TEXT AND TEXTILE: LANGUAGE AND TECHNOLOGY
IN THE ARTS OF THE QUICHÉ MAYA

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My mother told me many stories while I pressed my face into her long apron with my eyes closed. . . .
Her stories and the embroidery on her apron got confused in my mind with my eyes closed. All my
life her stories and her embroidery keep unravelling pictures in my memory. If I sit before a blank
white canvas—

—Arkade Gorky

THERE ARE MOMENTS in the Western tradition when the arts that stem from
the voice may seem to be developing independently from those that stem from
the hand, but in fact they have an ancient interrelationship that continues to reassert
itself down to the present day (see Praz 1974). In semiotic terms, the earliest visible
signs are symbolic (or conventional) and indexical; if there are any icons here, they
are diagrams rather than images.1 When images make their first appearance, in the
late Paleolithic, they are highly schematic: instead of taking the form of self-explanatory
scenes from life, they seem to require completion by means of verbal interpretation,
just as symbolic and indexical signs do. Leroi-Gourhan (1964:chap. 6) interprets both kinds of early graphic art as evidence for the development of "face-
reading" and "hand-writing" skills, which directly interrelate the domains of language
and technology. In this broadened sense, reading and writing predate the develop-
ment of literacy in the strict sense by many thousands of years.2 By now the time
has arrived, as it seems to us, to begin to rethink the interrelationships of language
and technology along dialectical lines rather than deciding on a directionality of
cause or a hierarchy of authority from the beginning.

Semologists and structuralists, who closely follow Saussure in claiming to describe
a closed code that exists prior to any of its particular manifestations in the material
world, disengage language and the verbal arts from hand and tool, and ultimately
from face and voice (see Barthes 1968). When they do extend their investigations
to the domain of hand and tool, as in the case of Lévi-Strauss's (1982) treatise on
Northwest Coast masks, they construct further codes that both resemble those of language and verbal art and remain subordinate to them. From this point of view, an observable human action is merely an imperfect realization of an internally self-consistent code, and its main interest lies in the possibility that it might be reducible to the terms of this code.

Semioticians, who follow Peirce and Morris in giving an important place to pragmatics, never quite lose sight of actual human actions or of the contexts in which they occur. Tynianov and Jakobson (1972), for example, advocate the description of particular works of art, or sets of works of art, in terms of partially autonomous codes, but at the same time insist on taking account of the relationship between these works and their social contexts. In a move that is complementary with attention to particular works and their contexts, semioticians follow codes across the boundaries of particular genres. Thus Jakobson (1960:356) points out that poetics is not confined to recognized genres of verbal art but is manifest, in varying degrees, throughout speech. Mukarovsky, a pioneer in extending semiotics beyond language and literature into the other arts, insists that aesthetics can be traced through the whole range of cultural activities (Mukarovsky 1970). Munn's (1973) study of Walbiri iconography is semiotic in attending to context, in allowing a degree of autonomy for a graphic code, and in tracing the manifestations of this code across differing media. Geertz (1983:120), on the other hand, advocates a semiotics of art that would treat its objects less as a "code to be deciphered" than as an "idiom to be interpreted." The works that come to mind here are Thompson's (1974) study of West African art and Witherspoon's (1977) of Navajo art, both of which attempt to describe a common underlying aesthetic in a heterogeneous work of arts and performances, but neither of which states this aesthetic in terms of a code.

Bakhiu (1981:272–73), who limits himself to language and the verbal arts, sees every utterance as a product of a combination of centripetal forces (which tend to solidify language and produce highly formal and authoritative genres) and centrifugal forces (which open language to its changing contexts and may lead to the creation of alternative genres). Moving along the frontiers where interrelationships, rather than codes, become the fundamental issue, he insists that language is fundamentally dialogical, in the sense that actual utterances (even including monologues) can only take place in a world where other utterances have already been made. Further, the meanings of utterances cannot be unambiguously reduced to the terms of a self-consistent semantic code, since all of them, even down to the scale of single words, are subject to "heteroglossia," or the possibility of differing interpretations, the moment they enter into the context of previous meanings (1981:263). To put this another way, any new text is also an "intertext," in that other texts speak within it.

Since Kristeva first introduced it (1980:65–66), the notion of intertextuality has been extended not only beyond texts in the strict sense but beyond the confines of any one artistic medium. Yudice (1981:108), for example, has pointed out that for participants in the cubist movement, during the beginning of the present century, painting and poetry became intertexts of one another. Similar intermediations crossovers took place in the dadaist, surrealist, and abstract expressionist movements, and they continue in the "postmovement" art of the seventies and eighties (Shapiro 1979:5).

There are three aspects of Western intermedia intertextuality that interest us here. The first is an active collaboration among practitioners of different arts, with many individuals practicing more than one art. The second is a movement away from the extremely image-oriented iconics that had dominated Western visual art since the Renaissance and toward the reinstatement of the diagram, the index, and the symbol. Third, a lively interest in arts from distant places and times has led to the creation of intertexts that reach across cultural boundaries.

On this last point, the classic examples are the cubist paintings of Picasso, whose double intertextuality brought sculpture into painting and Africa into Europe. Less well known are the poems of Tristan Tzara (1976), which brought the verbal and musical arts of Africa and Oceania into dadaist soirees and literary magazines. In the recent "Primitivism" show at the Museum of Modern Art, there was an attempt to reduce cultural intertextuality in painting to "affinities" traceable to vague "mythic universals," even in the case of Picasso (Rubin 1984:329). Clifford addresses the issue on the firmer ground of artistic practice, suggesting that the African masks that hung on the walls of Picasso's studio were "tools used to solve specific problems" that arose during the development of cubism (Clifford 1984:284).

### Quiche Intertextuality

Among the contemporary Quiche Maya of Guatemala, there are intertextualities within and among such arts as instrumental music, storytelling, prayer-making, dream interpretation, divination, weaving, housebuilding, and horticulture. There is a history of craft specialization that dates back to Precolumbian times, but there are numerous contexts, such as the production of a dance drama, that require collaboration among the practitioners of diverse arts. Further, the practice of more than one art by the same person is the rule rather than the exception. Nearly all adults have at least some degree of competence at prayer-making and horticulture, and in many towns knowledge of weaving and divination are widely shared. In contrast with the case of the Kuna (Salvador 1978; Sherzer and Sherzer 1976), the verbal and visual arts cannot be sharply dichotomized according to sex. Neither can artistic styles and symbolism within the same medium be clearly segmented by gender, as among the Surnamese Maroons (Price 1984). Instead, there are many Quiche households in which pottery-making, weaving, crocheting, or divining are practiced by both sexes; and there is sufficient sharing of techniques and designs to permit the collaboration of men and women on a single product or performance (Anderson 1978:12–13, 167–70; Reina and Hill 1978:72–87, 130–31; and B. Tedlock 1982:59).

