Land and self in a Mayan universe

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LAND AND SELF IN A MAYAN UNIVERSE

by

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a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Anthropology

Department of Anthropology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the linkages between Mayan religious beliefs as presented in, The Popol Vuh and The Book of Chilam Balam, myth, and modern ethnographic material for clues to Mayan economic behavior. It presents the argument that the "closed corporate system" and the reliance on the municipio as the focus of identity is a function of World-view, and that Mayans see land as a symbol of self and community. The ensuing economic behavior and the strong attachment to "milpa production" is more than an adaptive strategy to the vicissitudes of economic insecurity, but a route to maintaining balance and harmony in their cognitive universe.
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I'd like to dedicate this to the memory of J.J.G. because of, and, for whom, this project was undertaken, as what was not?
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the linkages between "self", ideology and land in the Mayan world-view to understand the unique behavior within the Mayan world. I propose that to understand the tenacity with which the Mayan communities maintain what has been termed the "milpa logic" (Annis, 1987:10), it is necessary to view the relationships between Mayan economic pursuits and Mayan world-view. I argue that the Maya use land as a symbol of their individual and communal identity, and that this relationship between land (or the material base) and ideology constitutes the main reason why what has been called a "closed corporate system" works as it does. A corollary of this proposal is that though there are changes in the resources and structure of the Mayan social order, land continues to be seen as a source of self and communal identity, and that to remove the ability to own or have usufruct in land removes their ability to identify individually within the group and act
collectively as an ethnic group. By exploring the inter-
determinacies of land and symbol it may be possible to
avoid the error of reduction to either the material or
the symbolic basis for Mayan cohesion, since the two will
be shown to be inextricably intertwined.

In the heuristic sense, understanding the ties
between the material base and the ideology will define
the statement made by Wolf, that Mayans "sacrifice" their
sons and daughters, and these lost children become the
"Ishmaels of Middle America". It will lead to a better
understanding of why a specific choice is made from the
pool of variable alternatives which confront any group.
On a more pragmatic level, this understanding will
promote dialogue, and action, policy and development on
the basis of recognition, respect, and cooperation,
rather than coercion, conflict and confrontation which
has become endemic in Central America in recent years.
It may allow for the evolution of ethnicity with dignity
rather than a drive for "ladinoization" of Mayan peoples
and ethnic abandonment which seems to have been the
national agenda of the governments under whose aegis the
Mayans have entered the modern world.

The material used to present this argument is drawn
from many sources. By drawing from sources that range
through art, folklore, historical accounts and
ethnographic observation, I will present what is
apparently a core group of beliefs. The tales and
activities, though they show some variation, are
universal throughout the Mayan world and their durability
is expressed in the fact that though they were recorded
sometime after the Conquest, indigenous art shows that
the tales were known and honored in Classic Maya times.

This argument is not offered as a proof. It is
offered as a collection of intellectual connections
between the psychologically responsive Mayans and the
economically responsive Mayans. It is offered as a
suggestion to further research into the relationships
between the facets which we classify as the components of
culture. It is offered in the hope that we will search
for the groundings of behavior, that we will minimize the
fault of reductionism. It is offered in the belief that
Marx was right when he wrote:

"Men make their own history, but they do not
make it just as they please; they do not make it
under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under
circumstances directly encountered, given and
transmitted from the past. The tradition of all
the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the
brain of the living." (Marx, 1948:16)

Viewed historically the Mayan world is that of the
peasant, a relatively autonomous population, engaged more
or less in subsistence agriculture, with limited national
integration. Dispersed in small communities throughout
southern Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and Belize, national
integration has usually been in the form of extraction of
taxes, resources, or labor, (Redfield, Wolf, Stavenhagen). The Mayan world has been viewed from interpretations of their material base, (Tax, 1937; Vogt, 1969; Cambranes, 1985; Annis, 1987; Swetnam, 1989; Smith, 1978, 1989), which generally focus on the rationality of Mayan economics. These views are couched in arguments divided between, what Watanabe (1992:5), discusses as, the "essentialist" versus the "historicist" construction. The essentialist arguments, exemplified by Tax (1937), Redfield (1960), and Wolf (1959), define Maya cultures in terms of their "local nature", "closed corporate systems", marginality and mixed-subsistence economy, and Maya behavior within these constructions as a result of a conceptual "Zero-sum" universe, in which any "good" acquired by an individual, automatically detracts from the "good" of someone else. Thus, for these writers, the culture becomes a homeostatic device maintaining a "status quo", a "leveling" mechanism which eshews change. This "emic" view contrasts with the "etic" view offered by the "historicists".

The "historicists'" argument, coming from Latin American and Marxist scholars is exemplified by Stavenhagen and Wolpe's constructions of "internal colonies" and reflects Wallerstein's "Capitalist development" schema as refined by C. Smith. This construction puts the case for Mayan cultural behavior in the development of the Central American politics and
economics in the world order from the period of Conquest and designs current behavior as the natural selection of choices to insulate Mayans against an ever increasingly hostile national and international development, while at the same time organizing and maintaining an effective source of labor for those sectors capable of establishing relations with the wider global market, or providing a low cost support system underwriting those sectors so engaged.

Separate research has been done on the symbolic system and the Mayan religion (B. Tedlock, 1982; D. Tedlock, 1985; Vogt, 1976; Gossen, 1978, 1994), which generally focuses on either the "Weltenschauung", the world-view itself, or the way in which the symbolic system is used to order the social system (Oakes, 1951; Nash, 1970; W. Smith, 1977; Watanabe, 1992). The underlying argument of this research is that the religion as expressed and practiced by the Mayan communities is the result of the colonial and developmental experience and that the areal variation of the Mayan religious beliefs observed is the reflection of differential developmental experience. The alternative is that the religion is more "pan-Mayan" than appears on the surface and is an active modern presence of the Mayan pre-conquest world-view, syncretized within a "Catholic" doctrinal body. Accompanying this argument is the question of the degree of that syncretization and the
degree to which the two belief systems are knowingly or unknowingly intermingled (B. Tedlock, 1982; Montejo, 1993).

Wolf recognized the union of land and Maya, but the conditions of the internal structural ties were never fully explored.

"This apparent contradiction between the behavior of the Indian as a member of his community on religio-political plane and his behavior as an economic agent has so impressed some observers that they have lost sight of the communal involvements of the Indian and treated him in terms of capitalist economic theory. Indeed, Sol Tax has spoken of the Indians as "penny capitalists".... But he is not a capitalist, his economic goal is...subsistence and participation in the religio-political system of his community."

Wolf points out:

"...this pattern of consumption operates within the cultural limitations laid down and maintained by his community. ...[he] is enmeshed in a complicated web of traditional rights to land maintained by his community," (1959:224-26).

The nature of that web, in terms of the dialectic between identity, religion and land has not been adequately defined, though Wolf noted that the Indian community must, "continue to sacrifice some of its sons and daughters to the outside world, thus feeding the forces which it attempts to resist." These Indians, forced out of the communities, "become the Ishmaels of Middle America, it's marginal men, ... being neither

Combining studies of the ritual cycle and the requirements of economic pursuit, Watanabe has given a fresh insight into the functioning of the Mayan village. An insight in which, both the "etic" and "emic" interpretations hold true.

In his recent work, Watanabe, has given a path to follow into this new inquiry. Working in Chimal, in the highlands of Guatemala, he has posited the roots of community and self identification in the consistent patterned behavior surrounding the rituals of quotidian life. Identity, both individual and communal, for a Chimalteco, is the result of their participation in local collective activities associated with a ritual calendar round of religious holidays and seasonal agricultural requirements.

Following Axelrod's argument, Watanabe sees identity as issuing from the psycho-social necessity of predictable group behavior. Delimiting the size of the group, predisposes of the possibility of extensive variation and sets boundaries for behavioral expectations and cohesion. Watanabe clearly feels that identity, defined as the social cooperation of Mayan communities is both the blocks from which the distinctive villages are built, and the cement which seals those blocks together. In his words,
"...the association between shared identity and social cooperation underscores the emergent nature of Maya communities: in regulating interactions between parties, community defines less an absolute institutional order than a nexus of contingent strategies of social cooperation. Consequently, just as cooperation tempers—but never eliminates—other individual interests and antipathies, bonds of local identity neither deny or override enduring differences in Mayan communities. They represent but one of the centripetal as well as centrifugal pressures that shape community boundaries" (1992:222, emphasis added).

For Watanabe, identity and the resulting uniqueness of the Mayan community is to be found in the ritual by which the communities restructure and affirm the balance and sanctity of their universe. To build his argument, Watanabe rightly joined inquiry into economics and the symbolic system to create a clearer picture of Mayan behavior.

For Watanabe, the ritual is the end of his search for the "cause" of the cohesion of Mayan communities, but by definition, ritual is a "means". Ritual is a method of manipulating symbols within a context. I believe that the primary symbol which is being manipulated in the context of Mayan ritual behavior is land, and that in that symbol is the ideal of both self and community as entities enjoined in the cosmic order of the universe.
The very idea of land in the Mayan world is different from that which commonly occurs in the Western conception of the term. When New England or Prairie farmers discuss "their" land or the "land of their grandfathers", they have an historical idea of land in space, land wrested from nature or from hostile "others", and it is tempered with an idea of property. In her discussion of the American phenomenon of "Rodeo", Lawrence states that the American idea of land on the frontier was that land was "wild" and subject to the "dominion" of man. From his conceptual opinion of himself as one step under God in a descending order of Nature, it was Man's right to "tame" the wild land and bring it under his control (1982:63-65,114). Mayan "land", the "land of their ancestors" has meanings which both generate and reflect Mayan cosmology.

