Introduction

The Field of Discourse Production

The Spanish conquest of Yucatán rested on two major columns, military subjugation and the so-called *conquista pacífica* 'peaceful conquest'. The military conquest was carried out by a relatively small number of soldiers, armed with swords, armor, muskets, horses, and dogs, and assisted by their indigenous allies. After decades of advances, setbacks, and regroupings, it came to an end, at least officially, in 1547. The peaceful conquest, by contrast, was carried out by an even smaller number of missionaries and their recruits, armed with monumental built spaces, the cross, religious vestments, the Bible and doctrine, the Host, wine and oil, and speech.

The objective of the *conquista pacífica* was to convert the natives from heathens into Christians living in accordance with *policía cristiana,* which we might gloss roughly 'Christian civility'. This conversion was necessary in order to incorporate native peoples into the colonial society, for to be a member of society entailed being Christian. Etymologically linked to the Classical *polis,* the term *policía* in sixteenth-century Spanish designates honorable conduct befitting citizens. As Covarrubias (1995 [1611], 827) put it, it was a *"término ciudadano y cortesano"* 'term of citizenry and honor'. In a revealing example, Covarrubias cites the expression *"consejo de policía,"* which he glosses as *"el que gobierna las cosas menudas de la ciudad y el adorno della y limpieza"* 'that which governs the small things of the city and its decorum and cleanliness'. The sense of decorum found in tidy details and the tie to orderly living in towns and cities define the conceptual core of *policía* as it was brought to Yucatán. It involved at once built space, the care and presentation of the body, a code of conduct, and the orderly relation among the three.

In the evangelization of the Indios, *policía cristiana* had a special importance: it was a means to the end of conversion.[1] As Tomás López Medel expressed it in his historic *Ordenanzas* of 1552:

> *. . . tanto más hábiles y dispuestos para la doctrina cristiana y para recibir la predicación de el santo evangelio, cuanto más están puestos en la policía espiritual y temporalmente.*
> (Cogolludo 1971 [1688], 391)

> . . . (they will be) all the more apt and disposed towards Christian Doctrine and towards receiving preaching of the Holy Gospel, insofar as they are placed in proper civility (both) spiritually and temporally.

In this passage the spiritual and the temporal are at once distinguished and joined together, as López Medel nicely articulates the prevailing belief among missionaries and Crown representatives that in order to really persuade the Indios of Christianity, it was necessary to habituate them to a new way of being in the everyday social world. The appearance and neatness of collective life, the "small details," would help transform the Indios' disposition, bringing both the aptitude to receive Christianity and the inclination to do so. Much as in Elias's (1994) civilizing process, or Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus, the idea of *policía* was to instill ways of perceiving, experiencing, and behaving, rooted in the little details of the body in its social life and in the disposition to reproduce them.

In order to be placed in *policía cristiana,* the Indios had to be reorganized. This was to be achieved through a process called *reducción*. Although it is tempting to translate *reducción* as 'reduction', to do so is misleading, since the term implies no necessary decrease in size or number. It did imply pacification and subordination to the new rule of law and to the hierarchical relations of colonial society. The term derives from the verb *reducir(se),* which Covarrubias defines as *"convencer(se)"* '(become) convince(d)', or we might say "persuaded." The related term *reducido* is commonly found in Spanish documents of the period, with the meaning *"convencido y vuelto a mejor orden"* 'convinced and put in better order' (Covarrubias 1995 [1611], 854).

It is widely recognized that the colonial *reducción* had two focal objectives. The first was to relocate the Indios into centralized towns called *pueblos reducidos* 'ordered towns', some already existing and others newly created (Farriss 1984; Quezada 1992). This process is what is sometimes referred to as *congregación,* the policy whereby the Indios were congregated in order to facilitate missionary instruction and surveillance. The demographic concentration was accompanied by the establishment of the missions and of the well-known quadrilateral town layout found throughout the Spanish Americas.[2] Most towns were simultaneously defined by local government and by their position in the ecclesiastical

structure of the province, implying a chain of jurisdictions from the local chapel and town council to the head town, the *guardianía,* the province of San Josef de Yucatán, New Spain, the Crown, and the pope. Hence an "ordered" town was one whose internal organization was orderly, and whose place in the larger colonial structure was well articulated.

The second sense of *reducción* bears not on the spatial distribution of Indios but on their dispositions and conduct: *Indios reducidos* were those who were "convinced, persuaded" and behaved in accordance with *policía cristiana.* In other words, the twin foci of *reducción* join together precisely the three aspects of *policía*—social space, the human body, and everyday social conduct. The process of *reducción* consisted of the introduction of *policía* into the indigenous population, with the added effect that Indios would practice civility not because they were forced to do so but because they were persuaded of its rightness.

As amply reflected in their writings from early on, the missionaries were well aware that the Maya were already living in *policía,* of a sort. Seeing the great architectural programs of Chichén Itzá, Izamal, Mayapán, and Uxmal, the obvious stratification of Post-Classic Maya society, the movement of trade goods over long distances, the *ah kin* priests, and hieroglyphic writing (which they called *carácteres* 'characters') and learning of the intricacies of the Mayan calendar, they were under no illusion that the society they came to order was not already orderly.[3] The Franciscan missionaries criticized the Spanish for the violence and havoc they wreaked in military conquest and the extractions of the colonial regime, both of which impeded the saving of souls. Their program, by contrast, would be an orderly ordering. They would take what was already there and purify it, refashion it, and make of it a new world in the sense of worldmaking described by Goodman (1978). On the landscape, they built nodal places such as the convents of Maní, Izamal, and Mérida, using the very stones taken from the temples they destroyed there, often building on the same sites.[4] In the sphere of human conduct, they recognized the civility of Maya social life and the religious sensibility of the people, even though they considered these capacities to have been debauched by the devil and the lies of indigenous leaders. Thus they would purge the falsehoods, the "vomit of idolatry," and the "false gods" around which so much seemed to revolve, and put truth, faith, and the trinity in their place. The indigenous capacity for order and religion would be a resource. In terms of language, they learned Maya as best they could, working with assistants, and had great respect for its expressive power. Seeking to cut away the inherently false words of idolatry and superstition, they reused the remaining language to build cathedrals of meaning around their triune god. The reorderings of *reducción* were based therefore at least partly on analysis and disassemblage of what was already there. The ideal was to reorder, prune down, supplement, and reorient what already existed. The challenge was to do so without fostering the persistence

of the old world from which the parts had come. The result was pervasive ambiguity, ambivalence, and an almost morbid fear of the unseen and the insincere hiding beneath the appearance of truth. We might call this the missionaries' dilemma.