According to the Popol Vuh, a Quiche hieroglyphic book put into alphabetic writing during the sixteenth century, close links among the arts go back to their very origin. The monkey gods name Jun Batz' and Jun Chown (12r), or "One Howler Monkey" and "One Artisan," are described as the first practitioners of a wide range of skills:  

- "E ajox, e ajox, e mu ajoxib."  
- "E nan mu ajox, e ajox, e ajoxib (12r–12v)."  
- They are flutists, they are singers, and they are writers.  
- And they are also engravers, they are jewelers, they are metalworkers.

One further skill practiced by the monkey gods is mentioned in a later passage; like contemporary artists, they are gardeners (abixib), and their primary crop is maiz (D. Tedlock 1985:118). As singers (ajox) their skills may have extended to the com-
position of spoken prayers; such is the case with the contemporary Quiché ajbix (B. Tedlock 1982:62, 66). In the quoted passage, their capacity as writers (ajib) falls at a transition point between the audible and visible arts, appropriately enough. It should be noted that ajib refers not only to writing in the narrow sense, but to figures, designs, and diagrams in general, whether they be drawn, painted, engraved, embroidered, or woven. In other words, it is something like writing in the broadened sense suggested by Leroi-Gourhan.

Both the breadth and limits of the term ajib are illustrated in contemporary Quiché scarves (suk) from Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán. Running vertically through these scarves are bands of color that are mere suk or "stripes" rather than ajib. But in the example illustrated here (Figure 1), the embroidered words that give the name of the owner are ajib, the brocaded zoomorphic figures are ajib, and the brocaded banner at the bottom (the rectangular element just below the diamond-shaped butterfly) is a ajib. Together, the banner and the butterfly constitute a signature identifying this scarf as the work of a particular weaver. For the Western eye, the inclusion of alphabetic writing in the composition of such scarves comes as a jolt, so much so that collectors frequently pull out the embroidery, thus only the traces of a name can be made out below the first row of zoomorphs on a scarf illustrated by Rowe (1981: plate 5). For the Quiché eye, on the other hand, alphabetic writing is linked to the other figures in these compositions not only by the conceptual category ajib, but by the fact that both varieties of ajib can be used to designate particular individuals.

Most of the arts mentioned in the Popol Vuh are practiced before true human beings enter the story, whether by the gods or by lesser beings who precede humans. But writings or figures (ajib) rendered on blankets or cloaks (suk) or on paper (way) are not necessarily used until the story moves well into the human era. The cloaks in question bear heraldic figures belonging to the lords who founded the three leading Quiché patrilineages (D. Tedlock 1985:191–92). It is difficult to determine, from the Popol Vuh alone, just how these figures might have been fashioned, but other sources from the colonial period indicate that cloaks worn by lords were brocaded (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932–33[8]:391; Osborne 1975:21), which would mean that their designs were created during the weaving of the cloth itself, rather than added later. The Popol Vuh states that the figures were placed chuwas, or "on the face" of each cloak (44v.), but it later describes them as being visible chupam, or "on the inside," as well (45r.), which would specifically indicate double-faced brocading of the kind presently used in weaving blankets in the Quiché town of Momostenango (Anderson 1978:162–63).

In semiotic terms, the figures on the lordly cloaks of the Popol Vuh had a mixture of iconic, indexical, and symbolic aspects. Each of them was iconic in the sense that it was wachibil, the "semblance," or "image," of a species of animal (44v.). But at the same time, when considered in relationship to the owners of the cloaks, the figures were indexical of lineage membership. And finally, they had a symbolic character, in the sense that their assignment to the three lineages was a convention, established by the founders of the lineages, and in the sense that their function as signs transcended the temporal bounds of iconicity and indexicality (see Friedrich 1979:18). As the Popol Vuh makes quite clear, the figures were intended to last: they were limited neither by the past occasion on which the founders first delineated them as images of previously existing animals, nor by any given present occasion on which they might index the lineage of a person currently wearing a brocaded cloak. Instead, each figure was explicitly intended to serve simultaneously as a trace of the past existence of a line of lords and as an omen of the future continuity of this line. Both of these functions are included in the Quiché concept of the retol, literally "mark."

The figure of the first-ranking lord was the image of a jaguar, and that of the second was the image of an eagle. The third lord had two figures, one the image of a yellow jacket and the other of a wasp (D. Tedlock 1985:191). These figures, and possibly those of the jaguar and eagle as well, were not simply rendered once but were junay or "all over" the cloaks (44v.). If the cloaks were like the brocaded items of clothing among the contemporary Quiché, each of them would have carried figures in addition to the ones mentioned in the Popol Vuh. At the most concrete level, differences among modern figures index individual weavers and wearers. At the next level, in San Miguel Totonicapán, Quezaltenango, and other towns, there are differences that index the hereditary ranks of the lineages of the weavers (Bunzel 1952:63; Osborne 1975:114–15). Next, and best known, is the indexing of particular towns (Morrissey 1983:144, 173–174; Pancake and Amis 1982:391–93; Rowe 1981:22–24). On a still higher level, a recent computer analysis by Hearne (cited in Fisher 1984:8, 11) shows that differences in textiles correlate more closely with languages and dialects than they do with the geographical distances between towns. The continuing notion that the figures (ajib) on textiles are images (wachibil) that serve as lasting marks (retol) lies behind a recent statement made by the Quiché political leader Rigoberta Menchú about the blouse or huipil (pot) worn by women: "We express ourselves through our designs, through our dress—our huipil, for instance, is like an image of our ancestors" (Menchú 1984:81).

In the next generation after the making of the three cloaks in the Popol Vuh, the descendants of the lineage founders obtained further "marks" of lordship by going on a pilgrimage to the court of a great king in the lowlands, in Tabasco or possibly in Yucatán. Among the marks were objects such as canopies, thrones, and jewelry, but they also included the Popol Vuh, the "Council Paper" or "Council Book" (D. Tedlock 1985:54–55, 204, 333). For the ruling lineages, the sheer possession of this book was a mark of enduring legitimacy; at another level, for an ilol, or "reader" (literally "seer"), its contents served as the marks of enduring patterns in the affairs of the entire calakmul, the "skyearch" or "world" (1985:58, 219). What the reader saw chupam utzibil, or "within its figures or writings," was tzij, or "words" (48v.). The reader began his task in the visual domain but shifted into the auditory domain to narrate "the emergence of all the skyearch" (1985:32–33, 71–72). This oral performance, in turn, put the hearers back in the visual domain, giving them a "demonstration" and "revelation" of "how things were put in shadow and brought to light" by the gods and by human ancestors, while at the same time permitting them to "see" into the future (1985:71, 219).

Only a handful of Mayan hieroglyphic books escaped the bonfires lit by sixteenth-century missionaries. As in the case of the Popol Vuh, the words that were "within the figures" of the original books survived mainly because Mayans who had learned the Latin alphabet transcribed them into this new form of writing, retaining the ancient figures only as illustrations, if at all (D. Tedlock 1985:30, 315–16). What is less well known is that in Guatemala, the sixteenth century also saw a Spanish royal
warrant to the effect that “no person, man or woman, be allowed to wear any textile that was brocaded” (Osborne 1975:23). In other words, it was not only the figures in books that came under attack at that time, but those woven into cloth as well.

