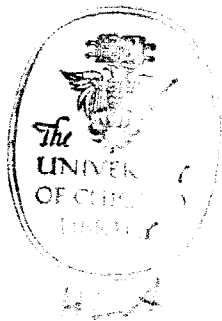# Le Nouveau Monde Mondes Nouveaux

L'expérience américaine

Sous la direction de
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Document de couverture : scène du carnaval d'Oruro
  (cliché N. Wachtel).

AVANT-PROPOS

> « Cette découverte d'un païs infini
> semble estre de considération...
> J'ai peur que nous ayons les yeux
> plus grands que le ventre et plus de curiosité
> que nous n'avons de capacité. »
> (Montaigne, *Essais,* I, XXXI.)

L'expérience américaine – découverte mais également conquête, colonisation et exploitation du Nouveau Monde – constitue un jalon important et méconnu de notre modernité. Elle a reculé les bornes de la chrétienté, stimulé l'essor des capitalismes européens et inspiré les balbutiements de l'ethnographie. L'expérience américaine a également été à l'origine d'une gigantesque opération de duplication consistant à reproduire, sur le sol américain, au prix de mille remaniements, les institutions, les lois, les croyances et les pratiques de l'Europe médiévale et moderne.

Laboratoire de notre modernité, champ d'essai livré à de vastes entreprises religieuses, intellectuelles et politiques, les Amériques hispanique et anglo-saxonne nous tendent le miroir de notre histoire. Elles dévoilent, à travers les modalités et les formes prises par l'occidentalisation, des enjeux et des objectifs dont nous sommes les héritiers. À ce titre l'expérience américaine a marqué de son sceau l'histoire des relations de l'Europe avec le reste du monde. Elle n'a pas cessé, par ailleurs, depuis la Renaissance de susciter des courants de réflexion qui occupent une place majeure dans l'histoire de la pensée européenne.

Pour aborder ces questions, les recherches sur l'Amérique coloniale ne peuvent plus faire l'économie du comparatisme. Faut-il rappeler que ce comparatisme a d'abord porté sur deux espaces principaux correspondant à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler les hautes cultures autochtones d'Amérique : les sociétés méso-américaines d'une part, les sociétés andines d'autre part, qui devinrent ensuite les foyers majeurs de la colonisation espagnole ? Des études comparées

Fig. 10

LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE IN COLONIAL YUCATÁN*

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RÉSUMÉ — Il n'est plus à démontrer que l'analyse du discours est susceptible de contribuer de manière significative à l'analyse historique. Les textes incorporent des métaphores qui peuvent servir de clés à notre compréhension du passé. Les structures rhétoriques, l'intertextualité et les conditions de production du discours sont des éléments déterminants dans la signification des documents dont nous disposons. Suivant ces principes et ces pistes W. F. Hanks entreprend d'étudier des textes mayas de l'époque coloniale rédigés par des scribes formés à l'écriture européenne et dépositaires d'une partie des traditions autochtones d'expression. Il analyse les modes d'appropriation de la croix chrétienne en confrontant une série de genres discursifs employés par les notaires mayas de l'époque coloniale.

INTRODUCTION

Recent developments in Mayanist research have led to significant revisions in our understanding of pre-Columbian Maya culture and history. Epigraphers

have made real progress toward understanding the Mayan hieroglyphic texts.[1] At the same time new interpretations have emerged of the iconography that typically accompanies glyphic texts, and adorns pre-Columbian Maya material arts[2]. Archeologists, collaborating with ethnohistorians[3], have made similar advances in the understanding of Maya public space[4], regional political systems and ideologies[5]. These developments have led to an increasingly complex view of the Maya and their systems of representation, in which hieroglyphic inscriptions once thought to be strictly ritual in reference are now understood to recount the historical exploits of named individual rulers, acting within regional political configurations. Viewed as a system of objective reference, glyphic discourse projects a social world that we can learn about by reading the inscriptions. Much of the iconography serves the same referential function of projecting a world, such as the gathering and interaction of nobles portrayed on the walls of Bonampak. It is noteworthy that the referentialist hypothesis subsumes two quite separate ideas, the one bearing on the functional properties of glyphs and other symbolic forms, and the other bearing on the historical factuality of the world that the forms portray.

Alongside the realization that the glyphs record "historical" facts, epigraphers have demonstrated that they have a syntactic structure closely linked to that of spoken Mayan languages (especially Cholan and Yucatecan). In particular, the once dubious notion that the glyphs correspond to speech sounds has been shown to be true beyond reasonable doubt, and phoneticism is now a staple of Mayan epigraphy. Moreoever, phonetic correspondances are only the beginning of what is proving to be a powerful set of linguistic parallels between the formal structure of glyphs and the syntax and discourse organization of spoken Mayan languages. These twin breakthroughs, referential function and language-based form, have helped lead to quantum changes in the way scholars think about precolumbian Maya society. For those of us who study the colonial society and discourse, in which indigenous and European worlds collide, this research serves as a reminder that the Maya sector is no less complex and dynamic than the Spanish.

Less dramatic but equally significant changes are taking place in the study of post-conquest Mayan cultures as well. Particularly in the areas of colonial history[6], literary studies[7], native resistance[8] and contemporary ethnography[9], an

1. BRICKER 1986, COGGINS 1980, HOPKINS 1987, JOSSERAND 1987, JUSTESON et CAMBELL 1984, KELLEY 1976, LOUNSBURY 1980, 1984, 1989, MARCUS 1976, MATHEWS 1984, SCHELE 1982, STUART 1985.
    2. FREIDEL et SCHELE 1989, SCHELE et MILLER 1986, HANKS et RICE 1989, MILLER 1989.
    3. HAMMOND et WILLEY 1979, JONES 1977, 1989, JONES, RICE et RICE 1981.
    4. ASHMORE 1981, 1989, SHARER 1983.
    5. MARCUS 1976, SCHOLES et ROYS 1948.
    6. BRICKER 1981, CARMACK 1981, DÜRR 1987, FARRISS 1978, 1984, 1987, GOSNER 1989a, b, HAWKINS 1984, JONES 1989, MILLER et FARRISS 1979.

increasingly complex view of Mayan peoples is emerging as well. Since the fall of Mayapan confederate rule in northern Yucatán in the mid 1400's, and probably long before, Yucatán was subdivided into some 16 political geographic regions. Called *cacicazgos* in the European scholarly literature, these regional units differed significantly in their internal structure and external relations (Farriss 1984, Roys 1957). There were well known enmities among regions, such as that between Mani and Sotuta provinces, and differences of production, as in the salt beds of Chikinchel, Chakan, and coastal Ceh Pech provinces, and the honey and cacao production of Chetumal (Roys 1957: 54). According to Edmonson's (1982, 1986) inferences, there was a significant boundary running north-south and separating the eastern region of the peninsula, under the influence of the Itza lineage, from the western region, under the influence of the Xiu. Jones's (1989) studies of the southern frontier zone establishes the role of the Sierra province of Mani as a source both of fugitive Indians who went on the populate the Ix Pimienta area, and of pro-Spanish Indian militia who helped Europeans round up and defeat these fugitives. Regional diversity, political division and stratification were facts of life in colonial Yucatán, as they had been long before then.

Starting in the early colonial period, Maya resistance was aimed at gaining access to power within the emerging social and cultural fields of the colony. It does not appear to have been aimed, at least in the main, at overthrowing the new order imposed by the Spanish so as to return to an erstwhile pristine pre-hispanic past. I have seen evidence of such a longing among some contemporary Yucatec Maya men, but the colonial sources point in the opposite direction. As Bricker (1981), Farriss (1984) and Jones (1989) show persuasively, the Yucatec Maya sought to secure for themselves a position in the colonial society. This appears to be true even when pursuing the strategies of flight (Farriss 1978, Jones 1989), millenarian appeals to a purely indian future (see Bricker 1981 and Sullivan 1989) and indeed consolidating regions of resistance from which Spaniards were physically excluded (Jones 1989, Sullivan 1989). The principals leading these movements were usually people who had had extensive contact with the Spanish, were bilingual and bicultural to a degree, and went on to create social contexts in which Spanish and Maya practices were fused rather than isolated (see Miller and Farriss [1979] for an early example of religious fusion, and Hanks [1989a] for textual examples). This point is of particular importance in attempting to evaluate the local responses to Spanish rule, and the impoverished blends of cultural forms that they gave rise to. For the goal was evidently not to banish the Europeans and their god from the local world, but to secure some of the priviledges of membership.

7. EDMONSON et BRICKER 1985, GOSSEN 1974, HANKS 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989a, b, c, TEDLOCK 1983.
    8. BRICKER 1981, FARRISS 1984, JONES 1989, SULLIVAN 1989.
    9. ADAMS 1970, COLLIER 1975, HANKS 1990a, NASH 1975, WARREN 1978, WATANABE 1983, 1984.

The Franciscans had a profound impact on Maya moral, religious, and literary practices. By learning the native language early and well, the friars engaged with the Indian nobility as of the 16th century, trained their children in Christian doctrine, Latin, Spanish and alphabetic writing. These strategies of conversion contributed to the emergence of culturally ambivalent actors, many of whom would occupy the influential posts in the local town councils, and serve as advisers to the Spanish authorities, as well (cf. Collins 1977, Farriss 1984, Hanks 1986, Ricard 1947, Todorov 1984). These same actors were in many cases practitioners of "pagan" rituals that combined Catholic and Maya elements, and were among the principal instigators of resistance to the Spanish. Religious practice and instruction were therefore a crucible for cultural hybridization from the earliest years of the colony.