I argue that the *reducción* actually had a third object, equally important with space and conduct, and equally salient in the peaceful conquest. That third object is language. On the face of it, speech and communicative practices are inalienable parts of *policía* in everyday social life, just as they are the necessary medium in which to persuade would-be converts of the message of Christianity, and also the medium in which much prayer and religious practice takes place.[5] But the tie to language runs deeper still, since the indigenous languages were the objects, and not only the instruments, of *reducción*. The missionaries sought to *reducir* the Indian languages, including Yucatec Maya, by describing them in terms of rules and patterns. The result of this kind of *reducción* is a grammar, or a set of rules that specify the structure and regularity of the language. In the overall project, town layout, regional governance, civility of conduct, grammar, and proper speech are of a single cloth.

The linguistic sense of *reducción* is occasionally evident in the front matter of colonial grammatical descriptions, which include phrases like *"Arte de lengua Maya reducida a sus succintas reglas"* 'Practical grammar of Maya language ordered to its succinct rules' (Beltrán 2000 [1746]). Similarly, missionary accounts routinely state that the friars *"redujeron la lengua,"* meaning they produced grammatical manuals of it. The idea here is that a grammar consists in the analytic ordering of the language by rules, much as the behavioral *reducción* is an ordering of everyday conduct and the spatial *reducción* is an ordering of inhabited space. And just as the spatial and behavioral *reducción* intentionally transformed Indian lifeways, so too the linguistic *reducción* was wrapped up in the concerted attempt to transform the Indian languages.[6] Missionary grammars, manuals, and dictionaries occupy a gray zone of ambiguity, at once descriptive and prescriptive, analytic and regulatory. Working with the relevant materials on and in Maya, I have become convinced that analysis and translation were actually forms of *reducción* in the strong sense of systematically re-forming their object. This is one of the themes that runs throughout this book.

My first point, then, is that the peaceful conquest of the Maya of Yucatán was framed, in Spanish thought, in an encompassing conceptual framework whose key terms were *policía cristiana* and *reducción,* each of which had at least two distinguishable and interrelated senses. The *reducción* was the centerpiece of early missionary practice. I want to underscore that the term designates a bringing to order, and that it had three quite distinct objects: built space, everyday social practice, and language. Each of these three implied a different kind of intervention, but all were guided by the same telos: the conversion of the Indios into

Christians, living in *policía cristiana* and speaking a language apt as a medium of Catholic practice.[7] In this telos, language was pivotal, both as an object to be analyzed and altered and as an instrument with which to analyze and alter other aspects of Indian life.

The changes wrought by all three kinds of *reducción* contributed to the process of conversion. We tend to think of conversion in terms of a charismatic change in an individual's religious beliefs. In the colonial context, however, the concept is primarily collective, not individual; we are talking about the social and cultural conversion of entire ethnic groups as part of colonial domination. While it may be productive to distinguish religious conversion from other kinds of deep transformation, it is critical to view conversion as a social and cultural process whose scope is historically variable.[8] Not only is there no reason to assume religious conversion as a bounded category, but there is overwhelming evidence that religious beliefs and practices were pervasively woven into social life in both the Spanish and Maya sectors of the colony.

Perhaps most important, to describe conversion in the language of religious beliefs is to privilege the belief states of individual subjects, when what we should be concerned with is the dynamic practices of social groups. This error in turn leads to unanswerable questions such as whether or not the Maya became "authentic" converts who really believed just the right things. This question haunted many missionaries, but it is secondary in the history proposed here. Rather, what will occupy us is the emergence of the colonial field and the related conversion of social practices, lived space, and language. These changes are of a piece with spiritual conversion, but they go far beyond what anyone believed.[9]

For the missionaries in colonial Yucatán, the focal object of *conversión* clearly was Indian behavior and beliefs, as is evident from their actions and from the standard definition of *convertir(se)* as "convince, be convinced or repentant" (Covarrubias 1995 [1611], 350). Recall that one meaning of *reducir(se)* was also "to convince," a semantic joining consistent with the policy linkage between the *reducción* and *conversión* of Indian subjects. By combining conviction with repentance, *conversión* designates a voluntary turning away from past and current ways, to take on different, better ways. It must be kept in mind that while force was in fact liberally used in the *conquista pacífica,* its defining features were persuasion, habituation, and discipline. In reference to social space, *conversión* designates transformation from one state into another (a usage attested in early modern Spanish; see Covarrubias 1995 [1611], 350). In Yucatán this bore primarily on the northwestern region of the peninsula, where the resettlement was concentrated and most of the missions were established.

The linguistic *reducción* was aimed at what can be appropriately called the "linguistic conversion."[10] This consisted in the transformation of Maya language from the pagan, idolatrous code that (to Spanish ears) it had been into a revised
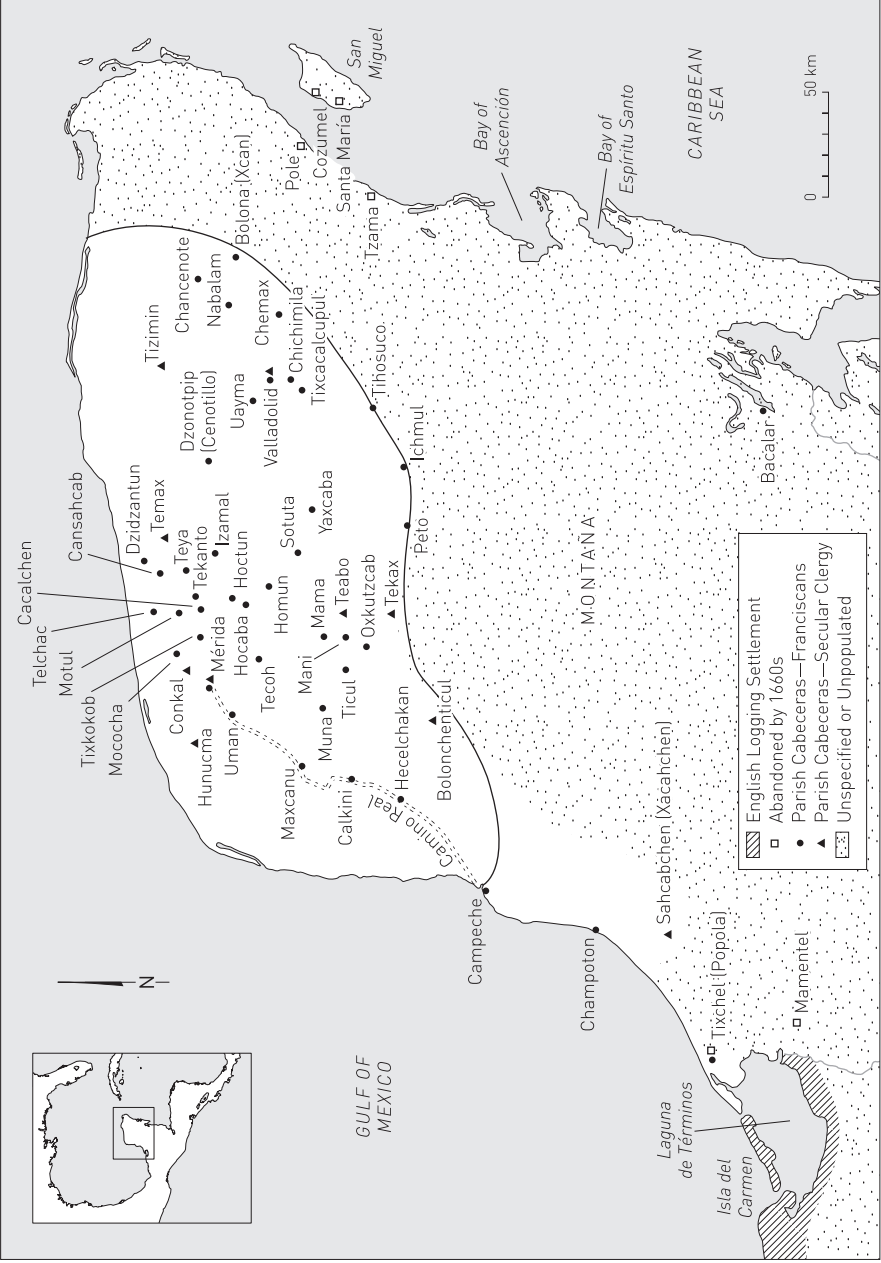
MAP 1. Colonial Yucatán (after Farriss 1984)

