marriage form itself is not of particular concern to us. What counts for our study is the high frequency of pudz and its ritual processes in Mani. In less than one month of interviews, 58 cases of pudz were reported to us by participant informants. During our interviews many of the informants reported that 60 to 70 % of all marriages in Mani are pudz and that pudz is not bad but is natural. These reports confirm the frequent occurrence of pudz, as well make clear their positive interpretation of pudz.

### 2 Detailed descriptions of pudz

The following section consists of detailed descriptions of 5 pudz cases in order to present concrete data for our analysis.

#### Case 1<sup>(4)</sup>

I did pudz when 15 of age. He was 22. Mother did not accept him, saying that he was just a woman chaser and I had been tricked. This made us decide on pudz.

When we came to be on speaking terms with each other, he said it was me he really loved. In the mean time he pressed me to have sex with him. As I was rather young I had no idea who he truly loved or what it was like to have sex. I was swayed by to his temptation. How could I expect that this would change all my later life to such extent?

He came to insist on sex more than ever. I gave way to it. He went back home soon after I met his wishes. One month passed by, when he asked me whether or not I had periods. My answer was "no". In the full conviction that I became pregnant, he offered to do pudz in the evening on that very day. If I had not accepted his offer, then he would have gone on to chase other women and he would have never looked after our future child through his life even though he acknowledged the child at that time.

I used to be beaten by Mother, and we were not able to provide sufficient food or clothes. I knew his family were leading a decent life. They enjoyed several meat dishes and put on fine clothes. He promised me that he would supply such food and clothes as I wished to our children.

I accepted his offer of pudz, then he said he would be back to meet me as soon as possible. Mother happened to overhear us and told me to let her know who it was. I was beaten severely because I would not let her know about it. This was a fortune on our side, for he whistled to me right after Mother beat me. I jumped out of my house, which Mother took to mean that I was crying in the garden. We got together at an appointed spot two blocks away from my house where we had to wait till it got a little darker. Seven o'clock is too early for pudz which should be done secretly and quietly. After quite a long silence, we made up our mind to go to his house. On our way when we were crossing the path near my grandmother's house, I saw Mother coming up, my youngest brother in arms. This made me fully aware of the gravity of the situation, but there was no help for it. I had no house to return to. We waited for Mother to cross the path before we rushed out of it to the road heading straight for his house. He stopped to instruct me what I should say and what responsibility I should take.

On reaching his house, he said to her mother, 'I am back but not alone' (this rhetorically means that I am back with my lover) and asked her whether we could come in or not. She allowed us to enter and listened to our story. She was displeased with me, for as she told me we were living in poverty. She started to blame me for what I had done and then scolded him for not going for my mother himself. 'You know your father is dead and I myself have been ill', she added.

His mother herself went to meet my mother to let her know that I had stayed with them and that I would like to know when to go back home for the punishment. They came to an agreement that he and I should not get married before we could live a life of independence and that my mother would give us three days' grace. Three days later when we went to my house for the punishment, I first saw Mother ask forgiveness to Santa Cruz for my indecent behaviour. Then I was dead beaten by Mother, which naturally I was prepared for. She might have punished me for

Father who had already passed away.

Almost everything has been going well with us ever since. But to tell you the truth, I found it hard to live without any love of Father. We are not able to provide enough food, clothes or other necessities for ourselves. What I need is Father's love. As I have no father, I have all the time asked for it somewhere else in my life.

### Case 2 <sup>(5)</sup>

It was three days before my 16th birthday that I did pudz. Jorge was 25 years old. He worked in milpa and I was helping with housework. Love was the motive for our pudz.

My parents never failed to beat me some time after they chanced to see me talking with Jorge. Their sore point was his age. That he was 9 years older than I offered a difficult problem to them. They sometimes went so far as to say that he was like an uncle to me. I did not mind his age at all. I had been offered pudz many times but I was not able to decide on it. My parents went on beating me badly until I reached a decision to do pudz.

