

Some Aspects of Family Structure of a Mayayucatecan 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 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 (*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* (*jetzmek* maya baptism), baptism, *confirmación*, *primera comunión*, *15años* (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.

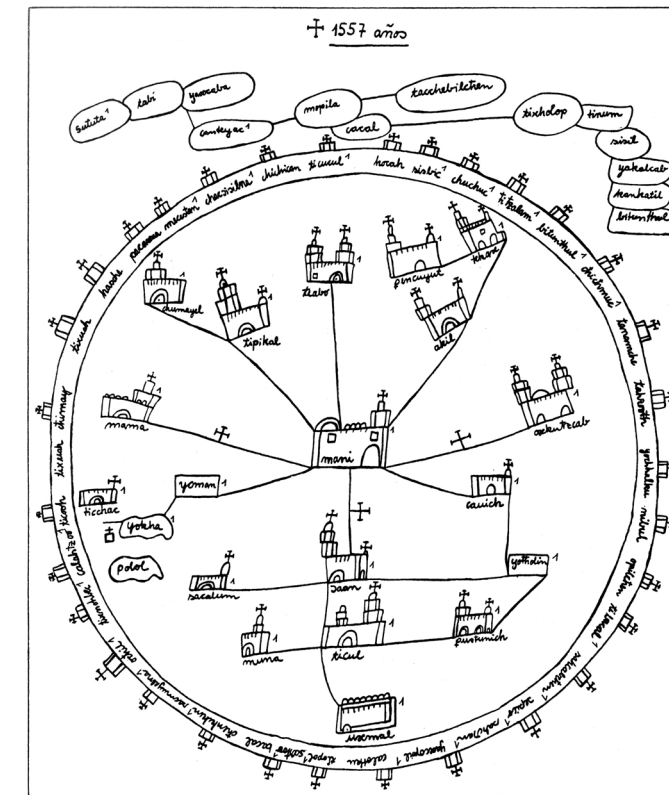
The aim of this paper is to describe and clarify several aspects of religio-cultural integration of a small Catholic community, Mani. The study focus is on the concrete description and analysis of ritual kinship in Mani. Ritual kinship is one of the oldest religious factors derived from Europe and it 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.

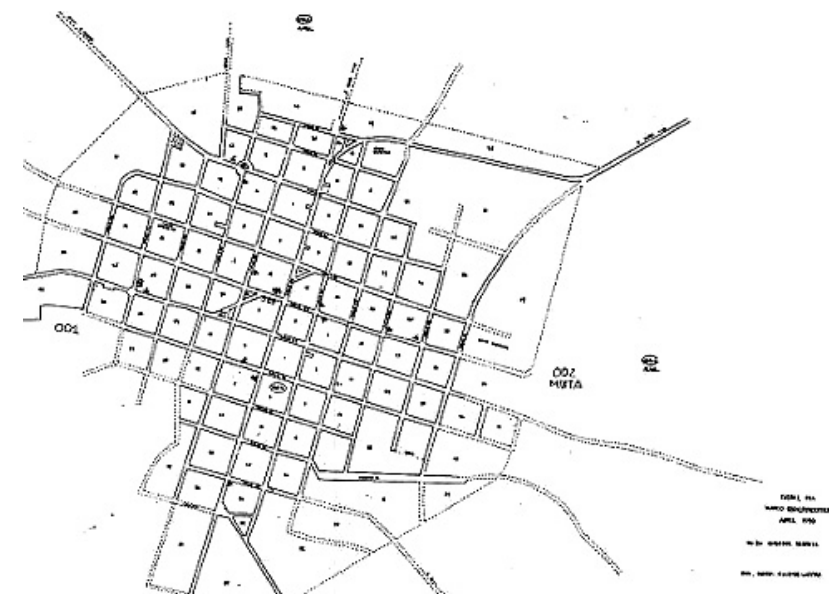
Ritual kinship, ritual sponsorship, fictive kinship as the institution which is a sacramental parent-child relationship in the next world has been established and developed in Mani where people find it quite common to live in such large-scale web of family organization and the structure of family plays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

Map 1 Mani in the 16th century



Map 2 Mani in the 20th century



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), *15años*, (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 *padrinazgo* (*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 *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.

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* 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.

Jetzmek, *primera comunión*, and *confirmación* 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 *confirmación*, 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.

The ritual kinship is to be established on *jetzmek*, 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 children³. 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 Mani⁴.