Throughout the literature, when questioned about the possibility of windfall funds, or economic goals, the Mayan response is the acquisition of land within the local
area. John Swetnam (private communication) states that his informants reported a willingness to pay prices much higher than economically rational amounts to acquire land in their communities. Even when economic security is derived from other than agricultural pursuits, land is the significant goal (Madigan, 1976; Annis, 1989; Nash, 1970).

Land is protected both by the individual and the community. Individuals are reluctant to sell land except in the most dire of economic circumstances. Land is pawned or rented out rather than relinquish title. If it becomes necessary to sell land, then buyers from within the community are sought. Ladinos living within the precincts are considered outsiders, and some communities will raise the funds to purchase the land to hold in trust until a buyer from within the community can be found. Though there are exceptions, land is not seen as a capital investment. Rather, it is seen as a source of subsistence.

Some economic theorists would refer to this as a sign of the economic verities of the Mayan historic experience, the foundation of Annis' "milpa logic". Historicists would argue that this is a natural response to the vagaries of the boom and bust cycles of the economic history of Central America; that investment in land secures an edge toward secure subsistence in the event of future economic deprivation. This does not
explain why the land is sought in the vicinity of the origin community of the individual, or why land isn't incorporated into more economically profitable agricultural pursuits.

To understand this seemingly "irrational" attachment to land, anthropologists must recognize the symbolic nature of land for Mayans. Land is the source of their very being, the material of their creation. Land has become a focal symbol in the Mayan world.

Symbol:

Turner, (1967:19) defines symbol as, "...the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior; it is the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context." Symbol becomes the best expression of a relatively unknown but existing fact, (1967:26). He goes on, citing Jung and Sapir, to allocate to symbols three properties:

A.) condensation- many ideas and actions are recognized within a single symbol.

B.) unification of disparate significata- that is, that seemingly unassociated phenomena are related through shared real or perceived similarities.
C.) polarization of meaning—each symbol will have an "ideological pole" around which clusters those ideas of moral or social order, and a "sensory pole" where the emotional responses to an issue reside. The symbol then mediates between the two, transforming moral constraint into "love of virtue", for instance, (1967:27-30).

Keeping these properties in mind, Turner noted that symbols are a factor in action as they are associated with purposes, ends, and means, even though the true depth or nature of the symbol can not be articulated by the performer. Turner then turns to Jung in declaring that a symbol is an expression of an unknown fact, a fact, none the less, which is known or postulated to exist (1967:20,26). That is, that the participant need not be continually conscious of all the various associations of a given symbol to recognize and react to the symbol as if the associations were known. For example, in our own society, we are expected to salute and show reverence to the national flag, as a "symbol" of our government and nation. In it's deepest layers of meaning, the flag ultimately evokes the God of Nature, who "endowed" Man with, "inalienable rights" and "entitled" men to create, under "the protection of Divine
Providence", this nation. We do not reflect on this "divine" aspect of the flag, but we will respond to the national symbolism.

In Jungian terms, we are responding to a sign, for which the symbolism is known but hidden or unconscious. We can speak of the "desecration" of the flag, the removal or profaning of its "sacred" qualities, precisely because of these unconscious associations which we carry.

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, writing in the, "Introduction", to African Political Systems, state that, regardless of the type of organization that a state may have, unity and common interest is perceived in symbols, and, "it is the symbols more than anything else which gives their society cohesion and persistence. Symbols which reflect the social system endow it with mythical values which evoke acceptance of the social order that goes far beyond the obedience exacted by the secular sanction of force. The social system is, as it were, removed to the mystical plane, where, it figures as a system of sacred values beyond criticism and revision," (Fortes 1970:17). Myth (the "charter"), symbol (the artifact which embodies the charter), and ritual (the behavior manipulating the symbols), give identity and justification to a social institution. It would follow logically that the strongest system, that of group cohesion would possess the strongest symbols, or those symbols which are most deeply ingrained and carry the
most intense meanings at both the ideological and sensory poles.

Again, according to Fortes, the most powerful symbols, and rituals are those which give life and happiness to a people. (1970:18). If "self", "group", "lineage", "state", "nation", exist, then they will exist with a "charter" and the tools which identify and legitimize the charter. When threatened, "self", "group", "clan", etc. can stimulate and intensify group identity and cohesion, not by force, but by the manipulation of the symbols which appeal to a deeper, more emotional sense of identity. For Mayans, the symbol that has the most intense emotional response is land.

The Charter

With the exception of a few known fragments of codices the glyphic texts of the Maya were suppressed and destroyed during the earliest years of conquest and colonization. In an effort to maximize conquest with the least amount of man-power, areas were entered, the ruling centers siezed, the leadership destroyed and replaced or forced into submission under a representative of the Crown. To mediate between the Native population and the Crown, the Church was allocated the job of "civilizing" and educating the Indian populations. While some were removed to provide labor in Crown controlled enterprises, the majority of the native populations were left "in
situ", with crown responsibilities extracted in terms of taxes and tribute.

The Church, like the Crown, also had a limited resource in man-power. After establishing preliminary contact, providing the basic education in Church doctrine and engaging in mass "conversions", the outlying pueblos were placed in the circuit of a visiting priest who would provide for the administration of the Catholic rites on his sporadic visits within the community. At other times, instruction and performance was left in the hands of local native catechists.

There is extensive material dealing with the "syncretization" of Mayan and Catholic traditional forms in the discussions of modern Mayan religion (Watanabe, 1990; Greenleaf, 1990; Read, 1995). Barbara Tedlock (1982:37-44), suggests that perhaps "syncretic" in the sense that it is "unconscious" is the wrong term. That what is seen as "syncretic" has an intentional processual base. Within the autonomous areas, the native populations mixed the meanings of their own religious structures with those imposed with the visiting priesthood. Nash (1970:198,ff) presents the correspondence between the Catholic and Mayan images utilized by the population of a Mayan pueblo in Mexico.

Post-Hispanic Spirits-
Tios Tatil, = God the Father, which, in pre-hispanic terms= B'alamilal, The World, and B'ankilal, or, Elder Brother,
According to Nash's informants:

Our Grandmother the Moon, bore three sons, God the father, God the Son, and Spiritusantu. God the Father, Elder Brother, became a pig when he fell from a tree and K'os put a tortilla on his nose. When K'os tried this with the Second Brother, he turned into a boar and fled into the forest. To feed the pig, K'os decided to plant a milpa. When he burned the forest for his milpa, he picked up the fire and walked around with it. Thus, night follows day, (1970:200).

Nash states that the syncretization of the two forms is "incomplete" (1970:201). I suggest that the syncretization does not have to be complete. What is more important is the merging of the identities of the two separate forms to an extent that the symbols of the imposed form can be utilized in the manipulation of the meanings of the indigenous form. The priesthood sees a naive but transformational acceptance of Catholic doctrine, and the Maya see a method of pursuing the propitiation of their gods in terms which would also allow for the propitiation of the representatives of the Spanish overlords. This view is supported by Montejo.
(1993:104), who agrees that the Maya, "continued to recreate the under-lying Mayan culture and rework it in their peculiar way," so as not to separate the natural and the supernatural, a concept anti-thetical in Mayan world-view. Another view, un-natural to Mayan belief, is one that separates the totally good and the totally evil. While God, Jesus, and Mary, are without flaw in Catholic Doctorine, the syncretic figures which these characters assume are not above trickery, connivence, and seduction. Mayan gods, may be immortal, but they are not above the emotions and behaviors of man. These Beings do correspond to Mayan cosmological figures, but, Barbara Tedlock (1982:41) gives a much wider interpretation of the "Trinity", God, the Father, God, the Son, and God, the Holy Spirit. According to Tedlock's informants, "Dios", reflects the whole of the Catholic pantheon; God in all His forms, and angels, saints, ghosts, and the images of these which inhabit their niches in the various churches. "Mundo", (world) or at times pachulum Mundo, (round world) is both the physical world and the spiritual aspects of the world. "Nantat" are the ancestors in both the spiritual sense as the guardians and over-seers of the people and their world, and the "powdered bone, clay and sand" of their physical remains.

The Popol Vuh, or Council Book, (i.e., Book of Councils) is a translation written surreptitiously in the middle of the Sixteenth Century to preserve for the
Quiche Mayans, the complete text of the Mayan "history". Within are collected stories of cosmology, the creation of the world, Man, and the first rising of the Sun, Moon, and stars (Tedlock, D., 1985:13-65) While these are specifically asssociated with the Quiche Mayans, the tales which the Popol Vuh relates are found throughout the Mayan world, and they relate a Pan-Mayan cosmology. A second source of the Mayan "charter" is found in the Books of Chilam Balam. This collection of Mayan myths from the Yucatan are similar to the Popol Vuh, in that they contain the myths of creation and succession of Man to earth, as well as tales of the cosmology and history which are intertwined in them. It is evident from the texts themselves, that the they were originally "scripts" for presentations of Mayan myth and knowledge. The Popol Vuh, states succinctly, "here we shall take up the demonstration", and later, "It takes a long performance and account to complete the emergence of all the sky-earth." Portions of Edmonson's translation of The Chilam Balam, are actually interpreted in "acts". A third source suggesting the performance of "plays" is the interpretation of, The Chronicles of the Rabinal, by Irving (1985), in which "The Warrior of Rabinal: Ballet of the Sacred Drum" is presented as a play in three acts. Markman and Markman (1992), also add support in their discription of masked figures of the Priest-King class of the Classic Maya period assuming dual identities, both
their own and that of the god or spirit which the mask represents, at public appearances. Knowledge of reading and writing was the domain of the scribe-priests or priest-kings then?