and reordered language fitted to the discursive practices of an emerging community of Christian Indios. In concrete terms, this entailed creating in Maya very powerful discourse markers such as the cross, the quadrilateral spatial grid (oriented from east to west), dates, titles, signatures, and the naming of places and persons. It also entailed altering the semantic values of preexisting expressions by linking them to specific practices and selected experts. We might say that the *reducción* entailed what Putnam (1975) called a "division of linguistic labor," that is, a differentiated field of discourse practices. The semantic values (meanings) of verbal expressions were socially established by that same structured field. Hence there was a constant dynamic between changes in the field and changes in the universe of reference to which the language was fitted.

From the outset, then, we must take the measure of the missionary project of *conquista pacífica* and *conversión.* It was aimed at nothing short of a remaking of Indian life, from heart, soul, and mind to self-image, bodily practices, lived space, and everyday conduct, including speech. Clearly more than mere colonization, it was what we can call a total project simultaneously focused on multiple spheres of Indian life. For this, the missionaries had, as they put it in their letters, to know the Indios "inside and out," and their methods were as extensive and intensive as their goals. They would live among the Indios in *convivencia,* in monasteries placed in the centers of *pueblos reducidos,* where they would teach, discipline, and oversee. They would travel, mostly by foot, from monastic centers to the *pueblos de visita* 'visit towns', where they would preach and administer the sacraments. Many of the missionaries provided health care to the sick as well, at a time when cyclic droughts, epidemics, and pestilence wrought havoc on the indigenous population (Cook and Borah 1972). They also set about learning Maya language, producing the grammars, dictionaries, and other descriptions needed to "order" and teach it to others. This ordering made it possible to translate Christian doctrine, prayers, sermons, and parts of the sacraments into Maya language. In short, they set about to Christianize Maya language along with the universe to which it pointed.

In all of this, the *reducción,* with its threefold focus on social space, human conduct, and language, was central. To put it in distinctly modern terms, the *reducción* represents the systematic attempt to design and inculcate a new habitus in the Indian communities. To this habitus would correspond a new Indian subject: individuated, classified, governed, and fundamentally religious. While we can distinguish conceptually between the three main lines of this effort, there was a great deal of overlap in practice. For a pueblo to be genuinely *reducido,* its populace should be made up of *indios reducidos,* living in *policía cristiana.* The one could not be achieved without the other. Similarly, the point of ordering the towns was for more effective oversight, preaching, and *convivencia,* and these were inconceivable without being able to talk with the Indios. The Indios

would continue to speak their own language, but it had to be a new version of that language, purged of the "vomit of idolatry" and the insubordinate genres of hieroglyphic reading and history telling: reduced by erasure, yet incremented with the means to speak to and of God and his designs.

Rather than think of three separate *reducciones,* then, it is more productive to see them as three faces of a single, very complex process. To be sure, the three faces were turned toward one another, so that each produced both the means to further the others and the index of their effectiveness. Whatever its actual outcomes, the scope and aim of the missionary project were set to maximally overdetermine the emergence of a new kind of Indio in a new kind of social and spiritual world. The results of missionization are often described as fragmentary, confused, or even superficial (Burkhart 1989, 184–93; Gibson 1966, 75), essentially a thin Christian overlay upon a predominant and deep indigenous core.[11] This is the classic model of syncretism in which indigenous people appear to be Christian but in fact continue to be non-Christian. This book points in a different direction. Christian practices done in Maya appear indigenous, whereas the meanings are in fact Christian—the opposite of the syncretism model. Moreover, Maya engagement with Christianity was anything but superficial or short-lived, even if it was partial, contradictory, and put to uses never envisioned by the friars. The position on intercultural processes in this book is much closer in spirit to Taylor (1996, 6), who cites Gramsci, E. P. Thompson, and James Scott on the mixing of resistance and deference, persistence and change and Ashis Nandy on the nature of postcolonial relations between colonizers and colonized.

