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Tying up the Bundle and the *Katuns*¹ of Dishonor: Maya Worldview and Politics

VICTOR MONTEJO

INTRODUCTION

A century ago (1892), the commemoration of Columbus's arrival on this continent was celebrated with eloquent speeches. The discourse exalted the West's triumph over the native populations, who were thought to be destined for destruction. The discourses of commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary made reference to De Tocqueville's claim that the Indians "occupied America without possessing it, since they lived by the chase," and that the natives seemed "to have been placed amid the riches of the new world to enjoy them for a season, and then surrender them."² At that time, it was difficult for the native peoples of Latin America to present organized resistance to that celebration, since they were the subjects of severe assimilation projects by the nation-states developing in that region.

Now, the elitist celebration of the quincentenary is meeting the severe criticism of both native and nonnative people who recognize the political implications of "celebrating" an event that resulted in five hundred years of efforts to dismantle native cultures and expropriate native lands. In other words, the native peoples of

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this continent have not remained silent in the face of this bourgeois "celebration." Instead, they have raised their voices to condemn the West's arrogant concealment of its history of appropriation and genocide. To "celebrate," the United States has contributed \$170 million, while Spain has provided \$500 million, one million for each year of hardship for indigenous people since 1492.³ The quincentenary, then, has become a contested event (producing an indigenous internationalism) that has prompted the indignation of those who recognize the unequal social relations forged five hundred years ago by the Europeans. In this debate, Mayans are taking part, not as mute archaeological relics of the past, not as the "vanquished," but as dynamic actors in this historical moment of political consciousness and struggle for reaffirmation of native identities.

MAYAN WORLD VIEW AND POLITICS

For Mayans, political and cultural struggles are based on Mayan ideology—a sociopolitical order that explains life and afterlife, time, space, and the universe. Thus, Mayan attitudes and responses to the different forms of domination are largely defined by their own values and belief systems. When we Mayans say that we respect nature, we are sincere, because we live what we say; we feel a unity with other living creatures. It is not only that we are "close to nature" but that we recognize the value of life, and we respect others. The Mayan cosmology and worldview are centered on communal practices in which all elements that promote life—cosmic elements (e. g., sun, wind), humans, and the environment—are interrelated. Our worldview also informs the politics of how we must act and react when this communalism is threatened by outside forces. Of course, our politics embrace ecological concerns for the future of the world as well. But, as Scott Momaday has said, "We know that we are polluting, but we have the tendency to think that we are so intelligent as a people and we have achieved such a high degree of civilization that the solution will come about in the course of time. That's a dangerous attitude."⁴

During the Spanish invasion of the sixteenth century, Mayan communal ways of life were disrupted by disease, war, rape, and the despoliation of the land. Although the Mayan worldview and universe were nearly shattered, Mayans continued to recreate the underlying Mayan culture and rework it in their particular way,

even as they became more divided by the colonial system. The Mayans' ongoing history of invasion and colonization has also influenced and caused changes in their ideologies and worldviews. Native people of this continent have always insisted on communal life and peaceful coexistence with the natural and supernatural worlds. It is in this context of communal worldviews that Mayan politics are based and enacted. Perhaps misunderstandings by nonnatives about Mayan sociopolitical and cultural life have been due to a lack of recognition that the Mayan knowledge system is not Western and that their beliefs emerge from native categories and epistemologies that are not common or readily understandable to non-Mayans.

Almost nobody has paid serious attention to Mayan beliefs. Early missionaries considered Mayans to be idolaters whose souls needed to be saved. For this reason, Mayans were placed at the bottom of the last circle of Hell. Mayan priests have been persecuted continuously since then and called *brujos*, witch doctors, when they practice their calendric knowledge and religious ceremonies. In 1560, Diego de Landa referred to terrible massacres of Mayans: "Unheard-of cruelties were inflicted, cutting off their noses, hands, arms, and legs, and the breasts of their women; throwing them into deep water with gourds tied to their feet, thrusting the children with spears because they could not go as fast as their mothers."⁵ These are the kinds of cruelties that Las Casas condemned.⁶ During the Inquisition, books were burned and priests were persecuted.⁷

Thus, the history that we know is the history of the elite, linked to the mythical "conquistadores." The chronicles written during the violent confrontations of the sixteenth century contain gross exaggerations by the Spaniards. This is what Bernal Diaz del Castillo suggested when he wrote his account *La Verdadera Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*.⁸ In other words, Diaz del Castillo thought he was in a better position than his fellow Spaniards to tell the "truth."