While the nature of the performances in pre-colonial Meso-America is not known, it is clear that the performance of the rituals transferred knowledge of history and cosmology to those witnessing the rituals. Hill, (1992:6-9), describes the dual nature of performance and interpretation in his discussion of the "Fiesta del Volcan" presented by the Cakchiquels in Antigua, Guatemala, in 1680. In this performance of the final battle of the campaign to capture Guatemala, a "stage" volcano is constructed complete with trees, "caves" populated with animals and a house at the top occupied by the "king" of the Cakchiquels. At the end of the performance, the "Spanish" conquerers seize the king and present him to the government of Ciudad Vieja in chains.

Hill writes:

"...Cakchiquels and Spaniards, have fundamentally different realities and vastly divergent interpretations of their situations and experience. This does not mean that the Cakchiquel meekly accepted and responded to Spanish demands. But,... their adaptations to the demands of the Colonial situation were largely worked out by the Cakchiquel themselves, usually without the Spaniards' knowledge or understanding. The adaptive process involved innovative combinations of both traditional and
imported practices, beliefs, technologies, and institutions" (1992:8).

Hill states that both the Spanish and Mayan observers saw the volcano as a symbol of the land and the war as a transfer of land and power to the Spanish. He goes on to enrich the Mayan interpretation of the performance by revealing other associations within the Mayan context which would have been unknown to Spanish observers. The mountain or volcano is the home of the Earth-lord. The caves and their animal inhabitants are the souls and spirits which, when released to the surface, become the co-souls of the Cakchiquel (and Mayans in general) which share the fates of their correspondents. The removal and ultimate release of the Mayan "king" who exits at the finale of the performance is a blending of the actual character portrayed and the mythical man-god Quetzalcoatl, who removed himself to the East with the promise of a future return. The fact that the king was captured, but his house was not destroyed, was seen that the "conquest" was incomplete; according to Hill, "both literally and figuratively, superficial" (1992:6). The Earth-lord, ancestors, spirits and Quetzalcoatl still remain with the promise of a coming new "Golden Age".

Since the books of charters combine myth, history and the very well developed though mythically bound science of astronomy, the stories often are repetitive in some
instances with different characters, and at other times
the same characters arrive at the same position at the
conclusion of several different stories. Sorting
instances of history, astronomy and myth is often
difficult. A quick example from the Popol Vuh may
illustrate this. One Hunahpu had two sons, One Monkey and
One Artisan. These two developed and transferred the
knowledge of those arts which we identify as the
foundations of culture: reading, writing, pottery making,
music, stone and jewel cutting, metalurgy, etc. Through
the intervention of their half-brothers, the trickster
twins, they were turned into monkeys. In another episode
from the same source, monkeys are the remnants of the
second attempt to create man. This attempt proved to be
a failure and those creatures which were not destroyed
were turned into monkeys for they didn't have the ability
to hold a thought or maintain a memory. So, there are
two stories which provide for the creation of monkeys.
While there are two characters, One Monkey and One
Artisan, D. Tedlock suggests that in archaic Mayan, they
are the same identity. One Monkey is a day name in the
Mayan calendar, and the two characters are probably
symbols of the planet Mars in its variable seasonal
orbits (1985:353). It should be remembered that such
difficulty exists in Western tradition also. Which God,
of the Celestial Trinity, named in the Bible, for
instance, is the God of Creation, in the Judeo-Christian charter?

Scrutiny of Mayan myth will show the grounding of the unique combination of beliefs which are incorporated in creating the modern Mayan world. To begin, it's necessary to explore the concept of the individual as a unique entity of the cosmos, and as a part of the greater sphere of being, the binding network of the Mayan Universe.

The concept of "soul" in Mayan world view is extended beyond the self. The individual may have as many as three souls. Other objects also have souls. All animate creatures have souls. Inanimate objects have souls as well. Trees, crops, and growing things, as well as rocks, rivers, mountains, have souls. Clay pots, bowls and utensils have souls, as do containers and utensils which are created from gourds or wood. The characteristic wattle and daub houses of the Maya have souls. In addition, there are a variety of spirits or souls associated with features and elements of the Mayan "local" universe; springs, rivers, hills, etc. Some of these souls are propitious and some are not, but even propitious spirits can be "dangerous" when angry, "out of harmony", or, "not of one heart", with the souls and spirits of others.

Mayans live in multiple universes. In addition to the physical world, there is the realm of the spirits and
ancestors. There is also the "whole" world, and the "local" world. The whole world is the geo-political world of national and international politics and economics of which the Mayans are very aware. The local world can be defined as the ritual space occupied by what has been called in so much of the literature as a "closed corporate group". It is bounded by sacred sites, mountains, identified as the "corners of the world".

The "corners" will be assumed to contain caves, or at least to be hollow. These caves, and others within the local Universe, contain the dwelling places of various dieties, and spirits. The caves and hollows are conceptualized as gates between the separate levels of the universe, rather than as "holes in the earth". Beyond the portals of the cave entrances, one will encounter a similar world to that in which we live, but inhabited by the spirits and ancestors who control the destinies of those living in this world. Each "corporate group" will define their space with different "corners" and each will identify, at the center of the local space, "the navel of the world", the center of the local universe: the area where the gods brought forth the earth. Associated with the "center" is the "Cave of the Ancestors". During ritual periods these points of the local universe become sites of pilgrimage and ritual.

Sol Tax recognized the importance of the local universe over the whole world as early as 1937, when he
wrote, "progress in the study of Guatemalan [and, therefore, Mayan] ethnology depends upon a prior recognition of the municipios as the primary (and possibly final) ethnic units in which it is involved" (1937:444). Tax defined the local universe of the municipio as, social units "conscious of their unity and uniqueness" (1937:433). Tax goes on to explain that the "local universe", what he calls the municipio, is recognized by the constitution of the state, and, "in like manner the Roman Catholic Church sanctions the elements of local religious organization which are, after a fashion, fitted to its ideology. Yet the peculiar formal combination of secular and sacred forms and functions in municipio organization are recognized by neither the Church or the State. The organization, follows a pattern...bound to local customs, particular santos, and the yearly ritual cycle...." (1937:442).

Mayan Space is square and oriented to the cardinal points. Where the geography doesn't allow for the true orientation, concessions are made, but the area will be treated as though the true orientation exists. The concepts of "squareness" and orientation to the cardinal points are repeated throughout Mayan spacial use. Houses, and milpas are also organized within these concepts. The squareness and the organization to the cardinal points, are associated with elements of color and "heat" and the quotidian cycle of the sun.
Balance and harmony between the various components of the Mayan local universe is the goal of every Mayan. Balance and harmony between the spirits of place, ancestors, and individuals creates a psychological and social environment both pleasing and beneficial. Any disturbance of that harmony creates anamosity, anger, illness, or chaos.

Hierarchies are found in every segment of Mayan life. The first that a child learns is that within the family. This same structure is carried into the wider social sphere of the village structure. Hierarchies structure the universe, hierarchies of gods, levels of the universe, spirits, and ancestors, social position, political position, and family position. Hierarchies are visible in that there are certain social spaces to be occupied by holders of various degrees of rank. From the allotment of space within the household to position in processionals and socio-political functions, a person's relative status within a given hierarchy can be identified.

Villages are interpreted within the group as "lineages", with a set of common ancestors. These ancestors are thought to reach to the original autochthonous pair, but they are also local, in the sense that the ancestors of the next village are "different" and not related, and that relations between the ancestors of that other place and the local residents can become
relations which can upset the balance and harmony of the earth, therefore the ancestors of the "other" can be dangerous beings. These common ancestors reside in caves found locally. The local "cave of the ancestors" becomes a place of common pilgrimage, where prayers, supplication and propitiation are offered.

It is in this local universe where Mayans find their identity. It is this local universe which provides the symbols and rituals which creates the boundaries of self and other. It will be shown that there is an intimate relationship between self and the local universe, and that land becomes the central symbol for both. It is then proposed that this is the symbol consciously and unconsciously entering into the choices by which Mayans order their lives.
CHAPTER 3

THE LIVING EARTH

In Mayan world-view land is a living thing. A thing with a soul and a "physical existence" which extends beyond mere geography and chemistry. It is from this living aspect of the world-earth that the Mayan people spring, and they maintain that union with the world-earth through subsequent generations. This symbol system encompasses the origins of the earth and the place of men in the universe. It establishes the abilities, requirements, and obligations for them to pursue healthy and fulfilling lives within their sphere of the universe. This chapter traces the inter-connections between the universe, the living land and the Mayan people.

The Birth of Mundo

Creation of the Maya Universe progressed from the collective Mind of the Gods. From the primordial world of Blue-green Bowl and Blue-green Plate, the incipient
universe which has always been, the Gods emerge. They begin the,

"fourfold siding, fourfold cornering, measuring, fourfold staking, halving the cord, stretching the cord in the sky, on the earth, the four sides, the four corners."