Around 10 o'clock in the evening on November 27 in 1984, I stole out of my house. I was careful enough to turn off the light so that nobody could find me out of my hammock. He was waiting for me to come out right in the back of stone wall. We were fully cautious to walk slowly to escape the dogs. We went straight to his house, where his parents allowed us to enter.

They told us to stay and live together with them all our life, for Jorge was the youngest and he was to be the heir. We agreed to it. The next day his parents went out to have a talk with my parents only to meet one of my younger brothers. My brother told them that my family had nothing special to do and that my parents would expect us to come over there on the third day.

When all four of us entered my house, my mother started making 6 knots in a new rope (soga). The work done, then she told me to step forward before her to ask for forgiveness. I got 15 good beatings when I came up as she told me to. Jorge was also told to kneel down in front of her if he was to beg her forgiveness. Mother beat him as many as 15 times with the rope. After the punishment, Mother asked me whether or not we bore any grudge against her for what she did to us. The two of us said that she had every reason to do that. 'I will forgive you', said my mother and she went on to say that we would be welcomed. Mother asked his parents to allow us to get married as soon as possible. Three months later I married Jorge and our family members held a small party for us on that day.

### Case 3 <sup>(6)</sup>

I did pudz soon after I became 13 years of age. He was 15. My motive for having fallen into disgrace was quite mercenary. Our poverty was such that my parents could not provide food and clothes for our family, especially food was badly lacking. But in contrast, Fernand and his family were living in decent conditions. Out of my earnest

desire for wealth, and from the harsh fact that his family would not accept me because of my extreme poverty, and what was more, he was always saying he truly loved me, I did pudz with him.

I lied to Mother, 'I am going to wash my hands' and walked out of my house. I had to jump over the stone fence into the road, for I would have been caught in the act if I had opened the garden gate. He and I ran away from home, heading straight down to his house. To my great disappointment, his mother did not say hello to me. This made me fully aware how much they disliked me and I bitterly repented my pudz.

His parents would not get in touch with my parents. There was no sign that they would take me home on the third day according to custom. I found him completely controlled by his parents. He was not able to have the courage of his own opinions nor did he act according to his own opinions. I myself went back home one month later and my parents beat me. I found myself forgiven there but his parents slapped me on the face when they were told about my return home. Here numerous hardships started up. Not satisfied with these insults, yet I managed to keep my temper and bore them without complaint. But after we had children, the situations were getting worse and worse, which I could no longer put up with. Shortly afterwards I chose to separate from him.

I was obliged to rent a house to live with my children. In the mean time I came to live together with another man, for I found it hard for a woman like me to support a family of 5 children. I did not mind it so much, considering the fact that I actually was not married with the first man.

I am sorry to say that I have been out of luck in my life. Much to my regret, a miserable life fell upon me over again. At the outset, we had great success in life, but as time went on, he proved himself to be a cruel man. After separation from him, I started to maintain my children. I have never been happy in my life. I really doubt the truth of love.

#### Case 4 <sup>(7)</sup>

We did pudz when I was 17 and Marcelino was 19. He worked in the milpa, while I was helping with housework. Since my parents disliked him, I had to separate myself from him if I really wished to stay with them. If not, I would be forced to leave our village for somewhere else to live together with him. My father, when he recognized my deep love for him, let me go and stay with my uncle in Chetmal.

After a separation of two months, when the festival of "Jesus Christ" in Chumaiel was drawing near, we were lucky enough to meet each other at a dance on the eve. He asked me to be his dancing-partner. We went on dancing until we could successfully escape observation of mother. I was frankly telling him how much I loved him and what a great grief our separation was, when he offered me pudz. We were growing impatient, so that we got it done in the evening on the day.