We know what moved the Spaniards to murder or subjugate thousands of native people. Hernan Cortéz said, "We Spaniards . . . suffer from an affliction of the heart which can only be cured by gold . . . I have come in search of gold and not to work the land like a laborer."⁹ These appropriations and cruelties also have been recorded in Mayan ethnohistorical documents by literate Mayans since the conquest. For example, in the *Annals of the Kaqchikeles*,¹⁰ the Mayans condemned Tunatihu,¹¹ or Pedro de Alvarado, for his

cruelty and ambition when he demanded, in 1530, four hundred men and four hundred women as labor tribute to wash gold at Pangán.¹² And Diaz del Castillo had the temerity to proclaim that the Spaniards have provided good service to God, to the king, and to Christianity.¹³ Such justifications for these crimes provoked the indignation of the people and led them to question the authority of the king and the pope, as well as the religion they promoted or preached. For example, according to the chronicle of Bachiller Enciso (1519), the chiefs of Castilla de Oro (Panama) questioned the "religiosity" of the missionaries and conquistadores by declaring, "We know of the existence of one God, but that the Pope gives away what it is not his, and that the King who asked for it and took it as his must have been a crazy men who took others' property."¹⁴

Five hundred years of continuous oppression and despoliation has caused tremendous ruptures in the Mayan way of life, communal politics, and cosmology. This is why the history that Europeans "celebrate" has been defined by Mayans as "the book of sufferings, the book of hardship—famines, and epidemics, tribute and taxes, servitude and destitution."¹⁵

There are, then, values and beliefs that guide Mayans' daily life and behavior and that make native politics different from non-native politics. In Mayan politics, people in positions of power and authority are constantly reminded of their communal or public responsibilities. An excellent example is the election of a leader in the cargo system. The leader must be someone who has worked for his people and is recognized by the community. His authority is confirmed by the Mayan political institution called *Lah-Ti*,¹⁶ meaning to compare discourses and to come to a common consensus during a public assembly. This is a communal event in which all adult men and women participate and voice their concerns; thus, this practice has maintained the cohesiveness of Mayan communities. Unfortunately, the Guatemalan army has imposed its own system and has created paramilitary organizations, such as the "civil patrols," that have undermined the trust and traditional solidarity among Mayan communities.¹⁷ This lack of understanding of Mayan politics, culture, and knowledge has caused nonnatives to believe that Mayans do not have an "adequate" knowledge system and that their cultural life can be explained only in terms of myths and folklore.

In the case of internal refugees and Mayan exiles who have returned to Guatemala, the army has imposed an ideological

system designed to erase their cultural beliefs and traditions. In a program similar to the *reducciones de indios*¹⁸ during the sixteenth century, the army has placed Mayans in concentration camps that they call "model villages" and "development poles."¹⁹ The Guatemalan government argues that Mayans have to be re-educated, meaning indoctrinated against the phantom of communism. For example, at the entrance of the re-education center and "model village" of Saraxoc among Q'eqchi' Mayans in northern Guatemala, a sign reads, "Anti-Subversive Village—Ideologically New."²⁰ The military strategy was to eliminate Mayan ideology and cultural beliefs, insisting that the destruction of their villages and massive killings was "the result of their own sins."²¹

For five hundred years, Mayans have lacked the freedom to express their views about themselves and their histories, while the Guatemalan elite has had the power to impose its own politics of economic control and domination. Non-Mayans tend to avoid dialogue with the Mayans as equals and in the present tense. Instead, the Mayans are caged in the past, like museum relics, to restrict their struggles. To maintain this unequal social relationship, the hegemonic state creates continuously changing categories and dangerous identities for the Mayans. Indians are labeled "backward," "idolaters," and "opposed to progress"; more recently, they have been equated with communists and subversives.²² Since 1492, the Guatemalan elite has possessed the power to create images and stereotypes of the native population and to invent epithets that have been useful in maintaining their own privileged position and justifying massacres.

