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The Historical Maya and Maya Histories: Recent Trends and New Approaches to Reconstructing Indigenous Pasts in Guatemala

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Abstract

The Maya of Guatemala have long been the subject of scholarly study and popular fascination. They have also contributed valuable insights to ethnographic studies, historical research, and archaeological excavations while working alongside and for foreign scholars. But seldom were they recognized as the primary authors of Maya histories. Indeed, such initiative was deemed subversive during Guatemala's civil war (1960–1996). As the historical record demonstrates, Mayas have always been protagonists of their history, but only since the 1996 Peace Accords have cultural and intellectual spaces opened for Mayas to assume more public leadership roles in reconstructing indigenous pasts. As their recent efforts to claim, control, and convey Maya histories reveal, Mayas are not only adeptly interpreting but also creatively disseminating their own histories.

With December 21, 2012 looming, popular interest in the Maya is growing. Although this attention has tended toward the sensational with movies such as *Apocalypto* and *2012* and books by such new age authors as Jose Arguelles and the more scholarly scientific theologians such as John Major Jenkins, the spotlight has raised awareness that Mayas are surviving and thriving today in places like Guatemala, Mexico, Belize, Honduras, the United States, and Canada. Although Maya *ajq'ija'* (ritual spiritualists or shamans) are not preparing for the end of the world, enterprising Mayas in Guatemala and Mexico are taking advantage of the fervor to promote tourist goods such as tee shirts emblazoned with the Aztec calendar altered in some way to claim it as Maya. Mayas have long adapted to interlopers' expectations and assumptions. Informed by foreigners' imaginings of Maya calendars, the current fervor is part of a longer pattern of colonial and neocolonial relations whereby Mayas have set their own and responded to outsiders' agendas.[1] The new age obsession with ancient Maya cosmology serves as a backdrop to the recent efforts among Mayas to claim, control, and convey their own history.

When a Q'anjob'al Maya speaker asked geographer and historian George Lovell, 'How is it possible to write a book about our people without knowing our language?', he raised a concern common among Mayas.[2] More direct in his critique, the founder of a Maya school in San Juan Comalapa (henceforth Comalapa) explains: 'They stole our history. Our history from our grandmothers, grandfathers is not in any book. Because these books only have been written since 1492, but before 1492… nothing'.[3] Although he is proud of ancient Maya writings, he insists that Guatemalan history is a product of colonial relations.[4] To be sure, the vast historiography of Guatemala and the Maya is only sparsely peppered with Maya authors and scholars. To cite but one example, of the over 150 contributors to the monumental six volume history of Guatemala edited by Jorge Luján Muñoz, only a handful are Maya.[5] An incredibly diverse group within which over

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twenty different languages are spoken in Guatemala alone, Mayas are as concerned with accessibility and perspective as with linguistic or ethnic identity. Even researchers who are Maya face criticism from local leaders who decry their projects as extractive if their findings are not made accessible to local audiences.[6] By only sharing their analyses in broader (often international) intellectual communities, these scholars perpetuate the very paternalistic and neocolonial relations so many Mayas critique.[7]

Even before the 1996 Peace Accords that ended Guatemala's 36-year civil war (1960–1996), a Maya intellectual renaissance was perceptible.[8] Since then Mayas have increasingly become authors of their own pasts. Journalists like Estuardo Zapeta and Luís Enrique Sam Colop, activists and writers like Rigoberta Menchú Tum and Luis de Lión, scholars like Victor Montejo and Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil, and many others came to comprise an intellectual force in Guatemala. The study of the past has benefited from this renaissance. Such historians as Edgar Esquit are using oral histories and archival materials to reconstruct the past.[9] As a Kaqchikel Maya (henceforth Kaqchikel), Esquit not only shares a linguistic and cultural knowledge that provides an entrée into people's lives and perspectives of the past, he is also committed to publishing his findings in Spanish so that bilingual literate Mayas will have access to them. For monolingual and illiterate Mayas, he has presented his analyses orally in Kaqchikel in the communities where he conducts his research. Such meetings, which would have been considered subversive as recently as 15 years ago, are but one example of the way the Maya intellectual renaissance is reaching rural areas. As recent reconstructions of indigenous pasts in Guatemala have demonstrated, Mayas are not only adeptly interpreting but also creatively disseminating their histories.

Across the nation, they are using oral histories, writing, art, performances (particularly dance), and other forms to convey their pasts. Inhabiting the central highlands, Kaqchikel traditional and organic intellectuals are located closer to the capital than most other Maya language groups, yet the state seldom incorporates and often ignores their historical expressions in its national narrative.[10] Such other Maya language speakers as Montejo, Menchú, and Sam Colop have similarly struggled to convince non-Maya elites of the relevance of their historical perceptions. Examining the production of Kaqchikel historical knowledge and its representation offers a window into this process among Mayas more broadly in Guatemala.

Maya Media

Although Mayas have a long tradition of writing dating back to at least 300 B.C.E., they are adept at conveying information through other media too.[11] In another variation of pre-hispanic traditions, modern Mayas are painting to tell their story.[12] With images that range from cultural expressions to protests against violence and discrimination, Maya muralists, for example, are publicly portraying their pasts. Sacred places and topography also help Mayas to maintain a sense of the past. Mountains, rivers, roads and the structures that exist in and around them provide historical context as Mayas traverse their environs.[13] Even daily chores such as grinding corn can serve as mnemonic devices. Their clothing too serves this function, especially for women. To cite but one example, the red stripe across the shoulders of the Comalapa and San José Poaquil (henceforth Poaquil) *p'ot* (hand woven blouse) symbolizes the violence of the Spanish Invasion (see Fig. 1). Some weavers claim the red represents the fire Spanish soldiers set to people's homes and crops to drive them from their communities; others associate it with Maya blood shed at the hands of Spanish soldiers.[14] These discrepancies are but one example of the ways Mayas maintain competing narratives within broader historical reconstructions.

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Fig. 1. A woman from Poaquil wearing her *p'ot* with the red stripe across the shoulders. Photograph by author.