Throughout the colonial period and as late as the Caste Wars in 19th century Yucatán, Maya resistance to Spanish rule has been organized around religious symbols (such as the cross), and led in part by ritual specialists (native priests, diviners, shamans). To a degree, this is a corollary of the native of the monastics, for the symbols of Christianity were among the first influence of the native population in Yucatán, as well as the valley of Mexico and elsewhere in Spanish America. At the same time, ritual specialists in the indigenous society control the modes of symbolic production in which space and time were ritually constituted. They have been and remain the main and repository of calendric and historical knowledge among the Maya, and have evidently always had a political function. These facts suggest that the broad effectiveness of the European religious in reshaping the imaginary and self-image of the Indians (Gruzinski 1988) were complemented by an effective and highly influential indigenous priesthood. It may well be this priesthood who were among the most active in engaging with the Europeans, meeting them head on in front of the altar, as it were. At the upper levels of institutionalized priesthood among the Maya were the chilan prophets who advised chiefs and the ritual specialists who directed major events such as the processions described in the *Books of Chilam Balam*. This sector appears to have been an early target of the Spanish, and it is unclear to what extent such roles continued to function in the Maya sector into the colonial period. It is clear however that lesser experts continued to engage in curing human illness, interpreting dreams and performing local agricultural rituals (Sánchez de Aguilar 1900). And, as the idolatry trials indicate, private and small scale worship involving precolumbian deities persisted (as it does to this day).

Although Yucatecan society obviously continued to change throughout the colonial period, the first century and a half of colonial rule appears to have had a formative impact on the development of hybrid cultural practices that have persisted to this day. Many basic patterns took shape as early as the 16th and 17th centuries. The policies set forth in the *Ordenanzas* of Tomás López Medel, the establishment of the *encomienda*, and strategies of conversion set in motion processes still ongoing in Yucatán. Some of the best examples of this

are linguistic. Maya scribes produced a wealth of semi-official texts that show the emergence of significant novel features, many of them traceable to Spanish and in particular, Franciscan discourse practices. They include the first person narrator (conspicuously absent from hieroglyphic and more "traditional" Maya genres such as the *Books of Chilam Balam*); forms of address based on relations between authors, principals, witnesses and absent, royal addressees; the use of the sign of the cross as a discourse boundary marker; and the self-deprecating, affectively charged supplication typical of some parts of Catholic worship. These are among the distinctive features shared by early colonial and modern shamanic discourse (Hanks 1987). They are not mere details of linguistic form, as they might appear. Rather, they are the symbolic traces of modes of agency and forms of action that took shape in the colonial period and remain operative today.

Discourse analysis can contribute significantly to historical methods. Texts incorporate metaphors which can serve as keys to understanding, and the evolution of a textual tradition is both a history itself and a way into a broader history in which the metaphors are grounded (a position taken by Edmonson 1970, 1973). Similarly, as Borah (1984) discusses in relation to Nahuatl in Central Mexico, the use of often opaque native language terms in colonial documents can pose formidable problems for historians (something well attested in the corpus under study). Beyond metaphor, it has become increasingly clear that the genre systems, rhetorical structures, intertextual relations, and conditions of discourse production and reception all contribute crucially to the meaning of documents. This is one area in which there is extensive overlap in the descriptive problems faced by historians and linguists, and collaborations between them can be the most fruitful.

THE EMERGENCE OF COLONIAL GENRES

In earlier phases of Mayanist research, there was considerable emphasis placed on the intricacy and esthetic refinement of Maya representational canons. The fascination with native histories, art forms, songs and literary texts rested on twin urges widely felt among European(-extracted) researchers. The first was the desire to come face to face with an untainted, purely Maya world, which could be reconstructed by painstaking research. The second was the urge to find in that world artistic, literary and "intellectual" achievements commensurate with those of the classical traditions in the west. These are worthy commitments and they have served the field well in the past. They have also obscured a great deal. In the Yucatecan context, one expression of them has been the classicizing focus on real "native literature." This focus usually rests on two ontological commitments: that there was a real native voice to be found out there, and that there was a meaningful category of "literature" in which to find it. Given this, it follows naturally that we should look to texts such as the

Books of Chilam Balam, the artistic and ritual forms to recover the authentic Maya voice. The problem is that this project tends to essentialize the chosen texts, making them icons of ethnic essence, when in fact they are all tainted, colonial productions. Moreover, it invites one to ignore or undervalue the letters, wills, petitions, land surveys, doctrinal materials and other non-Literary discourse produced in Maya language throughout the colonial period. If there have been advances in colonial history in Mesoamerica, and I believe there have, they have been due in part to a broadening of investigation to include, and even make central, such para-canonical forms. "Literature" can no longer be taken for granted as a viable object for historical study.

One consequence of this broadening of the field of study has been to make opaque many things that seemed transparent in the earlier paradigm. Despite their familiar labels, such as carta 'letter', crónica 'chronicle' and *acuerdo* 'accord', colonial Maya documents are basically unfamiliar. The reason for this is that the Spanish genres were adapted and altered in very significant ways in Maya language documents, becoming in effect what Morson (1981) called "boundary genres". Most of the existing translations and analyses of these documents have been undertaken by scholars immersed in the vocabulary of Maya language, but not attentive to grammatical structure, nor to the conventions of idiomatic usage in Maya (noteworthy exceptions being Barrera Vásquez 1984 and Bricker 1981). Similarly, although many of the texts in question exist in both Spanish and Maya versions, there are typically significant differences between the two, and a history based solely on the European language sources risks overlooking a great deal. The consequences of such oversight can indeed be debilitating because different readings of texts result from critical analysis of the native language versions (Hanks 1986, 1988, 1989a). More importantly, to work exclusively with European or indigenous language sources invites the assumption that the two are substitutable, that translation really is based on transparent equivalences between languages. A letter is a letter regardless of the language it is written in, just as a land survey and a sworn affidavit can be rendered in Spanish as well as Maya. What is missed in such a view is the fact that equivalence is always partial and guided by criteria that are open to debate. Translation is a discourse practice subject to all the political and social crosscurrents that impact on other practices. Upon close examination, for instance, letters and land surveys in Maya turn out to contain passages in verse, recurrent signs of the cross and ritual-like tropes that resonate with both the broader system of Maya genres, and apparently unrelated Spanish ones, such as prayer and doctrinal forms. They also express communicative aims unlike the ones usually associated with the corresponding Spanish genres. Land surveys in Maya, like the ones in Yaxkukul in the mid sixteenth century (Barrera Vásquez 1984, Martínez Hernández 1926), resemble ritual scripts more than objective descriptions. This is due in part to poetic aspects of the language that are lost in translation. Such texts document the emergence of a novel system of genres out of the fusion of Spanish and indigenous systems (Hanks 1987, 1989a,

1992). More than any super-category of art or literature, this process of blending cultures promises to reveal dynamics of Mesoamerican histories and cultures that will help us to understand the present.

The discourse genre provides a level of textual analysis that encompasses individual texts without effacing the differences between them. The importance of this stems from the fact that texts cannot be properly analyzed or even read, in isolation, but must be placed within the larger discursive formations of which they are a part. Looking only at individual documents without exploring their intertextual ties can actually obscure significant features. A practical example of this is provided by letters sent to the crown by Maya nobles in the mid sixteenth century. Tozzer (1941), Gates (1937) and others have observed that several Maya language letters, all praising the Franciscans, were sent to Philip II in the 1560's. The two main versions of the letters were each sent in multiple copies from several provinces (reproduced in Zimmermann 1974). Given the knowledge that the Franciscans were under investigation at the time for having used excessive force in their attempts to extirpate idolatry, the content of the letters appeared suspect. How could the Maya praise the friars after having been tortured and punished severely by them? Moreover, real letters express the views of their authors and the fact that all 13 copies of the letters say the same thing indicates that they must have been produced from a single template. Tozzer and Gates drew the inference that the letters were inauthentic fabrications by the Franciscans to improve their image with the crown. However, placed in the context of other Maya genres, this inference becomes questionable. The regional differentiation from which we began makes it clear that there was no single "Maya" perspective that the letters could fail to express, and in fact the signatories were from towns outside the areas in which Franciscan excesses were most flagrant. Also, the existence of multiple copies may well be motivated by the widely attested convention in Maya discourse of producing serial instances of a single text. This applies to the repeating portions of the Books of Chilam Balam, to other colonial documents in Maya, and to modern shamanic performance as well. Rather than prove the inauthenticity of the letters as letters, the serial versions suggest their authenticity as discourse designed to convince the crown and alter social realities. Once again, the intertextual features of genres affect the ways individual texts can be read.

Although my focus in this paper is colonial discourse and current understandings of it, it is worth pointing out that these issues have a direct impact on how we understand modern Maya society in Mexico today. The genres of shamanic discourse in modern Yucatán, for instance, carry forth many of these discourse features and raise similar problems of description. There have been studies of selected shamanic forms (Villa Rojas 1945, Sosa 1986, Love 1984, 1986, 1989), but these have not explored the roots of modern practices in the colonial period. Traditionally viewed as a repository of pre-columbian cosmology, the elements of shamanism deriving from Catholic forms of worship have

tended to be underplayed, or mentioned without comment, even though they reflect a cultural ambivalence deeply connected to that of colonial boundary genres. Among other shared features, one finds signs of the cross used as discourse boundary markers and supplications to a personal fatherly God over the world of sin, both indicative of Catholic practices. Among the different shamanic genres, most of those aimed at securing divine intervention in human affairs are performed in series of five or nine, according to the genre and intensity of the request. Perhaps most noteworthy are the robust cyclic patterns in shamanic discourse structure, for these bear striking relations to forms of cyclicity that occur in land surveys such as the Yaxkukul document of 1554 (cf. Barrera Vásquez 1984, Fought 1985, Gossen 1974). Shamanic performance is a discourse system which carries within itself forms of (inter)textuality related logically and substantively to those which emerged in the colonial period.

DIMENSIONS OF GENRE SYSTEMS

How can we go beyond presumptive categories such as "Literature" to achieve a clearer and more provocative sense of the colonial Maya? In this section I outline a set of questions that grow out of work mentioned in the preceding sections, but, hopefully, point beyond it. Contemporary shamanism in Yucatán will continue to serve as a counterpoint to the colonial materials.