Around four o'clock before dawn, when the dance was almost closing, we stole out of the dancing-hall to the bus-stop. A bottle of beer was a pick-me-up for us and we took a taxi back to Mani. On our arrival home, we found

his parents angry with us for having left my mother behind in Chetmal, far away from Mani. As it was almost dawn, he told us to sleep, adding that they would wait for my mother to come back to Mani. At eight in the morning, his parents went out to meet my parents. Fortunate for them, Mother had already been back from Chetmal and Father had not gone out for work.

His parents entered my house and were chatting for a while with my parents. It was a great relief to find Father as cool as ever, for I had been afraid that he might hurt their feelings due to his rooted objection to Marcelino. What Father said was that they should get them married quite soon and he would admit me as his daughter only after our marriage. Lastly he reminded us to come over again on the third day for the punishment.

On the appointed day he beat me hard and gave a bitter scolding to him. The punishment done, I was told that I would be admitted into my house only after my return home for a notice of marriage. Three months were long enough for us to save up money for our small marriage ceremony. He and I went to my house to carry out our promise. My parents accepted the invitation and celebrated our marriage. Since then I have been forgiven by them, and all of us are getting along quite well.

#### Case 5<sup>(8)</sup>

When I did pudz, I was 22 and he was just 19. At that time he devoted himself to mission work, so he did not join us in a dance or a festival according to the teachings of his religion. It was his love for me that changed his character and way of living. He came to enjoy a dance as well as festivals. Moreover he set to work a little harder than ever. Through lots of changes in him, he offered me pudz which I had been prepared to accept.

To tell the truth, I had a lover, who was never liked by Father. In disapproval of my association with him, Father used to beat me. Had he asked me to do pudz with him, I would not have hesitated to accept it. So sincere was my love for him. Even if I did it, I am sure he himself did not propose to me from his unfaithfulness to me.

For one thing, my constant fear of separation from him, my present husband, drove me to pudz; for another, I was worrying myself about Father's response to our love. Who cares to be hit over and over again? My former lover was going to be married, so I did not want him to be glad of my company any more.

We appointed the time to meet again for pudz. I had to finish my routine work earlier than usual so that I could lie on the hammock and pretend to be asleep to trick my family. I heard his whistle about 11 o'clock at night when all my family were sound asleep. With much care not to be noticed, I got out of the hammock and changed my clothes before going out. I had kept my best clothes outside in the backyard beforehand for pudz. We chose a lonely path to avoid being found out.

At the door of his house, he asked his parents whether we were allowed in or not, adding that he came back home with his lover. They started to try to persuade us not to pudz, for they were too much afraid of the reactions of my parents.

Around 4 o'clock in the morning, his parents went to my house to let them know that I had done pudz and was staying with them, and asked them if they wanted me back home some day for the punishment. They agreed that they would get us married as soon as possible and that we would be punished on the third day.

Three days later I was accompanied by his mother to my house for the punishment. Grave fears came over me, but soon after I recognized that I should deserve to be beaten by my parents. I bore no grudge against what they did to me. When I think of it now, I ought not to have done pudz. It was from our ignorance. Anyway, we have been getting along well each other.

### III Analysis of pudz

#### 1 Frequency

As we have already noted above, there were 263 cases of non-church marriage recorded, and this is equivalent to about 72% of all. Non-church marriage may include the following cases; (1) the family are Protestants,<sup>(9)</sup> (2) the couple married but had no ceremony done in the church, (3) they got married in some other village. Pudz is one marriage form in which a young couple run away from home before marriage or instead of celebrating their marriage, and so it can be related to these possible cases. Hence our first concern should be to inquire into the frequency of pudz.

No records of pudz as an academic subject have been left in Mani. There is no need for the people of Mani to declare it, but most people can tell who did pudz with so and so. Such exact living memories are to be derived from the fact that pudzs have been done only within the small community of Mani, which has a population of nearly 5000. With the help of their living memories, the rate of occurrence of pudz can be figured out to a large extent. For our investigation, out of 300 families 56 were selected out through a sampling process. To those informants who told us of their pudz, we further inquired if their parents and siblings did pudz or not. According to the results, the former shows 62% (67/107) and the latter 51% (280/553). The number of 51% should be evaluated with reservations, for the latter includes such small children as 6 or 8 of age who are not likely to do pudz.