The missionary project in Yucatán was shaped by a variety of factors, starting with the preponderant role of the Franciscans.[12] In 1544 the first eight friars arrived, four from Guatemala and four from Mexico. Among the first group were Villalpando and Bienvenida, who established the first Franciscan house in Oxkutzcab in 1547. Villalpando is said to have "reduced" Maya language to a grammar of sorts and established the first missionary school in Mérida, where some two thousand elite Maya children were taught to read and write alphabetic Maya. By 1547 nine more Franciscans were recruited from Toledo (where Landa and Ciudad Real, among others, had taken the habit). Over the following sixty years their numbers would grow modestly to staff twenty-eight parishes in 1606 and thirty-seven by 1656 (Clendinnen 1987, 51; Patch 1993, 38). Whereas the order monopolized the conversions until the 1570s, the secular clergy became more important thereafter, especially in the extirpation of idolatry (Chuchiak 2000b, 161).[13] Chuchiak (2000b) details the involvement of bishops (of whom a number were prominent Franciscans), the *cabildo eclesiástico* (advisory to the bishop), and secular vicars in the discovery and extirpation of idolatry through the first century and a half. Several of the individuals who figure prominently in

subsequent chapters of this book played key roles in the extirpations, including Bishops Toral, Landa, Montalvo, Salazar, and Sánchez de Aguilar, the secular dean at the head of the *cabildo eclesiástico* and the author of a famous *informe* 'report' on Maya idolatry. Notwithstanding the centrality of the Franciscans in the missions, their numbers were always low relative to demand, which led to a sort of indirect missionization in which native assistants called *maestros* 'teachers' played a pivotal role in the actual indoctrinations.

The Franciscans brought to their project a particular orientation, which helped them distinguish themselves from secular clergy and nonclergy alike. The specificity of the order would make its own study, but here I can give a few brief indications.[14] At the heart of the order was the sanctity of poverty, the great value placed on humility, simplicity, and ecstatic experience over and above intellectual understanding. The embracing of poverty contrasted maximally with the Spanish extractors of wealth in labor, goods, and, increasingly with time, money (Patch 1993, 28–30). There was of course substantial extraction from Maya people in support of the missions, but the friars themselves lived poor. The ecstatic presence of God is perhaps nowhere more dramatically embodied than in the stigmata of Francis. The crucifixion is manifest in the body of the saint, in union with the passion and suffering of Jesus. The body will also become its own focus in the missions, not only for the regulation of sexuality (Burkhart 1989; Chuchiak 2007; Gruzinski 2000), but in the gestures, postures, silence and utterance, gaze, tears, and prohibitions and selective abstinences that the friars observed and inculcated in their flocks. This extended as well to the orderly arrangement of bodies in collective processions, seating arrangements, and the distribution of activities on the convent patios. Just as a *pueblo reducido* was both organized internally and articulated externally, so too the missionized body was ordered within and in relation to others.

The Franciscan premium on simplicity appears to have given rise to a preference for simple, transparent statement over elaborate metaphors in missionary Nahuatl (Burkhart 1989, 26–28). In relation to Maya, there is an analogous premium placed on transparency in translations of Christian concepts (see chapter 6 below). As a monastic order, the Franciscans also emphasized their separateness from the world (Clendinnen 1987, 45 ff.) and the observance of a strict rule, which included cycles of daily prayer and contemplation. It is difficult to gauge the degree to which these various values carried over into the indigenous parishioners, but the centrality of the cross, the body, speech, and daily practice are all salient in their teachings. Finally, the Franciscans saw themselves as exemplars, living in imitation of Christ and teaching by example, something clear in Lizana's (1988 [1633]) almost hagiographic descriptions of the early friars.[15]

THE MAKING OF A TRANSLANGUAGE

In New Spain and Peru there was debate as to whether the main vehicle of evangelization was to be indigenous languages or Spanish. In many places, a missionary would need to master three or more different native languages in order to communicate with local people, and Spanish was argued by some to be the more efficient choice (Gómez Canedo 1977, 154–64). In others, linguistic plurality was overcome by imposing a single indigenous language upon a landscape of many other languages, as Nahuatl was imposed in parts of New Spain. In Yucatán this was not the case. Maya was the only indigenous language native to the northern peninsula, and the Franciscans, who dominated the missions for the first century, were committed to learning it. For that, the language had first to be *reducido*.

In Yucatán and New Spain the ability to speak native languages was a point of contention between the monastics and the secular clergy, who vied with one another for authority over evangelization. Throughout the Church documents we find claims and counterclaims between bishops, Franciscan provincials, and others, as to who knew the language better. In their *memorias* to the Crown, laying out the state of the missions, both monastic and secular authors consistently distinguish between missionaries who are *lengua* and ones who are not. To be *lengua* was to have the following three characteristics: (i) to be a native speaker of a European language, (ii) to be capable of speaking the local indigenous language, and (iii) to be able to interpret between Spanish and that language.[16] Thus in Yucatán the *lengua* is always a European capable of interpreting between Maya and Spanish.

It is evident in the writings of Cogolludo (1971 [1688], 2:433 ff.), Lizana (1988 [1633]), and others that to be *lengua* was a sign of erudition, achievement, and practical ability.[17] Crown policy stipulated that the missions were to be staffed with clergy who could communicate in the native languages; so, in the *memorias,* there was no disagreement about the importance of being *lengua* but only about who was and who was not, to what degree, and at what cost of training.[18] The same valuation is evident in the staffing of the Yucatecan missions. In Yucatán, as in New Spain, there was an explicit hierarchy among the clergy: full *lenguas* could preach and hear confession, *medio lenguas* could hear confession but not preach, and missionaries who could not speak the language of the Indios could do neither.[19] In short, competence in Maya was a form of capital and a justification for claims to authority.

Accordingly, the religious did a variety of things to demonstrate their own expertise in Maya and to use it in their writings. Missionary *lenguas* wrote dictionaries, vocabularies, *artes* (practical grammars), grammars, lexicons, in short, a whole range of linguistic studies. All these works present asymmetrical metalinguistic analyses in which Spanish is the metalanguage (and the source language

for most translations), while Maya is the object language. All rules and explanations are given in Spanish; it is self-evident, though still worth stating, that we find no grammars or lexicons of Spanish written in Maya. The primary objective of the missionary works was to lay down the points of interlingual transference, in the asymmetric movement of meaning from Spanish and Latin into Maya.

These materials were used in convents at Mérida, Izamal, and Maní to train incoming European missionaries who needed, in theory at least, to learn Maya before heading to the outlying *guardianías,* or mission units. That is, texts written by *lengua* authors were used by *lengua* teachers to produce a corps of *lengua* missionaries—another iteration of the kind of circularity we saw with the three spheres of *reducción.*

There is some indication that the same works were used in the training of at least some native Maya speakers in the *gramática* of their own language. While clearly secondary to the main aims of missionary texts, this practice raises fascinating questions. Sánchez de Aguilar notes that Gaspar Antonio Chi was moderately well trained in *gramática* but does not specify whether in Spanish or Maya. Beltrán de Santa Rosa María, writing in the mid-eighteenth century, says in no uncertain terms that his manual of *"Idioma Maya reducido a succintas reglas"* should be studied by native Maya speakers. Without knowledge of their own grammar, he says, "they might say what they know, but they don't know what they say" (cf. also Pagden 1982, 127 ff.). Insofar as missionary grammars and dictionaries were learned by native Maya speakers, they functioned as evangelical tracts in the most direct sense: "This is how we speak from now on."