An initial question is simply, What types of discourse are we dealing with, and what kinds of indigenous (that is, colonial) expressions designate them? In somewhat more technical terms, What kinds of metatextual categories emerged in the discourse formation of colonial Yucatán? What were the metadiscursive expressions used by native authors and speakers to designate their own actions. In modern ritual performance, shamans use a set of highly regular linguistic expressions which state what it is that they are doing in performing, as in "I beg weeping", "I speak the name of spirit", and other (semi-)performative expressions (Austin 1962, Levinson 1983, Searle 1976). They also describe, as they pray, their own location at the foot of the altar, their bodily posture, the purpose of the performance. Under certain circumstances, they use standard labels for the ritual genres, like *pa' 'i'ik'* 'sweep wind (exorcism)' and *hec lú'um* 'fix earth (cleansing of inhabited space)', in order to precisely state what it is they are currently engaged in. All of these verbal resources describe aspects of discourse, and it is for this reason that they are called "meta-discursive" or simply "metalanguage".

The colonial documents also show a range of metalanguage, including (semi)performative expressions such as "we wish to recount to your ear, Ruler" and "in the name of the power of the Governor", standard labels of genre categories like *carta* 'letter' and *ppis luum* 'land survey' (lit. 'measure earth') and other explicit descriptions of the documents themselves, the actions in which they are produced and the outcomes they are aimed at. The use of

metalanguage provides invaluable evidence of how native authors classify their own communicative engagements. It also links texts into a set of genres which organize such factors as author intention, proper circumstances of production, how literal or figurative, general or specific description should be understood. Metalinguistic devices help govern the text-to-context mappings, which in turn guide readers and hearers in the proper understandings of texts. Given the focus of cultural and historical research on contextualizing forms and practices over time, metalanguage is a significant resource.

One of the most important foci in Maya textuality is the discourse expression of the immediate context in which a text is produced, and to which it is addressed. This holds equally for written and spoken discourse, verbal and image-based modes. In distinction to "content-based" analyses which focus on what texts describe. this statement focuses on reference to authors, addressees and other participants, on the discursive "We-here-now" in which the text arises. The question is: are there precise commonalities in the text-to-context relations across the various colonial genres under study? Stated more precisely, are the indexical categories in Maya colonial and shamanic discourse configured in constant, or at least consistent, patterns? In the colonial documents, how are participants and places of production refered to (including pronouns, descriptive epithets and vocatives, spatial and temporal deictics, place names, locative descriptions, dates)? In the modern shamanic materials, the performing shaman, patient, spirit addressees, location of performance and cosmological time frame are encoded in distinctive patterns (Hanks 1990). That is, the ritual present has an organization different from other kinds of present, and intimately related to the formal structure of shamanic speech. How consistent is it with the kinds of present constituted in colonial discourse?

Part of the present is the participant framework of discourse production, the personnel involved in creating a document or verbally mediated act. In the colonial documents, this relates primarily to the authors, witnesses in front of whom a text is authenticated, and authorities in whose name it is produced. The first question on this point relates to the selection of those whose names appear in documents, as opposed to those who do not. In the case of official land surveys and agreements, the structure of *cabildo* government in the Indian republics can serve as a framework in which to motivate who gets named, but in other genres of text, such as letters or petitions, the motivations for citing one set of principals but not another remain opaque. In the series of letters sent to the crown in the 1560's for instance (see Zimmermann 1974; Hanks 1986), each letter is signed by a different group of local nobles. In other documents from the same period, many of the same people (apparently) are named, but the groupings differ. This raises the likelihood that the practice of signing, or being named as witness in a document was a meaningful act subject to strategic decision and not merely determined by structural factors such as place of residence or age. Another dimension of naming is the use of Spanish as opposed to Maya first names, a point on which the two land documents

from Yaxkukul differ. As Tozzer and others have recognized, the introduction in Baptism of European first names actually created a significant amount of ambiguity in person reference, since one comes across numerous instances of names like "Juan Cocom" or "Pedro Pech" in the texts, without being able to determine how many different individuals are being refered to. A related issue is the use of non-use of titles and honorific epithets such as *batab* 'chief', *gobernador* 'governor' (of *cabildo*), *nucteil* 'elder (lit. great tree)', *nohxib* 'elder' (lit. great man), *principales* 'local authority' (official Spanish title given to important men in the wards of the Indian republics), and so forth. On this point there is the recurrent issue of whether a title is used at all, and if so which language it is in, as an index of which sector the agent is identified with. But there are also very interesting and regular patterns in the poetic structure of the more elaborate titles used in reference to the crown. The king is refered to in a wide range of expressions ranging from *Rey* or *su majestad* all the way through *ca noh ahau rey ah tepal de su majestad* "Our great lord king majesty of his majesty." Preliminary research indicates strongly that one of the conditioning factors in determining which epithet occurs in a given context is the poetic and rhetorical structure: epithets are integrated into the stylistic context, and their form is sensitive to local factors such as rhyme and meter.

In those documents in which a long list of individuals is named, including all the texts produced by the town councils, the order in which the names appear is significant. Sometimes the order follows directly from the political hierachy of the *cabildo*, with *gobernador* first, followed by *regidores*, *alguaciles* and so forth through the collection of *principales*. In such cases, the order is title-based rather than actor-based. At other times, order of reference to participants cannot be explained on the basis of the hierarchy to which the titles correspond, and we must look elsewhere for clues. In each of the two land documents from Yaxkukul, for example, a group of Maya nobles from the Pech patriline is named. They are said to have taken part in the boundary survey and, by implication, to ratify its results. Naming in this context is a way of expressing collective consent, something that Maya authors underscore repeateadly. Because both Maya and Spanish name forms are used in the Yaxkukul surveys, and because the two documents name distinct but overlaping groups of people, it is difficult to establish precisely who was involved in each version of the survey. Based on the research of Barrera Vásquez, Roys, Tozzer, Farriss, and others it is nonetheless possible to infer, (if not establish) the identity of the individuals and the relations they bore to each other.

At this level of detail a fascinating pattern emerges. Despite important differences between the two texts, they appear to follow precisely the same principle of naming, according to which the primary author ("I") is named first, followed by his descendants, followed then by his siblings and finally by his predecessors. Schematically, the generational order of succession in reference is $\emptyset > -1 > \emptyset > +1$, that is, first the primary author, then his descendants,

then his siblings, then his father's generation (see Hanks 1992 for details). This intriguing pattern can only be discerned on the basis of identifying the individuals named, and is not revealed in the titles or descriptions provided in the text itself. If corroborated in other documents, such a principle would provide a key to one of the discourse practices in which local Maya communities engaged. Given that these documents were, according to the reports of scribes, read aloud to the gathered public, the order of naming would have become a public and noteworthy factor among the Maya. Yet no Spanish commentators, to my knowledge, have made mention of such a practice. It is tempting to speculate that this, like many other discourse practices, was part of the Maya sector of the colonial field, but never entered into the awareness of the Spanish to whom the texts were nominally addressed. This is analogous to the poetic effects that one finds in the Maya versions of documents that are entirely absent from their Spanish translations. While the Spanish and Maya versions of a document are at some level "the same text", and say the same thing, their different forms are actually the trace of two distinct publics, and therefore two distinct receptions. The meaning structures corresponding to the two publics differ accordingly.[10]

This raises a further question regarding the overall production context of colonial documents, namely the public(s) by which they were received. While we can make various hypotheses regarding the public on the basis of what is actually stated in a document, this is only part of the story. The specified addressee of a letter of petition, or the immediate receiver of a land survey document are only the most proximal in what is a differentiated series of publics. This is a point on which linguistic approaches to the micro details of form lead outward to much broader questions regarding the scope and development of discourse formations over time. For those of us trained in the tradition of virtuoso readings of texts, it is important to recognize that the public cannot be defined on the basis of textual form. A letter addressed to the king by a group of nobles in a place like Mani or Yaxkukul, would have travelled through channels from the local context to the regional capital (Mérida), perhaps to central authorities in Mexico, through the Council of Indies, before the royal court. That is, the official "public" is actually a trajectory through a hierarchical court. Unfortunately, little is known about such trajectories in the Maya sector, or the hierarchies through which they may have led, although the

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10. Another example of this, which will not be explored here, is the spatial coordinates corresponding to the people. It is obvious from multiple sources both pre- and post-conquest that Maya peoples defined space in terms of schemata like the four cardinal points plus center familiar from the cosmology. The question then arises in land surveys why the surveyors chose to proceed in the order they did, and whether there are cosmological motivations for the forms of spatial reference in the document. Given that all of the principal agents engaged in the surveys and in the documentation themselves occupy social space, the order of their mention could be covertly spatial, as well as a generational or rank-order.

European sector has been described in depth.[11] In the case of land surveys, like the Yaxkukul or Sotuta documents, or land sales, the notion of a public is stretched through time. These documents became the basis for claims over property and land rights that may occur hundreds of years after the original text is produced. Obviously, the original text need not be formulated in such a way as to reflect subsequent publics to which it will be addressed, nor need these publics be in any sense continuous. In appropriating an ancient text for the purpose of legitimating a claim to land, identity or any other value in the present, one defines oneself as a public of a certain kind. Independent of textual form, this process is an ongoing one that ultimately includes academic appropriations like the ones in this paper (where I cite a text to prove a point). The challenge from the perspective of current research is to understand how the formal details of textual structure interact with the social and historical formation of publics. It is this interaction that fixes meaning, if only temporarily.

Two more productive dimensions of discourse analysis for which the genre is an appropriate unit revolve around intertextuality. "Intertextuality", as used here, is merely the relation between two or more texts, however this relation is established. Common authorship, provenience from a single town, petition-response, common theme, original-translation, possibly even commonality of scribe are all forms of intertextuality routinely encountered in the colonial discourse. Obviously not all relations that fit this loose definition of intertextuality are equally interesting or important. Sameness of ink color, scribal style, paper or date are intertextual relations that are trivial under many circumstances, and gain significance only for certain purposes. Genre categories establish intertextual relations by defining the framework within which two or more texts can be identified as the same. This identification can of course be blunt and unrevealing, or it can be based on subtle clues whose cumulative effect is to really alter the way the document is understood. If I am right, the linguistic style of letters from the Maya nobles to the crown in the 1560's index their common identity as a rhetorically charged genre whose meanings go far beyond the apparent "semantic content" of the texts as glossed in Spanish translations. Similarly, the two Yaxkukul land surveys bear many intricate relations to one another (Barrera Vásquez 1984, Hanks 1992).