This creation is done by:


But, who is the Maker-Modeler? It is that being:

"...named Bearer, Begetter, Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote, Great White Peccary, Tapir, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea, Maker of the Blue-Green Plate, Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl, as they are called, also named, also described as the midwife, matchmaker named Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, defender, protector, twice midwife, twice matchmaker, (D. Tedlock, 1985:71).

\(^{1}\)Heart is a measure of balance or community of soul. It is common for a chiman to explain that "curing" is restoring the participants to "one heart".
Within this "Maker-Modeler", the multi-personified "Sovereign Plumed Serpent", are the creators of the world. Together with "Heart of the Sky", they are responsible for the Universe of Man. Primary among these facets of the Plumed Serpent is the inclusion of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, for they are the primary pair; the first couple, and the link between the gods of creation and the gods of nature and man. While there is a discussion of the creation of the world, it becomes clear later in the myths of The Popol Vuh, that the world wasn't created as a single entity, but that the Universe created by the fourfold cornering was "layered". While there was the world which the gods were preparing for the creation of man, there was an "underworld", Xibalba, the domain of the "lords" who were responsible for the tribulations of man.

Mayans see the universe as "square", or, rather, like a cube, with the visible earth as the central level and the underworld and the heavens as the other levels. Depending on the source, there may be as few as these three levels or as many as twenty-three levels to the universe: thirteen levels above and nine below the visible world. But the number isn't as important to this argument as the fact of the layering. Man exists between two supernatural worlds, governed by those who can
inflict good or evil, joy or suffering. Passage between these levels are thought to be caves.

The caves are the passages between the natural and supernatural worlds, but, according to Bassie-Sweet, they are also the vagina of the earth and it is from the caves that the gods and races enter upon the earth (1991:77,ff.). Also identified with the caves are the cenotes or natural wells of the Central American lowlands which were formed by the collapse of cave roofs. These trap ground water and some are holy places, places of pilgrimage and sacrifice (Weaver, 1993:365; Vogt, 1969:367). Vogt has identified "caves" and "cenotes" in a single cognitive classification, "ch'enetik" for his population in Zinacantan (1969:387).

Trees growing at the rim of such sinks often extend visible root systems beyond the edge and into the water below. These trees, particularly a species identified as the "Ceiba" tree are identified by Bassie-Sweet as the "Tree of Life", whose roots were used by the ancestors to emerge from the underworld onto the surface by climbing the root system. In the pre-columbian art of Central America, this "Tree of Life" appears as a stylized cross. Bassie-Sweet points out, that many crosses associated with Mayan sites and ritual have been identified, not as crosses, but as trees by a variety of authors (1991:81).
After the creation of the world, there were three attempts to create beings who would, "Name now our names, praise us", "keep our days" and "glorify us", recognize that the gods are the mother-father of all things, and give praise, respect, and nurturance. The first attempt was with earth and mud, a failure when the bodies would not hold shape and disintegrated easily in water. The second attempt was with wood, but these could not think or hold memories. They too, were destroyed. In the third attempt at the creation of "real" humans, Xmucane, took yellow and white corn, ground them together nine times and with water for the blood and fat, created man. According to The Popol Vuh, at Broken Place, Bitter Water Place, citadels in the Quiche highlands of Guatemala, Xmucane created the first "real" people and the four that she created where the founders of the four lineages of the Quiche Mayans (D. Tedlock 1985:163-166).

In, The Book of Chilam Balam, a similar tale is told of the creation of man. After the birth of Lord Time, the Uinal, the basic twenty day cycle which is the basis of the Mayan calendric system, Lord Time decended from his place, "there in the heart of heaven, there in the heart of the water" and created all things. On the thirteenth day, he took water, and "moistened earth and shaped it and made man" (Edmonson, 1986:122-123). There followed a seven day cycle during which all else that had not been created was created and speech was given to man. In
Mayan cosmology, thirteen and seven complete a uinic, a 20 day cycle. Edmonson also translates uinic as "man" and states that the creation of the uinic is the birth of time itself. (1986:120,121,footnotes).

Man from Soil to Gods

After the creation of the earth, Plumed Serpent, in the incarnation of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane gave birth to two sons, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. One Hanahpu, with Xbalquiyalo as his wife, fathered two sons, One Monkey and One Artisan, through whom the arts of man were distributed. These sons were taught music, writing, jewelry and stone carving and metallurgy. It is with his second mate, Blood Woman, daughter of a Lord of the Underworld, that One Hunahpu fathered Hunahpu and Xbalanque, the Trickster Twins, who defeat the Lords of the Underworld and provide light for the earth. Xmucane, an aspect of the original creative force, becomes both, the creator of the earth in the guise of the "Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl, Maker of the Blue-Green Plate", and the creator of man, in the role of the "Maker-Modeler" of man from soil or corn. She also becomes the mediator between autochthonous man and the gods, in the role of the "Grandmother of the Sun" (Hunahpu), and the transference of the arts of the first natural-born grandchildren, One Artisan and One Monkey, to created
man. D. Tedlock points out that while "Maker of the Blue-Green Plate" and "Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl" are originally used as names of the creative forces of the universe, they are later described among the arts practiced by One Artisan and One Monkey (D. Tedlock, 1985:348). Xmucane becomes the link between the original creative forces of the gods, and the layered universe of Mayan cosmology. Her final mediation is between the earth, soil, and man, in her role as the creator of man from soil and water, or corn and water.

Union of the Souls

Crops have souls which are given by the spirits or Gods. The souls of the crops are as vulnerable as those of humans and must be cared for. There is a tale told in Santiago Atitlan that states that crops are the children of the earth. In this case the earth is seen as female, and it is the men's job to plant and cultivate the crops. With harvest, the collection of the "children of the earth", it becomes the women's property. Children are the domain of women and it is they who must be responsible for them.

Among the Tzo?ontahal of Nash's study, the word for seed is "yal". The metaphorical sense of the word yal, is, "child of a woman" (Nash 1971:43).
Watanabe reports, "Many Chimaltecos still leave two stalks of corn standing in each field at harvest time to guard the gathered ears until they can be hauled to town." Maize is called..."Our Mother Corn". (1992:66) Watanabe's tale of the stalks left standing in the fields as the protector of the harvest until such time as it can be moved into a safer storage area is an example of the relationship between the spirit of the crop, the soul or spirit of the milpa and the "children" or harvest of the milpa. These sacrificed children provide the sustenance of the Maya, and the Maya are expected to honor and respect the entity, soul or spirit who sacrifices its children and to provide reciprocal food for the spirit of the milpa. Food of the spirits include candles, incense, fireworks, candles, "trago" (for the ancestors like to drink), and, of course, prayers (Nash, 1971:41-46).

While "food" is offered to the spirits of the milpa, it is not only these spirits which must be "fed" and honored. Houses, the traditional wattle and daub rancheros of the Mayans, laid out to the four corners of the universe also have souls which must be fed and honored. When a house is built and later in the event of illness or social tensions within a household, the soul of the house is fed and honored at rituals and ceremonies carried out at the centerpost of the house.
Sacrifices which include blood and flesh are provided to the soul of the house through a hole at the base of the centerpost. That hole is equated by Bassie-Sweet, (1991:81) to be an instance of the cave and the centerpost with its ubiquitous cross by extension becomes a tree. Offerings and sacrifices placed within this "cave" feed the spirit of the house and the spirit in turn cures, settles and protects the associated souls of those who dwell within.

Human souls are composite in nature. Mayans have three or more "souls". The first is ?ora, or time, the given lifespan of an individual, bestowed at conception and placed in the third level of heaven. This is conceptualized among the Tzotzil Mayans as a multicolored candle of width and length corresponding to the set length of time provided for an individual. Though this period is predestined, it can be altered through illness, accident, injury or witchcraft (Gossen,1995:563).

The second is the anima soul, associated with breath. This is the animating soul of the body and the one associated with the afterlife of an ancestor (Watanabe 1992:86; Gossen 1994:565).

The third soul which Mayans possess is the co-soul or animal soul companion, which is of the same sex, and born at the same time as the individual with whom it is

associated. The co-soul lives a life similar to the person with whom it is associated and the two entities share joys, grief and pain in equal measure. Any harm coming to the animal soul is likewise transferred to the human co-resident. As long as the ?ora burns the two entities live, when the ?ora goes out, the two die together (Gossen 1995:563).

It is the anima soul which can become dislodged, damaged or lost in cases of illness or "fright". This soul hovers near the center-post of a house when it is not in the body, during periods of sleep or illness for instance. And this is the soul which enters into relationships with the spirit or soul of the house, and the souls of the other inhabitants of the house.

Curing ceremonies for household members are held at or near the center-post of houses for this reason. If the ceremony is in the victim's home, he is expected to remain in the vicinity of the center-post until his soul is properly secured again. If the ceremony occurs in some other household, he is not allowed to remain near the center-post lest his soul becomes confused and choose to remain in the foreign house. If a child is born away from home, a ceremony is conducted to remove the child and his soul, and the soul is "swept" toward his proper home.

Like the souls of children, adult souls are susceptible to dislodgement and loss. Soul calling is a
common form of curing among traditional Mayans. It is the curer's job to identify the cause of illness and prescribe the proper combinations of ritual paraphernalia, prayers, herbs and medicines and prayers to restore the proper balance to the souls.