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

Marcelo is a *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.⁵ 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* ⁶who 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 altogether with him in the same solar (a allotted personal site for house and ground)⁷ 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 1 Ritual kinship establishment of seven children of Marcelo family

children	sex	jetzmek	baptism	primera comunión	confirma-tion	15 años	marriage
1st	female	father's elder sister 1	matetrnal grand-parents 3	nun	mother's elder sister	cathechist	(unmarried)
2nd	male	mother's uncle 2	paternal grand-parents	cathechist	mother's parents	not done because of mother's illness	friend 9
3rd	male	mother's uncle 2	maternal grand-parents 3	mother's elder brother	mother's uncle 6	not done because of mother's illness	parents' friend 9
4th	male	father's elder sister 1	father's cousin and her husband	wife of father's elder brother	father's elder sister 1	not done because of mother's illness	parents' friend 9
5th	male	father's elder brother	father's elder sister and her husband 4	father's elder sister 1	mother's uncle 6	not done because of mother's illness	parents' friend 9
6th	female	father's relatives	father's elder sister and her husband 4	cathechist 5	father's relatives 7	parents' friend 8	a c q u a i n - t a n c e of her own 10
7th	female	mother's elder sister	father's elder sister and her husband 4	cathechist 5	father's relatives 7	parents' friend 8	a c q u a i n - t a n c e of her elder sister 10

table 1

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 *compadrazgo* 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*

Primera Comunión

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

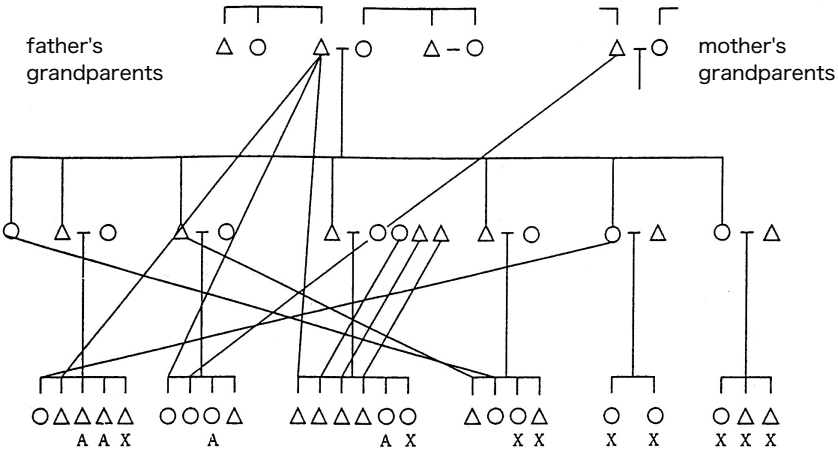


Diagram 2 *Confirmación*

Confirmación

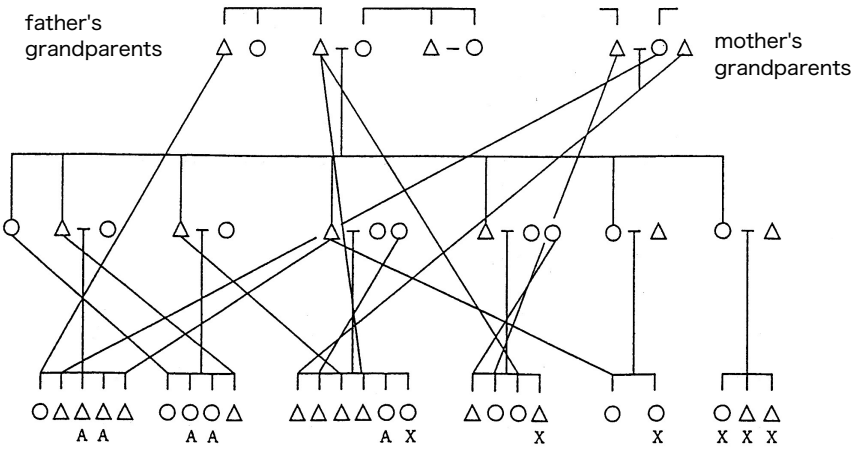


Diagram 3 Jetzmek (Maya baptism)