Colonial Yucatec documents, like ones from elsewhere in the Americas, make use of both written text and images of various kinds. This raises another large area in which Americanist research reveals challenging diversity. Maps on which place names and various other information are written are obvious cases of word-image intertextuality, but this is just the beginning. The frontispieces in books, insignias on letters, the likeness of people in the *Books of Chilam Balam* (e.g. Edmonson 1986), synoptic diagrams of the indigenous calendar and

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11. See for instance the major study by Vicenta CORTÉS ALONSO [1984] "La escritura y lo escrito, España y América en los siglos XVI y XVII." Manuscript distributed at 1984 Summer Institute, Newberry Library.

other artefacts, the numerous forms and uses of the graphic cross, and perhaps even signatures (which are often half-way between writing and an arbitrary graphic sign) illustrate a formidable range of text-image relations. There have been important studies of the encounter between European and indigenous cultures using mixed media documents from central Mexico, such as the native codices (Burkhart 1989, Gruzinski 1992) and colonial period pictographic manuscripts, but less has been done on this topic in the Maya region. Recent work in "iconology" (Mitchell 1986), building upon the writings of Panofsky (1976) and Goodman (1976, 1978), could contribute significantly to this research, by providing an analytic framework in which to systematically study the relations between image and text. Too often, work in the Mesoamerican region has been aimed at revealing the "meaning" or cultural symbolism of texts, while overlooking systematic aspects of form. Once again, I think the genre as a unit of analysis provides an appropriate framework within which to address this issue, because word-image relations clearly do vary across genres, and this variation can provide a key to motivating the attested forms. The need for systematic study of this topic is all the more pointed that the pre-Columbian traditions combined glyphic text with iconography in ways that have been studied by art historians and those working with hieroglyphic materials.

CHANGE IN DISCOURSE

Colonial discourse is characterized by change: first time combinations, transformations, syntheses of European with indigenous forms to produce a social world different from both of its sources. The most obvious instances result from introduction of new elements, including European words, phrases, ways of describing the world, genres, page layout, and so forth. If a linguistic element can be readily identified and is unambiguously absent from pre-contact forms, then its occurence is an innovation. The word *Dios* for instance occurs frequently in sixteenth and seventeenth century Maya texts, but is obviously absent from all discourse prior to the arrival of the Spanish.[12] More interesting from a linguistic perspective are novel patterns of usage in which indigenous discourse forms are used according to European conventions. This is the case

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12. To a modern reader, this is self-evident, and perhaps trivial. But sixteenth century Spaniards debated at length over the possibility that Christianity had actually preceded them to the New World, a debate triggered by the apparent similarity of native forms to the cross, Baptism and other aspects of Catholicism. The incidence of some Spanish words in Maya, such as *Don, Dios, santo, espíritu, Christiano, cruz,* and official titles in municipal government is unsurprizing on the assumption that they designate brand new concepts that can be understood only in reference to European traditions. Actually, this is usually false and in any case, translations could be produced for virtually any Spanish expression. Some terms resist translation because the translators chose not to use a potential equivalent from the target language.

with the use of pronouns and demonstrative forms in colonial Maya texts. *Ten* 'I', *toon* 'we', *tech* 'you', *uaye* 'here.' The words are all Maya and a mechanical search of the texts would not identify them as innovations caused by the colonial experience. However, such expressions are conspicuously absent from pre-conquest hieroglyphic texts and extremely rare in other, evidently ancient discourse genres, even when written in Spanish script.[13] The motivation appears to be that the Spanish used writing in ways that the Maya did not, and their standards for authenticity and accountability required that texts of certain genres bear unequivocal marks of their producers. The linguistic details of pronouns and other shifters are the reflex of new communicative practices such as letter writing, signing and dating documents, and addressing an individual addressee.

A second class of innovations in colonial Maya discourse turn on shifts in the reference of pre-existing Maya expressions when used in address to a Spanish participant. For example, the range of reference of the term *ahau* 'ruler' was limited to the king in colonial texts, in contrast to its broader usage to designate regional rulers in texts directed to indigenous audiences (pre-Columbian and native-addressed sources). An inverse case is provided by the expanded use of the term *yum* 'lord, father' for reference to Spanish friars and authorities in the colonial documents. By contrast, in indigenous sources, it is restricted to kinsmen in ascending generations. The implication of such examples is that the hybrid colonial language served as a plane of mediation between the two major sectors of the discourse field. One and the same textual element follows two distinct patterns according to which sector of the colonial field it is directed. These cases are more difficult to determine than the first kind, since they can only be defined at the level of the entire field. Correspondingly, the expertise required of a colonial actor capable of recognizing and manipulating such ambivalent patterns would be relatively high.

Some of the most subtle but pervasive changes that occured during the colonial period consist in the extra foregrounding and consequent semantic shifts in native elements that already existed prior to Spanish contact, but took on novel assocations following it. One of the clearest examples of this is the symbol of the cross, which is reported to have been in use among the Maya before Spanish contact, but acquired a new salience and range of associations once linked to the omnipotent Christian deity. Another is the concern with authenticating personal identity on the basis of descent and history of residence. A similar concern is surely inscribed in the hieroglyphic accounts of lineage and rule, yet the Spanish emphasis on recognizing the native nobility appears to have given rise to a significant discourse displaying and authenticating the true autochthony of native authors. Such changes are difficult to analyze, since

13. The first person pronoun does indeed appear in the *Books of Chilam Balam,* and in the *Rituals of the Bacabs,* but evidently in quoted speech only. The point of this observation is that in colonial texts, the first person singular is used to identify the author of the text, and not only the quoted sources of some stretch of reported speech.

they must be infered from usage. Still, they are of basic importance insofar as they go to the heart of the expressive habits and routine assumptions of those who produced the texts. Analogous examples can be seen at the level of realignment in the political relations among the different regions of the Yucatán. The well known contradiction between the 1562 letters to the crown signed by Maya nobles of Ceh Pech, Ah Kin Chel and Chikinchel provinces, and the denunciation of these by Xiu and Pacab nobles of Mani (Zimmermann 1970) is a case in point. All the evidence suggests that Yucatán after the fall of Mayapán in the thirteenth century was divided, and relations among the provinces were often strained. Yet the intrusion of the Spanish and their differential dealings with the provinces shifted and highlighted differences in a way that inevitably produced new relations among the Maya themselves.

Some cases of innovation appear to be improvisations. That is, they involve novel forms attested only in a single context, in which the form contributes directly to the overall aim of the discourse. The persuasive rhetoric of the 1562 letters reproduced in Zimmermann (1970) appears to be a case of this. There are verse forms in these letters unlike any others I have encountered, and they are most striking precisely at points of heightened rhetoric in the letter. One objective of future resarch will be to compare widespread with apparently idiosyncratic features, in order to locate clear cases of improvisation. For any discourse feature, how broadly distributed is it across exemplars of its genre, across related genre types, and through time? Widely distributed features are likely candidates for the status of system conventions, whereas specialized ones may define single generic types or innovations.

There is sufficient documentation of colonial Maya discourse, and it is distributed across the provinces in such a way that it may be possible eventually to define regional styles reflecting improvisation and asymmetries in the discursive field. On the basis of unsystematic comparison, it is quite possible that the Ceh Pech zone to the north, the Mani-Sierra zone to the south and the Campeche zone to the far south represent stylistic regions. This hunch is based on readily apparent differences in style and phrasing across documents from the three areas. In a narrowly textual sense, a grasp of regional variation would almost certainly clarify some of the many opaque portions of the literary discourse in the *Books of Chilam Balam* and elsewhere. If we assume that shared style is reflective of common position in a discursive field, then such facts would also lead to hypotheses regarding the social relations among different regions in the Maya sector of the colony, which would in turn lead beyond the Spanish dominated historiography to date.

Intertextuality of the cross

In order to illustrate some of the factors sketched in the preceding section, I will briefly describe the range of uses and appropriations that the Christian

cross entered into in some of the colonial genres under discussion. At this point, I am not concerned with the questions of whether the Maya really had a "cross" before the European arrival, or whether they understood the European cross in terms of an indigenous prototype. Rather my aim is to trace the incidence of this central symbol across a series of discourse genres in order to show the scope of appropriation and innovation involved. It becomes immediately evident that the cross is in fact a complex family of symbolic practices, including the material form, the graphic signs, the inscription on the body through making the sign of the cross, crucifixion and the wearing of talismans, the verbal formula, the spatial marker inscribed on the landscape at points of threshold, and the textual boundary marker inscribed on verbal discourse at points of beginning or ending. The meanings of the symbol change according to which context it occurs in, and which genres frame its use. In fact, one wonders in the end whether all the things designated as *cruz* in the European discourse belong to the same family at all. A second point is that the intertextual trajectories of a form like the cross are partly guided by the social field and partly by the arbitrary properties of representational systems (language, iconography, architecture). Thus one reason that the cruciform shows up in non-religious contexts such as letters and chronicles is that the agents who produced these were among the same people who were trained by the Franciscans. There is much in the secular Maya discourse that resembles the language of doctrine and prayer, because the speaker/authors were drilled in doctrine and it was the same monastics who trained the translators and wrote the bilingual dictionaries. Other cases appear to follow a more arbitrary, almost Saussurien logic. Some Maya priests are reported to have experimented with crucifixion as a mode of sacrifice to bring rain for the fields (see below). When so, the crosses on which victims were presented were themselves thrown into the cenotes in the manner of Maya offerings. Thus once incorporated into the practices of the Maya, the symbol was transformed and treated according to a logic distinct from that of the Spanish.[14]

Acquaintance by violence

The cross was one of the first arrivals in the new world, and it embodied the violent confrontation between Christianity and the indigenous religions. This initial confrontation was clearest in Cortés's dramatic practice of smashing idols and replacing them with the cross (Diaz 1963: 62, 83). As Diaz reports, Cortes

14. The connection between rain and cenotes is direct for the Maya, whose traditional cosmology establishes a cycle of water between underground rivers, cenote-type wells, rain clouds and rain fall. There is further suggestion in the documents that Maya ritual uses of the cross involved sacrificing the cross itself, that is, including the cross within the offering as opposed to Catholic practice, in which it stands for the divinity to whom prayer offerings are made, but is not itself offered up.

followed the practice of placing a cross and an image of Our Lady in the places from which he removed idols. The banner that accompanied the wooden cross showed a red cross with blue and white flames emanating from it, and the logo, in Latin, "Brothers, let us follow the cross, and if we have faith we will conquer" (Tozzer 1941: 14-15). While it is highly unlikely that anyone understood this logo in most places where it was installed, the cross is widely associated with the arrival, even in evidently Maya sources.