Because it both entertains and informs, dance too has been a particularly powerful historical medium for Mayas. The *Rabinal Achi*, for example, portrays the trial of a K'ichee' Maya (henceforth K'ichee') warrior who was captured by a Rabinal Maya (henceforth Rabinal) warrior and accused of seizing Rabinal subjects, kidnapping the Rabinal king, attempting to steal Rabinal land, and allying with another Maya group against the Rabinal. Scholars have argued that the document upon which the dance is based betrays no Spanish influence, making it unique among Maya traditional dances and a crucial source for understanding how pre-hispanic Mayas reconstructed the past. As the people of San Pablo Rabinal continue to present the dance drama today, the text and its performance demonstrate how the past and present continually shape each other.[15]

Even in dances written or influenced by Spaniards, Mayas reinvisioned performances and thereby altered their meanings. Performed in the colonial capital Santiago de Caballeros (current day Antigua), the *Fiesta del Volcán* for example was a Spanish inspired depiction of their 1526 victory against Kaqchikel and K'ichee' rebels that effectively granted Spaniards control of Guatemala.[16] The intent of the Fiesta was to remind Kaqchikel of their subjugated position in the colonial order. Yet as ethnohistorian Robert Hill found in his study of its performance in 1680, Kaqchikel used the drama to emphasize the ways the Spanish conquest was incomplete. The Spaniards neither desecrated the Maya temple (as a burning structure atop the simulacrum of the volcano would have signified) nor killed the Maya king. Like his Aztec counterpart Quetzalcoatl, *Sinakan* would return another day.[17]

Colonial Order

Maya performative, theatrical, written, and oral narratives encourage the reconsideration of hegemony in the region. If at the time of the Spanish Invasion, many indigenous people were allied with and even assumed the role of conquistadores, then the portrayal of Spanish soldiers vanquishing Mayas obscures more than it reveals.[18] The ambiguous relations and roles of the diverse groups of Spaniards and Mayas who first came in contact with each other in the early sixteenth century necessarily established the foundations of a

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colonial system in which power, authority, and control were constantly being negotiated. Even as their populations plummeted dramatically (due largely to epidemics) and the early survivors faced the deprivations of forced labor regimes, relocation schemes, religious conversion, and unfair market practices, Mayas persisted and resisted. Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones' frustration in 1556 at the Spaniards' inability to compel Mayas to live in more centralized *congregaciones* (relocated indigenous communities) suggests many Mayas charted their own colonial course: 'In most *pueblos de indios* people live much as they wish to, or can… we, its officers, cannot vouch for one-tenth of the territory we are in charge of'.[19] Maya agricultural methods contributed to this independence since subsistence agriculture was best practiced by small groups of people dispersed across the land. Since Spaniards were not nearly as attracted to the highlands as they were to the more temperate lowlands to the south (particularly along the Pacific coast) and east of the capital where such crops as cacao and indigo could be grown and cattle grazed, lowland Mayas faced greater Spanish encroachment and generally experienced more intense biological and cultural syncretism than their highland counterparts.[20]

Syncretism was the order of colonial rule. Even the most isolated Mayas adapted to Spanish rule and Catholicism in ways that affected their daily lives, culture, and language. In a reflection of this hybridization process, the *cofradías* or religious sodalities that Spaniards encouraged Mayas to establish with the hopes they would become more vested in the Catholic Church often became shields whereby Christian rituals could mask Maya worship. Mayas found other ways to advance their agendas; some even maintained control over their land. Maya fortitude notwithstanding, colonists, government officials, and Catholic priests exploited and abused them. Perhaps the best evidence of their tribulations comes from Maya efforts to combat them. With great alacrity, Mayas learned how to employ imperial procedures and institutions in their defense as the petitions and legal record they left behind attest.[21]

Subject to a variety of efforts to dispossess them of their resources and dignity, many Mayas revolted. Maya insurgents and rebel communities were common throughout the colonial period. At times, Maya women inspired and led these uprisings.[22] They also developed less confrontational ways to expand their authority and influence. As the purveyors of sorcery, spells, and magic, for example, Maya women advised and emboldened men and women who wanted to escape or punish abusive colonial officials, overlords, and employers.[23] Although recent scholarship has revealed the ways Mayas approached the invasion and colonial system as protagonists, in contrast to studies of Mexico and the work of such New Philology scholars as Matthew Restall, Guatemalan colonial historiography remains largely dependent upon Spanish language archival materials.[24] Faced with a similar challenge for the national period, some historians have turned to conducting oral histories in Maya languages to mine Maya historical perspectives.[25]

Postcolonial Maya

Pointing to Guatemala's neocolonial state, many Mayas refuse to celebrate Independence Day. As one Maya intellectual decried, 'September 15th is not a day of independence for Maya; it is still a day of dependence'.[26] Yet they never stopped engaging the state or trying to improve their lot. With each change in political power, Mayas adapted. Performed in Comalapa, the *Baile de Toros* provides an example of how one group of Mayas achieved their goals by allying with the liberals leaders who overthrew the conservatives in 1871. As the drama unfolds, the dancers act out an incident from the late nineteenth century when Kaqchikel laborers appealed to their Spanish landholder in Comalapa for

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better wages, improved working conditions, and the right to bring their families with them to distant lands where they grazed cattle. Refusing to grant their requests, the landowner sent them back to the fields. The workers effectively declared their autonomy by taking their families and cows with them and forming their own town: Poaquil. To a large extent, as Poaquil raconteurs readily note (and archival documents confirm), these Maya founders owe their success to the contemporary dictator Justo Rufino Barrios (1873–1885), who granted them their independence and land in exchange for their support for his regime. But as further study of local oral histories evinces, the *Baile de Toros* is not simply a celebration of a Kaqchikel victory over a Spanish landowner, it also portrays a struggle among Mayas themselves. Elders from Comalapa frame the history as a loss of land now incorporated in Poaquil that previously had been in the jurisdiction of Comalapa – a loss that coincided with Barrios' land titling and privatization programs that dispossessed Maya communities of valuable arable land.[27]

Like their Comalapan counterparts, the 63 Kaqchikel men from San Antonio Aguas Calientes who penned a petition in 1886 knew the state held the potential to both help and harm them. Instead of appealing to the executive or dictator (who at the time was General Manuel Lisandro Barrillas [1885–1892]), these Mayas sought a more systematic change: 'We approach the Respectable Legislative Body, to demand an injunction and protection, so that through a law and in harmony with the founding charter [constitution], we *los indíjenas* [sic] expeditiously have our rights, to reclaim our freedom of work, whose limitations must be urgently defined and determined'.[28] Keen to liberal critiques that conservative rule merely maintained the colonial status quo, the authors embraced Guatemala's attempt to modernize and establish independent, democratic institutions. After explaining the abuse they faced 'as a result of the law that obligates us to perform agricultural labor', they explained that they wanted 'to end once and for all this slavery to which we have been condemned'.[29] By juxtaposing the constitution – a symbol of the nation's independence and effort to chart a just society – with the colonial vestige of forced labor and 'slavery', they encouraged the very legislators who regularly deployed the tropes of progress and order to match rhetoric with reality. Confident state institutions and particularly the legal system could aid them, they wanted to 'find… another law or arrangement that can protect us and limit the abuses to which we are victims'.[30]