The authors of the alphabetically written version of the Popul Vuh begin with these words: “Are xue Ojer Tzi’j, waral Quiché ubi’. Waral xchkat’ibaj wi, xchkat-xiqiba wi Ojer Tzi’j” (1r.). Using the context of writing as our guide, we might translate this as follows: “This is the beginning of the Ancient Word, here in this place called Quiché. Here we shall inscribe, we shall implant the Ancient Word.” If the authors had been making a direct copy of the original hieroglyphic Popul Vuh, instead of transcribing it into alphabetic writing, they would have been writing hieroglyphs and drawing and painting pictures to go with them. In the second sentence, the verb stem -ts’iba- refers to all of these acts. The other verb stem in the same sentence, -tiqu-, refers to planting in the sense of transplanting, and to the interplanting of beans and squash seeds among hillocks of maize in a milpa. As a metaphor for the process of writing, it has two readings, both of them referring to intertextuality: on the one hand, it means that the authors are “transplanting” the Ancient Word from an existing text to a newly written one; on the other hand, it means that the Ancient Word itself will be “interplanted” among their own words. Again and again, they will introduce narrative passages with performative sentences in the first person plural (see Austin 1962:4–7), as they do in the second sentence above, and they will close them with quotative statements such as, “So says the Ancient Word” (D. Tedlock 1983:172). Within this same passages, they will digress to offer numerous explanatory asides. In effect, the Ancient Word itself is all within quote marks, a text that is framed and backgrounded by the narrators’ own text. Such intertextuality is a prominent feature of Quiché discourse in general, whether written or spoken; today, not only third-person narratives but even first-person accounts of unusual dreams are sprinkled with the quotative verb ech’i’, literally “it says” (B. Tedlock 1981:318–19).

Apart from the immediate context of writing in a book and the metaphor of planting in a field, the opening passage of the Popul Vuh can also be interpreted as an allusion to weaving. The actions referred to by the stem -ts’iba- include the creation of designs by means of weaving, while those referred to by -tiqu- include brocading, the principal technique by which highland Maya textile designs were (and are) actually realized. This suggests the following reinterpretation of the second sentence: “Here we shall design, we shall brocade the Ancient Word.” At this point we have a three-layered intertextuality that operates within and between three different arts, uniting the domains of language and technology in the process: the quotation of words from an ancient text, the interplanting of additional crops in a cornfield, and the brocading of designs in a textile. Among the contemporary Quiché weavers, textile designs are considered to be ancient, which makes their continuing use something like the quotation of an ancient text. The ideal context for the work of weaving calls for words in the form of a running conversation, and the best place is a spot in a cornfield. In her autobiography, Rigoberta Menchú (1984:82–83) describes the situation as follows: “There’s a place in the fields which is so wonderful and pretty and shady that all the girls get together—seven or eight of us—and sit under the trees and hang up our weaving. We talk and weave.”

In the Popol Vuh, the first direct quotation from the Ancient Word is implanted or brocaded within the discourse of the authors themselves, as follows:

Nim upeoxic, utzijoxic puch, txa chiqui t’uc romojel cajuwe:

“Ucaj izuc’uxic, ucaj xucutaxic, retaxic, ucaj che’xic,
umej ca’macic, uyuk ca’macic,
upa caj, upa uleu,
caj izav, caj xucut,”
chuch’axic (1r.).

It takes a long performance and account to complete the emergence of all the skyearth:

“Siding by fours, cornering by fours, measuring, spacing by fours, cording by halves, cording by wholes, in the sky, on the earth, the four sides, the four corners,”
as it is said.

At the largest scale, the passage within the quotation marks refers to the measuring out of the four sides and corners that bound both the sky and the earth. The four corners are the four points on the horizon marked by the solsticial rising and setting points of the sun, and the four sides connect these points; together they constitute a “chronotope,” an expression of the inseparability of time and space (Bakhtin 1981:84). In going “by halves,” the sun measures out one dimension of this chronotope between each dawn and dusk or dusk and dawn, and the other dimension between two opposite solstices. In going “by wholes,” it measures the full distance from one complete day to the next and from one complete year to the next. The years, in turn, go by fours, since there are only four Quiché day names, evenly spaced (or timed) along a sequence of twenty repeating names, that can coincide with the beginning of a new solar year. The ceremonies that bring in these four kinds of year are held at four different locations (B. Tedlock 1982:99–104).

When the Quiché religious leader Andrés Xiloj read the above passage from the Popul Vuh, he pointed out that it refers not only to the skyearth at large, but to the laying out of a milpa (D. Tedlock 1985:243–44). The ancient unit of land measurement, used to this day, is a ca’m, or “cord,” a little more than twenty meters long; “coding by halves,” as he explained, means folding the cord completely back on itself, while “cording by wholes” means using its full length. The “staking by fours” refers to the markers at the corners of a held, which may include wooden stakes and living trees, both of which are called che’ in Quiché.

On a still smaller scale than the milpa, but marked out in an analogous manner, is a warabal ja, “house foundation,” or (literally) “bed of the house.” The stakes at the corners of a foundation are both literal and metaphorical. The building of walls begins with the placement of a strong vertical post (che’) at each corner of the
foundation, but before these posts are set up, an offering of copal incense is burned in the holes that will receive them. Both the offerings and the posts are called t'ac'albal, "means of standing"; when they are all in place, the house can be said to chac'al, or "stand stably on four legs," like a table. The wattle-and-daub walls that join the four posts are framed by poles (che') lashed together with cords (ca'am).

The occupants of a finished house, and indeed all the residents on the land of a particular a'linic (patrilineage segment), secure their position within the four-sided, four-cornered skyearth by means of prayers and offerings at a system of outdoor shrines that are themselves collectively called a "house foundation" (B. Tedlock 1982:74–82). Together, these shrines permit an entire lineage to "stand stably on four legs." The spatial distances between shrines are not measured out with cords, but the temporal distances between visits to them are measured out by a 260-day calendrical cycle, whose length corresponds to the period required for human gestation and the growth of high-altitude varieties of maize (B. Tedlock 1984).