THE REVITALIZATION OF MAYAN CULTURE

In Guatemala, despite the systematic destruction of native cultures, the revival of Mayan ethnic identities has become very strong, and there are interethnic movements re-creating and redefining a pan-Maya identity. These efforts to deepen and preserve Mayan heritage are political acts to reaffirm the presence of the Mayan people. Thus, the revival of Mayan culture is inevitable, despite the efforts of the Guatemalan elite to tear the Mayans from their sacred beliefs and knowledge. If we are to achieve our goal of challenging the hegemony of the dominant classes, we must take Mayans seriously and recognize their cultures as strong components for the construction of the political projects of the future. We need to

critique and deconstruct the history of power and reveal (a headache to the Latin American elite) how native cultures have been destroyed in the name of progress, nationalism, and civilization. We also need to dismantle the stereotypes imposed on us and the popular belief that we are living in an archaic world.

Mayans have been seen as insignificant, so we have to fight for our rights as significant people with a millenarian history. For example, while Europe was in the "Dark Ages" (500–1100 A. D.), the Mayans were celebrating their "classic Maya civilization"²³ and already had established a strong history (2000 B. C.)²⁴ before the arrival of the Europeans. (Consider the stelae, codices, monumental architecture, and hieroglyphs.) Thus, the policy of Western nations is to divert attention from the unequal social relations they have created and "celebrate" their own comfortable way of life. It is a mockery to talk about a "quincentenary celebration" while 46,000 Mayan refugees,²⁵ forced into exile from Guatemala by government forces, are struggling to survive in refugee camps in southern Mexico. Similarly, one million displaced Guatemalans and internal refugees are still victims of the repressive Guatemalan policy that has severed them from their homelands. This is the Guatemalan political context in which the elite will join the monarchy in the celebration of five hundred years of tyranny.

Meanwhile, the representation of the Mayans that persists is based on the original distorted views held by Europeans (Spaniards). Their expectations of finding the worst kind of beasts (e. g., cannibals or people with dog heads) in the Americas caused them to see non-Western people as fearsome enemies. After five hundred years, these images persist, and, in Guatemala, they have been used by the army to justify genocide. In Yich Kanh (Ixkan), a military officer ordered massacres on the allegation that "Indians were savages and were not worthy to live."²⁶ Portrayed as "wild people," primitives and savages, the Mayans have become the target of military destruction because army officers are ignorant of the cultures they are destroying.

The problem is a conflict of ideologies. The West sees nature as something to be harnessed for production and progress, while native peoples view themselves as part of nature; they identify mountains, for example, as their places of origin, the sacred places of ancestors, and the roots of their identity. Unfortunately, Mayan beliefs have not been understood but have been seen as "inferior." When Mayans reject this judgment, they are immediately called subversives and enemies of the government.

Another important aspect of Mayan cultural identity is language. How can we understand the Maya if we have been denying their languages equal status with other languages? To stop the categorization of Mayan languages as "bastard," Mayan organizations are working to give Mayan languages their place among the other languages of the world. In Spain, the Spanish Academy of Language united in the past to name the people that they encountered. Currently in Guatemala, the Academy of Mayan Languages, an indigenous movement, is recovering that power through language.²⁷ Many other Mayan organizations are promoting various aspects of Mayan culture through the revitalization and reaffirmation of Mayan ethnicity, envisioning a pluralistic Guatemalan nation. Some Mayan groups have argued for the strong participation of Mayans in national decisions. For example, the Consejo de Organizaciones Mayas de Guatemala (COMG) has insisted that Mayans should not be the object of dialogues but equal partners in those dialogues. While the national dialogue for peace is taking place in Guatemala, the COMG is calling for a process in which Mayans can speak through their indigenous organizations. The COMG wants to eliminate the traditional formula of non-Mayans speaking "for the Mayans, to the Mayans, but . . . without the Mayans!"²⁸

The Maya case is only one among the many continental native movements for vindication and struggles for survival and self-determination. We need to tell the world that we are alive, that we are not archaeological objects. It is difficult to maintain a distinctive way of life when we face persecution, torture, and massacres on a daily basis. We are concerned that some academic "interpretations" of our cultures are nothing more than refined forms of control and expressions of a new form of colonialism.