If a curer suspects that an illness is due to a loss of soul, the locality of the loss is determined and the area is swept to gather the soul. The soil is gathered in a cloth, preferably an article of the patient's clothing and deposited under the head of his bed so that the soul might find it's way back "home" (Nash, 1971:13). Nash reports that informants formerly took soil from under a deceased's bed to bury with the body. Watanabe gives examples of a man striking the earth where he has fallen, that his soul, might not stay behind, and of mothers sweeping the earth and calling to the soul at places where children have been injured (1992:87).

The important feature of these tales is the idea that the soul recognizes the soil as a "container" of similar value to its human counterpart. The soil is swept toward the home of the human counterpart, or gathered and carried into the home and vicinity of the patient that it might realize its mistake. Likewise, souls hover near the roof of the house, particularly in the area of the centerpost when not occupying the body. The house is a "container" made of soil in terms of the
mud walls, and the centerpost has been described as the
tree of life which extends from the entrance cave between
the natural and supernatural worlds.

Beside the loss of soul due to accident, injury or
"fright", illness is also caused by social disturbances
or witchcraft. Curers often "pulse" a patient to find
out what the blood will tell of the relationships of the
patient within his or her social environment and tell,
"what the heart needs" (Nash,1970:147). Witchcraft
illnesses become battles between the soul of the curer
and that of the witch, for the soul of the patient
has been attributed to the swayohel, nagual,
or animal co-souls (Oakes,1950; Gossen,1994; Nash,1970). These co-souls which have an earthly existence, and are
often seen in the streets and fields at night, reside
"within the earth", in the caves with the ancestors and
"St. Jerome" who are responsible for their care and safety
(Gossen,1994:). In the entertainment described by Hill,
the animals in the caves of the stage volcano were a
representation of these co-spirits, a fact which the
Spanish observers had no way of recognizing. The fact
that they were still safe within their "caves" after the
final capture of the Mayan "king", was another indication

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3Barbara Tedlock gives an extensive discussion of the
practice of "pulsing", and the source and types of
information delivered by the blood (1985:133-138).
to the colonial Cakchiquels that their place in the re-defined political world was secure (1992:6).

**Earth and Man are Similar**

Clay pots have souls as do containers made from gourd, where metal or enamel pots do not. In pottery production among the Tzontahal, the term by which a tube of clay is formed, ya sb'al, has the connotation of creativity, and the kneading of clay and the grinding of corn share a common metaphor based on the similarity of the motion involved. There are times when the verb, sb'al, is used instead of the normal verb, tz'um, to refer to seeding in the planting of crops. Nash was also informed that the terms sb'al lum, and sb'al ?ac'al, used in the ritual prayer pattern, known as the pat?o?tan, are references to the creation of man from soil and mud (Nash, 1971:53).

Bodies have "heat" and the balance of "heat" within the body is the measure of a body's well-being. Curing ceremonies often reajust the balance of heat in a body, and the first duty of a curer is to determine the nature of the heat imbalance within the patient. Infants' souls are particularly subject to the "hot" and "cold" glances of other individuals and for the first few weeks of their lives are protected and hidden from the glances of all but the most intimate family members, lest the soul takes a fright or is dislodged by
intemperate glances. Medicines are administered to raise or lower the heat of an illness, and restore the natural balance of the body by the application and administration of "hot" or "cold" medicines.

Like the human body, soil has "heat", and the quality of soil or its "health", is discussed in terms of its heat. The richest, most fertile soils are considered "hot". Women are considered "hot" while pregnant, while infertile women are considered to be "cold". Likewise the less productive soils are considered colder. When land becomes "tired" and less productive it is fallowed to allow for the return of a field's "heat". Houses are treated with "hot medicines" when it has been diagnosed that the cause of illness within, or the unrest between the inhabitants is caused by the illness or hunger of a house's soul (Nash 1770:152).

Vogt reports the following myth in relation to the naming of a well or spring in the paraje of Paste'.

After showing the location of the new well in or near a cave, the discoverer said, "I am going to die." He entered the cave, and remained for three days, "one with the ground, there in the ground".... He died on the third day after uttering the words, "You can drink the water, I will look over it, but you mustn't lose its name, it is "Little Water." (Vogt,1990:64)

There are numerous examples that the earth is a living entity to the Mayans. The interpretation of the
trinity by Barbara Tedlock's informants, which sees the whole world as "Mundo", a totality of the physical and spiritual aspects of the world, is the ultimate example. According to her informants, "Mundo" can "push, pull, or suck an individual to the ground", an affliction to inform the individual, that he or she is being called to serve "Mundo" in the role of a day-keeper or calendar-diviner. One of the primary reasons for the creation of man was that they were to, "Speak now our names, praise us. We are your mother, we are your father. Pray to us and keep our days" (Tedlock, 1985:78).

To recognize a potential day-keeper, Mundo must have a cognitive ability. It has a soul which has heat. It can become "tired" or ill, and must be rested or "medicated", to restore its heat and balance. That the earth is alive is expressed by the fact that crops are the "children" of the earth, an idea of crops which is found throughout the Mayan area (Nash, 1970:43; Watanabe, 1992:66).

Earth and Man are the Same

Tedlock's informants, whose world-view see's the ancestors as both spirit and "powdered bones, powdered clay, and powdered sand", binds the earth in its physical form to the physical form of the Nantat, the sphere of the ancestors which form the third part of the Mayan interpretation of the Trinity.
A curer's Pat?o?tan:

Sacred Earth, sacred world,
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.

Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

(Nash, 1971:153)

In this simple prayer, the earth as a divine being, holding a position in the structured layered universe, is being petitioned by the inhabitants of this surface universe, who identify themselves as its "clay children", to assist with Jesus Christ and the spirits which exist with Him in Holy heaven, and the spirits of the holy herbs to effect a cure. Not only is the earth seen as holy, it is seen as the mother of the petitioners in this prayer. This application to Mundo, "Holy Earth", binds
the physical aspects of the earth, the Nantat, and the supplicants into a common symbol, "soil".

The common thread through all this material is the fact that human souls are linked to the soil: that soil, and all that is directly associated with it, clay pots, crops and all growing things, animals, the wattle and daub house of the ranchero, as well as humans, who were originally created of earth, are endowed with souls. Mundo, the earth itself, is a divine being with a soul and cognition, and directly involved in the care and well-being of the Mayan people. Mundo is not only a product of the creation complex, it is, through the mediation of Xmucane, an ingredient in the final creation of man, and through the concept of earth as a living thing, the Mother of Mankind with man's emergence onto the face of the world through a cave, the vagina of the world.
CHAPTER 4

SPACE, LAND, and MIND

Mayans see themselves as an integral part of the universe, with real conceptual ties to creation and land. Mayans are part of a "living earth", and recognize a unity in body and soul with that entity.

As stated above, the Mayans live in multiple universes. Mayans are very aware of the "wide world" of national and international politics and economics. Participation in that world provides a large part of the income by which they maintain their community exclusivity. Labor, either in a local arena, or as migrants, or participation in a marketing system that transcends the local milieu provides the extra income necessary for survival not provided by the "subsistence economy" of the milpa which is the choice of production in the Mayan world (Wolf, 1959; Cancian, 1992; Nash, 1970; Brintnall, 1979; Watanabe, 1992; Cambranes, 1985; Annis, 1987).

As most ethnographic studies indicate, Mayans are pragmatic in terms of choices made that reflect their understanding of the wider world. Intensifying milpa
production, and alternating cash crops (Swetnam, 1989; Annis, 1987), investing in trucks to capture transportation expenditures of the local population (Nash, 1970; Cancian 1992), or participation in day or migrant labor to secure necessary and sufficient income for family survival are responses to the world of state and international participation.

Even choices pertaining to the requirements of service to the gods and spirits are made with a view to practical considerations. In an anecdotal account, Cancian tells of an aging chiman who accepted a ride in a Land Rover to make his obligatory rounds to the homes of the areal spirits. "The last cross to be visited was near the road. When we arrived he had me stop the car, took one look at the downpour, ordered a young assistant out into the rain to light the necessary candles at the base of the cross, and did his praying from the front seat..." (1965:13).

In the words of Watanabe, "Why, in the face of often transformative changes in their lives, should the Maya preserve communities as a locus for the enduring ethnic identity, let alone as the strategic basis for "class struggle?" (1992:11). This phenomenon of the "pueblo", as the seat of identity has long been noted. Tax's articles presenting this argument were written in 1937 and 1941 respectively. Waldemar Smith, who's focus on the problem is only slightly different, asks the same
questions. "What motivates Indians to allocate scarce resources to religious spending? What effect does the pattern of religious integration that results from this consumption have on the Indians' status in colonial society?" (1977:9). Like Watanabe, Smith places the identity and integration in the ritual patterns of the community.

Smith agrees that village cohesion and insulation against a hostile "other" is true, it doesn't answer the questions he posed on motivation to religious spending and effects on status. He further states that the system provides "core values". Smith also sees the validity of the "etic" interpretations; that the fiesta system maintains a status quo by stabilizing both sectors of a colonial society. The fiesta system allows control over its members, especially economic surpluses, and,

"...[entrenches]...traditional communitarian adaptation while cutting them off from the alternative adaptation of economic mobility. The exclusion of Indians from metropolitan social and economic life creates the conditions in which the fiesta can thrive, while substantiating the superiority of the metropolitan society. The motivation for the system arises from economic considerations and plays out in political rather than economic impact" (1977:10-11).