Even as they celebrated liberal ideals, these Kaqchikel men were well versed in Guatemala's *modus operandi* and so appealed to paternalism as well: 'We have faith in the dignified representatives of the nation that, inspired by the genuine support of the liberal institutions that govern us, will protect… *la raza* that until today [has been] helpless, [and] create for them [*la raza*] the freedom to dedicate themselves voluntarily to work'.[31] Aware that the nation's aspiration did not match its governance, these Kaqchikel authors combined the language of rights with a plea for special consideration. Despite the disadvantages and discriminations they suffered as '*la raza*', they still considered themselves citizens. 'If one looks to extend progress, before anything else he should improve the condition of the citizen… because each one, in the orbit of their intellectual and material faculties, can be useful to himself, his fellow citizens and the entire society', they encouraged.[32] Although Mayas were poised to participate in the nation's progress as equal partners, few elites allowed for that possibility.

A snapshot from 1886, this petition captures Maya realities and responses for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Kaqchikel signatories recognized that some laws specifically and intentionally restricted their rights even to the point of condemning them to slavery and poverty. But they also used other laws to protect themselves and recognized the potential of writing legislation that would guarantee their rights.

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With this knowledge, they distinguished between authorities who held the power to create such laws, and various power brokers who intentionally exploited them. Even though the legal system sustained neocolonial relations and restricted their rights, Mayas knew it could combat capricious and abusive landowners, foremen, and authorities. Therein lay one of the neocolonial conundrums: the very system that oppressed them held the potential to liberate them; the same class of men who exploited them also held the key to their rights.

This document also points to one of the challenges of representing Maya historical knowledge and its production during the nineteenth century. Unlike for the colonial period when Mayas produced (albeit often under the watchful eye of Spaniards) such documents as the *Anales de los Kaqchikeles* and *Titulos de Totonicapan*, nineteenth century Maya voices survive almost exclusively in archival materials produced by the state. Like colonial archival materials, these are hybrid documents. In them muted indigenous voices and frameworks fuse with emancipatory liberal conceptions of history (as suggested in the 1886 document by references to slavery, liberty, and rights). Depending on the circumstances and era under which they were produced, these documents may provide insight into indigenous convervatism or indigenous liberalism. A number of scholars have worked skillfully with these materials,[33] but given the extant sources, writing nineteenth-century histories from Maya perspectives is particularly problematic.

Maya Historical Reconstructions

As the historical record demonstrates, Mayas were protagonists of their own pasts, but often their perspectives were ignored, suppressed, or destroyed. Though seldom recognized as authors, Mayas have contributed valuable insights to ethnographic studies and archaeological excavations while working for and alongside foreign scholars.[34] Michael Coe insists archeologists and linguists could not have deciphered the hieroglyphs without the assistance of Maya speakers.[35] More recently, Kaqchikel speakers helped Judith Maxwell and Robert Hill translate and interpret the definitive edition of the *Anales de los Kaqchikeles*, a text written from 1524 to 1605.[36] The Maya diaspora too has yielded adept research assistants for scholarly endeavors in the United States and Canada.[37] As foreign scholars have increasingly become interested in Maya forms of knowledge and historical formation, symbiotic relations have blossomed between them and Maya scholars.[38] In addition to aiding and guiding research projects, Mayas are also increasingly leading them. Sam Colop, Pakal B'alam Rodríguez Guaján, and Montejo, for example, have all published versions of the *Popol Wuj*.[39]

Rigoberta Menchú drew international attention to modern Maya voices. As much as *I, Rigobert Menchu* catapulted her to the Nobel Peace Prize, her subsequent publications have demonstrated the depth and breadth of her writing and activism.[40] The critiques surrounding the details and authorship of her testimony are evidence that scholars are taking Maya perspectives seriously.[41] Though not as famously, other Mayas have gained international acclaim for their writings. Scholars such as Montejo and Cojtí have published in Spanish, English and Maya languages. As they increasingly ensconce themselves in national intellectual circles, Maya are rewriting Guatemala's national narrative. At the local level, weavers, artists, musicians, dancers, and others are reconstructing the past in less traditional though perhaps more accessible formats.

With their knowledge of local languages and cultures, Maya scholars bring a deep awareness and sensitivity to their studies of Guatemala and Guatemalans. Montejo is but one example. As a survivor, he is one of a number of Mayas who have articulated their

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experiences and critiques of the civil war.[42] His work with Maya refugees in Mexico brings cultural sophistication and experiential knowledge to the study of the Maya diaspora that other anthropologists and economists such as Allan Burns and Leon Fink have so richly mined.[43] Montejo also approaches the study of the Maya intellectual renaissance from an insider's perspective.[44]

Similarly, as a Kaqchikel speaker, Esquit deploys his cultural cache when, for example, he conducts oral history interviews with monolingual elders whose wisdom and experiences might otherwise be lost. His studies of the major Kaqchikel communities – Patzicía, Tecpán, and Comalapa – in the central highlands situate Mayas at the center of a national historical narrative that oftentimes marginalizes or ignores them. Among other findings, Esquit demonstrates the ways twentieth century Maya leaders' strategies were grounded in local knowledge and focused on local goals. Ironically, as upwardly mobile Mayas became more successful in their endeavors, their local working class counterparts tended to dismiss them as traitors.[45] This kind of fine-grained class analysis is akin to historian Greg Grandin's study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Quetzaltenango, where he found that Maya elites helped the state to control and co-opt the indigenous rank and file.[46] Although educated and entrepreneurial Kaqchikel's social mobility broke with hegemonic notions of Mayas as ignorant manual laborers, like Grandin, Esquit found that Maya elites' efforts to improve their lot ultimately reinforced rather than subverted Guatemala's social and racial hierarchies.[47]

Like their interethnic manifestations (such as Kaqchikel attempts to downplay their collaboration with Spanish conquerors and K'ichee' speakers frequent references to it), such cross class and intracomunal rivalries speak to strategic essentialisms in Maya reconstructions of the past. Readily apparent among Mayas and Ladinos or foreigners, obscuring inconvenient aspects of history occurs within and between Maya communities too. The selection or exclusion of historical events and their interpretations is largely dependent on the specific interests of the Maya groups and individuals conveying the past. Like for other people, for Mayas, history – whether it is written, painted, spoken, performed, or observed – is a terrain of dispute.