The politics of control and domination of Mayans has been perpetuated in Guatemala for hundreds of years. For Mayans, this violence is as real and as constant as the bombs that are dropped on our communities in the Guatemalan highlands. In 1982, 440 Mayan communities were razed in an effort to instill fear in the Mayan population and to "teach them not to be against the government."²⁹ One of these communities was San Francisco, Nenton (northwestern Guatemala). In July 1982, during Rios Montt's regime, the army "wiped out of Chuj men, women and children," and the "survivors compiled a list of 302 dead."³⁰ This is the historical context in which Mayan culture developed its resistance against the different forms of colonial and neocolonial

domination. Thus, Mayan political movements have developed, in a restricted way, by rupturing the established non-Mayan frameworks, names, and images created for native inhabitants. This is a continuous task. If we are to promote our values and worldviews into the future of our continent, we have to eliminate the denigrating images that were imposed on us and reaffirm our Mayan identity. *Mayannes* is a political identity that we are establishing and strongly promoting for ourselves. Our struggle that is at once cultural, epistemological, and political. But in these efforts for self-determination, we need to unite our efforts with those who recognize and understand our fight for peace and justice in this land of our ancestors. Thus, instead of joining the happiness of the Spanish monarchy, we must find strategies to get rid of the colonialist world that scholarship and capitalism have imposed on the native people of the Americas.

As Gregory Mason insisted, "Christopher Columbus came late."³¹ Mayan history does not start with the arrival of Columbus to our shores, but it has been "written" for the past two millennia. We argue for the development of better social relationships; our discourse must not be limited to the romantic level of the quincenary celebration. The task is for the future, and we are obliged to reaffirm Mayan culture for the next five hundred years.

The present condition of native people is very depressing. Millions of native inhabitants are landless peasants, and thousands have been thrown out of their homelands. There must be recognition of the ways of life of Mayan people and their sincere concern for nature and the environment. Mayans have maintained respect for other humans and their natural and supernatural worlds, but nonnatives consider Mayan worldviews superstitious and a remnant of a past age. In their battle for survival, Mayans are not helped by more Bibles printed in Mayan languages. The struggle must focus on the monster of colonialism and the denigrating stereotypes used by dominant classes to designate native cultures as inferior or irrelevant. To progress is not to assimilate; democracy cannot be achieved through massacres and genocide. Mayans have been placed at a great disadvantage for the past five hundred years and then have been accused of being the "problem" of the nation.

While Spain and the United States have spent millions of dollars in absurd ceremonies (e. g., to marry a statue of Columbus to the Statue of Liberty),³² Mayan people are struggling to survive, particularly the 46,000 Guatemalan refugees in southern Mexico. Nevertheless, Mayans know who they are, and they have re-

corded their impressions of the first encounter with Europeans in their native documents. We know from the books of *Chilam Balam* that "on a day 9 Oc the first strutting turkey-cocks arrived. On that day there were whippings at Chakanputun. The people subsisted on trees, they subsisted on stones."³³ This then is the dimension of suffering brought to the natives by the Spanish invasion of the sixteenth century.

The Mayans have a different knowledge system, a different worldview, from those of Western cultures, but, unfortunately, the dominant form of knowledge is Western. Mayan knowledge has been rejected as esoteric, superstitious, or absurd. It is important to reject this "fossilized" image that situates Mayans in a timeless past. Mayans have been and are creative, but their material culture (art, weaving, dress) is relevant to the dominant society only when it is appropriated as merchandise or as a simple curiosity to attract tourists.³⁴

CONCLUSION

As we approach the close of a great cycle of five hundred years (one *baktun*, four *katunes*, twelve *tunes*),³⁵ Mayans, more strongly than ever, are claiming their rights. Native people are shouting with pride the ancient Maya names as a source of legitimacy and empowerment. The native documents are again being consulted; the ancient words they contain are still relevant for understanding Mayan history and identity. Majawil Q'ij³⁶ has proposed efforts "to defend life and human dignity as part of our hopes to recoup communal life, solidarity, and other material and cultural values of our ancestors." This is what gives strength to Mayan political struggles and meaning to *Mayanidad*. However, Latin American elite intellectuals insist that "perhaps there is no realistic way to integrate our societies without asking the Indians to pay a high price: renunciation of their culture, language, and beliefs."³⁷