It will be argued here that the fiesta isn't the basis of the Mayan communal identity question, but the end result of a structural organization that begins with birth and in the home. It will be suggested that the
fiestas which occur with the quotidian cycles of the sun are, very much like that celebration described by Hill, in which symbols of Mayan cosmology are displayed and manipulated in ways that inform and reaffirm the Mayans' place in the world.

**Community and the Universe**

The Mayan community of identification and association is the limited universe. This is the universe created by the "fourfold siding and fourfold cornering, measuring, fourfold staking". It is defined differently by each of the pueblos. Each separate group will identify the corners of their universe. Each will give the names of the mountains at the corners of that universe wherein reside the spirits or souls of the earth which were placed by the gods to hold up the sky, and each will describe the "center" of the universe, the navel of the world at or near the center of the pueblo. Each will identify the caves wherein live the village ancestors, who cooperate, respond, watch over and interfere in the lives of the village populations (Oakes, 1951; Nash, 1971; Brintnall, 1979). Each of these local universes will be conceptualized in terms of the cardinal points, and their associated colors. Each of these local universes maintains the layered structure of the originally created universe. Each of these local
limited universes will be reconstructed many times within the context of the Mayan use of space.

Caves are understood as portals offering entrance to other levels of the "squared" universe and provides access to the gods and ancestors who reside there. Costumbre (i.e., religious ritual) and sacrifice are offered at these sights because of the ease of access to the inhabitants of the other levels. The earliest examples of the access which these caves offer are found in the *Popol Vuh*.

One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, the original "born" inhabitants of the earth, played ball "on the road to Xibalba". The noise they made attracted the attention of the Lords of the Underworld. Led by Lord One Death and Lord Seven Death, each lord had a "commission and domain assigned by One and Seven Death" (D. Tedlock, 1985:106). The lords of the Underworld include Lord House Corner, and Lord Blood Gatherer, whose commission is to draw blood from people. Lords Pus Master and Juandice Master is to make people swell and make their legs ooze pus, to make their faces yellow. Lords Bone Sceptor and Lord Skull Sceptor, have the duty to cause emaciation and edema. Trash Master and Stab Master cause pain and death to those who allow dirt and filth to collect in their doorways and patios. Lords Wing and Packstrap cause "sudden death" (p.107). Such are the Lords of the Underworld.
Called by the Lords of the Underworld, One and Seven Hunahpu journeyed to their domain. At a cross-road they were told the direction:

"Red Road was one, and Black Road was another. White Road was one and Yellow Road another. There were four roads, and Black Road spoke: "I am the one you are taking, I am the lord's road." ...this was the road to Xibalba" (D. Tedlock, 1985:111).

In Mayan cosmology, black is the color of the West, night, and death. One and Seven Hunahpu "descended" into the west, to approach the domain of the Lords. Bassie-Sweet notes that in the, Ritual of the Bacabs, illness is seen as semi-personified beings, and quotes this portion of that text:

"So where came you from?
   In the heart of the yaxche-tree, in the heart of the east...

Where came you, when you came?
   In the heart of the yaxche-tree in the heart of the north...

Where came you, when you came?
   In the heart of the yaxche-tree, in the heart of the south..."

but when the spirit of the illness reaches the fourth direction, west, much more information is elicited on its birth and entry into the world.

"Where came you, when you came?
   From the heart of Metnal [the Underworld], from the heart of the water [in the cave],
   Where came you forth?
   From the mouth of the dark cave" (1991:85).

Directional quadrants of the world [and associated colors] are found, "in every region of the
Maya area, throughout their history" (Tozzer, 1941, cited in Bassie-Sweet 1991:23). Red for east, the direction of the rising sun, white for north, where the sun's heat is the strongest, yellow for south and black for west, where the sun sets or enters the underworld for its journey to the cave from which it will emerge in the east on its next diurnal cycle. Bassie-Sweet offers a fifth color to the group, blue-green, or, yax, which is associated with the center (1991:23). Besides the association with the quotidian cycle of the sun, the colors are also associated with a sense of "heat". East, with its association with the noon sun being the hottest, and west, associated with night, being the coldest.

Illness is not the only resource which is found in the caves. Corn was introduced to the earth from caves or "hollow rocks", through the participation of birds or ants, who "freed" the seed for man (Nash, 1970:44). The Ancestors are thought to reside in a "parallel world within the caves and co-souls are thought to live in the caves under the care of "St. Jerome" ["Lord Jaguar" in Tzotzil] in his "minor form". In his "major form", St Jerome is responsible for the lighting and placement the ?ora in the third level of heaven at the time of conception (Gossen, 1994:564). The "spirit of the cave", who can offer benefits of favor or wealth, in exchange for an eternity of servitude are also examples
of resources which are beyond "this" level of the universe.

It is through the quotidian cycle of the sun, that the caves offer not only passage to the lower levels of the universe, but the higher levels as well. It's emergence in the east and passage through the higher levels before descending into the caves to the west, as well as the association of the caves with the spirits of the higher levels of the universe implicitly reminds us that the caves are multi-directional.

Villages are seen as "lineages", or collections of lineages. While Nash is explicit in this argument (1970:7,97), other sources refer to "great families" (Redfield and Rojas, 1964:91-92), or "extended families" (Brintnall,1979:78), or "patrilineal decent system" (Hill,1992:31-38). The fact remains that these are lineages since they function through the appeasement, cooperation, and intercession of lines of ancestors in the daily lives of the village inhabitants. The true nature of the lineage system is clear in the founding of the Quiche as related in the Popol Vuh. Attempts at the creation of man, failed until the creation of "real men". The "real men" were the heads of the four Quichean lineages. These are different from the thirteen allied groups whom the Quiche believe, like themselves, to have migrated into the highlands from the "east" (Tedlock,1985:163-165,327n.), and include the populations.
of similar ethnicity at the boundaries of their universe. This idea is reiterated by Nash, whose informants state that they are, "the true men", and the world is limited by, "the true word", i.e. the Tzeltal dialect (1970:xvii). Nash notes that one reason for this is that the limited universe serves as a mnemonic device serving to identify places of safety and danger. It defines the locale of auspicious vs. inauspicious spirits and helps to keep the traditional mythology alive (1970:25).

This type of behavior control and modification is supported by Basso, who shows that among the Western Apache, "the land works on them" to provide a constant visual reminder of stories and accounts of moral behavior. Basso quotes Bakhtin, describing physical features of the universe as chronotopes:

"...points in the geography of the community where time and space intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible of human contemplation, likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements time and history and the enduring character of the people.... Chronotopes thus stand as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members' images of themselves" (quoted in Basso, 1990:128).

What better "chronotopes" for the modification of behavior than those at which there is a access directly to the modifiers of the world such as the gods, spirits, and ancestors who intervene directly in life processes?

This universe is layered into a hierarchy of spirits, souls, men, saints, and gods, and oriented to
the cardinal points. These two features, hierarchy and cardinal point orientation, are reiterated again and again within the context of the Mayan limited or local universe. They are basic concepts in the socialization process of Mayan culture. They become internalized concepts, defining not only the universe, but the position of everything held within that universe. They become part of the "collective representations" or "collective consciousness" in the Durkheimian sense which affects men's behavior.

Dumont reminds us that, "...men do not behave: they act with an idea in their heads, perhaps that of conforming to custom. Man acts as a function of what he thinks, and while he has up to a certain point the ability to arrange his thoughts in his own way, to construct new categories, he does so by starting from the categories which are given by society" (1970:6).

Indoctrination of spacial orientation and hierarchy among the Maya begins with the home and family environment. It registers not only a person's position within the family, but the mutual obligations and expectations of the participants.

The house is square, and oriented to the cardinal points with the door facing east. Even where natural features of the landscape doesn't make this possible, the house will be conceptualized as if it were true. After the framing of the house, the setting of the four
cornerposts and the centerpost, there is costumbre held for the "feeding of the spirits which reside in these major beams of construction. At the centerpost, which bisects the west wall of the house, prayers and the sacrifice of blood and flesh are made so that the spirits will protect and guide the house's future inhabitants. The sacrifice is placed in a hole opened at the base of the centerpost described above as a "cave". With the completion of the house, construction of the roof and plastering of the walls with mud, a second ceremony is held, again offering sacrifice and "food" to feed the house.

The western portion of the house is associated with women, darkness, and by extension, the moon and the associated moon goddess, Xmucane (or Blood Woman, mother of the trickster twins, and daughter-in-law of Xmucane). The position of honor of the mother or grandmother is near the centerpost of the house, and it is a seat relinquished to female visitors of higher social status or age. Men's place within the house is to the east, associated with the rising sun, and the seat of honor is at the door. As with women, the "prestigious roles are usually concomitant with age, and there is seldom a conflict between age and role status" (Nash, 1970:295).

The universe is recreated in the milpa, a feature of Chorti Mayan culture noted by Wisdom (quoted in Bassie-Sweet, 1991:xx), again, the "squareness" and "cornering"
are recognized. Nash gives dimensions of rows and hills five spans apart reinforcing the "squareness". Redfield and Villa Rojas go to greater length describing the milpa and the costumbre practiced there, in their study of Chan Kom. Not only are the four corners recognized in Chan Kom, but the center is also represented (1934:115). In Nash's ethnography, as in Watanabe's, there is costumbre practiced in the milpa, but it is not possible to determine if there is a recognition of the "center" from these accounts.