Beyond being a native speaker and member of the broader ethnic group that he studies, Esquit's research is deeply personal. A well-known Maya leader from Patzicía, his father was assassinated in 1981. Being raised in a politically active household and learning firsthand the dangers inherent in such activities in a nation that discourages Maya autonomy and achievement left an indelible mark on Esquit and his scholarship. Even as he calls for the 'construction of a new historiography from the Mayas and Guatemala, taking into account the diversity of experiences of them [the Mayas] and of the Guatemalans, which until now have been erased by the dominant historiography', his efforts to recover and rewrite Maya history are not just an academic endeavor.[48] With an approach grounded in local history and subaltern perspectives, Esquit explores the ways political activism and historical reconstructions inform and influence each other.[49] For Esquit and most Mayas, history has a social use.

Esquit traces how Maya elites 'constructed and negotiated autonomy and equality between indigenous people and ladinos'.[50] Choosing their words carefully, Kaqchikel leaders advocated for the *superación del indígena* or indigenous success. In practical terms, *superación del indígena* meant taking back local municipal posts from Ladinos, eliminating poverty, dismantling racism, and establishing Maya autonomy, authority, and sovereignty by assuming leadership positions in schools, health clinics, and even the military. Esquit contrasts this strategy with contemporary Ladino and Creole elite discourse that celebrated efforts to *civilizar al indio* or civilize the Indian.[51] By doing so, Esquit identifies a

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Maya alternative to *indigenismo* – a nationalist program set forth by non-indigenous intellectuals to glorify and appropriate some indigenous influences (especially a pre-Hispanic indigenous past) even as it denigrated other indigenous characteristics and demanded the assimilation of indigenous people. That the idea of *superación* never penetrated *indigenismo* discourse did not negate the importance such notions held for the Mayas who developed them. Despite discrimination, by the 1950s increasing numbers of Kaqchikel men and women were advancing their socioeconomic positions and becoming professionals, merchants, teachers, and students.[52]

In the process of bringing these historical actors to life, Esquit enriches and complicates our understandings of who Mayas were and what motivated them. Even as the turn toward subaltern histories and the study of hegemony in Latin American historiography has opened up new insights into Maya pasts, studies structured in those frameworks tend to overlook responses that were not easily interpreted as 'weapons of the weak', 'hidden transcripts', or other forms of resistance.[53] As Esquit notes, 'The life of the indigenous people subordinated to state and elite power is not simply resistance or self defense, it is the result of interests, values, histories and a struggle for self definition'.[54] In other words, Maya strategies were not always counterhegemonic; at times they reinforced state power. Depending on the historical moment and movement, Ladinos and the state viewed *indígenas superados* as both threats and allies.[55]

Even as Esquit recognizes recent scholarship that eschews a simplified state versus Indian dichotomy,[56] he points out that interethnic conflict, particularly the way the creole and ladino oligarchy have excluded Mayas, has stunted and continues to derail Guatemala's nation formation process.[57] A key component of *superación* was *educación*. Even if they did not possess it themselves, Maya leaders saw education and particularly literacy as a means to power; by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Mayas were increasingly inserting themselves in municipal posts partly because they provided a space and justification for their literacy. Through these positions and other vehicles, they established Maya schools where Kaqchikel children could thrive.[58] Like their predecessors, contemporary leaders are working to create conditions whereby Mayas can wear their traditional clothing, speak their own language, and articulate their worldviews without the fear of being ostracized or punished for doing so.[59] In a nation bent on defining itself as non-indigenous, this is no small feat.

Seldom directly referred to as such, the work of Esquit and other Maya historians can be read as efforts to more solidly ground the *movimiento maya* or Maya movement in history, particularly since so many of its leaders speak to the primacy of the past in advancing Maya agendas. Often celebrated as a recent phenomenon, the contemporary Maya movement has a number of precedents as Esquit so adeptly demonstrates with his studies of nineteenth and early twentieth century Maya leadership. Another example can be found in the writings of the Kaqchikel intellectual and activitist Luis de Lión. Because the military deemed his writings were subversive, they captured and killed him in 1984.[60] While adhering to Maya methodologies in his novel *El tiempo principia en Xibalbá*, the first written by a modern Maya author, de Lión articulates Maya alternatives to Ladino domination and discourse.[61] With his references to the past, de Lión grounds Maya nationalism in Maya historical memory. Drawing upon the *Popol Wuj* to inform his text, de Lión suggests that Guatemala can only move forward by embracing its Maya identity and people. Since de Lión's death and particularly since the 1996 Peace Accords, a burgeoning corpus of Maya writers have contributed to Guatemala's rich literary history – Pedro Gaspar González's novel *La Otra Cara* originally written in Q'anjob'al Maya and translated into English as *A Mayan Life*, for example, captures the long term detrimental

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effects that state education and military conscription had on Mayas – but few have used Maya history so adeptly to capture a sense of Maya nationalism and identity.[62]

The cessation of the civil war opened up spaces for organic intellectuals and traditional practitioners to express themselves. In an outpouring that has matched Maya intellectual activity, local artists, dancers, *ajq'ija'*, musicians, weavers and others have seized the opportunity to expand their creative outlets. Informed by their passion for the past, many Mayas are trying to inject Maya perspectives and experiences into national narratives. Perhaps nowhere is this shift toward Mayas telling their own story more visible than in the murals that continue to pop up across the country in places like Comalapa, Sololá, and Chichicastenango. These and other communities are part of the Murals for Peace project in which large stretches of wall along town entrances or around such central community structures as municipal buildings or military barracks have been used to portray the past. Often painted by schoolchildren, the images trace Maya histories from historico-mythic images of their pre-hispanic past through the Spanish invasion and colonial conflict to the national era.[63]

The Comalapa murals are but one example of the impact and importance of these projects and the fundamental role visual culture plays in conveying history. Created in 2002 by community members, the mural along the cemetery walls begins with portrayals of pre-Hispanic life replete with pyramids, corn, and gods, then shifts into the colonial era before focusing on the recent past. These visual representations provide a window into Mayas' complex historical perspectives. The pride many residents express in their colonial church as one of the only buildings to withstand the 1976 earthquake, for example, is tempered by the knowledge that their progenitors were forced to construct it by the Spaniards (see Fig. 2). As these artists portray, Maya agency was intimately connected to their subjectivity.