The other side of missionary Maya was the various evangelical works the *lenguas* authored—the catechisms, sermons, manuals, dialogues, and scripts for speech while engaging in the sacraments. These define the moral and spiritual order to which the Indios were to be brought by *reducción.* They would be used mainly in two contexts, reflecting their dual status. First, they would be used to train missionaries, for whom the doctrinal content of the texts was already familiar, but the phrasing and exposition in Maya had to be learned. Second, they would be used in training Maya neophytes, who presumably knew the language but had to learn the doctrinal semantics and frame of reference. While evangelical texts in Maya have attracted scant attention in the scholarly literature, they are a singularly rich source of historical evidence and provide many piquant examples of the world to which the Indios were to be *reducidos.* One reason doctrinal discourse is important is that its influence reached far beyond the "religious" dimensions of conversion.

The doctrinal materials differ from the dictionaries and other metalinguistic works in genre, format, thematic content, and style, but there are strong ties between the two kinds of discourse. In addition to their common frame of religious reference, they also share many details of linguistic form, com-

mon authorship, consistent pedagogical aims, many cross-references, and other intertextual ties. For instance, many of the example sentences in the manuals and dictionaries overtly mention bits of doctrine, or presuppose the doctrine in order to be intelligible. This kind of crossover is one of the vectors along which colonial Maya language would come to change, and it extended far into the practices of Indian authors in the *repúblicas de indios* 'Indian republics'. By way of illustration, we turn to the translation of "almighty" in *Dios Omnipotente* 'Almighty God'.

THE BODY AS TOTALITY

The *Diccionario de Motul,* which is both the most extensive and the earliest extant Maya dictionary (ca. 1585), defines *tuzinil* as *"todo, cantidad concreta"* 'all, concrete quantity'. As an illustration, it gives the sentence *tuzinil yanil Dios* 'God is everywhere'. Precisely the same example sentence recurs in Beltrán's grammar of Yucatec (1742, 191), also illustrating *tuzinil* in an alphabetized list of "prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions." This work was written a century and a half later. After the Motul, the next most extensive and earliest dictionary is the mid-seventeenth-century *Diccionario de San Francisco* (probably about fifty years later). In this work, the entries under *tuzinil* make no doctrinal reference, curiously, but the term *uchuc* 'powerful' is illustrated with the expression *uchuc tumen ti zinil* 'powerful in everything', a minor variant of the *tuzinil* form cited in the Motul and Beltrán works. In the 1684 grammar of Fray Gabriel de San Buenaventura, there is no entry for the term *tuzinil,* but there is for *uchuc,* which is glossed as 'power, (that which is) possible'. It is illustrated with the by now familiar phrase *uchuc tumen tuçinil,* glossed 'all-powerful' (San Buenaventura 1888 [1684], 37). (The orthographic variation of *c* cedilla, *s,* and *z* does not affect the example.)

It is interesting to note that the San Francisco dictionary and the San Buena-ventura grammar cite identical phrases, both under the heading *uchuc.* Neither work indicates whether the phrase has any doctrinal reference. After all, the kind of power designated by *uchuc* was not specifically divine, and one might imagine a worldly figure to whom "power in all things" was attributed. But the circle closes when we realize that this expression is precisely the one used by the missionaries in doctrinal texts to translate the omnipotence of God. The Credo, for instance, begins *Ocaan ti uol Dios yumbil uchuc tumen tuzinil* 'I believe in God the Father Almighty' (Coronel 1620b; Beltrán 1912 [1757]). Furthermore, to my knowledge the expression never occurs in any written document, either missionary or Maya authored, in reference to anything other than the Christian God. Whatever the potential uses of the term on the basis of its grammar and semantics, it was rigidly pegged to the omnipotence of God.

The intertextual recurrence of example phrases and idiosyncratic glosses runs like a red thread through the missionary corpus, marking a trail through time and space and indicating which authors read which others. The fact that so many of the examples are doctrinal indicates that the metalinguistic works and the evangelical ones were part of a single formation—an expectable corollary of the *reducción.*

This fact has consequences for historical research, of which two are worth underscoring here. First, the missionary linguistic works are far from mere descriptions; they are codifications of an ongoing process of linguistic conversion. Second, the evangelical works were far from innocent translations of doctrine. Rather, they embodied and helped propagate the emergent version of Maya that was to be the product of *reducción.* This new translingual Maya had a pervasive impact on written genres produced by Maya authors themselves. This includes prominently the Books of Chilam Balam, banned by the missionaries and usually considered the most "native" of the postconquest genres. Hence the entanglements of linguistic *reducción* reached far into the Maya sector of the colonial discourse field. Let's follow the thread of *tuzinil.*

In the entire corpus of nine extant Books of Chilam Balam (in excess of 230,000 words), there are only two tokens of the form *tuzinil,* one in the Book of Kaua and the other in the Códice Pérez.[20] In both cases, the referent is the Christian God. In the Kaua, there is a long and detailed dicussion, in Maya, of the significance of the sacrament of Mass, and of the gestures and vestments used in it. The passage begins:

> *Discursos sobre las Misas y significas;*
> *He tu yocol Padre ichil sachristia tu suhuy cilich homtanil ca cilich colel Santa Maria*
> *cu yocol Xpto cahlohil uch'ab ca bakel utial ulohic balcah tusinil*
>   (163, line 1)

> Discourse on masses and (their) meanings;
> When the Father enters the sacristy, the sacred holy sanctuary of our holy lady Blessed Mary, Christ our savior enters to take (the form of) our flesh, to save the things of the world *in their totality.*

Throughout this section of the Kaua manuscript, the text equates actions performed by the priest with biblical references, mainly to the incarnation and crucifixion of Christ. In the portion cited, the term *tusinil* refers to the all-embracing totality of the world within the scope of divine power, much like the sentence *tuzinil yanil Dios* in the Motul and Beltrán works. The difference, of course, is that the Kaua book was written by and for Maya speakers.[21] The theological interpretations found in the Books of Chilam Balam are often exotic and possibly subversive in intent. Yet the linguistic forms are identical to those of the missionaries. It is the *lengua reducida* that is being voiced by the Indian authors.