There has been a traditional song in Maya kept in Mani and based upon the song a musical drama of pudz was composed and have often been played by the people in Mani. Pudz is so familiar to them that they can even predict it. Our data no. 22 shows that the parents, when they perceived their daughter was to do pudz asked her not to do so for them. They can tell when young people are about to do pudz judging from the way they walk together and the way she was dressed and so on. For instance, they say that the young couple are sure to do pudz when she does not wear reboso (a Mayan black shawl worn with their hipil, Mayan traditional dress), for it has become the custom for women to leave her reboso in this case. A young couple were caught in the act of pudz and beat by her brother (data no. 24)



The expression that ‘pudz go on until seven (pudz siege hasta siete)’ has come into common use in Mani. Once someone does pudz, then another six pudzs will follow on and on before it came to an end. The phrase can be one evidence out of many to show the frequency of pudz. During a one-month stay, the present author was informed of 5 cases of pudz in Mani.

Pudz is, as has been described above, a fact with which all the people in Mani are familiar and its frequency is quite high.

## 2 The ways of pudz

In the case of pudz, the average age is 20 for men and 17.8 for women. This is a little lower than the so-called marriageable age (22 to 23 for men and 18 to 20 for women). It is noteworthy that half of pudzs are done by women under 16 years of age.

Pudz are done with the feeling of ‘immoral behaviour, fault or sin’ (data no.23:27). They have to run away from home, ‘cheating or telling a lie’ (data no.7:23:31) ‘taking a chance’ (data no.9:14:16:22:24:30) ‘jumping over the stone fence’ (data no.23:27) ‘at a dash’ (data no.24:27) ‘going on a bicycle at full speed’ (data no.6:9:10:17:25:27:31:34). It has become the custom for the people in Mani to do pudz in the evening or late at night so as not to be found out. 85% of all pudzs were done in the dark and furthermore they had to be careful to choose ‘the lonely path’ (data no.1:2:7:8:15:18:19:35) and ‘with an assumption of innocence’ (data no.5:16:28)

Pudz is usually offered by men and he will wait for her near her house at the appointed time on the appointed day. If they can not settle them for some reason, he will ‘whistle’ (data no.1:2:15) or ‘mimic certain animal’ (data no. 6) so that she can steal out of her house.

One discovery of our investigation was that 18% of all pudzs were done on the occasion of a dance during the festival. It is generally admitted that the festival, especially the festival for Virgen Asuncion in August, is a good chance for pudz. One young peasant said, ‘5 of 6 pudzs were done the year before last, and 7 or eight last year’. A festival is an occasion for several pudzs in Mani.<sup>(10)</sup>

Some pudzs are done without any preparation or deliberation. Three cases of pudz were done on her way to and from the shop (data no.13:25:29) or after their prompt decision at their meeting in a plaza (data no.28:35). In these cases of pudzs, however, mutual understanding must have been established in some measure before their pudz.

The runaway couple go to the young man's house, where he should let his parents know about their pudz with the stereotyped greeting: ‘I am back but not alone. I am with my lover’ and then ask them what they will do with the couple. The first point of our argument is that only one case of rage (data no.21) was included in the parents' reaction to pudz. There was another case of furious anger (data no.14) but the anger was directed towards the impudence shown by the couple in leaving her mother behind in the dance hall far away from Mani, not towards

the pudz itself (data no.14).

There were three cases in which the parents would not allow them to enter the house at first though they never flew into a rage. In data no.1, they talked them out of pudz; in data no.17, the eldest son acted as go-between; in data no.23, his mother would not respond to her son's greeting.