Painting is not new to Comalapenses. By the 1950s, the Kaqchikel artist from Comalapa Andrés Curuchich (1891–1969) captured the attention of international art promoters and national leaders. Like his contemporaries who framed their rhetoric in the *superación del indígena*, Curuchich went against the grain of the *indigenismo* movement by celebrating autochthonous Maya identities, perspectives, and realities that upset Ladino intellectuals' portrayals of 'good' Mayas as those who maintained certain aspects of their culture but largely assimilated to national norms and state hegemony.[64] As a result of his influence, art blossomed in Comalapa and became an avenue by which Mayas could *superarse*. By portraying Maya realities, traditions, and customs within the context of a nation that tended to marginalize them at best and kill them at worst, the Comalapa muralists took up Curuchich's charge.

The state's absence in the muralists' portrayal of the peace process is noteworthy. One panel shows young Mayas and Ladinos embracing each other and holding the Catholic Church's and United Nation's human rights reports both of which documented evidence of genocide in the early 1980s.[65] In the painting's background, a street sign honors the fallen innocent martyrs of the civil war; in the foreground such traditional Maya symbols as fire, flowers, and white, blue, yellow, and red corn representing the four cardinal directions remind observers that despite violence and genocide, Maya identities, culture, and practices survive (see Fig. 3). No flag, constitution, national anthem or other symbol of the state appears in that scene. In an earlier panel, stabbed into the back of one victim, the Guatemalan flag with blood dripping from two guns stands in stark contrast to the official version (see Fig. 4). According to these artists, Guatemalans achieved peace by avoiding not collaborating with the nation-state (particularly the military and oligarchy). Such images resonate with de Lión's articulation of Maya nationalism emanating from Maya historical memories. And yet Esquit's study of Kaqchikel leaders during and after the 1970s reveals their close relationship to the state. Displacing Ladinos from Comalapa's

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Fig. 2. Constructing Comalapa's Colonial Church as depicted in the Comalapa cemetery mural. Photograph by author.

Fig. 3. Youths building a peaceful future as depicted in the Comalapa cemetery mural. Photograph by Kirsten Johnson.

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Fig. 4. The blood stained Guatemalan flag as depicted in the Comalapa cemetery mural. Photograph by Walter E. Little.

most powerful municipal offices, for example, did not create the conditions for Maya autonomy but rather reinforced the state's agenda and authority in the region. Esquit also found that as the twenty-first century approached, many Kaqchikel who had improved their lot came to see indigenous ways as inferior to western influences.[66] The muralists, on the other hand, insist the two can be symbiotic.

As the scholarship and lives of Guatemala's indigenous people attest, one can be Maya and modern.[67] Such complex imaginings make Mayas best poised to interpret their history. For example, even as activists and scholars protest neoliberalism's destruction of indigenous culture and livelihoods, Maya farmers are converting their *milpas* (corn, bean, and squash plots) to broccoli and blackberry fields. Despite the risks and disadvantages inherent in their subordinate position in global trade, many Kaqchikel farmers have welcomed the opportunity to expand their agricultural businesses.[68] Though they are not necessarily part of a cosmopolitan Maya elite that the conservative Maya intellectual Estuardo Zapeta tends to celebrate, in some ways, these Kaqchikel farmers are akin to his depiction of Maya entrepreneurs who through 'hard work, intelligence, and business sense' are taking advantage of neoliberalism and globalization.[69] Even as these strategies seem counterproductive to other Maya intellectuals such as Cojtí who argues that 'the principles of liberalism… are only valid for the Ladino',[70] Zapeta encourages Mayas to embrace capitalism and democracy without drawing attention to ethnic distinctions or discrimination. To his mind, 'If we Indians move forward, Guatemala moves forward'.[71]

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Conclusion

As the production of Maya histories continues to grow in Guatemala, some of the most fruitful pursuits moving forward may be to put these different genres in dialogue with each other. Already organic intellectuals are informing and influencing the work of traditional Maya intellectuals as Esquit's work demonstrates. Still much potential remains untapped. To cite but one possible example from Comalapa, the dancers and choreographers of the *baile de toros*, designers and painters of the murals, and raconteurs could work together with Esquit to reconceptualize the history of Comalapa and Guatemala. Combining their different epistemologies, themes, methodologies, and perspectives could produce rich synergies. Similar collaborations among organic and traditional historians could be coordinated elsewhere. Indeed the Confederation of Daykeepers is already facilitating synergies across municipalities. Simeón Taquirá, a daykeeper from Patzún, sits on the Sololá Council of Elders, for example. As a town where muralists, *cofrades*, and the owner of a photography museum, all use history as a point of departure for advocating Maya rights, Sololá is but one cradle of Maya reinterpretations of the past. These evolving mosaics of Maya histories encourage historians outside of Guatemala to rethink how the past is reconstituted and reconstructed.

At the same time, the fertile field of Maya historians does not obviate the need for foreign or Ladino scholars in Guatemala. Mayas have found many allies in their intellectual struggle. Marta Elena Casaús Arzú particularly stands out as a non-Maya Guatemalan who has been critical of racism and discrimination.[72] And some areas remain woefully understudied by Mayas themselves. In contrast to the burgeoning historiography of Maya gender relations and women from foreign scholars, for example, Maya intellectuals have written very little about these topics.[73] Though this omission parallels the struggles within the *movimiento maya* whereby women are trying to assert themselves in leadership positions against the grain of more traditional approaches to women's roles and responsibilities, it is all the more glaring in light of the female progenitors who were among the authors of ancient Maya texts.[74]

Even as 2012 doomsday predictions have increased attention on Mayas and Guatemala, Mayas are increasingly making an impact in North America. Penned during their travels in the United States in 1963 and 1967, the selections from the journals of Zinacantec Maya Román Teratol and Antzelmo Péres are a welcomed reversal of the ethnographic lens.[75] More recently, growing immigration has compelled Mayas to create communities in North America. And scholars such as Montejo and Escalante are teaching at U.S. universities. As these trends continue, more North Americans are gaining first-hand access to Maya epistemologies and knowledge. Such encounters debunk impressions of Mayas as mysterious and exotic. Living alongside and learning from Mayas may help North Americans who study the Maya or are just curious about them whether they are academics, students or 2012 seekers to better understand and contextualize Maya histories. Perhaps such reconsiderations will facilitate even more space for Mayas to take ownership of their own pasts and celebrate the 'new dawn' prophesied in the Popol Wuj as the start of 14 B'aktun, 4 Ajaw, 8 K'umk'u (December 21, 2012).