The Popol Vuh passage about the measuring of the skyearth can also be read as a metaphor for weaving technology. Before weaving begins, warp threads are measured off by being strung around vertical pegs (che') that stand at intervals on the horizontal planks of a winding frame (see Anderson 1978:59 and fig. 43; O'N eale 1979:92–94 and fig. 20). The backstrap loom is constructed of sticks (che') and ropes (ca'am), and the width of the textile is kept even by measuring it off against a tenter stick (Anderson 1978:51–52, 196). The textile itself, like the skyearth, the milpa, and the house, has four sides and four corners. The backstrap loom, unlike the European treddle loom, permits selvages on all four sides, since the warp threads pass continuously back and forth between one loom bar and the other without being cut (Rowe 1981:18–21). Further, it should be noted that the process of weaving (l'm-t'se'), is as distinct from plaiting, netting, or lacing (all -it'c'e'), involves the intersection of two distinct systems of threads, just as the measuring out of the skyearth involves two different systems of solar movements.11

The nouns che' and ca'am are sometimes joined to make couples in the Popol Vuh (1v, 2v, 21v); in such cases they refer to the forests that immediately covered the earth once it had been raised out of the sea (D. Tedlock 1985:73–75). The woody or straighter parts of such growth (including the trunks of trees) are che', while the more fibrous and flexible parts (including twigs and vines) are ca'am. There is an analogy between forest growth and the weaving of cloth on a loom. In the Popol Vuh episode in which the hero twins named Jumapu and Xbalan'ke clear the ground for a milpa, the animals return at night and make the forest grow back, by reciting these words:

"Yac, in, che': Yac, lin, ca'am!" (21v.)
"Arise, conjoin, trees! Arise, conjoin, bushes!"

In a weaving context, the verb in means "to beat the weft"; in effect, the animals are commanding the forest to weave itself together. The heroes, for their part, are trying to clear away an area within the "weaving" done by the animals and establish their own "loom," staking and coring a milpa so that they can plant and interplant it. In exchange for not making the forest grow back, the animals are allowed to eat some of the crop (D. Tedlock 1985:129). This milpa is not described in the text, but if it was like a contemporary one, some wild plants were allowed to continue growing within its boundaries, including species that provide the materials for making carding combs and dyes for thread (B. Tedlock 1984). If a tree was permitted to remain, women may have done their weaving beneath it, complete with brocading, while they talked to one another, just as they do today.

Weavers pray before they begin work, invoking both celestial and earthly deities and explicitly situating their work within the caj xucan caj, caj xucan ulew, "Four corners of sky, four corners of earth." But it is in the calendrical divination performed by an ajikt, or "daykeeper," that a small-scale human activity most clearly takes on the character of a microcosm within a macrocosm. In present-day practice (B. Tedlock 1982:153–71), which closely follows the description given in the Popol Vuh (D. Tedlock 1985:80–83, 258–59), the daykeeper invokes the clouds, cool breezes, and sheet lighting of the four corners, together with the four gods whose names are those of the days that mark the beginnings of the four types of solar year.

Daykeeping technology requires the use of crystals, which are the performer's medium of communication with divine forces, and hundreds of seeds of the coral tree (it'c'e'), which are referred to metaphorically as xlm, "maize kernels." The crystals and seeds are set out in rows on a small, rectangular table, whose surface is covered with a brocaded scarf, with the designs in the scarf serving as a guide for the alignment of the rows (see B. Tedlock 1982:cover). The crystals, including one that is addressed by the names of the four gods of the years, are laid out first, in the row farthest from the diviner and closest to the client; they are spoken of as if they were t'ac'al, "being stood up" (after the manner of stakes). Once the crystals are in place, the diviner takes up a random fistful of seeds and then groups them in clusters of four each, spaced along parallel rows separate from the crystals.

The completed arrangement, rectangular in its overall shape, constitutes a diagram of the passage of time. The diviner counts out a series of consecutive dates from the 260-day calendar while pointing at one cluster after another, starting with the current day or the day the client's problem began. In this way the diviner capaj rj, or "measures the perimeter," of the problem. A single pass along the rows of seed clusters is only half a measurement: after taking note of the date reached on the first count, the diviner continues by counting the clusters all over again, reaching a second date. The augury is given by the combined divinatory characters of the dates reached on the half count and the full count. At this point the performer mixes all the counted seeds with the ones that fell outside the fistful and starts over again. In all, four different fistfuls are arranged and counted. By the time all four auguries have been obtained, the understanding of the client's problem is "standing stably on four legs," like a house or like a lineage that has foundation shrines. If the problem admits of a solution, the diviner will offer to pray for the client on a minimum of four different days.

The measurement passage in the Popol Vuh not only calls up the skyearth, the forest, the milpa, the house, the lineage, the loom, and the arrangement of divinatory paraphernalia, but is itself made up of measured words. At the simplest level, it can be read as a series of couplets, each of which takes the form of a syntactical paradigm. In the third line, for example, umaj changes to yewik while ca'maxic stays the same, creating an ABCB pattern. In the next line, upa stays the same while caj changes to ulew, creating an ABAC pattern that also occurs in the last line. Analogous patterns
can be read in the contemporary Quiché women's belts (pas) made in San Miguel Totonicapán, in which the order for the introduction of supplementary wefts of differing colors may proceed, for example, as follows (see the right-hand belt in Figure 2):

Purple, black; blue, black.
Purple, black; blue, black.
(etc.)

This is the ABCB pattern. It is common practice to change such a sequence partway through a belt (but using the same colors): the belt that begins with the above pattern later changes to an ABAC pattern, as follows:

Black, purple; black, blue.
Black, purple; black, blue.
(etc.)

This sequence runs on to the end of the belt.

Running along simultaneously with the rapid rhythm of the supplementary weft color sequences is a slower rhythm of framed design panels, whose boundaries always occur at a transition from one supplementary color to another. The framing consists of narrow horizontal stripes, constructed by tightly packed warp threads that completely cover the foundation weft. In the case of the present belt, each frame consists of two red stripes with a yellow one between them, except that the beginning and ending frames have more than a score stripe, alternating red and yellow stripes; similar beginning and ending patterns occur in other belts. It should be recalled that stripes do not count as t'bn, "figures" or "writing," but fall under a separate category, juch'. In the weaving of belts, stripes occur where the insertion of supplementary wefts, which permits the creation of figures, is suspended in favor of plain-weave techniques, whose basic potential for graphic variety lies precisely in the creation of stripes.

SYNCOPE

The figures within the framed panels are created by combining two warp colors, which in the case of the present belt are red and yellow, with the contrasting colors of the supplementary wefts. A given panel always includes at least two supplementary weft colors and may run through as many as ten color changes; but it is seldom the case that both boundaries of a panel coincide with the divisions between complete measures in the basic sequence of color changes, whether that measure is ABCB or ABAC, as it is here, or ABC, another common pattern (see the left-hand belt in Figure 2). In other words, the combination of color changes and design panels creates a syncopated rhythm. This can be illustrated with a section of the present belt that includes four complete color-change measures and three design panels. The first panel, which is occupied by a row of three deer, moves through a half-measure of the color-change sequence:

Purple, black;

leaving the rest of the measure to be picked up in the second panel, which is occupied by a single bird. This panel moves on through three-quarters of a second measure, giving this sequence:

blue, black. Purple, black; blue,

which leaves a quarter-measure to be picked up by the third panel. This time the figure is a large tree, which moves beyond the quarter-measure through two further measures:

black, purple, black; blue, black. Purple, black; blue, black.

The most frequent number of supplementary weft colors within a given design panel in a Totonicapán belt is two, as in the deer panel described above, but the measure of the color sequences in a given belt may be anywhere from three to six changes in length. In other words, the commonest type of design panel is never in perfect synchrony with a color-change measure, no matter what the measure is.