Tozzer (42, n. 211) cites the report from the *Relación de Mérida* according to which a Maya prophet, a Chilam Balam from the town of Mani, is said to have prophesied the arrival of white bearded people from the East well before they first arrived. Sánchez de Aguilar (1900 [1613]: 95) recounts what seems to be the same story. The passage they refer to appears to be the following one, taken from the Chilam Balam of Chumayel (Edmonson 1986: 73; lines 501-507).[15]

ualac uil ytza	Let the Itza stand up
ualac uil tan cah e	let stand up in town,
Yum e	Father,
u chicul hunab ku canal	The sign of Hunab Ku in heaven
hulom uaom che	the erect wood (cross) must arrive
Etçahan ti bal cah e	It is placed in the world
uchebal u sashal yokol cab e	so that it illuminate the earth
Yume e	Father.

Attributed to the prophet Chilam Balam, this passage is difficult to understand precisely, because it could be read in various ways. On the reading reflected in the gloss, the Itza are warned that they must erect a sign of Hunab Ku in their midst. The standing wood cross of the Christians is sure to arrive: hul-om is a kind of assurative future tense according to Coronel (1620: folio 28), that means the event described in the clause *ha de suceder sin falta*. The expression *uaom che* can be parsed literally as *ua(l)-h-om*, 'will stand erect' + *che* 'wood'. It is a standard expression used by the Franciscans to designate the cross in Maya – although it is interesting that it is never used in the doctrinal materials, where the Spanish term *Cruz* or *Xcilich Cruz* ('blessed cross') are retained. It is unclear whether the same expression was used by Maya speakers in reference to a staff, or other vertical pole distinct from the cross. The reference to standing erect may be due to the inherent vertical orientation of the Christian cross, which has a head, two arms and a front just as does the human body, or it may be motivated by the practice of elevating the cross above the sight line of humans. Both in churches and when carried on an elevated pole in procession, the cross itself is usually higher than the human sight line, requiring that one gaze up at it, and never down.

15. Edmonson's presentation of the Maya text is highly readable and will serve as our point of reference. However, the translations that he proposes are in many cases open to debate, and I therefore present the examples with my own translations. For an extended review of the problems in translating these texts, see HANKS 1988.

The *Books of Chilam Balam* contain several more passages that report the arrival of the Spanish, including the following from the Tizimin book.[16]

Ti likin utal	They came from the East
Ca uliob uaye	when they arrived here
Ah mexob	The bearded ones
Ah pulob	The [?] ones
Ti chicul ku sac	At the sign of the white god
Uahom che canal	the cross on high
	(Edmonson 1986: lines 1177-1183)

In this passage the arrival of the Spanish is correlated with the arrival of the erect cross of the white god. This description recalls Cortes's presentations of the cross and banner bearing the cruciform. The same association with the cross is at play in the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* also (Edmonson 1986: 108).

Y oklal lay katun yan	For this katun period was the one
ca uli tz'ulob	when the foreigners arrived
Ti u talelob ti likin	It was from the East they came,
ca uliob e	when they arrived
✠ *Ti ix hop'i christianoil xan i*	That was when Christianity began also.

What is most interesting in this example for our purposes is that the line in which the word *Christianoil* occurs is flanked in the left column by a graphic cross, in the Maltese style. This is the same style of cross as appears in the *Doctrinas* of Coronel (1620) and Beltrán de Santa Rosa (1746). It is also the same shape cross as the one that adorns the crowns of all the Maya chiefs shown in graphics in the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Edmonson 1986) (Fig. 1).

In summary then, the association between the arrival of the Spanish, their physical presence in Yucatán and their claim on the place, and the cruciform was reinforced by the Spanish themselves, and appears to have been established in the consciousness of Maya authors also.

Catholic space, Christian doctrine

Of course the supplanting of Mayan idols by Spanish cruciforms is only an initial context for the cross, and it does not exhaust the meanings of the form. The core locus in which these meanings were elaborated were the conversion efforts and religious practices of the Franciscans. While I have just begun to investigate this topic, it is obvious that altars within church structures had crosses atop them. This locates the form within the imposing architectural spaces of the churches and cathedrals, some of which were built using the stone material taken from smashed temples and other Maya structures. Mass, the central sacrament performed in this space, was performed facing the cross. The bodily gestures of genuflecting, as a sign of reverence, and the sign of the cross, as a blessing both inscribe the cross onto the human body. This is in

16. This is not an instance of prophecy, but of past tense report.

turn reinforced in the small crosses carried or worn on the body, and attached to the rosary beads used in prayer. The vestments, chalices, and other liturgical objects would probably have been adorned with crosses as well. While it will require much research to fill out these sketchy observations, it is fair to say that the cross was both encompassed within built space, becoming the sacred object within the sanctuary, and placed or performed directly on the human body. In addition to the investing of the cross with the passion of Christ and the mystery of resurrection, Catholic practices invested it with spatial values that had to do with its positioning and the postures taken in front of it.

The missionization of the indigenous people of Mexico included the production of a vast corpus of doctrinal materials in native languages, including prayer texts, sermons, pedagogical tracts designed to explain points of practice and belief, and the doctrinal dialogues which Indians were forced to memorize and perform for the *padres* to prove their advancement on the road to Catholicism. This literature, and the pedagogical activities in which it was used, further amplified the values of cross.

Writing in the mid 17th century, the Franciscan historian Cogolludo lamented the lack of reverence among Maya people for Christian religion. Of Cacalchen, where he resided, he said that people only went to doctrine classes because they were counted and punished for absence. Not one person was accustomed to taking communion (Cogolludo 1971: 252). In order to counteract this tendency to spiritual absenteeism, there were well defined mechanisms. *Pueblos* were divided into *barrios*, each with a saint's name, and each under the responsibility of an Indian *principal*. *Principales*, who were summoned by the *batab* for any significant event, and who figure prominently as witnesses in most written documents from the *pueblos*, were responsible to make certain that everyone in their respective *barrios* attended church. Attendance was taken after mass, either by the *doctrinero* cross-checking all those present against a list of the *vecindad*, or, in larger places, by the *principal* himself (Cogolludo 1971: 291). After the service, all those at mass exited into the courtyard, where they were separated according to their barrio of residence. According to Cogolludo the *principal* was required to account for any missing persons, and if not was given a public flogging by the *gobernador*.

The inculcation of *doctrina* went beyond the mass to include forced instruction. On feast days the catechism and dialogues were performed in a dialogic song, with the *doctrinero* asking questions of faith and practice, and the indians answering according to doctrine. Men and women were separated during these sessions, at which attendance was very high, and virtually universal among the Indian officials (Cogolludo 1971: 293). Adults were examined on the *Doctrina* at the time of marriage, and at the annual obligatory confession. In the case of children, the regime was even more rigorous, as boys under 14 and girls under 12 were gathered daily and bought in procession to the church, where they practiced *Doctrina* (Cogolludo 1971: 294).

These introductory remarks indicate three facts regarding doctrinal literature in early colonial Yucatán. The first is that the *doctrina* was inculcated in the Maya population from an early age and with systematic enforcement. Although we cannot know how many people actually learned the teaching, or how they might have used it in their everyday practices, it is clear that efforts were undertaken to maximize the scope and depth of exposure.[17] The second fact is that there were institutionalized links between the *cabildo* government in Indian republics, and the enforcement of Catholicism. Through their obligatory attendance at services and responsibility for the attendance of their constituents, the *gobernadores, regidores, alguaciles* and *principales* played a dual role mediating between ecclesiastic and municipal fields. The third fact is that doctrine was associated with the regimentation of space: it was practiced by adults on church grounds, with people divided according to gender and residence. Children were inculcated in the rite of procession from their homes to the centralizing church, where they practiced their doctrine. Each of these three points reinforces the centrality of doctrinal practices as a source of discourse production. As we will see, its tie to local government gave to doctrinal language a channel through which it proliferated into a range of secular genres, while its tie to space prepared the ground for the reconfiguration of space in the image of religion.

Coronel's *Doctrina Christiana* (1620) is the earliest extant doctrine in Maya, although it is based on earlier, now lost versions. The frontispiece has the maltese style cross atop a shield of flames with an egg-shaped central area from which rays and flames (?) radiate. Initials IPIS. The first entry in the *Doctrina*, as in Beltrán's after him, is the sign of the Cross.

EL PERSIGNARSE

Tumen uchicil, cilich cruz,
    tocon ti cahualob,
        yumile, caDiose,
tuKaba Dios citbi
    yetel Dios mehenbil,
        yetel Dios Spiritusancto
Amen Jesus.

This sign establishes a key link between the graphic and material shape of the cross and the naming of the three aspects of the God, the Father, the Son

17. In Sanchez de Aguilar's *Informe contra Idólatras,* dated 1613, he reinforced the impression that Maya people had been thoroughly indoctrinated, stating flatly that they all either knew doctrine well, or their lack of knowledge was a sin (Sanchez de Aguilar 1900: 99). In his complex and fascinating portrait of the Indians, he argued that by the date of his writing the Maya had demonstrated uncommon achievement and intelligence in learning the ways of Spaniards; he even compared them favorably to the Moors for having so adeptly taken on Spanish ways. This apparent praise then provides the rhetorical foundation upon which he condemns their continued practice of the "vomit" and "sodomy" of idolatry as fully punishable and within their own responsibility. They would be exonerated of idolatry neither for lack of instructors nor for lack of sophistication about the nature of their blasphemy.

and the Holy Ghost. Inscribed on the body, this triad is associated with the forehead, the heart, and the shoulders in the gesture accompanying its utterance.