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Short Biography

David Carey Jr. is an associate professor of History and Women and Gender Studies at the University of Southern Maine. He holds a Ph.D. in Latin American Studies from Tulane University. His publications include *Our Elders Teach Us: Maya-Kaqchikel Historical Perspectives. Xkib'ij kan qate' qatata'* (University of Alabama Press, 2001), *Ojer taq tzijob'äl kichin ri Kaqchikela' Winaqi'* (A History of the Kaqchikel People) (Q'anilsa Ediciones, 2004), and *Engendering Mayan History: Mayan Women as Agents and Conduits of the Past, 1875–1970* (Routledge, 2006). He is also the author of over a dozen peer-reviewed articles and essays and the coeditor of *Latino Voices in New England* (SUNY Press, 2009). He is currently working on a manuscript about gender, ethnicity, crime, and state power in Guatemala, 1898–1944.

Notes

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[1] Tellingly, doomsday diviners seldom specify the Maya calendar – long count, short count, *katun* cycle, divinatory (*tzolkin*), lunar, venereal, or solar – upon which they are basing their predictions. Of course, popular attention to Maya is not new or solely related to 2012. They have been the subject of such widely circulated magazines as *National Geographic* and television shows as *The Simpsons* and *Survivor*, see W. E. Little, 'Introduction: Revisiting *Harvest of Violence* in Postwar Guatemala', in Walter E. Little and Timothy J. Smith (eds.), *Mayas in Postwar Guatemala: Harvest of Violence Revisited* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 1.
[2] G. Lovell, *A Beauty that Hurts: Life and Death in Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 3.
[3] Waqi' Toj, 8/20/05, Comalapa. Due to Guatemala's continued political volatility and recurrent human rights abuses, I have preserved the anonymity of my oral history sources. For the most part, I have used names that derive from the Maya calendar. I conducted all interviews in Kaqchikel.
[4] For a parallel argument that Mayas themselves are the product of colonial relations, see S. Martínez Paláez, *La patria del criollo: Ensayo de interpretación de la realidad colonial guatemalteca* (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1973).
[5] J. Luján Muñoz (ed.), *Historia General de Guatemala*, 6 vols. (Guatemala: Asociación de Amigos del Pais, 1996).
[6] Community meeting, Comalapa August 2005, author's observation.
[7] In addition to locals' critiques about extractive projects, Maya intellectuals raise similar issues regarding foreign researchers, see E. del Valle Escalante, *Maya Nationalisms and Postcolonial Challenges in Guatemala: Coloniality, Modernity, and Identity Politics* (Sante Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2009); D. Cojtí Cuxil, *Políticas para la reivindicación de los mayas de hoy: (Fundamento de los derechos específicos del pueblo maya)* (Guatemala City: Editorial CHOLSAMAJ: SPEM, 1994).
[8] V. Montejo, *Maya Intellectual Renaissance: Identity, Representation, and Leadership* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); K. Warren, *Indigenous Movements and their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).
[9] E. Esquit, *Otros poderes, nuevos desafíos: Relaciones interétnicas en Tecpán y su entorno departamental (1871–1935)* (Guatemala City: Magna Terra Editores, 2002); I. Rodas and E. Esquit, *Élite Ladina-vanguardia indígena: De tolerancia a la violencia, Patzicia 1944* (Guatemala City: CAUDAL, 1997); E. Esquit, 'La superación del indígena: La política de la modernización entre las elites indígenas de Comalapa, siglo XX', Ph.D. diss (El Colegio de Michoacán, México, 2008).
[10] I borrow the term organic intellectual from Antonio Gramsci. See *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* ed. and trans. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 6, 15–6, 18.
[11] W. A. Saturno, D. Stuart, and B. Beltrán, 'Early Maya Writing at San Bartolo, Guatemala', *Science* 311/5765 (March 3, 2006): 1281–3; M. Coe, *The Maya*, 6th edn. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 38, 78–79, 217.
[12] D. Carey and W. Little, 'Reclaiming the Nation Through Public Murals: Maya Resistance and the Reinterpretation of History', *Radical History Review* 106 (Winter 2010): 5–26.
[13] R. Carlsen, *The War for the Heart and Soul of a Highland Maya Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); V. Stanzione, *Rituals of Sacrifice: Walking the Face of the Earth on the Sacred Path of the Sun: A Journey through the Tz'utujil Maya World of Santiago Atitlán* (Albuequerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003); J. Maxwell and A. P. García Ixmatá, 'Power in Places: Investigating the Sacred Landscape of Iximche', Guatemala' (Guatemala: FAMSI, 2008), [Online]. Retrieved on 8 April 2011 from: http://www.famsi.org/reports/06104/.
[14] For more on the many historical meanings of traditional dress in Guatemala see L. Asturias de Barrios, *Comalapa: el traje y su significado* (Guatemala: Museo Ixchel del Traje Indígena de Guatemala, 1985); L. Asturias de Barrios,

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'Mano de mujer, mano de hombre: Produción artesanal textil en Comalapa Guatemala' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Albany, State University of New York, 1994); C. L. Pettersen, *Maya of Guatemala: Life and Dress/Maya de Guatemala: Vida y Traje* (Guatemala: Museo Ixchel, 1976).

[15] A. Breton, *Rabinal Achi: A Fifteenth-Century Maya Dynastic Drama*, trans. T. Lavender Fagan and R. Schneider (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007); D. Tedlock, *Rabinal Achi: A Mayan Drama of War and Sacrifice* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003); R. v. Akkeren, *Place of the Lord's Daughter: Rab'inal, Its History, Its Dance-drama*. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS, 2000).

[16] *Memorial de Sololá* trans. S. Otzoy (Guatemala: Comisión del Descubrimiento Interuniversitaria Guatemalteca de Conmemoración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, 1999).