The parents of the young man let the couple into the house without rage or instead of turning them down. Their welcome of the couple into the house, however, does not indicate their approval of the pudz. Some will inquire whether or not they are serious about the pudz (data no.3:12:20:33) and others will persuade them out of the pudz (data no.1:15:33). After several exchanges of views, the parents proceed to inform bride's parents of the pudz, to which there is only two exceptions (data no.8:23). 42% of all the parents got it done on the very day, another 42% next day and all the rest, a week later. In the first case, the parents went out as early as 4 to 8 o'clock next morning to inform the young woman's parents. From this it follows that their custom requires the pudz to be told to the woman's side as soon as possible. For the most part, pudzs take place after seven o'clock in the evening up to 2 to 3 late at night. The abovementioned exceptional two cases caused the couple great miseries. The parents of the young man in data no. 8 were prosecuted by the woman's side, and the arbitration proposal by the head of Mani had no effect. In the case of data no 23, both the parents would not get in touch with each other, only to find the woman separated from her common-law husband and the single mother of 5 children. Soon afterwards she came to live together with another man without any success. The man's parents are supposed to inform the woman's parents of the pudz. Four cases show that it was done by Mother herself when the Father had already passed away or was absent for some reason. As has been described above, pudz should be made known to both sides as soon as possible, the man's parents will go and see the woman's parents so that they can inform her parents where their daughter is staying. In response to this approach, the reaction of 60% of the woman's parents is to ask them to get the couple married as soon as possible, and to ask the family to come again on the third day for punishment.

On the third or punishment day, 40% of the couples were beaten by the woman's parents. The remaining 60% of them went by themselves, but all of them 'were prepared to be beaten by their parents'. Our informant said, 'I thought I would be back again to be beat' (data no.24). It has become the custom for the parents to beat the couple 12 times with the rope of 6 firm knots. In the 5 cases out of 58, however, the parents slapped them instead of beating with a rope.

After the punishment on the third day, the couple will make every effort to get married. 68% of them held a small party (fiesta pequeña) three to six months later. Among the pudzs are the following cases: 'Now I really know what it is to do pudz, but I am not yet forgiven. There is no hope of my return home again.' (data no.22); 'The both sides have never been getting along well each other and so we cannot get in contact with our brothers or sisters.' (data no.4); 'Two of us are still unmarried. My lover has started to live together with another woman.' (data no.22); 'I cannot believe in a true love, for I have never been happy in my life.' (data no.23)

### 3 Ritual process of pudz

Here we will analyse pudz focusing on its ritual process, followed by an analysis of pudz in terms of poverty.

Pudz is one of the social phenomena in Mani which suggest the following several specific aspects of ritual process. As noted earlier, pudz includes ① the man's offering of pudz to the woman and fixing the time and place for it, ② the appointed meeting in the evening near her house, ③ runaway from the woman's house to the man's house, ④ a stereotyped greeting at the door: 'I am back but not alone. I am with my lover.' and numerous exchanges of views between the couple and his parents, ⑤ admittance of the couple by his parents, ⑥ the immediate contact and the meeting between the both sides, ⑦ the reaction of the woman's parents, usually including the request to: 'let them get married as soon as possible' 'let them come over again on the third day for the punishment', ⑧ the punishment on the third day (12 beatings with a rope of 6 knots) followed by acceptance, advice, and arrangement of marriage by the both sides, ⑨ the small party for their marriage among family members.

Here we turn to the task of attempting to analyse how this ritual process of pudz is significantly correlated to the frequency of pudz.

As we have already noted, 68% of pudz-doers made the following kinds of statement: 'we are getting along with each other'; 'I am leading a happy life now' and so on. Pudzs are, however, accompanied with the feelings of discomfort, pain, or sorrow. According to the results of our study of pudzs, the couple show several signs of distress psychologically as well as physically. 'Pudz should not be done if you can help it' (data no.1). 'We have to be prepared to be beaten until we are black and blue' (data no.2). Pudz is not an easy game to play.