The relationship between color changes and design panels might be described as a tension between what Bachelard (1971:10–11) calls the "formal imagination," which operates at a mathematical or structural level, and the "material imagination," which deals with images from the material world. A similar tension exists between the formal and material aspects of Quiché poetics (D. Tedlock 1983:chap. 8). The Ancient Word about the fourfold measurement of the skyearth, as quoted earlier, provides an excellent example. Viewed in purely formal terms, the first line makes an obvious couplet, but the first of the stichs in the couplet that makes up the second line seems to be missing ucaj. Inserting this word would make the second line better fit the pattern of the first:

Ucaj tzu'ucaxic, ucaj xucuxatixic.
[ucaj] retaxic, ucaj che'xic

With or without such an emendation, the second stich of the second line returns to the pattern established in the first line, suggesting that the two lines together might be read as a quatrains rather than as two autonomous couplets. On the other hand, Quiché verse does allow for triplets, which frequently have an abbreviated third stich (D. Tedlock 1982); this opens the possibility that the first stich of the second line might mark the end of a triplet. Such a reading would leave the second stich as the first part of a new triplet, as follows:

ucaj che'xic, ueme ca'maxic, uyuq ca'maxic

Admittedly, uaj che'xic appears to more similar to ucaj tzu'ucaxic and ucaj xucuxatixic, which precede it, than it is to the stichs that follow it. On the other hand, when we shift from the formal to the material dimension, we may recall the strong association between che' and ca'm in the measurement of land, the construction of looms, and the growth of forests. Considered in this way, the three stichs make a strongly knit triplet, one that speaks on a human scale and in concrete terms of something the previous three stichs introduced on a large scale and at a more abstract level.
omitting part of their anatomy (note that two of the three small monkeys along the bottom of Figure 1 are headless).

A large-scale syncopation between the formal and material imaginations takes place in Quiché masked dance-dramas, such as the one that deals with the conquest. On the formal side, the musicians play a long series of repeating figures and phrases on a flute and drum. On the material side, although it is true that the characters in a drama do indeed move their feet according to the tempo of this music, the figures and phrases are correlated neither with the presence of particular characters nor with types of dramatic action, but occur in a wide range of contexts (Horspool 1982:163, 180). Within a given musical piece, the flautist varies the sequence in which he presents the various melodic phrases, not only from one performance to another, but from one section to another within the same piece (Horspool 1982:165, 197).

There is a tendency to place some phrases next to each other more often than not, but there is no phrase whose use guarantees the immediate introduction of any other particular phrase.

A similar situation exists in the sequencing of design panels in belts, even within the same belt. For example, a comparison of early and late sections of eight panels each from the belt discussed earlier (fig. 2) yields the following sequences (reading in the order of production in weaving):

| 1 cornplant | 4 fingers |
| 2 eagles    | 3 deer    |
| 3 deer      | 2 eagles  |
| 2 cornplants| 2 cornplants |
| 3 coyotes   | 3 coyotes |
| 2 ducks     | 2 ducks   |
| 5 deer      | 4 female manikins |
| 1 eagle     | 1 eagle   |

Note that the earlier sequence of 2 eagles and 3 deer (at left) is reversed in the later sequence (at right), and that 3 deer are replaced by 4 female manikins in the penultimate position. The sequence of 2 cornplants, 3 coyotes, and 2 ducks is repeated exactly, but elsewhere in this same belt the 3 coyotes are flanked by 2 flowers and 4 male manikins.

In narration, as in musical performance and belt weaving, the matter of sequencing is subject to play, even though the events described may be understood to have taken place in a particular chronological order. Here is an example from a story recorded in Nahualá.

Entonces x'uc'am bi ri ahija, xi'uka'cha la' jawi c'ou ru'c'ux ri wa. Entonces xo'panic ri a hjas; xo'panas cha la. Como ri gohorno xoban bi ri wuj chiqwi jasa ri qut'akqui qox bic. Xa je ri suxum ri manda: Axtak xo'panic na co ta ri achi.

And so the plane took them away, and went and left them over there where the heart of the corn was. And so the men arrived there; they were taken over there. And the government made a document and sent it along with them, saying what their errand was. So in that way it sent them. When they arrived there the man was not there (Mondloch 1978:206-7).

In most Native North American narrative traditions, the making of the document and the fact that it was sent along with the men would have been accounted for.
before they got on the airplane. That this was not done here is not merely a matter of a lapse of memory on the part of an oral performer. Similar disturbances of sequence are present even when Quiché put narratives into writing, whether today, as in the case of a narrative published by Norman (1976:41–43), or in the sixteenth century, as in the case of the Popol Vuh. In the following example from the latter source, the writers get ahead of themselves, putting the finishing touches on a sacrifice scene, and then go back to a point where the second of the two victims is still trying to save himself:

E xaraxoj chubie e pu xaraxoxinak quicabichal xa' u c'ajishual quiwach xhanie. Jusuc xuc-animbe ri jun ajaw mana xax'tastaj chi uawach, are'cu' ri jun ajaw xelaj na xo'x na chiquiwach ri e xajol. Mawi xuc ulu ma pu xuriko, "Tokob nuwach," xch'a' ta xuna rib (31 r.)

They underwent heart sacrifice there, and the heart sacrifice was performed on the two lords only for the purpose of destroying them. As soon as they killed the one lord without bringing him back to life, the other lord was meek and tearful before the dancers. He didn't consent, he didn't accept it. "Take pity on me!" he said when he realized.

Killing off a character and then reviving him is an extreme form of getting ahead and going back. A similar passage in a contemporary story recorded in Joyabaj prompted its translators to come to the aid of their English-speaking audience with a parenthetical remark. After the narrator states that the villain kills the hero, they add the words, "but not yet" (Souder and Doty 1971:223).

Diviners get ahead of themselves by making interpretive pronouncements before they have finished even a half-count of the clusters of seeds in an arrangement. This happens when the cool breezes and sheet lightning that are summoned in divinatory prayers enter the blood of the practitioner and cause a twitching or throbbing sensation, whose meaning is interpreted according to the part of the body in which it occurs (B. Tedlock 1982:133–50). At this point the diviner will suspend the counting and offer an augury based both on the movement in the blood and on the character of the day that had been reached when it occurred. A result obtained in this intertextual way may be given more weight than one arrived at by the purely mechanical and intratextual process of counting through to the last cluster of seeds.

On a larger scale, musicians, weavers, narrators, and diviners may so disrupt spatial or temporal ordering as to telegraph, near the very beginning of a long sequence, something that would ordinarily come near the end. Within an instrumental performance of the kind that accompanies a dance drama, a particular phrase that tends to come as late as fifth among a group of six phrases may sometimes be telegraphed immediately after an opening phrase: more remarkable still, an introduction may contain elements from a codina (Horspool 1982:165, 190). In the weaving of belts, there is a tendency to end a sequence of panels devoted to life forms with a panel carrying one or more birds, but occasionally a bird panel will appear very early, as in the case of the opening sequence of 1 corripon and 2 eagles charted above. Large-scale telegraphing also takes place in contemporary narratives. In the following excerpt from a text recorded in Joyabaj, the very first sentence dealing with the action of the story is immediately followed by a statement of the outcome (our translation):

E avi respan xiaxlak ural chpan wa ri lugar Tecun. Y respan xicasaj re Tecun, suban Cax che (Souder and Doty 1971:465).