[17] R. M. Hill II, *Colonial Cakchiquels: Highland Maya Adaptation to Spanish Rule 1600–1700* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2002), 1–8.

[18] M. Restall, *Maya Conquistador* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); L. E. Matthew and M. R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); M. Restall and F. Asselbergs (eds.), *Invading Guatemala: Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Accounts of the Conquest Wars* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); F. Asselbergs, *Conquered Conquistadors: The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan: A Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004).

[19] W. G. Lovell, 'The Highland Maya', in R. E. W. Adams and M. J. MacLeod (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 412.

[20] M. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Chris Lutz and George Lovell, 'Core and Periphery in Colonial Guatemala', in Carol A. Smith (ed.), *Guatemalan Indians and the State, 1540–1988* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990): 35–51.

[21] K. Dakin and C. Lutz, *Nuestro pesar, nuestra aflicción: Memorias en lengua náhuatl enviadas a Felipe II por indígenas del Valle de Guatemala hacia 1572* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, 1996).

[22] K. Gosner, 'Women, Rebellion, and the Moral Economy of Maya Peasants in Colonial Mexico', in S. Schroeder, S. Wood, and R. Haskett (eds.), *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997): 217–30.

[23] M. Few, *Women Who Live Evil Lives: Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

[24] M. Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Restall, *Maya Conquistador*; Restall and Asselbergs (eds.), *Invading Guatemala*. Robert Carmack stands out as a Guatemalan historian who has mined K'ichee'-Maya language sources to explain the past. See R. M. Carmack, *Quichean Civilization: The Ethnohistoric, Ethnographic, and Archaeological Sources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 11–79; R. M. Carmack and James Mondloch, *El Título de Totonicapán: Su texto, traducción y comentario* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mayas, 1983); R. M. Carmack, *The Quiché Mayas of Utatlán: The Evolution of a Highland Guatemala Kingdom* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); R. M. Carmack, *Rebels of Highland Guatemala: The Quiche-Mayas of Momostenango* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995). For a study that was informed by Itza Maya documents, see Laura Caso Barrera, *Caminos en la selva: Migración, comercio y resistencia. Mayas yucatecos e itzaes, siglos XVII-XIX* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002), esp. 391–6. Ironically, historians of colonial Guatemala have turned to sources in indigenous languages other than Maya to inform their studies. See for example, Dakin and Lutz, *Nuestro pesar, nuestra aflicción*; L. Matthew, 'El náhuatl y la identidad mexicana en la Guatemala colonial', *Mesoamérica*, 40 (diciembre 2000): 41–68; Matthew and Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors*.

[25] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena'; D. Carey, Jr., *Our Elders Teach Us: Maya-Kaqchikel Historical Perspectives. Xkib'ij kan Qate' Qatata'* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001); D. Carey, Jr., *Engendering Mayan History: Kaqchikel Women as Agents and Conduits of the Past, 1875–1970* (New York: Routledge, 2006). Though she conducted her interviews in Spanish, Cindy Forster has adeptly used oral histories with Mayas to inform her scholarship, see C. Forster, *The Time of Freedom: Campesino Workers in Guatemala's October Revolution* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001). Anthropologists too have offered rich descriptions of Maya pasts based on interviews with their subjects. See for example, J. Watanabe, *Maya Saints and Souls in a Changing World* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992); K. Warren, *Symbolism of Subordination: Indian Identity in a Guatemalan Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

[26] Kab'lajuj Tijax, 9/13/97, Comalapa. As Esquit argues, Guatemalan independence 'reproduced colonial notions and practices', see 'La superación del indígena', 39.

[27] Carey, *Our Elders Teach Us*, 83–87; R. Reeves, *Ladinos with Ladinos, Indians with Indians: Land, Labor, and Regional Ethnic Conflict in the Making of Guatemala* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 3–4, 35–6; G. Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 11, 112–3.

[28] Archivo General de Centro América (AGCA), Jefatura Política, Sacatepéquez, Correspondencia al congreso caja numero 41232, Honorable Asamblea Legislativa de San Antonio Aguascalientes, 10 de mayo 1886 (hereafter AGCA 1886).