Now we should proceed on to clarify why pudzs are done so frequently and in accordance with a stereotyped ritual process in Mani. Our working hypothesis is to clarify aspects of the correlation of pudzs with the experience of poverty in life.

### 4 Pudz and poverty in life

As described above, one of the main motives for pudz is 'cruel treatments of the parents' (data no.1: 2: 3: 10: 18:19:20:26:31:32:35). Some of these cruel treatments are, as is seen in the case of 2:3:20:26:31, caused by the fact that the parents do not accept their children's love affair (noviazgo). The children will resort to pudz when their parents do not approve of their love and on the ground of it the parents beat them repeatedly. 'No sympathies on the parents' side' is given as the first motive for pudz in as many as 20 cases, including those cases in which the parents do not sympathize with their children due to the difference of faith (data no.4:23:34) or the indecency of the couple (data no.5:14:15:28:30:33). Thus 'cruel treatments of the parents' and 'no sympathies on the parents' side' are of great importance to our clarification of pudz.

But these two factors alone do not provide enough evidence to explain the high frequency and ritual process of pudz. In pursuing our study the historical documents of the church in Mani helped us a great deal. The historical marriage documents of the 20 year period (1970-1989) recorded 310 marriage cases along with the names of bride and bridegroom, those of their parents, those of their Godfathers (compadrazgo), and lastly the record of boda (marriage in church) or legitimación (marriage celebrated in church 3 to 6 months after pudz).

These legitimate cases total 207, or nearly 66% of 310 total cases. The rate approximates the percentage which we have already reported from our fieldwork data: 62% for the parents generation and 51% for the sibling generation including small children. Noted earlier, as the children too small to do pudz are also included in the sibling generation, the percentage of the latter could be to some extent higher. From this it can be claimed with considerable certainty that the average of the frequency of pudz is 62% to 66 %.

Thus, we find it quite difficult to assume that such a high frequency of pudz, which is accompanied with psychological as well as physical distress and with a stereotyped ritual process, is caused chiefly by 'no sympathies on the parents' side'. This point of view led us to clarify pudz in terms of ejidatario and parcerelo, that is, poverty in life of the people in Mani.

In 8 cases of pudz, poverty was given as the main motive for it (data no.2:5:6:9:19:23:25:27). In Mani, an expression that 'I have ejido or I am an ejidatario' or 'I have parcela or I am a parcerelo' can indicate how much a man is capable of producing agricultural products. It is generally admitted that parcerelos are more successful in their work and get more income than ejidatarios.

There is no river in the Yucatan state where Mani is situated. About 15 years ago they used to be engaged in the rainwater agriculture. Their labour is almost all manual even today. Horses and cattle are not available in Mani, for the ground is too full of pebbles and stones. Some asks for a few horses for the corn crop only where the path is good enough for it. Plows or carts are not found there.

We often hear dynamite explosions in Mani, —used to blast bigger stones for better conditions of the paths or the tracks. Small stones broken apart by dynamites are used for constructing the traditional stone wall (k'ot in Maya) around their house and lot (solar in Spanish) but there still remain more than enough of pebbles and stones in Mani.

The nature of the soil in Mani never changes even though they smash stones into pieces by iron rods and blast them by dynamites. It is not going too far to say that they manage to grow corn and citrus fruits between the stones.

Indeciduous shrubbery, liana and epiphyte constitute another great obstacle to agriculture in Mani. This tropical plant community grows too much deep-rooted and widespread for them to root out all by their manual labour. The residents are forced to do extremely cruel manual labour year in and year out. A grown-up man can till 1 mecate (20m×20m) of land a day. He needs about a month to till 1 hectare of land, so he very often sets up a small simple hut in the fields and mountains in which he lives alone away from home and cooks himself to devote himself to his cultivation.

The helms of tools used for cultivation or development are very short and the edges of sickles are not so made that they can be best fit to be swished but they are, like machetes, fit to scratch or cut off the shrubbery little by little. Tools like scythes are of no use in Mani.