And here is an example from the Popol Vuh, in which the outcome is announced even before the action gets under way:

Are chic uchicatajic, ucamic Sipacna, ta xch'ac cumal ri e caib c'ajolab. Junajpu, Xbalank'ê (9x).

Now this is the defeat and death of Sipacna, when he was defeated by the two boys, Junajpu and Xbalank'ê.

In calendrical divination, telegraphing on this scale takes place after the daykeeper has begun an opening prayer but before the counting of the first arrangement of seeds. The cause, as in the case of interruptions in counts that are already under way, is a movement within the blood of the performer. On one occasion, when Andrés Xiloj was asked about the outcome of a pregnancy, he felt a blood movement behind his right knee before he had even taken his first fistful of seeds. He immediately announced that the child would be male (because the right side of the body is male) and that it would live only a short time (because the places behind the knees are like graves). But just as he would have gone on had he telegraphed the outcome of a story, so he went on with the rest of the divinatory procedure.

On the scale of regularly recurring public rituals, there are changes in relative positioning because of the differing lengths of calendrical cycles. One of the most important events in Momostenango, attended even by ritualists from distant towns, is the initiation of new daykeepers, which takes place each 260 days, on the day 8 Batz. In 1968, for example, an initiation fell near the close of a solar cycle, twenty-six days before the rituals that welcomed a new year, on March 3. Three initiations later, 8 Batz came at the opposite end of a solar cycle, twenty-four days after it had already been welcomed. To put all this in terms of the agricultural cycle, the four successive initiations in question fell in the midst of the dry season, toward the end of the growing season, in the midst of the growing season, and shortly after sowing.

SYMMETRY

In sharp contrast with the variability of sequencing in various kinds of actions, ranging in scale from the division of supplementary weft colors among design panels and the construction of parallel verse to the plotting of stories and the scheduling of rituals, are cases of exact repetition. In the design panels of Totonicapán belts, for example (see Figure 2), the figure within a given panel is frequently rendered from two to four times in succession along the weft axis, producing translational symmetry.17 Symmetry of this kind is especially likely in the case of animal figures, which are shown in profile and are therefore asymmetrical when considered one by one.

In the domain of speech, translational symmetry involves the serial repetition of a sound sequence, such as a word or phrase, whose syllables were asymmetrical in their arrangement. Such symmetry is very rare in Quiché speech; the one specific context in which it not only occurs but is the rule is in the ideophonic representation of the cries of animals. In the Popol Vuh, the whippoorwill calls out as follows:
“Xpurpuwék, xpurpuwék (26r.).” According to Andrés Xiloj, the rat repeats its cry three times: “Witz’, witz’, witz’.” And the partridge cries out this way: “Tjah’at, tijah’at, tijah’at.” Another bird, the motmot, repeats itself four times: “Warok, warok, warok, warok.” In the Popol Vuh, the sound sequences produced by animals were a disappointment to the gods, who had intended to make beings capable of human speech (D. Tedlock 1985:78). They had wanted animals to pray to them by name and had given them the following words as an introductory lesson in how to do this. The lesson is largely made up of couplets like these:

Uc’ux Caj, Uc’ux Ulew,
Tz’akol, Bitol (2v.)

Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth.
Maker, Modeler

Such couplets contrast with animal cries in that repetition goes not by translational symmetry but by syntactic and morphological paradigms. When the animals fail to speak these paradigms, the gods go on with their attempts to make humans.

Animals, to this day, may utter wordlike (and quotable) sound sequences, but under ordinary circumstances they merely repeat themselves, not only from one occasion to another but even within the same utterance. Thus there is an analogy between the temporal unfolding of animal vocal sounds as represented in speech and the spatial unfolding of animal images as represented in brocade. Sometimes a diviner produces a string of words that displays translational symmetry, but this happens only in contexts of uncertainty. If, in the midst of counting, the performer experiences a blood movement that is either faint or ambiguous as to its exact location within the body, he or she will repeat the date that was reached when this happened, saying (for example),

Osib Quej, Osib Quej, Osib Quej.

Three Deer, Three Deer, Three Deer.

The purpose of the hesitation is to give time for a further (and clearer) movement in the blood; if there is none, the count will be resumed as if nothing had ever happened, and neither the vague movement nor the day Three Deer will play any part in the interpretation of the client’s problem. But if the awaited movement does come, the count will be interrupted and the date’s divinatory meaning will be linked to the meaning of the movement. In either case, considered as a sign, the repetition as such has no other meaning than to index the occurrence of a movement within the blood of the diviner. In a similar way, the repeated animal cries merely serve to index the presence of a particular species in the external environment of the hearer, even while it is still hidden from view.

There are times when the movements or sounds of animals are interpreted as iconic rather than indexical signs. When certain animals (jays and coyotes, for example) cross a person’s path, their motion is taken as an omen (retal) of some event that lies ahead. A level movement is interpreted according to a scheme that reduces the possibilities to two, one of them in a relationship of mirror, or reflectional, symmetry to the other. If the animal crosses to the viewer’s right, the augury is a
good one; if to the left, it is bad. The iconicity in question here is simultaneously that of an image and a diagram. The animal shows its own right and left sides, respectively, while its movement maps rightness and leftness with respect to the orientation of the viewer. In woven belts, this complete scheme is present in panels that repeat the same animal twice, but in reflectional rather than translational symmetry; the examples illustrated here (Figure 2) are all birds, but in other belts coyotes are sometimes shown in the same way. When a single animal occupies an entire panel, its reflection appears in a later panel (see the bird that appears just above and below the large tree panel in the left-hand section of both belts in Figure 2).

In the domain of sound, reflectional symmetry is found in Quiche instrumental music; one melodic figure played on the flute may invert the contour of another, and one rhythmic figure played on the drum may reverse the sequence of time values in another (Horspool 1982:162, 174, 176). But when it comes to speech, the syntagmatic force gives the unfolding of sounds an asymmetry that makes it far more difficult to produce reflectional symmetry than it is in music and the visual arts. In fact, we know of only one example of deliberate reflection in Quiche speech sounds. One of the mnemonics diviners use in interpreting the day name Aj, or “Reed,” is a sound play that takes the form of a metathesis, namely xa, or “house,” meaning that the cause of the client’s problem lies in his or her own household (B. Tedlock 1982:118–19, 130–31). This reflection, however, is purely formal; the sounds in the terms for “reed” and “house” may be reversed, but their meanings do not form a pair of opposites.