In the Códice Pérez (1949 [n.d.]), the term occurs in a passage that ventrilo-quizes the teachings of the friars in both phrasing and doctrinal meaning:

> *Haili bin ocsabac ti ol Dios tuhunale*
> *uchuc tumen u sinil yetel yalmat'anil*
>   (Miram and Miram 1988, 165, line 12)

> The only thing that shall be committed to faith (is) God alone
> Almighty and his words

Here we find the precise epithet for God that was formulated by the translators of the Credo and that appears in the *Doctrinas* of both Coronel (1620) and Beltrán (2000 [1746]). What is most striking about this and the previous example is that they are the only instances in the entire corpus of the Books of Chilam Balam in which the lexical form *(t)uzinil* occurs. If the form were merely a standard way of expressing totality, as the dictionaries represent it to be, why would it be so rare, and why would it refer exclusively to the Christian God?

The answer is that the term was not a common Maya expression at all, at least not by the evidence of the documents that exist today. Rather, it is a gram-matically plausible neologism, evidently created by the missionary translators to render divine omnipotence in Maya. The grammatical analysis of the expression follows the well-established morphosyntactic pattern for making what linguists call relational nouns: [t(i)–u–STEM], where the stem consists of a noun or verb with or without a suffix. Hence it is formally parallel to *tulacal* 'all' (lit. 'in its totality'), *tumen* 'by, because' (lit. 'by its doing'), *tutsel* 'alongside' (lit. 'at its side'), *tuyuchucil* 'by the power of', and so forth. For *tuzinil,* the stem element is *zinil,* which is further analyzable as *zin-il,* a verb root plus *-il* suffix.

At this point the plot thickens, and we can appreciate the frame of reference of the missionaries, for the root *sin* is a "positional verb" meaning "extended," as in a thread or other flexible object stretched out, or as in the limbs of the body when fully extended. In this meaning, as a verb, it was perfectly ordinary and clearly in use throughout the colonial period, as indeed it is in modern Maya (Barrera Vásquez 1980, insert on 729; Bricker, Pó'ot Yah, and Dzul de Pó'ot 1998, 246). Furthermore, within the rich morphology of the language, the derived form *sin-il* is readily construable as meaning something like "(fully) extended, (full) extension." It is therefore relatively easy to read the collocation *tusinil* as "in its full extension," and the expression would have been transparent, if somewhat odd, to any native speaker in the sixteenth century.

What is distinctive about colonial missionary usage is that this otherwise ordinary gesture was linked to the crucifixion and Passion of Christ, which in turn points to the Resurrection, which was the sign of God's omnipotence over life and death.[22] This is not just any "full extension," but one linked first to the

crucified body and then to its triumphal resurrection. The standard translations of the term "crucified" show the same pattern of usage: Christ was *sinan ti cruz* 'stretched out on (the) cross', a phrasing that recurs in both missionary works and the Books of Chilam Balam (see Miram and Miram 1988, Book of Kaua, 165, line 5; Book of Chumayel, 48, line 3). Moreover, for reasons that would take too long to spell out here, the full phrase *uchuc tumen tuzinil* is grammatically ill formed, or at least odd, and I have found nothing parallel to it in Maya sources. Nothing, that is, except minor variants of the phrase, any one of which could be replaced by "Dios omnipotente," *salva veritae.* In sum, we might say, stretched out + resurrected = Almighty.

I have spelled out the story of this little word in some detail because it illustrates a number of critical features of the discursive field in which *reducción* and *conversión* unfolded. First, the missionaries learned Maya very well, or they had excellent collaborators, or both. A similar subtlety of translation recurs throughout the corpus of their writings. Second, it is impossible to detect the presence of European elements in Maya language by looking only for borrowed terms. The missionary is present in the Maya itself. Third, the doctrinal works and the linguistic works can be understood only by reading them against one another. This does not mean that the grammars and dictionaries are descriptively inaccurate, or that the *doctrina* was written in gibberish intelligible only to a missionary. On the contrary, both classes of works are masterful, and we learn a great deal about the ordinary language of Maya speakers by studying them. But the Maya of the missionaries was a conversion from ordinary Maya, refracted through the lens of *reducción,* buttressed and overdetermined by the reordering of the social world in which the language was to circulate. Words that would be used to convert were themselves the product of this, the first conversion. Hence the making and use of *Maya reducido* was a "syncretic practice" in the sense developed by Hill and Hill (1986) and Hill (2001). Starting from the opposition between European languages and Maya, it involved creating and redefining Maya terms according to the meanings of their European counterparts. This redefinition involved suppressing the division between the languages and obscuring thereby the European history of the meanings. The resulting fusion of languages played on the kinds of bivalency and simultaneity described by Woolard (1998).

A similar logic applies to so-called Spanish borrowings, such as *missa, sacramento, christianoil,* and *beyntisyon.* In using these expressions in otherwise Maya discourse, the religious were producing a version of Maya in which selected Spanish elements were simply part of the vocabulary.[23] Many of them function as proper names, and their presence in Maya is neither accidental nor haphazard. It is the result of a decision not to translate. In the case of neologisms like the one discussed above, the semantics of the terms are indexed to Christian doctrine,

and the expressions become specialized and indexically bonded to the religious frame in which they were first produced.

This new *lengua reducida* made its way into the deepest corners of the Indian communities—even, I will argue, those that were unsubjugated. The fact that the Books of Chilam Balam are saturated with cross-talk and evidence of the missionaries is surprising only if one assumes a hermetic boundary between the two sectors, Indio and Español. But the circulation of discourse over that boundary was robust and consequential. Over time, and across the main genres of colonial discourse, the doctrinal roots of *Maya reducido,* and the indexical grounding of many erstwhile native expressions in Catholic doctrine, would contribute to a process of semantic and grammatical reanalysis of Maya. It is this process that I refer to as the linguistic conversion, and the language through which it played out was what I call a translanguage.[24] It was neither European nor Maya in any simple sense but a language produced of the joining of two languages already turned toward one another, adapted to the task of producing the semantic universe of *conquista pacífica.*

A SHIFTING VOICE FOR INDIAN AUTHORS

It was in the mission towns and *repúblicas de indios* that the elaborate program of conversion was implemented.[25] The evangelization was undertaken through *convivencia* with the Indios, a "shared living" embodied in the placement of *conventos* in the centers of Indian towns. Just as the monastery building program created economically and politically important places, so too the lived spaces of church and monastery defined large fields of social engagement. Indios occupied an array of positions in the convents, including domestic help, labor in construction and groundskeeping, and a range of liaison posts through which the friars sought to extend their control. Indios, particularly the children of the elite, were the beginning and advancing students in the schools on monastic grounds, where obligatory *doctrina* was administered.