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[29] Ibid. In the early twentieth century, Kaqchikel women too invoked the language of slavery to describe abusive relations with their husbands. See for example, AGCA Jefatura Política, Chimaltenango (JP-C) 1926, Alejandra Aguilar contra Bernardo Calán, 26 de abril 1926; AGCA JP-C 1933, Victoria Sutuj contra Victor Cumatzil, 19 de octubre 1933.
[30] AGCA 1886.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] See for example, Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala*; Reeves, *Ladinos with Ladinos*; David McCreery, *Rural Guatemala 1760–1940* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).
[34] See for example, S. Tax, *Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); J. E. S. Thompson, *Maya Archeologist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 117; P. Sullivan, *Unfinished Conversations: Mayas and Foreigners Between Two Wars* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989).
[35] M. Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code*, revised edn. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999).
[36] J. Maxwell and R. Hill, II (eds. and trans.), *Kaqchikel Chronicles: The Definitive Edition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).
[37] A. F. Burns, *Maya in Exile: Guatemalans in Florida* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).
[38] For an ambitious collaborative effort to integrate Mayas, Ladino and foreign (U.S. Latin American, and European) scholars, see S. Bastos y A. Cumes (eds.), *Mayanizacion y vida cotidiana: La ideología multicultural en la sociedad Guatemalteca*, 3 vols. (Guatemala: FLACSO/CIRMA/Cholsamaj, 2007).
[39] L. E. Sam Colop, *Popol Wuj: Versión Poética K'iche'* (Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj, 1999); P. B. Rodríguez Guaján, *Popol Wuj* (Guatemala City: Editorial Maya' Wuj, 2007); V. Montejo, *Popol Vuj: Libro sagrado de los Mayas* (Toronto: Groundwood Books, 1999).
[40] R. Menchú and E. Burgos, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, trans. A. Wright (New York: Verso, 1984); R. Menchú with D. Liano and G. Miná, *Crossing Borders*, trans A. Wright (London: Verso, 1998); R. Menchú, 'Por Elían, por la justicia', *Casa de las Américas*, 218 (Jan–Mar. 2000): 154–6; R. Menchú, 'Rigoberta Menchú's Open Letter to George W. Bush', 29 September, 2001, Center for Research and Globalization. [Online]. Retrieved on 8 June 2010 from: http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/MEN109A.html
[41] D. Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999); A. Arias (ed.), *The Rigoberta Menchú Controversy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
[42] V. Montejo, *Testimony: Death of a Guatemalan Village* (Willimantic, CT: Curbstone Press, 1987). For a broad collection of Maya perspectives of the war, see Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala (ODHAG) – Proyecto Interdiocesano de Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (REMHI), *Guatemala, Nunca más: Impactos de la violencia*, 4 vols. (Guatemala City: ODHAG, 1998).
[43] V. Montejo, *Voices from Exile: Violence and Survival in Modern Maya History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); L. Fink, *Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Burns, *Maya in Exile*. In another example of Mayas interpreting their own research, Jerónimo Camposeco, one of Allan Burns' primary collaborators wrote the introduction to *Maya in Exile* (xviii–xlvii).
[44] Montejo, *Maya Intellectual Renaissance*.
[45] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 24–9, 374–5; Esquit, *Otros poderes, nuevos desafíos*.
[46] Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala*.
[47] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 375; Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala*.
[48] E. Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 13.
[49] E. Esquit, 'Las rutas que nos ofrecen el pasado y el presente: Activismo politico, historia y pueblo maya', in Darío Euraque, Jeffrey Gould y Charles Hale (eds.), *Memorias del Mestizaje, Cultura política en Centroamérica de 1920 al presente* (Guatemala: CIRMA, 2004), 167–92; E. Esquit, 'Movilización política indígena en Comalapa en la era de la paz: identidades, memorias y autodeterminación indígena en la localidad', in Santiago Bastos Amigo y Roddy Brett (eds.), *El movimiento maya en la década después de la paz (1997–2007)* (Guatemala City: R&G Editores, 2010).
[50] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 12.
[51] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 12, 25–8.
[52] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 23.
[53] J. C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); J. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); F. E. Mallon, 'The Problem and Dilemma of Latin American Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History', *American Historical Review*, 99/5 (1994): 1491–515.
[54] Esquit, *Otros poderes, nuevos desafíos*, 23.
[55] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 32.
[56] Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala*; Reeves, *Ladinos with Ladinos*.
[57] Esquit, *Otros poderes, nuevos desafíos*, 12.
[58] Esquit, *Otros poderes, nuevos desafíos*, 333, 343.

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[59] J. Maxwell, 'Bilingual Bicultural Education: Best Intentions across a Cultural Divide', in W. E. Little and T. J. Smith (eds.), *Mayas in Postwar Guatemala: Harvest of Violence Revisited* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 93–4; S. Garzon et al., *The Life of Our Language* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); R. M. Brown, 'Maya Language Loyalty Movement', in E. Fischer and R. M. Brown (eds.), *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 165–77.
[60] del Valle Escalante, *Maya Nationalisms*, 35.
[61] L. de Lión, *El tiempo principia de Xilbalbá* (Guatemala: Artemis y Edinter, 1996 [1985]).
[62] G. P. González, *A Mayan Life* (Rancho Palos Verdes: CA, Yax Te' Press, 1995); A. Arias, *Taking Their Word: Literature and the Signs of Central America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 49–81.
[63] Maxwell, 'Bilingual Bicultural Education', 93.
[64] S. Palmer, 'Racismo intellectual en Costa Rica y Guatemala, 1870–1920', *Mesoamérica*, 31 (1996): 99–121.
[65] ODHAG, *Guatemala, Nunca más*; The United Nations Human Rights Report (UNHRR), *Guatemala: Memoria del Silencio*, 1999. [Online]. (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico [CEH], Retrieved on 12 August 2008 from: http://shr.aaas.org/guatemala/ceh/mds/spanish/toc.html).
[66] Esquit, 'La superación del indígena', 34.
[67] See for example, W. Little, *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).
[68] L. R. Goldín, *Global Maya: Work and Ideology in Rural Guatemala* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); L. R. Goldín, *Procesos Globales en el Campo de Guatemala: Opciones Económicas y Transformaciones Ideológicas* (Guatemala: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2003); E. Fischer and P. Benson, *Broccoli and Desire: Global Connections and Maya Struggles in Postwar Guatemala* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); D. Carey, Jr., 'Guatemala's Green Revolution: Synthetic Fertilizer, Public Health, and Economic Autonomy in the Mayan Highlands', *Agricultural History*, 83/3 (Summer 2009): 283–322. Anthropologist David Stoll has pointed to the dangers of foreign scholars and activists purporting to speak for Mayas without understanding the complexities of their positions and perspectives, see Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*.
[69] E. Zapeta, *Las huellas de B'alam* (Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj, 1999), 128.
[70] D. Cojtí Cuxil, *El movimiento Maya (en Guatemala) = Ri Maya' Moloj Pa Iximulew* (Guatemala: Editorial Cholsamaj, 1999), 36.
[71] Zapeta, *Las huellas de B'alam*, 27. For an argument that Zapeta's approach will simply reproduce colonial relations for Mayas, see del Valle Escalante, *Maya Nationalisms*, 106–19. For a collection of essays that largely supports Zapeta's argument that Latin American entrepreneurs often prospered as a result of global trade, see S. Topik, C. Marichal, and Z. Frank (eds.), *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
[72] M. E. Casaús Arzú, *Guatemala: Linaje y racismo* (Guatemala City: F y G Editores, 2007); M. E. Casaús Arzú, *La metamorfosis del racismo en Guatemala. Uk'exwachixiik ri kaxlan na'ooj pa Iximulew* (Guatemala City: Cholsamaj, 2002).
[73] Few, *Women Who Live Evil Lives*; C. Komisaruk, 'Women and Men in Guatemala, 1765–1835: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Relations in the Central American Capital', Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Los Angeles, 2000); Carey, *Engendering Mayan History*; Forster, *The Time of Freedom*. For one Maya scholar's incisive study of gender and women in Quetzaltenango, see Irma Alicia Velásquez Nimatuj, *La pequeña burguesía indígena comerical de Guatemala: Desigualdades de clase, raza y género* (Guatemala: Nawal Wuj, 2002), especially ch. 3.
[74] D. Tedlock, *2000 Years of Mayan Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
[75] R. Teratol and A. Péres, *Travelers to the Other World: A Maya View of North America Román Teratol and Antzelmo Péres*, trans. R. M. Laughlin, ed. C. Karasik (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

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