Slash-and-burn agriculture has long been a tradition in Mani where lots of labour is required for cultivation and the maintenance of the cultivated land. They generally grow corn in milpa and citrus fruits in parcela after they slash and burn the land. In the case of parcela, they repeat it and shift the lot according to the development of plants until it comes up to 1 to 3 hectare of cultivated land. In contrast, they have to shift the lot for milpa at intervals of 10 to 15 years for which the trees grow up tall and big enough to be fit for slash-and-burn. The bigger trees should be burnt up completely in the shortest time possible for a better slash-and-burn, so a most suitable lot for it becomes farther and farther from where they are living. There is an increasing tendency for the people in Mani to keep milpa 50 to 60 kilos away from their houses.

Thus the soil and ground of Mani is not at all favorable for development or production.

The median number of living children per family where mothers are aged 40 or elder is 6, and 27% are from families of 7 or more children. It is not uncommon in Mani that a newly married-in wife and her mother-in-law give birth to children at the same period. The married women are expected to bear as many children as their physical capacity allow them to. Such a great tendency to be a family prolific of children is reinforced by catholic sacramental practices.

The above-mentioned material difficulties of life are correlated to the family structure prolific of children but there still exists a great tendency to bear as many children as they can manage. The extremely low productivity of the soil does not afford any opportunity for the fishing or forestry industry as long as they remove themselves from Mani. Many of our informants say, 'There will be very little land left for our grandchildren and their children. They will have to go out to the remote and secluded place (fundo nacional)<sup>(11)</sup> two or three hundred kilos far away from Mani so that they can grow corn or some other crops. Then cars are indispensable and they have to leave at 3 to 4 o'clock in the morning; otherwise they can not return home on the same day.'

Their actual living conditions are, from a material point of view, harsh to the extent that they are not able to save money out of their income and that not a few of them are, as Oscar Lewis pointed out, forced to run into entangled debt without any interest to the small stores in Mani. This sometimes makes them decide to sell off their ejido, which is strictly prohibited by law.

Out of 58 cases of pudz, 19 cases are landless individuals and 17 are ejidatarios which amount to about 62% of the total. These people are, from the economic point of view, the most unfortunate in Mani. Out of all the landowners, the cases in which the economic factors on the woman's side are more predominant than those on the man's side are 22, and 15 cases show that their economic factors are evaluated almost the same. These 37 cases indicate the economically unfavourable conditions on the man's side. Marriage custom in Mani requires the man to propose the marriage, send betrothal presents, hold the ceremony, and for the new couple to then live together with

his parents. The economic conditions of the man's side can influence the marriage form in Mani.

In this connection, 3 to 6 months after the pudz may be days of grace for getting ready such a small marriage ceremony. A turkey and several cases of some light refreshments and beer would be more than enough for the party. There is no demand for music or new dress.

#### IV Conclusions

Our investigation of pudz in Mani shows that (1) pudz occurs with surprising frequency of about 62% to 66% of all marriage cases, (2) the average age is 20 for men and 17.8 for women (a little less than the so-called marriageable age 22 to 23 for men and 18 to 20 for women) and pudzs suggest the following several specific aspects of ritual process: ①the man's offering of pudz to the woman and fixing the time and place for it, ②the appointed meeting in the evening near her house, ③runaway from the woman's house to the man's house, ④a stereotyped greeting at the door: 'I am back but not alone. I am with my lover.' and numerous exchanges of views between the couple and his parents, ⑤admittance of the couple by his parents, ⑥the immediate contact and the meeting between the both sides, ⑦the reaction of the woman's parents, usually including the request to: 'let them get married as soon as possible' 'let them come over again on the third day for the punishment', ⑧the punishment on the third day (12 beatings with a rope of 6 knots) followed by acceptance, advice, and arrangement of marriage by the both sides, ⑨the small party for their marriage among family members.