The high end of Indian participation in the mission were the *maestros cantores* 'choir masters', who oversaw a good deal of the indoctrination of children. In certain cases, privileged relations developed between individual missionaries and individual students, such as Gaspar Antonio Chi, the student and later collaborator of Fray Diego de Landa, the first Franciscan provincial. Indios in the pueblos who collaborated well with the friars and became their trusted helpers were described in church documents as *indios de confianza.* These were the people called upon to watch over chapels and churches and to work with the friars. At the low end of Indian engagement, Indios who confessed their faith were described as *almas de confesión* 'souls of confession', who would require periodic administration of the sacraments. Thus:

Maestros cantores	Literate, teachers, choir masters, with maximal access to the church
Indios de confianza	Provisorily trusted *indios reducidos* in the towns
Almas de confesión	*Indios reducidos*

Pueblos reducidos were governed by a *cabildo* 'town council', the form of governance imposed by the Spanish *reducción* and which defined the *república de indios* (Farriss 1984, 234). The Indian *cabildo* consisted of one *gobernador,* sometimes called *batab* 'chief'; one scribe; two *alcaldes;* four *regidores;* one *escribano;* plus a series of lesser positions. Adjunct to the *cabildo* was the group of local elders called *principales* (one *principal* for every fifty residents), who are frequently referred to in notarial documents as witnesses to the proceedings that the documents record.[26]

The interaction between this introduced form of government and the preexisting Maya forms is complex and has been studied by a variety of scholars, including Roys (1943, 1957), Farriss (1984), and Quezada (1992). For present purposes, what is most interesting about the *cabildo* is that it marks important points of contact between missions and local governments. The positions of *escribano* and *maestro cantor* were vital ones in the towns, and served as stepping-stones to even higher office. Their occupants were former students in the missionary schools. The *gobernador* was at least in principle responsible to the priest to assure the attendance of town members at Mass and *doctrina.* The *principales* were also enlisted by the missionaries. And clearly, engagement in the orderly functioning of *cabildo* and church was part of *policía cristiana.* These were the sites at which the *reducción* and *conversión* took place.

Different varieties of language corresponded to different spheres of everyday life in the Indian towns, in both missionary and nonmissionary contexts. Insofar as they interacted directly with the church, Maya speakers would have been exposed more or less systematically to the translanguage of missionary Maya. At the same time, they would have been exposed to varieties of Maya language spoken among native speakers in a wide range of contexts. Although there is no direct evidence of the ordinary Maya spoken at this time, there is ample evidence in the existing documents that the language varied significantly between the native histories of the Books of Chilam Balam, the incantations of the Ritual of the Bacabs, and the *cabildo* Maya of the notarial documents. There is every reason to believe that the missionary translanguage interacted with a repertoire of stylistically distinct Maya varieties typical of different discourse genres.

Contact with missionary education and genres produced a wide range of interlingual abilities on the part of Indian agents.[27] At the high end of language performance were what Spanish authors in Yucatán called *indios ladinos,* those rare individuals who mastered Spanish expression. The term *ladino* was used in

MAYA   SPANISH

ladino

native ————————————————————▶ acquired

acquired ◀———————————————————— native
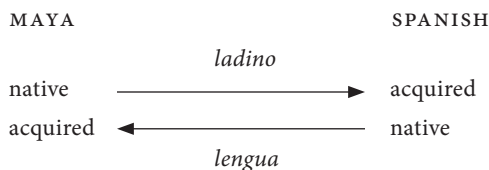
lengua

FIGURE 1. Reciprocal speakers: *lengua* and *ladino*

Yucatán to describe a very few highly educated Indios, such as Gaspar Antonio Chi, who could cross over the discourse boundary and speak Spanish with near-native ability—much as the *gran lengua* could cross over the inverse boundary from Spanish into Maya. Unlike the *lenguas, indios ladinos* are not described as a group. I use the term here to define the high end of a spectrum of language abilities, perhaps rarely achieved but nonetheless real as a conceptual and linguistic category. It indicates more than mere knowledge of Spanish, suggesting the adeptness and sophistication to use it like a Spaniard. Covarrubias (1995 [1611], 697) derives the term from *latino,* designating in Spain those individuals among the *"bárbaros"* who had learned the *"lengua romana."* These were taken to be *"discretos y hombres de mucha razón y cuenta, . . . diestros y solertes en cualquier negocio"* 'discreet men of reason and account, . . . adept and astute in any business'. From this perspective, *ladino* and *lengua* were reciprocal terms, each designating an interlingual ability but from inverse vantage points (fig. 1).[28]

But the two terms also had further entailments in which they differed decisively. The term *ladino* does not focus on the act of interpreting, the way *lengua* does, nor does it have the residual theological reference of *lengua.* To say that someone is *ladino* is to say he operates effectively in Spanish and is also astute. Given that most of the instruction provided by the missionaries was in Maya language, whether via interpreters or directly, for an Indio to acquire the ability of a *ladino* meant that he had gained a different kind of access to the Spanish world, with a hint of privilege and political effectiveness. Being foreign, the *ladino* did not have the same credibility with the Spanish enjoyed by the European *lengua.* As Sánchez de Aguilar (1996 [1639], 97) observed, *indios ladinos* were not universally appreciated by Spaniards. If the *lengua* was erudite and trustworthy, the *ladino* was slick and ambiguous.

In terms of linguistic ability, *lengua* was a matter of degree, there being many priests who were described as *medio lengua* 'half lengua', whereas *ladino* was more of a logical extreme, and no Indios were described as *"medio ladino,"* even though knowledge of Spanish was certainly gradient among Maya people. The different overtones of the expressions derive in large measure from the broader constructs to which they corresponded: the Spanish image of the Indios and the

TABLE 1 Partial Summary of Genres Produced by Maya Authors

NOTARIAL GENRES	FORBIDDEN GENRES
Carta, letter	Books of Chilam Balam (9 extant)
Deslinde, land survey	Ritual of the Bacabs
Título, land titles	
Acuerdo, accord	
Testamento, will	
Petición, petition	
Election records	

Spanish image of themselves. Neither expression occurs, to my knowledge, in any of the genres produced by Maya authors, and neither has any precise equivalent in Maya. The absence is noteworthy, since works by Indios display or overtly comment on the same interlingual abilities covered by the *lengua / ladino* dimension but use different terms.[29]

Most of the discourse production in the pueblos was in Maya and, when written, was transcribed in the Spanish-based orthography developed by the missionaries. But what kind of discourse and what kind of Maya? The kinds of works produced by native authors were distinct from those of the missionaries. To my knowledge, no Indian authors produced grammars, dictionaries, or other such metalinguistic instruments. What they did write was a substantial corpus of land surveys, accords, chronicles, letters, wills, petitions, and other records of local events, much of it from the pens of local scribes in the pueblos (table 1). Such documents were the required concomitants of the business of government. At least in the early years, the scribes were trained by the friars in the *escuelas* and *doctrina* sessions. Like the other *cabildo* representatives, they would be former students of the church.[30] Hence the path from school and church to local government and writing was one of the vectors along which *Maya reducido* moved into the spheres of pueblo life, wrapped in the mantle of *policía* 'civility'. When Indian authors wrote using the orthography and interlanguage of their missionary teachers, they appropriated some of the means of their own conversion. But if the aim was cultural autonomy, it was a dangerous game. To the extent that those means were shaped by Spaniards, the Indian authors were helping to achieve the Spanish aim of implanting their discourse within that of their native subjects.