The rejection of native cultures and their contributions to the world has its basis in the view that indigenous peoples are inferior beings. According to the prevalent stereotypes of Mayans by the Mestizos (Ladinos) and Guatemalan ruling classes, the Indians were cowards, since only a few Spaniards could defeat thousands of native people without much trouble. This was the argument of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda against Bartolomé de las Casas's defense. According to Sepúlveda, "Indians are so cowardly and

timid, that they scarcely withstand the appearance of our soldiers and often many thousands of them have given ground, fleeing like women before a very few Spaniards who did not even number a hundred."³⁸ This is the heroism that the ruling classes claim for themselves, as descendants of the few all-powerful "Spanish-heroes." But the elitist history that nurtures this myth does not mention the thousands of Tlaxcaltecas who were forced to the front of the battle by Cortéz in the "conquest" of Mexico; or the same number of Tlaxcaltecas, and Aztecs, who helped Alvarado (in addition to firearms and pandemic diseases) defeat the Mayans of Guatemala in 1524. The creoles and mestizo ruling classes have inherited the lies of their ancestors and utilized them for their own domination of the natives. There are strong parallels between the actions of the first invaders and those of the modern Guatemalan army. During the scorched-earth policy of Rios Montt (1982), the army pushed the civil patrols ahead in their routine search for guerrillas in the mountains, forcing native communities against each other, destroying their way of life and communal solidarity. Thus, for the past five hundred years, Mayans have been under continuous socio-economic, political, and religious control. Against this domination, Mayans have presented multiple forms of resistance, while the government resorted to massacres, such as the one at Panzós,³⁹ the burning of the Spanish embassy,⁴⁰ and the scorched-earth policy of Rios Montt (1982-83) to silence those clamors for social justice.

Meanwhile, fundamentalist churches are proliferating in Guatemala. God's message for Guatemala is obedience and discipline. For them, "everyone should submit to the authority of Christ, the wife should submit to her husband, members should submit to the elders of the church, and citizens to the nation and the army."⁴¹

Because of current events and the closing of a great cycle, Mayan prophecies are becoming relevant for the Mayans' cyclical concept of time and history. The *katuns* of the five hundred years will again speak to the world. And, according to the *Chilam Balam* (Jaguar Priest),

[I]n the final days of misfortune, in the final days of the tying up of the bundle of the thirteen *katuns* on 4 Ahau, then the end of the world shall come and the *katun* of our fathers will ascend on high These valleys of the earth shall come to an end. For those *katuns* there shall be no priests, and no one who believes in his government without having doubts. They are broken, the omens, because of the *katun* of dishonor Shall my intercession, my pleading, be in vain? I speak to you! I, Chilam Balam, the priest of the Jaguar!"⁴²

NOTES

1. The *katun* is a Mayan cyclical unit of twenty years.
2. Fragment of De Tocqueville's discourse for the commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary. William Salter, ed., *The Columbian Calendar 1492* (Burlington, IA, 1892), 77.
3. Rodrigo Montoya, "El V Centenario visto desde España," *Noticias Aliadas*, 3 May 1990.
4. N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa), Pulitzer Prize-winning author. Interview in "View from the Shore: American Indian Perspectives on the Quincentenary." Columbus Quincentenary Edition, *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 7: 3 (Fall 1990).
5. Diego de Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, trans. William Gates (New York: Dover Publication Inc., 1978), 25.
6. Bartolomé de las Casa, *Brevísima Relacion de la Destrucción de las Indias*, edición de André Saint-Lu, Cátedra, Letras Hispánicas, Madrid, 1989.
7. Diego de Landa, *Relación de las Casas de Yucatán* (Yucatán, Mexico: Ediciones Dante, S.A., Mérida, 1983).
8. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York: Robert M. MacBride & Company, 1927).
9. Hernán Cortez, in *The Three Worlds: Culture & World Development*, ed. Peter Worsley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 6.
10. The *Annals de los Kaqchikeles* is a Mayan document written in the Kaqchikel Mayan language by several authors after the Spanish conquest of 1524.
11. This is the name given to Pedro de Alvarado by his Nawatl warriors. *Tunatiuh* means "sun."
12. The name of the valley where the old Guatemala City was built by order of Alvarado. Now Ciudad Vieja in Antigua, Guatemala.
13. Silvio Zavala, *Filosofía de la Conquista* (Tierra Firme, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), 26.
14. *Ibid.*, 31-32.
15. Robert M. Laughlin, *The People of the Bat: Mayan Tales and Dreams from Zinacantan* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 2.
16. *Lah-Ti'*, from the Jakalteq-Maya language. (*Lah* = equal + *Ti'* = voice of mouth, discourse). It also has the same name and function among the Q'anjob'al Maya of Guatemala.
17. "The 'civil patrol' or 'civil defense' is a paramilitary organization that forces civilians to provide help to the army for its military control of the countryside. See Robert M. Carmack, ed., *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).
18. The *reducciones*, also called *congregaciones*, involved the gathering of dispersed native communities for the purposes of instructing them on Christianity, to facilitate the payment of tribute and the control of labor.
19. Development poles are military-directed efforts to reorganize the Guatemalan highland economy of the Mayans and link it to agroexport businesses. With this strategy, the military hopes to ensure the rapid and efficient development of the highlands and the "security" of the area.
20. Richard Wilson, "Machine Guns and Mountain Spirits: The Cultural Effects of State Repression among the Q'eqchi' of Guatemala," *Critique of Anthropology* 1991 11:1: 46-47.
21. Susan D. Rose and Steve Brouner, "The Export of Fundamentalist Ameri-