Beltrán de Santa Rosa's *Doctrina* is over 100 years later, but addresses itself directly to Coronel.[18] Beltrán was a native of Yucatán, and his knowledge of Maya language was evidently far deeper than that of his predecessor. Like Coronel, Beltrán begins his *Doctrina* with a frontispiece showing the cross, this time in the equilateral simplified Latin style, from which rays emmanate. The verbal sign of the cross is the first entry in the doctrine proper, and retains most of Coronel's wording (Fig. 2).[19]

PERSIGNARSE.

TUMEN u chicul cilich cruz	By the sign of the blessed cross
tocen ti kanalob	protect me from evil
yumbil hahal Dios,	Father true God
(bntukabá Dios yumbil	in the name of God the Father
yetel Dios mehenbil	and God the Son
yetel Dios Espiritu Santo.	and God Holy Spirit
Amen	Amen

It is interesting that neither Coronel nor Beltrán describes the hand gestures that are synchronized with speech in making the sign of the cross. The use of the right hand, touching forehead (on 'Father'), center of chest (on 'Son'), left shoulder then right shoulder (on 'holy spirit') must evidently have been supplied by the priests as they taught the doctrine.

The power of the cross is explained in the doctrina in terms of its tie to the passion of Christ and the mystery of his incarnation in human space. Coronel imparts this in one of nine articles of faith, which he subtitles *HE UNAH VCILICH VINICIL LAE,* roughly "This is what is necessary for a beautiful life." The third entry in the list is,

Vyoxppel yocçabal tiol	The third faith:
numci tiya vchebal vlohicon	[He] suffered in order to save us,
çijnijx tiCruz	and he was crucified on the Cross,
cimi	died
caix muci	and was buried

Both Coronel and Beltrán treat the Cross in the dialogic sections of their respective *doctrinas*. It is here that the cross as sign, the passion of Christ and the power to protect are all woven together into the proper conduct of a Christian. In Coronel's dialogic exposition, he introduces the cross in the following exchanges.

Kat. Cenx ú chicul Christiano?
    'What is the sign of a Christian?'

18. Beltrán de Santa Rosa, RP Fray Pedro. 1912 [1757, 1740]. *Declaración de la Doctrina Cristiana en el idioma yucateco.* Mérida, Yucatán: Imprenta de la Lotería del Estado.
19. The differences are defended point by point by Beltrán in his doctrine, in which he presents a reasoned and fascinating critique of Coronel's word choices in the Maya.

Kam. Lay cilich Cruz la ✠
    'This sacred Cross here: ✠'

Kat. Balx ú chun?
    'Why?'

Kam. Yoklal ú uayazba Christo
      çinan ú ti Cruz lohion.
    'Because Christ transfigured himself,
       was crucified on the Cross to save us.'

It is interesting in this passage that Coronel integrates the maltese style cross into the grammatical structure of the question-answer pair, equating this specifically graphic version of the cross with the wooden cruciform on which the crucifixion took place. The two of course differ in shape, with the material cross conforming to the proportion of the human body, with arms high up on the vertical, whereas the maltese version has the horizontal axis bisecting the vertical in the middle. Looking at this passage in context with the earlier ones, there is a three way relation established among the crosses: the *Cruz* (wooden) is the instrument of Christ's passion; the *cilich Cruz* (maltese) is the sign of a Christian; and the *cilich Cruz* (verbal) is the sign of the *Cruz* (wooden). In terms of the system of Christianity, the original, material cross is the core of this series, with the two other versions standing as signs of it. Notice that only the wooden cross is properly described as *uahom che* 'erect wood'. It is not presented as a sign of anything other than itself, nor is it qualified by the adjective *cilich* 'beautiful, sacred'. It is the real thing, of which the others are signs. Assuming that the Maya expression was semantically transparent, and not an idiom, it would make no sense to describe any of the other crosses as an 'erect wood.' This may explain why we find only the Spanish term *Cruz* in the *doctrina:* the priests needed to tie together what was in fact a whole range of semantic values clustered around the cross, and to do this, it was more efficient to retain a single term. It is also possible that the Maya expression was associated with a tree or other indigenous symbol from which the Franciscans wanted to insulate the cross, at least in these contexts.

Part of the value of the cross was said to be its actual ability to protect persons from evil. This power accrued to the entire family of cross forms, and not only to one or another version. Beltrán (1900: 35) asserts the power in his dialogic section.

    Kat. Heix Cruze yan ua yuchucil uchebal ú tocicoon
      ti cah[ua]lobe?
    Ask. And the Cross, does it have the power to protect us
      from our enemies?

    Nuc. La ika, yoklal u Coyahob
      ca Yumil ti Jesu-Christo ti ú cimilie.
    Answer. Yes, because they vanquished
      our Lord in Jesus-Christ to his death there

In other words, the fact of Christ's having died on the cross is presented as the source of its power. In discourse like this one, it is critical that the referent of the word *cruz* be understood to designate the form in general, and not the unique wooden object on which Christ is said to have died. As a symbol, the cruciform is replicable infinitely with no loss in authenticity. Part of the replication process is the transposing of the form across different symbolic media, construction, graphic illustration, speech or writing, inscription on the body. How did the Maya addressees pick up on this range of forms and meanings?

Integrations of the cross in Maya ritual practices

The presence in indigenous Maya culture of a symbol formally similar to the Christian cross is a well known theme in Mayanist research. Cortes's party encountered cross-like symbols at Cozumel and Campeche, and there has been speculation that the Maya reception of the Europeans was strongly influenced by their reaction to the cross they brought. As Roys put it, the European cross "... so startlingly resembled one of the most sacred Maya symbols..." that it must have impressed the Indians (1943: 15, 77). Fascination with pre-existing commonalities is attested in the Spanish discourse of the period; Landa, Cogolludo, Lizana and Sánchez de Aguilar all addressed the question of whether Christianity had somehow preceded the Church to the New World, and commented on such things as an autochthonous form of Baptism. The evidence regarding Maya reactions is less clear, since there is no indigenous discourse in which the European culture is likened to that of the Maya. In fact, most of what is known regarding the Maya reception of the European cross is found in reports addressed to Europeans, such as the testimony brought out in the infamous idolatry trials of the latter half of the sixteenth century.

It is difficult to make sense of these reports both because they vary in content, and because they are of questionable status. Based almost entirely on testimony extracted from natives under the inquisitional rigors of the Franciscans, or on reports by the Franciscans themselves, texts describing Maya practices are undoubtedly inaccurate in ways we cannot measure. Mayanist scholars, like the Spanish before them, have long debated the "idolatry question," and there is a significant corpus of literature bearing on this aspect of our problem.[20] It is not my purpose here to reengage these debates, but to illustrate a range of forms under which the cross entered the imaginary of the colony, both European and indigenous sectors. We cannot know whether people like Lorenzo Cocom colluded in crucifixion for their own ends, as he was said to have done in testimony extracted by Franciscans, just as we cannot really know who "Lorenzo Cocom" was (a problem noted by Tozzer 1941: 44, n.

20. TOZZER 1941, FARRISS 1984, CLENDINNEN 1987.

216). These gaps in truth and reference preclude any attempt to read the reports as straightforward factual descriptions. But this is only one way of reading documents, and there are other dimensions of truth and factuality that can be gotten at through intertextual analysis. Regardless of whether the things reported really happened, or how often they occurred, it is evident that the cross served as a powerful instrument for producing multiple meanings.

The Maya cruciform appears to have been associated with water and perhaps a stylized version of the *yaxche* tree (Roys 1943: 75; cf. Burkhart 1989: 70 for Nahuatl analogue). The latter was the *axis mundi* of Maya cosmology, standing in the middle of the world and rising to heaven. In the cosmology, four other trees are arrayed, one per cardinal corner, the five being called *imix che* 'trees of abundance.' If the potential association between the cross and the trees of abundance is correct, then it may have reinforced the use of the cross to mark certain landmarks on maps (a topic addressed in the next section). That is, the cross becomes a device for organizing space in its cardinal aspect.

The next passage, from the same manuscript, refers to the arrival of the cross in the Maya towns, a sign of the "unified god" of the Christians, whose gift to the Indians would be enlightenment. Although this passage attributes the prophesy of the arrival of the cross to the native prophet Chilam Balam, the language belongs in part to the Franciscans. The underscored portions refer to the sign of the 'erect wood' cross using the Maya expression adopted by monastics, and appealing to the monastic metaphor of enlightenment through conversion.[21]

U profesia Chilam Balam	The prophecy of Chilam Balam
Tix kayom Cabal Chen Mani	it will be sung in the well of Mani
Oxlahun Ahau uhetz' iuil katun	Thirteen Ahau [was] the seating of the katun
Ualac uil Ytza	Let the Itza stand up
Ualac uil tan cah e	Let it be erected in the middle of town,
Yum	Father,
uchicul hunab ku canal	the sign of the unified God on high
ulom uaom che	The cross [lit. erect wood] shall arrive
Etsahom ti cah e	they shall place it in town,
Uchebal u sashal yokol cabe	in order that the world be enlightened
Yum	Father (Edmonson 1982: Lines 3951-3965)

The tie between cruciforms and Maya ritual practice is attested in the scant (and doubtless skewed) descriptions of Maya "idolatry" that emerged from the idolatry trials. One Augustin Che testimony taken by the Franciscans during the idolatry trials. One Augustin Che reported for instance that Juan and Lorenzo Cocom had been present at the crucifixion of a boy and girl, which was carried out in front of a clay cross

21. Notice that this passage is nearly identical (but not quite) to the earlier one presented as the prophecy of *Chilam Balam*. The earlier example was taken from *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* and this one is from the *Chilam Balam of Tizimin*. Although we cannot enter into close comparison of the two in this context, it would be worthwhile. For the Maya expression *uahom che* see MARTÍNEZ HERNÁNDEZ (1929, p. 887).

(Sánchez de Aguilar 1900 [1613]: 76; cf. Tozzer 1941: 44). In another incident reported from the town of Homun, Maya people are said to have made food and drink offerings to the cross inside the Catholic church, in memory of their idols. The purpose of the rite was evidently to request rain for the *milpa* (Tozzer 1941: 162).