The village itself recreates the universe. The "squareness" of the universe is again recognized conceptually in the village. Again, Redfield and Villa Rojas gives the clearest example of this, though it is verified by Nash, Oakes, and others. While stating that there are actually seven entrances into Chan Kom, only four are recognized as entrances. They are associated with the cardinal points, and crosses have been erected. From these crosses, the guardians of the village watch over and protect the inhabitants, "prepared to seize any evil that should attempt to cross the threshold. At the center of the village is a cenote, ...it is usual to erect a cross near its edge to mark the center-point", though no cross appears in Chan Kom (1934:114, and fn.).

While hierarchy exists through the levels of the universe and is reflected in a hierarchy of space which expands to the edges of the limited universe, so too,
does hierarchy exist, in ever expanding circles, to the limits of the social milieu of the local universe.

Gender roles, position, and duties are learned from infancy within the home. Liminality, both social and spacial are first taught and observed within the confines of the house and patio. It is in the context of the home that children are first introduced to the souls, and learn the necessity of proper respect and behavior to maintain the well being of others. While the concept of behavior and position are reported by other ethnographers, it is Nash who gives the best account of the early instillation of these concepts. "Obedience, expressed by the verb, c un, which means both believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear or shame. Fear...by the threats of invoking evil spirits and the threat or use of punishment." And again, "a good child is a quiet child.... The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase, "behave yourself", is translated into Spanish as, "Don't do anything" (1970:109). In Chan Kom, Redfield and Villa Rojas define the family as, "a hierarchy: the parents expect obedience from their children, and older brothers and sisters expecting it from those younger than they." "The duty of obedience to and respect for one's elders is implicit in conduct and conversation" (1934:190).
It is in these earliest lessons in the home that the requirements of punctilious behavior are instilled in the Maya. Obedience, respect, and ideas of proper conduct are learned early, and patterns of this expected behavior are rarely rejected or neglected.

Punctilious behavior maintains the harmony between individuals. It is also believed to maintain the harmony between the souls and spirits of the various levels of the universe. Punctilious behavior does not preclude free will, but, behavior is expected to conform to the requirements maintaining the safe and harmonious relationships between the individual and the entire universal community of individuals, souls, spirits, saints and the land in which he lives.

Children are actively participating in the sharing of household responsibilities by the age of four or five (Nash, 1970:49,111; Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1934:190). As children mature, the lessons of position and responsibility are extended. The responsibilities which they owe to their sponsors or "co-padres" are added to the household duties. So are roles and chores of household responsibility, either as assistant care givers to younger siblings, errand running, or duties in the care and maintenance of the house, gardens or livestock.

Boys, by the age of eight or nine are participating in the milpa and by twelve to fifteen, are recruited into the hierarchical structure of the "cargo system"
(Oakes, 1951:55,175). The system provides the religious and political organization of the village. Also hierarchically arranged, participants are expected to move into and through the system dependent on ability and circumstance until such time as they have completed all or as many of those offices which they are capable of fulfilling (Oakes, 1951; Nash, 1971; Annis, 1987; Brintnall, 1979). The first of the steps, reserved for the youngest, requires the incumbents to sweep the square and clean interior of the church. Cargos shift back and forth between offices of purely "religious" and purely "political" responsibility. Each step of the hierarchy is a test and training ground for the next level of office. Nash reports of her population that by the age of 30, less than 5% of the male population had failed to serve in at least one office of the local cargo system (1970:165).

Brintnall reports that the cargo system has broken down (or is in the process of breaking down) and the former power of the traditional religious leaders has been replaced with modern Catholic and Protestant congregations. While this is true, members of the former system have maintained the structure of the system with new methods of recruitment and duties. The children of the original leaders have assumed the leadership roles. The age-grade had disappeared, but the roles of cooperative responsibility and interdependence within the
structure is a familiar feature to the local population. "Ability-grade" is replacing age-grade. Mediating between the internal world of the village and the external world of state, national and international politics and economics is the new agenda. But, the maintenance of the village identity is still the source of the new agenda. Nash reports that while certain segments of this ideal structure are being transformed by encroachment of greater involvement with the outside world, there are transformations which maintain features of the system. Cancian reports that when a section of the village in which he worked ceded from the central part of the area, they began their own cargo structure to provide for the care and nurturance of the saints of the new political entity and fulfill the obligations of the fiestas.

The fiesta is the final segment of the intellectual chain between the individual, the community and the souls, spirits and gods. It is at the fiesta, where the rituals and their associated symbols are publicly and communally displayed and manipulated. The fiesta is the pinnacle of the hierarchy of costumbre, from individual, to family to group to community. The fiesta re-establishes and re-affirms the relationship between the saint and its associated god or gods, souls and spirits and the community as a whole, and with the individuals whose responsibility it was to prepare and conduct the
fiesta. Saints are removed from their sanctuaries and paraded through the streets. They are presented at the costumbre shrines and altars of the municipios. They are bathed, dressed and fed. They are presented with sacrifices and prayers. They are often housed temporarily in the structures of the political organization of the municipio, confirming their identity and jurisdiction within that part of village life.

The conduct of a fiesta utilizes all of the spaces of the Mayan local universe. Beginning in the home, particularly the home of the person sponsoring the fiesta, it proceeds to the plaza and the buildings housing the civil authority, and church. The interrelationship of the civil and religious spaces are recognized. In each area, different sets of actors, with different positions in the hierarchical order of the social structure interact.

At the beginning of a fiesta for the "Birth of the Sun", (Christmas Eve) in Santiago Atitlan, I witnessed a drummer and piper accompany a minor official to the house of the next highest member of the committee responsible for building the house in which the Sun would be born. After some time within the house, the two men left together, again accompanied by the drummer and piper to the home of the third member of the team. At each stop along the way, time was spent in ritual drinking and smoking and prayer.
This proceeded throughout the afternoon, until they arrived in a group of eight at the home of the primero mayor, (the head of the politico-religious organization of the village) whom I was visiting. When the committee responsible for the building of the reed thatched house left for the mountain upon which the house would be constructed in secrecy, the members of the committee who had started early in the day were already quite drunk. Though the location of the house was a secret known only to the members of the committee, fireworks (bombes) were set off regularly through the evening, so that the population of the village could determine the location and progression of the building team.

If a saint and its associated gods and spirits are pleased with the way "their names were kept", they will share their graces with the community at large. If the fiesta is not considered a success, it can cause any malfeasance to fall on the community as a whole. Lack of, or crop destroying rains, are often cited as an example of the gods' displeasure.

Through the proper and successful sponsorship of a fiesta a man's place in the community is known. Though changes in the recruitment to the fiesta system have been reported by Smith (1975), successful completion of a fiesta is a stage in the political-religious hierarchy of the municipios and preparation for further advancement in this structure. Nash notes that the social space one
occupies at these functions also denotes the position within the structure which a participant occupies; that space helps define the role of an inter-social performer (1970:292-293,ff.).

The Mayans move between their local universe and the wider universe of national and international interaction because of the solidity and identification which the pueblo imparts. The Fiesta is as stated above, the ritual at which the interdependence and the unity of the group is publicly displayed. It is the place in which the symbols of identity and unification are presented and publicly manipulated to give strength and durability to the group. At the fiesta, the links between the old gods, souls and spirits, the new incorporated Gods and saints, the limited universe and the people are played out in terms of the hierarchies and positions of those participating. At the fiesta, the symbols of self and group are set and the boundaries of the group are demarcated. It is because of the enactments of the fiesta, that the Mayans can maneuver with comfort across the boundaries of the limited universe to participate in the wider world.

Maude Oakes questioned the age of the pueblo of Todos Santos and got this response: "...[it] is as old as the world. In the beginning, there were no ladinos, just naturales, Tata Dios placed Todos Santos in the middle of the sky. God said,'This pueblo is in the
center of the world; it is the heart of the world."
Everything in the world is going to be destroyed but not
the pueblo of Todos Santos. So this has been a sign to
us. Who knows how long a time?" Todos Santos is secure
with the gods. Its souls and spirits and people are in
harmony and the wider world is temporal.
CHAPTER 5

THE LINKS OF SELF AND LAND

In the beginning of this paper, it was stated that to understand the unique behavior of the Maya, it would be necessary to inspect Mayan world-view as well as the circumstances of economic necessity. Choices regarding economic behavior which seem irrational or self-limiting in terms of economic progress and incorporation in the wider state and international structure of the state, are tempered by deeply ingrained and internalized beliefs held in the Mayan psyche. The Mayan populations are ingrained with specific cultural core beliefs similar to those which Geertz first suggested for the populations of Bali, Morrocco and Java. That they provide a sense of "self" unique to the populations and provide a unity that bounds the group against "other". It is no accident that "Mayan populations" is used, because, the "core beliefs" which provide the sense of "self" are spacially limiting and spaces are mutually exclusive to "group". While the mythic structure which dominates Mayan thought is "pan-Mayan", the translation of that structure into practice is fractal.
It was stated that the Mayan view of land is so radically different from that of outside observers, that the core concepts of land affecting choices are overlooked. I suggested that by combining research into the symbolic values of the Mayan world with discussion of the rationality of the choices which Mayans make in terms of their economic pursuits, a clearer understanding of Mayan persistence in the "closed corporate structure", Wolf identified, and why the Mayan children, excluded from this system become the "Ishmaels" of Central America.