'Cruel treatments of the parents' and 'no sympathies on the parents' side' are the main motives for pudz suggested by the people in Mani. These two factors may be of great value for our clarification of pudz but they alone do not provide enough evidence to explain the high frequency and ritual process of pudz.

The historical marriage documents of the 20 year period (1970-1989) recorded 207 legitimate cases, or nearly 66% of 310 total cases. The rate approximates the percentage of pudz. Thus, we find it quite difficult to assume that such a high frequency of pudz, which is accompanied with psychological as well as physical distress and with stereotyped ritual process, is caused chiefly by 'cruel treatments of the parents' and 'no sympathies on the parents' side'. This consideration led us to clarify pudz in terms of ejidatario and parcerelo, that is, the influence of poverty in life on the people in Mani.

Out of 58 cases of pudz, 19 cases are landless individuals and 17 are ejidatarios which amounts to about 62% of the total. These people are, from the economic point of view, the most unfortunate in Mani.

In Mani, where the soil and ground is not at all favorable for development or production and the agricultural productivity is extremely low, an expression that 'I have ejido or I am an ejidatario' or 'I have parcela or I am a parcerelo' could indicate how much a man is capable of producing agricultural products. It is generally admitted that parcerelos are more successful in their work and get more income than ejidatarios.

Marriage custom in Mani requires the man to propose the marriage, send betrothal presents, hold the ceremony,

and for the new couple to then live together with his parents. Out of all the landowners, the cases in which the economic factors on the woman's side are more predominant than those on the man's side are 22, and 15 cases show that their economic factors are evaluated almost the same. These 37 cases indicate the economically unfavourable conditions on the man's side. The economic conditions of the man's side can influence the marriage form in Mani. From this it can be claimed with considerable certainty that the high frequency of pudz (62% to 66 %) is caused by the poverty in life.

Because the priest (padre) in Mani regards pudz as an immoral conduct against the teachings of the Catholic Church, he is exceedingly careful to accept their application for church marriage. His voice is too low to be recognized and there are several signs of negation. He says, 'They did pudz. Even though they ask me to celebrate their marriage, I am not too ready to say yes. My rule is to see how they are getting along with each other for six months or so. I would like to make sure of their sincere love. I will accept them only after I feel convinced that they are sure to get married. Pudz is no good. The greater part of marriages in Mani are pudzs.'

#### footnotes

( 1)Oscar Lewis 1982.

Los Hijos de Sanchez. Grijalbo. Mexico. pp.16-17.

( 2)Erich Fromm 1970

Sociopsicoanálisis del Campesino Mexicano. Fondode Cultura Economica. Mexico.  
p.93;pp.179-180;p.221;p.216.

( 3)The number of marriage case from 1980 and downward 1991 are

20,36,28,32,42,34,30,27,32,34,31,and 17.

( 4)Veronica Be(47)Female Housewife

( 5)Alicia Lopez Caamal(24)Female Housewife

Jorge Torres Moreno(33)Male Ejidatario

( 6)Cresencia Interian Cab(44)Female Housewife

Fernando Allin Naabte(46)Male Merchant

( 7)Rita Chan Zalazar(19)Female

Marcelino Tuz Ek(21)Male Ejidatario Parcelero 1 hectare

( 8)Marbella Ortencia Sansores(27)Female

Orlando Chan Ruiz(24)Male Ejidatario

( 9)In Mani, about 500 people are following the Salvation Army, Pentecost, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Baptist, Jehovah's Witness, Disciples of Christ and the Church of England.

(10)Our informants say that pudz occurs on Saturdays, for it would be easier for the two sides to get in contact

with each other.

- (11) Fundo naciona is called tierra nacional. There is no fundo nacional in Mani. Everybody is allowed to make use of it for any good purpose. No limitation is set to the area under cultivation. The people in Mani go out there for milpa, firewood, hunting and so on.

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