In a number of cases, like the Cocom one just cited, the Maya appropriation of the cross was more radical than merely defining the space in which an offering was made. There were reports of actual crucifixions, which predictably scandalized the Franciscans. Evidently, these usually involved the sacrificing of children, whose hands were nailed or lashed to the cross with vines, and whose hearts were extracted either while the cross was still standing, or after it was taken down. In some cases the name "Jesus Christ" was written on the body of the victim. This inscription upon the body is further echoed in testimony given by Juan Couoh of Yaxcaba, who reported a human sacrifice in which a man was sacrificed inside the church, his heart taken out, two cruciforms incised on the freshly extracted heart, which was then placed within the mouth of a large idol, identified with the Maya god Itzamna (Tozzer 1941: 118 n.541). There appears to be an association in some of these cases with water (rain), as the victims were thrown, still attached to the cross, into a cenote. According to Tozzer (1941: 116), Francisco Hernández, one of the first missionaries to Yucatán, reported that the Maya venerated the cross as a "god" of water or rain.

In other cases the tie to rain is missing and the central logic of sacrifice is one of substitution. In testimony taken from Antonio Pech, Juan and Lorenzo Cocom, probably the same individuals cited above, are said to have participated in the crucifixion of two young girls. The pair of Maya nobles were themselves dying and the purpose of the offering was to exchange their lives for those of the sacrificial victims. The *Ah Kin* is reported to have said "Let these girls die crucified as did Jesus Christ, he who they say was our Lord, but we do not know if this is so" (Tozzer 1941: 116). In this quote, the parallel between Jesus Christ and the young girls suggests that the concept of self-sacrifice by a savior was transposed into the Maya practice along with the cruciform death. This appears to differ subtly from the offerings of blood for rain that are well known among the Maya, although the precise nuances are difficult to pin down.

A third variation on the sacrificial cross is provided by reports of animal offerings in which pigs were crucified, as in testimony from Sahcaba in 1562 (Tozzer 1941: 163 note 853). It is difficult to tell how this practice related to animal sacrifice in front of the cross, as mentioned in the testimony of the Francisco Tuz. Tuz reported that at the cenote of Chichen there was a "church of demons" in which a cross was erected and dogs and other animals were sacrificed (Tozzer 1941: 183 n. 955). In both of these reports, crosses were said to have been burned as part of the offering. This raises the interesting possibility that the cross served both as central embodiment of the divinity to which offerings were made, and as itself an offertory object. The fire that

consumed the cross, or crosses, was itself extinguished with the blood of the animal sacrificed.

In all of the variants sketched above, the role of mediating between the human body, the space of action, and the divine seems to be basic to the meaning of the cross. The verticality inherent in the Maya gloss of the word "cross" plays upon the orientation of the body and the position one adopts when facing the altar in prayer. Although the phrasing was set by the Franciscans, it was adopted, at least in some contexts, by the Maya. Crucifixion and the incision of a cruciform on the heart represent embodiment in its most dramatic sense. Of course, the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the mystery of the incarnation and the partaking of the body of god in the eucharist all turn on corporality as the pivot between the divine and the human. But the Maya cases hint at a broader understanding of the spatial consequence of the cross beyond the flesh. The placement of crosses on roads, the centrality of churches in the towns, the latent association between crosses and rain, and the directionality of the Maya "trees of abundance" can all be understood to anchor the meaning of the cross in a broader lived space.

Cross as a spatial operator

Commenting on the ubiquity and veneration of the cross in the Maya sector of colonial Yucatán, Farriss (1984: 315) notes that crosses were "placed at the four pathways entering each town, atop boundary markers, [and] on the doorways of houses." This distribution, which is consistent with the Maya land surveys that I have seen, suggests that the core spatial value of the cross was to mark thresholds. In the two Yaxkukul land surveys, crosses are reported at a total of ten points along the boundary of the town by that name. The two surveys, dated only days apart and signed by different but overlapping groups of nobles, differ in basic respects (explored in Hanks 1992). The earlier one cites 5 crosses, of which 1 is unmentioned in the later version, and the later version cites 9 crosses, of which 5 are unmentioned in the early version of the survey. Although the two distributions of crosses are not identical, they are consistent in terms of the distribution of crosses in relation to roads and other landmarks along the boundary. The surveys mention several roads into the town of Yaxkukul, and both cite crosses at the points at which the roads intersect the perimeter.[22] In addition, they both cite at least one cross at a corner point where there is no road (*noh tiitz luum* 'great corner (of the) land' in the Maya), making these 'corners' the second most likely locus for a cross. There are no crosses mentioned in either version of the survey at a point that is neither a threshold on the road or a *noh tiitz luum*. This is a powerful regularity

22. With one exception: both surveys mention the road between Yaxkukul and Tixkumcheil, and neither one mentions any cross at this road.

binding together what are otherwise divergent versions of the survey. Other known surveys, such as those from the towns of Sotuta and Mani appear to follow these or similar principles, although I have yet to examine them sufficiently closely to tell.

Within towns there were many crosses as well, and these suggest a function slightly different from threshold marking. Inside churches, the cross is closer to the center, as Farriss suggests, than it is to the threshold. Here the verticality of the raised crucifix becomes significant; one gazes up at the cross and genuflects in front of it, whereas there is no evidence, to my knowledge, that boundary crosses are experienced as "above" or "in front of" the threshold they index. Recall from the reports of idolatry, that sacrifices were often made at the foot of an altar, and that in some cases of crucifixion, the entire cross with the offertory victim was thrown down into a cenote. The latter form of delivering the offering is surely a Maya factor and not a Spanish one, but in other respects the Maya appear to have taken over a similar posture towards the ritual space of the cross as did the Spanish.

There is further evidence that churches were conceived as defining the middle of town space, and this suggests that the cross may have stood for interiority in municipal space, as well as boundary-establishment. This is suggested by the placement of convents in the main plaza area of towns, and also the description of the church in the land surveys. The church in Yaxkukul is mentioned as a starting or ending point in both surveys, as that point around which the perimeter runs. In the well known, contemporaneous map of Mani, the convent is shown in the center of a clearly bounded circular region (reproduced in Sharer 1983). The border of Mani is depicted as a double line inside of which are small square shapes, each with a cross atop it. This is once again consistent with the hypothesis that crosses defined boundary points as well as interiors of municipal space.[23]

We cannot know exactly how the boundaries between colonial Yucatecan towns were marked on the ground – beyond written and graphic portrayals in documents. Extant material remains are insufficient to determine where markers were on the sixteenth century landscape, or what they looked like. Still, it is critical to distinguish the two planes analytically: how space was portrayed in documentary genres, versus how it was constituted in other cultural forms.[24] Once we make this distinction, it becomes possible to examine the documents as defining a space in themselves. Thus the paper on which the first and more complete Yaxkukul survey was written was itself marked by an oval shaped

23. Even within the church and when placed atop a ritual altar, the cross could be said to mark a threshold, the threshold between the human and the divine. This description would fit contemporary practices of Maya shamans (Hanks 1990a, b).

24. In drawing this distinction I am not privileging either the documentary or the other modes as more "real" or the measure of truth. We need simply to recognize that space is multiply defined, and here we have to do with a difference of dimensions in a larger social world.

seal with a maltese-style cross atop it. The mention of the word *Cruz* in the surveys is itself significant. Of all the objects that populated the boundaries between towns, including significant natural features, why were crosses singled out as belonging to the larger class of boundary markers, while other things were not? The reason is likely to lie in Spanish practices of placing crosses on the landscape, although I leave this question for future research. It is noteworthy that none of the boundary crosses is ever designated as a *uahom che* 'erect wood [cross]', the term sometimes used for the ritual cross. Even though they probably stood erect, crosses marking boundaries were probably accorded a slightly different status than those that occur in sacred spaces. It is unlikely for instance that boundary crosses were experienced as having a head and arms, as were the ritual crosses, and even less likely that they had anything akin to the sequential structure of the sign of the cross as made on one's body (forehead > chest > left shoulder > right shoulder, done with the right hand). In each context, the meaning of the cross, and the conceptual organization it implies, is slightly different. A further factor may have been the rhetorical aim of the surveyors to convince the Spanish that the landscape around Yaxkukul had been appropriately "converted", as marked by the laying out of crosses. For this purpose, using the Spanish term itself is clearly more forceful.

All of these spatial uses recall the placement of the cross inside churches, atop the altar, and upon the body. The effectiveness of the symbol in marking a spatial division is distinct from the more focally ritual uses, and yet it derives from them. In a sense, the incarnation, crucifixion, redemption, replication of crosses and all the ritual practices in which they are maintained have to do with the production of spatial divisions; between heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, divine referent and human symbols. A final instance of the cross as a landmark in social space is in the place names given Indian towns by the Spanish, and often used in official documents. The full name of Yaxkukul, as cited in both surveys, is "Santa Cruz de Mayo Yaxkukul".[25] Most if not all towns had such long names, which were used in some contexts, but not others. To my knowledge there has been no systematic study of when they occur, as opposed to the simplified names.

Cross as a discourse operator

With the use of crosses in written documents, both as drawn and as designated verbally, we move a step away from the material forms in the landscape, and the embodiment of the crucifixion. Another class of instances are the crosses that punctuate official and semiofficial documents of various genres. These have the discourse function of indicating the opening or closing of segments in discourse, much as the sign of the cross is performed at the

25. The second survey precedes this name by the adjective *yax* meaning 'first', 'green.'

end of the Catholic mass. Thus for instance, in the first Yaxkukul survey, the local priest is said to be blessing the participants after the survey report has been completed. It says,

tan u dzaic u bendisio ca yum/	"our father is giving his blessing
Padre franco hernandes Clerigo	Father Francisco Hernández, Cleric
yokol tulacal uinicob/	upon all people
Uay ti cah lae	here in this town
tu kaba Dios yumbil	In the name of God the Father
Dios mehenbil	God the son
Dios esptu S.to	God the Holy Spirit"
	(Barrera Vásquez 1984: 41-2)

The implication of this passage is that the document reports an actual enactment in which people gathered and a final blessing was performed in order to bring the event to a close. This fits very well with the rest of the linguistic style of the survey, which is marked by first person, present tense description.[26] This reinforces the inference that the sign of the cross was a closure device performed in the boundary inspection.