Occasionally animals depart from the usual translational symmetry of their cries and produce sound sequences that resemble the paradigms of human speech. According to Andres Xiloj, jays (tor) normally cry out as follows: “xaow, xaow, xaow.” When this is the case, the sounds are without meaning (except in indexing the presence of a jay), as far as the birds concerned. But sometimes the jay gives the following cry, leaving the wordlike sound of the normal cry unchanged for a single rendition and then dramatically transforming it to produce a second sound, keeping the x and w but changing go to ti and shifting to a voiceless whistle: “xaow, XIFW.” When a person out walking hears a jay depart from its normal repetitions of xaow and cry out like this, the event is interpreted as a retail, or “mark,” of something that is not present at the moment, in this case trouble in the road ahead (D. Tedlock 1984). The two parts of a cry do not in fact form a morphological paradigm, but they suggest one. It is up to the hearer to try to put the matter into words, to find the ubexe, or “its-being-said,” that lies behind the mark.

There is a visual counterpart of the jay’s ominous cry in the treatment of the zoomorphs brocaded into men’s scarves from Nahuala and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan. Each of the larger figures in these scarves has several wide color bands running through it horizontally (see Figure 1). When a given band is traced from one figure to the next, the color changes but the shapes that make up the figure do not, producing counterchange, the visual equivalent of a linguistic paradigm. And just as the elements that make up the jay’s cry have no counterparts in actual linguistic morphology, so the boundaries between bands of color in the scarves do not correspond to the actual morphology of the zoomorphs. To put this another way, the formal and material imaginations are out of phase. In the present scarf, the band that runs through the eyes of the two large figures, changing from white to green

Figure 2. Two Quiche Maya Woven Belts
hands (Osborne 1935:fig. 10c; Anderson 1978:150, lower right; O'Neale 1979:fig. 51) or geometricized diagrams that are interpreted as the four fingers (in the left-hand sections of the two belts in Figure 2, see the panel immediately above the single eagle facing right; in the right-hand sections, see the panel immediately below the multiple horizontal zigzags). For Quiché there could be no better indexical sign of the human presence: today, as in the Popol Vuh (D. Tedlock 1984), the differentiation of the hands from the feet ranks with the possession of language in separating humans from mere animals.

Hands and fingers are found in the midst of a series of design panels rather than at either end, and the same is true of unremarked panels (not shown here) that identify individual weavers or contain the spelled-out name of their town (Anderson 1978:150, lower right). In scarves, as we have already seen, there are indexical signs of specific individuals in the form of spelled-out names of the weavers and figures that identify weavers: these signs are located within the field occupied by the brocading rather than at the edges of it (the signature in Figure 1 is near the middle of the complete scarf). In the cases of both the belts and the scarves, then, the weavers or weavers are located within the world constituted by the figures rather than standing outside it. When such a piece of weaving is worn, it is wrapped around the wearer, and it is at this point, and this point only, that the full human figure becomes part of the composition.

Just as there are signs of the weaver and wearer in the midst of textiles, so there are signs of the speaker and listener in the midst of narrative texts. In spoken narratives, as in the Popol Vuh, the performer does not confine quotative words or phrases and interpretive asides to the beginning or end of a story, but weaves them into its very midst. As for the listeners, they do not wait until the story is over to respond, nor do they merely give perfunctory assents while the story is in progress; instead, they may ask questions at any point, and when they do so they get immediate answers. To put this in terms of the making of sound recordings in the field, there is no way that a text marked out by magnetic patterns on a tape can exclude the narrator and listeners as individual persons, leaving only the story itself. The removal of these individuals would require acts of erasure similar to those of collectors who pull the embroidered names out of textiles.

INTERMEDIA INTERTEXTS

In telling us a contemporary version of the Ojer Tsij, or "Ancient Word," Vicente de León, who was then the mayor of Momostenango, constructed a lengthy intertext in which all three of us took our places as individuals (see B. Tedlock 1982:181–87 and 1985). He created not only a verbal intertext, weaving the Ancient Word into his own discourse, but an intermedial intertext, simulating the sound of a drum, making a visual diagram, and performing a divination. In front of him was a small, four-legged table, covered with a brocaded scarf. Set out on this scarf, from the very beginning, were the seeds and crystals of his divining bundle, although he made no immediate use of them. To his right was a spinning wheel, and he used this as a bridge into his narrative, calling attention to the thick plank that served as the platform and likening it to the slit drum that was played before public announcements were made in ancient times. Whenever such drumming occurred in the story, he
narrative of a personal dream experience and constructing an intertext that reaches back toward a general level. The narrative itself is already intertextual in the sense that it includes not only a description of the dream experience but tentative efforts at an interpretation; sometimes the dreamer will even insert quotative phrases during the account, as if citing a previously existent text rather than constructing a new one. The diviner, instead of completely replacing this text with another that is supposed to reveal its meaning (as a doctrinaire Freudian psychoanalyst would), weaves it together with other texts in a way that leaves the original signs intact, although it may rearrange and reinterpret them. Further texts are provided by the counting of the calendar with seeds, the movements in the blood of the diviner, and by myths that are called to mind by the dream images.

All dreams dreamed on the same night by the same dreamer are regarded as completing one another; an interpretation is not regarded as adequate unless it can account for all of them, no matter how divergent their content may seem (B. Tedlock 1981:326). This particular kind of intertextuality is consonant with Freud’s practice (1961:333-34), but Quiché go a step farther, constructing accounts that combine dreams dreamed by different individuals on the same night. During our divinatory apprenticeship with Andrés Xiloj, he combined images from two of our own dreams to form a single composition. He not only described this composition in words but drew it on a piece of paper (B. Tedlock 1981:fig.1). From one dream he took a tall arch of white light, and this became a diagram of the divinatory calendar. Beneath the arch he placed a point of light from the other dream, and the halo around this light became the study in which we were engaged. Beneath the point of light and still within the arch, he added two small i-shaped figures that served as signs of ourselves. Just as the design fields of textiles include signs of the weavers and the texts of stories include signs of the tellers, so the diagrams of dreams include signs of the dreamers.

**INTERCULTURAL INTERTEXTS**

Quiché intertextuality, like that of modern movements in Western art, entails a deliberate crossing of cultural boundaries. As a dream interpreter, Andrés Xiloj not only crossed such a boundary whenever he undertook to interpret the dreams of foreigners such as ourselves (even when they included unfamiliar objects), but he even went so far as to combine our dreams with his own. When Quichés pray, they combine objects of desire that are named with Quiché words, including shelter and land or food and drink, with other objects that are named in Spanish, including money, cars, and airplanes (B. Tedlock 1982:196, 199). The professional singer (ajox) alternates spoken prayers in Quiché with chanted Latin liturgy, and just as the prayers name objects that originate in another culture, so the liturgy that was borrowed from that same culture is addressed to Quiché deities. Junajpu days (from the 260-day calendar) are good ones for praying to ancestors, but so are Mondays, and best of all is a Junajpu day that coincides with a Monday. To produce the music that accompanies the conquest dance-drama, the indigenous cane flute is accompanied by a double-headed drum of European origin.