Jetzmek

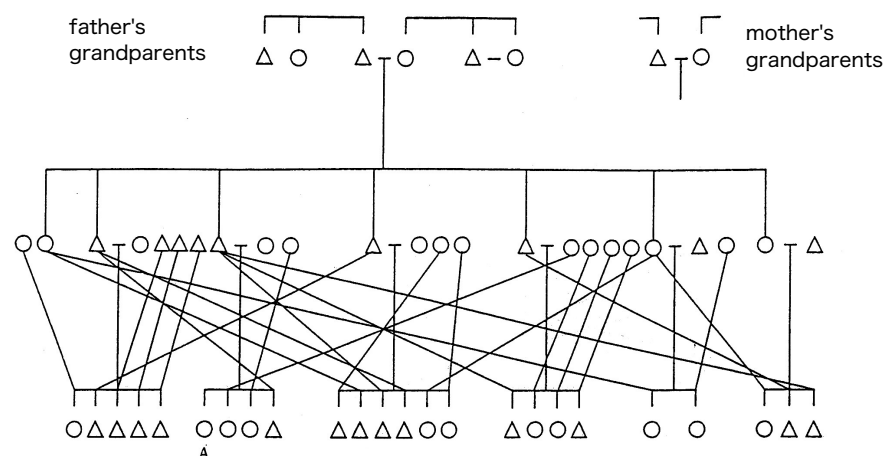
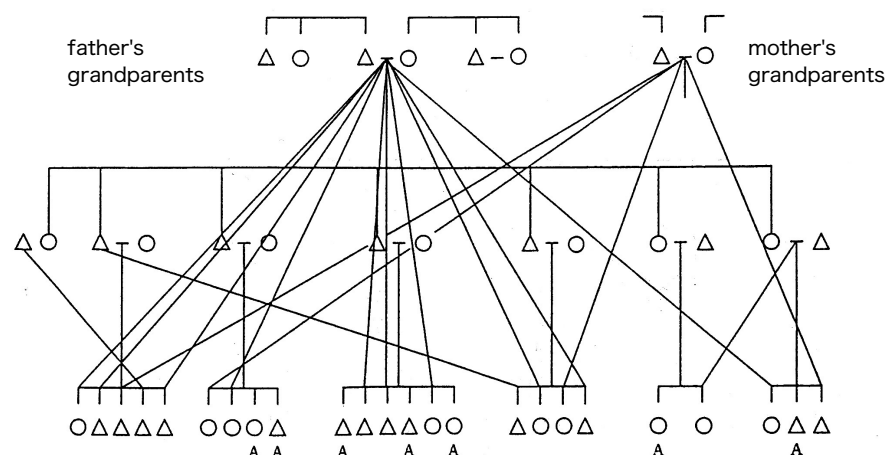


Diagram 4 Baptism

Baptism



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 (*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 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 patternized social behaviours resting on respect and reliance, reciprocally but not exactly symmetrically, preserve due equilibrium with *padrinos'* or *compadres'* reliomoral 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 *ocja* - 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'a*-being ugly and against God in Maya-, are believed to

The cross lines in the above diagrams, as has been noted earlier, signify the actual conditions of two dimensions of ritual kinship relationships: *padrinazgo* and *compadrazgo*, which shows that each person in Mani is leading his own life in the complicated web of ritual kinship.

turn into nocturnal birds so that they may cause people in Mani to die or to be ill seriously.

A few months before a child is born, the parents start to talk over carefully 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. *Bpatism* in Mani shows a tendency to be carried out preferably during Pascua de *Navidad* -24 or 25 December-and *Epifania* -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 *tzicol*-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 *compadrazgo*. On the occasion of *tzicol*, 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 *tzicol* all concerned address each other by the appropriate ritual kinship term, as *compadre* and *comadre*. *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

payments to cooks 30,000 pesos
Some of *padrinos/madrinas* may pay the total or some of the expenses above.

Baptism in Mani, 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 Mani, 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 kilos up 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 Mani, 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 Mani 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 Mani

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 Mani 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 *madrina* of *jetzmek* 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

came a time when my parents could not afford to pay for the heavy charge for medicine and they turned to the *madrina* for some money. She, who was running a small general store, kindly accepted our request and paid herself for all the pharmacist's bills so that her little *ahijada* might get well soon. After that I was taken ill as often as not, which made her offer to take charge of me in her house. My parents deeply appreciated her kindness, following her wellmeant advice that they should send me to her house for a far better life under the care of her. I was a four-year-month baby when she started to bring me up for my parents. 6 months after I came to live with my *madrina* I was found an overweight baby. Then it occurred to my *madrina* that she ought to send me back home: for one thing, she would be far away from home on journey, and for another, she felt uneasy of an approaching disaster. Her prediction turned out to be true. My *madrina* was unfortunately killed in a car accident, while on her trip because she forgot to tell her companion that she would sleep under the truck, so that the truck driver, not knowing it, ran over and killed her on the spot. This is what Mother told me about my *madrina* of *jetzmek* and her sudden death.