In the collection of documents entitled *Documentos de Cacalchen en lengua Maya*, a set of texts from the town of Cacalchen and its neighbors, there are numerous wills.[27] An initial perusal of these indicates that many of them have in common an opening formula in which the verbal sign of the cross is used in a way we would expect: it is a boundary key indicating that the testament immediately following it is sworn truth. It says,

Tukaba dios uchuc tumen tuçinil	In the name of god the maker of all things
citbil	eternal
mehenbi	[and of the] son
.y. espiritu santo	and [of the] holy spirit
oxtul personas tuhunali hahal dios	Three persons in one true god
Tukabaix bolon pixan cacilich colebil	And in the name of nine spirits our holy lady
ti çuhuy Santa Ma	in blessed virgin Mary
yohel tob tulacal uinicob	Let all men know
bin ylic yunil intestamento	they shall see the paper of my testament
intakyah than	my final testament
cen ah cimil ti franco kuk	I, dying person, Francisco Kuk

Dated July 28, 1647, this testament starts with an almost verbatim quote of the sign of the cross presented by Coronel (1620) and discussed by Beltrán de Santa Rosa (1912).[28]

26. The second survey, which reports the facts of the boundary from a third person, past tense remove, lacks the sign of the cross (cf. Hanks 1992a).
27. The volume is number Yucatec 21 in the Ayers collection of American Indian Documents, which I consulted at the Newberry Library, Chicago IL.
28. The term *citbil* in particular was in the early version of the sign of the cross, but Beltrán de Santa Rosa pointed out a serious infelicity with the translation: it is true, he said, that *citbil* means eternal, but unfortunately it is the term also used for an indigenous deity

There are other instances of the graphic and verbal signs of the cross in Maya language documentation of the period, although I have not yet sufficiently examined them to comment on the variants. There appear to be two main functions served by such uses of the cross: (i) to mark some kind of a division in section, or theme, or at the very opening or closing of the text, so that what follows the cross is differently keyed; and (ii) to invoke the power associated with the cross as a talisman and as that in whose name actions can be undertaken as sanctioned by God. The first function is a direct transposition of the cross as index of a threshold; the second recalls the didactic explanations of the power of the cross in the dialogues included in Christian Doctrine. In future research it will be fruitful to explore the ways in which occurences of the signs of the cross in apparently non-religious discourse actually indicate intertextual series in which the religious texts are merely one endpoint, and thematicaly distant or unrelated genres are the other. This openendedness is one basic feature of the intertextuality of the cross.

Another is the variability in which the cruciform is put in play. In the Sotuta land documents, graphic signs of the cross are integrated into the verbal text to stand for boundary markers, along the lines of the boundary crosses at Yaxkukul, but with a different discourse representation (Roys 1939: 425; cf. Hanks 1987: 675). In other cases, like the Cacalchen wills, it is the verbal formula that is taken up and perhaps altered to fit a new discourse context. In still others, the verbal sign of the cross, with its formulaic "in the name of" appears to have been integrated into the participant structure of those who produced documents. Rather than naming the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the three parties in whose name an act is undertaken are the King, the *encomendero* and the Governor, all cited in the three part structure "in the name of x, and y, and z" (see Hanks 1987: 682ff.). What we see here is the progressive shifting of the sign of the cross away from the focally religious discourse of prayer, into more secular discourse uses, in which the schema of acting "in the name of" an authority serves to invoke the power of the authority itself.

Cross as background feature of colonial linguistics

The final set of genres I will illustrate are the linguistic materials prepared by friars, including dictionaries and grammars. In these contexts the cross also plays a role, but it is strictly in the background. That is, the focal objective of the discourse is to translate or explain a point of language structure, and

whom the Maya still worshiped in the eighteenth century (Beltrán DE SANTA ROSA 1912, p. 8-9). This revision of Coronel on the basis of secondary associations of the Maya term is typical of Beltrán's *Doctrina*. Beltrán's work is distinguished by an extraordinarily deep knowledge of Maya language and a commitment to formulating the *Doctrina* in discourse that was both referentially precise and readily intelligible to a mid-eighteenth century Maya speaker. In my experience, it is Beltrán's revised form, *Dios yumbil,* which remains in use today.

the cross, under one of its various guises, serves as an accidental feature of the example. For instance, example sentences offered to illustrate a certain grammatical construction may happen to describe the cross, or the cross will be mentioned in explaining some other concept. An illustration of this is found in Beltrán's *Arte* (1746: section 261), when he explains how the progressive aspect is formed in the Maya verb. The section is entitled, *Tiempos de siendo y habiendo,* and among the examples he presents is the following,

> *numcina ti yaa ca ah Lohil, ena ma ahkebani*
> "no siendo pecador, nuestro Redentor padeció"

Here the reference to the Redeemer and the passion indirectly refers to the cross on which the crucifixion occured, without mentioning it. The important point is that Beltrán is explaining the grammatical structure [Verb1 *-na, ena* Verb2], and the doctrinal content of the example is secondary to this expository goal. To be sure, the grammatical descriptions are peppered with such examples, which reflects the overall purpose of the text to help teaching the language to those who would preach and educate in it. Still, the doctrinal discourse has the status of background, available discourse which can be called on to illustrate points of grammar. Such uses are peripheral to the semantics of doctrinal language, because it is "mentioned" rather than actually expressed. Just as mention in language is a metalinguistic mode in which the normal meanings and presuppositions of a term are suspended, so doctrinal discourse has linguistic form that can be commented on. It is important to realize that such uses are nonetheless equally significant as the other, more direct ones. For they tell us about the horizon of assumptions and the aims of the authors and projected audience, even though they say nothing about how the objects designated by *Redentor, pecador* or *padeció* are used, or where they are located.

I have just begun to investigate the appearance of the cross and other features of doctrinal language in the colonial metalinguistic texts. I am most concerned with the relation between the *Doctrina* and *Arte* produced by Coronel, and later revised by Beltrán. The Motul and San Francisco dictionaries, also being the products of the friars show a similar pattern in which doctrinal language is the stuff of many of the example sentences and explanations of Maya language. In these cases, the intertextual relation between doctrinal genres and metalinguistic ones is motivated mainly by the fact that the same agents – the Franciscans – produced them, as part of a single program of conquest. This raises a number of important questions, but cannot be pursued here because further research is required.

CONCLUSION

By way of concluding, let me summarize the variants of the cross that we have adduced. Table 1 shows eleven variants according to their standard

linguistic designations, the overall form, the material of which they are fashioned and the "actional context" in which the variant occurs. This is clearly a preliminary summary that only points towards an analysis not yet done. One of the first questions that arises is how many crosses this cluster of forms represents. At one extreme, it could be claimed that everything in Table 1 is a single symbolic form that happens to be realized under different forms according to the context in which it occurs. There is no issue as to whether all these things really are the same thing, because the essential sameness is what defines them all. The implication of such view is that all of the 11 entries in the table are equally basic, and their differences are arbitrary. But this is at odds with the theological system that defines the form and at least some of the practices in which it was used. The sign of the cross and the threshold cross are just that; they are signs of the original passion and death of Christ. It makes no sense to say that the original crucifixion was a sign of the boundary marker or graphic maltese cross. In other words, even if one asserts that all variants point to some other unitary symbol, still they do so from different degrees of remove. Moreoever, if they are all ultimately equivalent, what explains the proliferation of contextual variants?

If we come from the perspective of the issues outlined in the first parts of this paper, a slightly different question arises, What were the intertextual vectors along which the cruciform, and other aspects of doctrine, spread in the discourse genres of Yucatec Maya? The initial presentations of the cross were made by the conquistadores, the Franciscans shortly later, the church-based worship in which human relations to the cross were fixed, and the doctrinal instruction in which an explanatory catechism was developed in which the meanings of the cross were amplified and further rooted in local discourse. The cross as a bodily or architectural adornment follows from these other, more basic contexts. The original crucifixion, as defined by church practices, establishes the origin point of this series, with the practice of the sacraments at the altar, and the doctrinal instruction referring back to the core crucifixion. The shift from these contexts into the ritual performances of Maya priests, in the crucifixions and cross offerings (by fire and water) which they performed, was to link the two fields of Catholic and Maya ritual practices. Both of these were defined by their practitioners as distinct from everyday speech and action, and both involved structured performances based on codified traditions. The intertextual reproduction of crosses among the Maya seems in this case to be based on the homologous position of *payalchi t'aan* 'prayer' in the two sectors.

Other instances appear to follow more from common agency than common generic positioning. The very Maya nobles who were trained in European languages and writing by the Franciscans went on to produce the maps, chronicles, letters and official documents from the Maya towns. The fact that doctrinal language proliferates into these non-religious genres is motivated by the commonality of author-producers. Similarly within the Spanish sector, the grammars and dictionaries produced by friars were not in themselves doctrinal

texts, but being produced by the same authors of Maya-language doctrine, they show the signs of doctrinal speech. Although we have barely scratched the surface of this topic here, the metalinguistic texts show that the language of doctrine and conversion was uppermost on the minds of the friar-linguists, and that it served as a backdrop that could be called upon to provide expressions, statements, descriptive perspectives and the other semantic/discursive elements needed to illustrate a grammar or dictionary. The spatial uses of the cross, to mark thresholds as well as the inner sanctum of built space (home and church) are partly implicit in the penumbra of spatial corollaries of the incarnation, resurrection, and locus of the crucifixion at Mount Calvary, and partly due to European practices of displaying the cross in the landscape. It is still too early to determine to what extent and in what ways the boundary crosses were doubly interpretable for the Maya, indexing the endurance of an indigenous tradition even as it changed to encompass, and be encompassed by Europeans. Rather than focusing on the status of different practices as Maya or European, or indigenous colonial, the research needed to address this question will bear centrally on the intertextual trajectories along which the two traditions interpenetrated each other, and the blended genres of practice to which they gave rise.