On scarves, indigenous figures such as animals, produced by an indigenous technique (brocade), are accompanied by European figures in the form of letters of the
alphabet, produced by a European technique (chain-stitch embroidery). When the words 'Hecho en Totonicapán' are brocaded into belts, or the words 'Recuerdo de Nahualí' are knitted into shoulder bags, these belts and bags are not meant solely for tourists but are used by Quichés as well, including Quichés from these same towns. There are products that are intended solely for the tourist trade, notably tailored clothing cut according to European patterns, but the cloth that composes them includes pieces of figured blouses, scarves, shirts, and belts that Quichés have tired of wearing. Just as the intertexts Quichés construct for their own use include quotations (both literal and figurative) from foreign texts, so the intertexts they construct for the use of foreigners include quotations from their own texts.

The intercultural dimension of Quiché intertextuality is not simply the end product of events that took place in the murky colonial past. It is not reducible to an unconscious fusing or blending of elements whose disparate origins have been forgotten—the kind of thing that has gone under the name "syncretism"—but results from a continuing creative process that is fully at work in the present day (B. Tedlock 1983). Creativity is perhaps most clearly seen and heard in what we have called syncopation and variability of sequencing, which declare the independence of the formal and material imaginations. This independence helps make possible the inclusion of foreign materials in Quiché compositions, or of Quiché materials in compositions that have a foreign character. At the same time, it renders inadequate any description of the arts of the Quiché that would reduce them either to purely structuralist or purely materialist schemes. Quiché art is an art of possibilities, incorporating not only what is preconceived and what is already manifest, but what is virtual.

Paradoxically, an adequate description of Quiché culture, or perhaps we should say "interculture," must include that fact that it places a positive value on dialogues with other cultures. For the anthropological enterprise, which is founded upon the possibility of an intercultural dialogue (D. Tedlock 1979), this means that the fieldworker is not an originator of dialogue, but joins a dialogue that is already under way. At the same time, an adequate description of Quiché intertextuality must reach across the boundaries between media. This means that a hermeneutically conceived anthropology cannot stop with the interpretation of texts in the literal sense, but must consider such arts as music, weaving, housebuilding, and horticulture, joining the domains of language and technology in the process.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the Peruvian sign typology used in this essay, see Friedrich (1979:15-18).

2. Pursuing this broadened sense of writing further, we can see that what Ong (1982) describes as the "technologizing of the Word" did not wait for the printing press and the computer, but is a process of long standing. Derrida (1978:27-73), using Leroi-Gourhan's work as his point of departure, declares writing to be prior to the spoken word and argues that the enslavement of writing to the irreversibility of speech sounds is in large measure responsible for what he decries as the linearization of Western thought. Ong and Derrida are not at all that different in their assessment of the ill that supposedly afflicts the alphabetically literate mind, but the former places the blame on hand and tool, the latter on face and voice.

3. This text is itself a multidimensional intertext, created out of dialogues of various sorts. We first decided to do a joint essay on the arts of the Quiché after seeing "Beyond Boundaries," a show of highland Mayan textiles at the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and discussing it with Nora Fisher and Suzanne Bauerman. The dialogue between ourselves has been going on periodically, ever since, along the dialogue between both of us and published works, field notes, and photographs. Our fieldwork was conducted mainly in 1975 and 1976 in Mixcoatlan; we have dialogued with weavers both there and in San Cristóbal Totonicapán and Santa Catarina Ixtahuaquín. Actual samples of Quiché textiles have occupied a place on the same tables where our textual materials have been spread out. The text of the essay itself was created out of a combination of spoken words, handwritten words, and words that were directly keyboarded into a word processor. The finished product published here includes a further dialogue with our colleague and editor Philip K. Bock, whose proposed deletions and additions have become a part of the larger intertext set before you.

4. A Kawkulli mask consisting of only the right side of a face was paired with Picasso's split-image Girl Before a Mirror (1932) in this show, and it was asserted that "Picasso could almost certainly never have seen a sliced' mask like [this]... one, but it nonetheless points up the affinity of his poetic thought to the mythic universals that the tribal objects illustrate" (Rubin 1984:330). But as McEvilley (1984:57) has pointed out, in the show, Picasso was familiar with non-Western art long before 1932, whether or not he ever saw a mask like this one. Further, cultural elements rarely flow in the holistic thought patterns or "spiritual affinities" imagined by connoisseurs, but rather, in artists' hands, they undergo multiple decompositions and recompositions as hundreds of intertexts are created.

5. The clearest separation of the sexes occurs in the use of technology introduced by the Spanish; weaving on the upright loom, along with crocheting and knitting, are almost entirely done by men (Anderson 1978:17-18, 189, 190; Ong 1975:63-69). A notable exception is to be found in the textile mill located in the Quiché community of Cantel, which employs nearly as many women as men and in which numerous employees are married couples (Nash 1967:19, 69).

6. Words and longer quotations from the text of the Popol Vuh incorporate our own emendations. References to the text are given parenthetically, as in the case of (2r.), with the number being that of a folio and the letter referring to the recto (r.) or verso (v.) of that folio. The Popol Vuh manuscript is reproduced in facsimile in Ximénez (1973) and ac- cordingly, the abbreviation used here is practical one currently in use in Guatemala. The situ- ation of Quiché vowels and their orthographic representation is unsettled in the linguistic liter- ature. Some speakers are said to make a phonemic lax/ tense or short/long distinction for all five vowels (Mondloch 1978:vii-viii; Norman 1976:10), in which cases length has been selected as the orthographically marked feature, while other speakers (sometimes even in the same community) make such a distinction only for a (Campbell 1977:15), in which cases shortness has been the marked feature. Colonial texts and many contemporary ones use only five vowels; for the sake of consistency, and because the short/long distinction does not carry a very great burden in distinguishing differing meanings, only five vowels are used here. For present purposes, they should be pronounced approximately as in Spanish. The velar stop is k (before a, o, u) or q (before i, e), while the uvular stop is k. With the fol- lowing exceptions, the remaining consonants are as in Panamá. As a gradualizing feature, t is like English th, w is like English w, s is like English sh, and ts is the glottal stop, which glottalizes other consonants when it follows them. Stress is usually word-final.

7. Some translations of the Popol Vuh are taken, with changes, from D. Tedlock (1985); see notes to that work for documentation of the numerous colonial and modern vocabulary sources that played a role in the transla- tion decisions.

8. In some North American Indian languages, stripes fall under the same term as more complex markings; in Zuni, the term t'ina covers this full range, including pages covered with lines of type.

9. We use the term brocading to refer to all types of supplementary-welt patterning, including the addition of extra wefts extending from the selvage to selvage, rather than reserving it solely for the use of discontinuous supplementary wefts that turn at the edges of each design area. Embroidery or decorative stitchery, by contrast, is added after a fabric has been completed. Although brocading may have the appearance of embroidery and is sometimes difficult to separate one from the other, brocading is always done while weaving is in progress. If the supplementary wefts are inserted with the shed open through only one layer of warps, single-faced brocading results.