canism: U.S. Evangelical Education in Guatemala," in *Latin American Perspectives* 17:4 (Fall 1990): 42-56.

22. Carmack, *Harvest of Violence*.

23. The classic Maya civilization developed during the period 300-900 A. D.

24. Maya history developed perhaps earlier, but I am considering the early classic period from 300 A. D. until the arrival of Columbus in 1492.

25. Beatriz Manz, *Refugees of a Hidden War: The Aftermath of Counterinsurgency in Guatemala* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988). On January 20, 1993, three thousand of these Mayan refugees returned to their homes in Guatemala.

26. From the testimony of Chilin Hultaxh, an ex-soldier, in *Brevísima relación testimonial de la continua destrucción del Mayab' (Guatemala)* (unpublished), Guatemalan Scholars Network, Providence, Rhode Island, 1992.

27. Academy of Mayan Languages. Governmental Decree no. 1046-87, November 1987.

28. *Rajpopi ' Ri Mayab' Amaq' Consejo de Organizaciones Mayas de Guatemala (COMG), "Rujunamil Ri Mayab' Amaq'"* (The Specific Rights of Mayan People) (Guatemala, C.A.: The Cholsamaj Press, 1991), 6.

29. Amnesty International and America's Watch calculated that 440 indigenous villages in Guatemala were razed during Rios Montt's scorched-earth policy.

30. David Stoll, "Evangelicals, Guerrillas and the Army: The Ixil Triangle under Rios Montt," in *Harvest of Violence*.

31. Gregory Mason, *Columbus Came Late* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1931).

32. José Barreiro, "Toward an Indian Voice in 1992," in "View from the Shore: American Indian Perspectives on the Quincentenary," *Northeast Indian Quarterly*.

33. *The Book of the Jaguar Priest or The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*, trans. Maud W. Makemson (New York: Enry Schuman, Inc., 1951), 47.

34. Néstor García Canclini, *Las Culturas Populares en el Capitalismo* (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1984).

35. From Mayan basic units and cycles. One *tun* is one year (360 days). One *katun* is composed of twenty *tunes*, one *baktun* is composed of twenty *katunes*, and so on. From Sylvanus G. Morley and George W. Brainerd, *The Ancient Maya*, 4th ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983).

36. Maya Coordination: "Majawil Q'ij," and the National Movement: 500 Years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance.

37. Mario Vargas Llosa, "Questions of Conquest: What Columbus Wrought, and What He Did Not," *Harper's Magazine* (December 1990), 45-53.

38. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, a division of Random House, 1978), 12.

39. In 1978, the Guatemalan army killed one hundred Mayan peasants in the plaza of Panzós, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala.

40. In 1980, twenty-three Mayan peasants and leaders of the Committee for Campesino Unity (CUC) were burned alive when the Guatemalan security police fire-bombed the Spanish embassy.

41. Rose and Brouner, *The Export of Fundamentalist Americanism*, 47.

42. *The Book of the Jaguar Priest*, 32.