It has been shown that within the Mayan world-view is a cognition that the world itself is a living entity. Not only is the world the object of creation, it is part of the forces which designed and made manifest its own creation. It is a god (or goddess) which provides for and protects its inhabitants. It takes an active part in the lives of the Mayan people, both in terms of providing for Mayans and in terms of monitoring and coercing the behavior that maintains the balance which the universe requires.

The ethnographic material implies that Mayans see a personal relationship between the earth and the self: a relationship involving both the body; in terms of the "mud and clay", or the "powdered bone, powdered clay and powdered sand" from which the body is composed; and the soul. While the Mayan soul is a composite, the animating
portion of the soul has such an affinity with the earth, that it recognizes earth as a substitute container, should it find itself separated from the body.

The material shows that the Mayans see a very structured, hierarchical universe in which they live. That universe is limited and bounded. The hierarchy of that universe places "man" as an individual, in a position subordinate to "Man", as a group. Man was created from the living earth by the gods, and placed on one level of the universe. He mediates between the spirits and souls of the other levels to maintain harmony, as they in turn also mediate between their respective levels and that of man. It is a hierarchy of interdependence rather than power.

Hierarchy and interdependence is reiterated throughout the local universe. It is a concept with which the socialization process begins. Space, position and obligations are instilled from infancy and the ever widening circles of responsibility and expectations are integrated throughout a life's cycle. Each stage of that integration is carried out in a replica of the limited universe, beginning in the home, then the milpas, and finally into the social and politico-religious sphere of the village. The village becomes the center of the "whole world", which reaches to the limits created in the "four-fold cornering of the world". The soil of that world is the material from which the Mayans were created.
It is the material substance of the ancestors. It is also the body of a living deity. Mayans recognize a unity with place.

The fiesta is the public demonstration of the unity of the Mayans and place. The reclamation of the sacred by the population and the presentation of the statues of the saints, to the ancestors and spirits, souls, and sites of the village is as much of a manipulation of the Mayan symbols with which the statues are associated as of the Catholic symbols used. Fiestas, in addition to honoring the saints and the associated gods and spirits, publicly re-institute the group with the various changes in personnel, position, prestige and authority, and re-affirm group, and, therefore, self identity. Fiestas re-establish the "center", and, therefore, the limits of the local universe.

If the synthesis presented here has any validity, there are still a number of questions which remain to be addressed. If Mayans see the village as the center of a limited universe, and draw identity from it, how do they move between their limited universe and that of the wider national and international organizations with such ease. How does the model presented here account for the statement by Wolf, that Mayans' "sacrificed children become the 'Ishmaels' of Mesoamerica'". How does change affect this model. Finally, what are the implications of
this synthesis in terms of anthropological theory in general.

For the first question I propose that the reason the Mayans can move so easily between the local and wider universes is precisely because of the model as presented. Identity in the wider hostile universe is not affected by movement in it, though Mayans are aware of the dangers of "other". Identity of self and group is formed and reaffirmed at the local level. The local universe is "timeless". It was created by the gods when time itself was created. The rest of the world is temporal. As is inferred by the account of the 17th Century fiesta by Hill, and made explicit by Oakes' informants, the "wide world" may change to the point of distraction, but, the place of the local universe is secure. As long as land is available; land of their creation, land of the bodies of the ancestors, land to recreate the local universe and to provide for the requirements of obligation and duty, then moving outside the local universe isn't dangerous or damaging to the self. Danger encountered from "other" can be alleviated or removed through the intercession of the ancestors, souls and spirits at the local level. The constant intercourse, social and physical, with the local universe, provides security and safety.

Even if Mayans must secure the fiscal means to participate in the roles and obligations of duty to the village outside the local universe, the possession or
usufruct of land within the village seems to be a major requirement in maintaining the harmony between the universe and the individual. Annis, (1987), Brintnall, (1979), Madigan, (n.d.:1976) Wolf, (1959), and others agree, that land possession is paramount in maintaining ties of group identity. Where land use or ownership is no longer a feasible alternative, either through inheritance or marriage, individuals are forced into a position of "outsider". This is not a question of wealth, for one can become an "outsider" by being too successful.

Nash recounts the story of a Mayan who became wealthy keeping a shop, and investing a small loan. He became prominent in the village, and rose into the politico-religious hierarcy, but his position was anomolous. He hired men to work his milpa, eschewing such work as "not worth his work". He considered his pencil his hoe and machete. He was murdered. In Nash's words, "He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge the traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains" (1970:90). While wealth, as such, is permissible (Nash,1970; Annis, 1987; Smith,1977), there are strong social constraints on its proper use and disposal. But Nash's subject violated other rules as well, eschewing the milpa, and visiting the mountain. He, like the children who become the "Ishmaels", were
neither, ladinos, nor, "of the group", though he tried to be both. Similarly, Annis, gives examples of members of the local ethnic group of San Antonio Aguas Calientes, in Guatemala, becoming isolated outside the ethnic boundaries through their successful economic pursuits.

Annis writes:

"They reject the "cultural tax" [i.e. milpa logic] and subordinate village-communal identification (and security) in exchange for a different set of rewards that can confer prestige, familial well-being, or spiritual gratification on a personal, non-village basis. In effect, they alienate themselves from the village-centricity that the milpa reinforces. Alternatively their poverty may have already marginalized them from full communal participation that the village alienates them. One way or another, their anchorage is lost and they must find new moorings" (1987:75).

He relates this to the the Mayan desire to embrace or reject the "milpa logic" which he defines as, "an elegant expression of 'Indianness'". He argues that "milpa logic" "evolved as an expression of the Indian's place in Guatemalan society; that production is both an idea and an expression of social circumstance; and that religious behavior is rooted in economic production" (1987:10).

Likewise, Kearney, who spends a great deal of time carefully constructing a model of World-view that incorporates the relationships of self, other, environment and action, reduces his construction to an
economically determined model. When he discusses the relationship between the Mexican peasantry who were the populations of his field-work and the wider world, he writes:

"The analysts fail to take into account the larger structural relationships between the poor and those with power and wealth, and the mechanisms whereby wealth flows from the poor to the powerful and wealthy....

More important in economic development than the acceptance or rejection of new technology is the reordering of economic and political relations. Since these are in part formed and perpetuated by images of Self, Other Relationship, and Causality, world view here becomes crucial" (1984:206).

Mayan attachment to the milpa extends beyond the borders of Guatemala. I argue that Mayan attachment to the milpa is deeply rooted in archaic religious beliefs and that, in fact, production of the milpa is deeply rooted in those beliefs. With the wealth of material provided, it becomes increasingly clear that Mayan behavior is bound in the relationship between the ideological and the material aspects of Mayan culture.

It is true that Annis' population, in San Antonio Aguas Caliente, was originally a "construct" town of the conquest period, a "congregacion". A village made up of groups from five distinct "captive" peoples by Alvarado. They were specifically settled to provide a labor pool for the fincas which were the rewards of conquest to Alvarado's captains. Even this fact suggests that the roots of the town behavior is pre-Columbian. Annis
states that the Indians had the opportunity to "ladinoize" early and instead adopted Cakchiquel as the *langua franca* and instituted the "closed corporate" Indian community (1987:17). Forced into labor, but left alone in their internal community organization, I suggest that these groups collectively re-instituted the structure they knew. They were, "of the earth", and collectively they sought the organization that confirmed and solidified that belief. The "elegant expression of Indianness" in terms of subsistance production was not a response to the conquest, but a carry-over into the new political framework. Annis' interpretation follows that of a number of researchers into an economic reduction. I would like to move away from such reduction since culture and the accompanying behavior of any group is a dynamic and ever-changing creation, and not subject to any single input.

The synthesis suggested here provides a way of searching for the ties between belief and behavior that will view the inter-actional requirements of both. I believe the synthesis needs both greater scrutiny and field testing in both Mayan areas, to test the assumptions on which it is built, and other areas where seemingly "irrational" behavior has been identified as a barrier to "progress" and modernization.

*Culture and "Wholeness" of "Self"*
Ewing has argued that identity is a semiotic process, and that differing circumstances will produce a string of memories which produce a different "self" according to the requirements of the circumstances of the situation. She claims that "wholeness", in terms of identity, is an illusion, and that "self" is reproduced by the individual to fit each instance of phenomenology.

While there is no disagreement that different circumstances will recall a different "string" of memories which provide different reflections of self in reaction to a specific set of circumstances, there is indication in this paper that "self" is drawn from a set of core beliefs by which memories are formed and maintained. In her presentation, Ewing states that her informant utilized core tenets of Pakistani social behavior in interpreting her own behavior and desires (1990:268). For the Mayan populations, that set of core beliefs, instilled from infancy in the traditional Mayan household, provides a set of recurring patterns and behaviors. Those beliefs allow for freedom of choice and expression within a set boundaries which place individual and collective behavior in a position of world order. That order is separate from the exigencies of inter-group action, and the belief system is both flexible and
dynamic enough to allow for internal and external change, while maintaining its own inner integrity.

The synthesis provided here can be tested as an inquiry into the field of cultural psychology, and provide another avenue into the workings of the "cultural mind". While not viewing the biological body-mind sequence of "self" and behavior, it is directly, an investigation into the dynamics of "self" and "other", and the cultural role in defining those categories. It is an attempt to view both the intellectual and the ecological inputs of an area in determining behavior and definition of "self".
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