My *madrina* of *confirmación* who was an acquaintance to us used to take for us from Merida necessary garments, and shoes her boss gave her as a present for the poor. She had never suspended it for as long as 9 years because I was then so badly off that I was compelled to secure my livelihood selling water or carrying corn for those women who did not feel like going outside their houses for some reason. Now that I am able to buy my clothes and shoes for myself, I do not have to rely heavily on others for some financial help. Since I was on good and visiting terms with her I would go and see her each time she came down to Mani a month. I am sorry to say that she has been dead for nine years. At her last moment, she kindly gave me a long lasting advice that I ought to get married at any cost and have at least one child in order not to die a tragic end simply because I had no child, adding that life without husband or any children would not be worth living at all.

My *madrina* of *primera comunión* who is an acquaintance to us rendered lots of assistance. When I once badly needed a text of chemistry for the term-end examination, I visited her in anticipation that her daughter might have it to give me the loan of, which contrary to my expectation ended in a disappointment. As she saw me so dejected to find that her daughter did not take chemistry, my *madrina* kindly offered to give me money for the text on the collateral condition that I should get good remarks in the exams, and that I should show every term report to her without fail. She afforded me as much as 5,400 pesos which was then worth much more than it is now, and I did keep my promise to repay her kind support to me. Some time after, she over again volunteered to help me get a job as teacher, which her

son-in-law who had been working for *SEP* (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*) 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 *jetzmek*, gratuitous presents of clothes and some philosophy of life from a *madrina* of confirmation, 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 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.

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*, *confirmación* 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 *hetzmek* 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

-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.

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

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 includes 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 *hetzmek* and baptism released to me a piece of land (D-8)
- ⑫ My *compadre* of *hetzmek* 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)

- ⑭ My *compadre* of confirmation and *primera comunión* provided me with clothes (D-9)
- ⑮ My *compadre* of *jetzmek* gifted my children with clothes and some pocket money (D-17)
- ⑯ I petitioned my *compadre* of *jetzmek* to admonish my husband to get over alcoholism (D-16)
- ⑰ My *compadre* 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)
- ⑱ My *compadre* 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)
- ⑲ I petitioned my *compadre* of baptism, *jetzmek* and confirmation to find an employment for my daughter (D-25)
- ⑳ My *compadre* 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.

- ① 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)
- ② 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)
- ③ 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)
- ④ The parents were so much distressed by her daughter's immodest relations with young men that they implored their *compadre* of confirmation to persuade their daughter out of keeping it (D-36)
- ⑤ 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)
- ⑥ I was going to live apart from my parents after marriage, which my *padrino* told me out of

doing (D-31)

- ⑦ Once my daughter got pregnant before marriage, about which we were going to get into a terrible quarrel between our children and us. My *compadre* 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)
- ⑧ My *compadre* 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)
- ⑨ 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)
- ⑩ 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)
- ⑪ My *padrino* of baptism remonstrated with me against my alcoholism, and I was dissuaded from it after my mother's death (D-39)
- ⑫ My *padrino* of baptism criticized me rigidly for a theft (D-34)
- ⑬ 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-ahijados* dyad than any other, even though all the 56 Catholic

families in Mani 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 *jetzmek* 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 Mani.

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 Mani. An extensive and complex network of ritual kinship encircles all the Catholic in Mani, 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 Mani 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.

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 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 *cofradia* 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 quoties 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.62-66

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*.

³ See Harukazu Nakabeppu 1989 *Study of Men (Medicine Doctor=Officiating Priest) and Ritual Practice and Ritual Kinship(Padrinazgo/Compadrazgo) in a Mayayucatecan Catholic Community,Mani. Religion, Law and Practices in the Southern Mexican Villages.* Kawashimakobunsha.

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

See Harukazu Nakabeppu 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 *Parcelas* are included in *ejidos*. See Harukazu Nakabeppu 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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