To the obligatory bureaucratic genres must be added the forbidden native genres such as the Books of Chilam Balam and the Ritual of the Bacabs. Together these make up what is widely considered a native corpus, and there is broad agreement among Mayanists that at least parts of these texts derive from preconquest Maya discourse, probably transliterated from lost hieroglyphic tracts. From my perspective, what is most important is not that they speak a pure native voice,

which they do not, but that they were forbidden, authored by, and directed to Indios. Whatever the status of this claim, there is ample evidence that the Maya appropriated Spanish-based writing for their own purposes. Within the bureaucratic corpus this is already evident, but it is flagrant in the case of the so-called native genres. Group readings of these texts were explicitly forbidden, under pain of considerable punishment, and yet clearly the Books of Chilam Balam continued to be recopied and to grow in content. These texts display the ongoing use of Spanish-based writing as a means of reproducing an explicitly and self-consciously Maya perspective. This ideological framing of the texts is in sharp contrast, however, to the ample evidence that what they voice in many passages is the translanguage of *Maya reducido,* the product of missionary authors and their native collaborators.

Just as the missionary grammars and *doctrinas* formed part of a single discourse, the notarial documents produced in the *pueblos reducidos* and the so-called native genres also form a single discourse, with many intertextual ties. There is a relationship between the two pairs in terms of the positions they occupy in the overall field: the *doctrina* (maximally obligatory) and the native genres (maximally forbidden) are in a sense opposites, each embodying a rhetoric of sociocultural identity, defined partly in opposition to the other. The metalinguistic works of the missionaries and the notarial documents of the native elites form the midrange, where the practical tasks of translation and governance were at stake. This corresponds to a significant parallel between the positions of the key agents in their respective sectors of the field: among Europeans, it was the missionaries who had access to, claimed knowledge of, and interpreted the Maya. Among the Maya, it was the educated elites who had access to, claimed knowledge of, and interpreted the world of Spanish and Catholicism. It is unsurprising that the two groups collaborated, since their positions were mutually dependent and in many contexts reciprocal (as in the case of the *lengua-ladino* reciprocity). The collaboration of the native elites was what made it possible for missionaries to become *lengua* (in the broad sense of knowing the language and the world it stood for). Conversely, the training and legitimization conferred on Indian collaborators by the missionaries brought with it access to writing, public office, and the privileges of monastic support.

Even as we recognize the homologies and reciprocities of these social groups and the discourses they produced, we must bear in mind that the relations between them were deeply ambivalent and always asymmetric. The friars brought the *doctrina* into the Indian republics in order to convert them. There was no such effort on the part of the Maya elites to convert the missionaries, and the native genres were hidden, not thrust forth as tools in a counterevangelization. Apart from sporadic acts of violence, there was no reciprocal effort on the part of the Maya to punish missionaries or destroy their paraphernalia. In the logic of *reducción,* the

missionary goals were multiply overdetermined, as we have seen, whereas no such self-reinforcing campaign was launched by Maya groups.

These several facts become fully consequent not because they sever the bonds of reciprocity and homology, reducing the relation of missionary to Indio to simple domination. Rather, they combine with those bonds, blending collaboration with domination in a volatile and sometimes baleful mix. The unstable combination of love, hate, respect, and contempt that marks missionary writings about the Indios, and vice versa, is not reducible to simple domination or resistance.[31] The discourse processes that mediated the ongoing *reducción* make sense and take effect only because of the way they articulated with the intercultural field of the colony. The dynamic ambiguity of the one finds its reflex in the equally dynamic ambivalence of the other.

Looking across written genres authored by native Maya speakers, one can see a variety of links between erstwhile native Maya, notarial Maya, missionary Maya, and Spanish discourse. These intertextual links, and their embedding in Indio discourse, provide compelling evidence of how Maya discursive practices articulated with the broader ecclesiastical and institutional field of the colony. More important, they illustrate the degree to which the Spanish and the Indio make up a single field, despite the jural, administrative, and spatial separation of the *repúblicas de indios* and the *repúblicas de españoles* 'Spanish republics'.[32] Linguistic and discursive elements moved between the far extremes of the field by way of the *lenguas,* the *ladinos,* the missionary teachers and indigenous collaborators, the scribes and other elites in the *cabildo,* and even the insubordinate Indios who sought to refuse Spanish ways, or co-opt them for their own purposes. Genres that were strictly colonial provided the means of creating texts in which many Indians saw their own interests furthered. In the act of pursuing their interests, though, they participated in their own conversion. Just as the missionary *lengua* courted subversion by transposing *doctrina* into Maya, the *indio ladino* and Indian elites more generally ran the risk of undercutting themselves even as they sought to defend their own interests.

In both cases, I think, the irony is that successful acts achieved unwanted effects, in some cases the exact opposite of wanted effects. It would be wrong to think of this as merely a flaw in the execution of the act—as if a missionary translator could have avoided the vulnerability to subversion if only he could have gotten the translation just right, or as if the *indio batab* 'chief' who enlisted support for a project could have avoided being co-opted if only he had been as adept as a *ladino.* The ironies of intercultural communication in a situation like colonial Yucatán are not reducible to mistakes. They are intrinsic to the structure of the field, in which discourse agents are systematically Janus-faced, and their works systematically ambiguous. Theirs was discourse in the breach between sectors of the colony that were linguistically, culturally, socially, and legally distinct.

Quite apart from what anyone believed or intended, the discursive field, with its translanguage and interlocking positions, provided the pathways along which the basic conversion could proceed. That conversion lay in the habituation to new practices and modes of self-construction, embedded in the colonial field. It was from the combination of *reducción, policía cristiana,* and the linguistic practices they entailed that colonial Maya emerged, and it is there that we must look for the nature and consequences of conquest.