



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Time, History and Ritual in a K'iche' Community: Contemporary Maya Calendar Knowledge and Practices in the Highlands of Guatemala

Akker, P. van den

Citation

Akker, P. van den. (2018, April 24). *Time, History and Ritual in a K'iche' Community: Contemporary Maya Calendar Knowledge and Practices in the Highlands of Guatemala*. *Archaeological Studies Leiden University*. Leiden University Press, Leiden. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61632>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61632>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The following handle holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation:

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887/61632>

Author: Akker, P. van den

Title: Time, History and Ritual in a K'iche' Community: Contemporary Maya Calendar Knowledge and Practices in the Highlands of Guatemala

Issue Date: 2018-04-24

Bibliography

- Adams, R. (1971). *The Ceramics of the Altar de Sacrificios*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 63(1). Cambridge: Peabody Museum.
- Agar, M. (1982). The Day Keeper: The Life and Discourse of an Ixil Diviner (Book Review). *Anthropological Quarterly*, 55(3), 182-183.
- Aguilera Barchet, B. (1993). La estructura del procedimiento inquisitorial: el procedimiento de la Inquisición española. In B. Escandell Bonet & J. Pérez Villanueva (Eds.), *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América. Tomo II*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.
- Ajxup Pelicó, V., & Zapil Xivir, J. (1999). *Ri Wajxaqib 'B'aatz'*. Guatemala: Consejo Maya Jun Ajpu Ixb'alamke.
- Aléx, L., & Hammarström, A. (2008). Shift in power during an interview situation: methodological reflections inspired by Foucault and Bourdieu. *Nursing Inquiry*, 15(2), 169-176.
- Anders, F., & Jansen, M. E. R. G. N. (1986). *Altmexiko: Mexikanische Zauberfiguren, Alte Handschriften beginnen zu sprechen*. Linz: Stadtmuseum Linz-Nordico.
- Anders, F., & Jansen, M. E. R. G. N. (1996). *Religión, Costumbres e Historia de los Antiguos Mexicanos. Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Vaticano A*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Anders, F., Jansen, M. E. R. G. N., & Reyes García, L. (1991). *El libro del ciuacoatl, homenaje para el año del Fuego Nuevo. Texto explicativo del código borbónico*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Anders, F., Jansen, M. E. R. G. N., & Reyes García, L. (1993). *Los templos del cielo y de la oscuridad: oráculos y liturgia. Libro explicativo del llamado código Borgia*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Anders, F., Jansen, M. E. R. G. N., & Reyes, G. L. (1993). *Manuel del adivino, libro explicativo llamado código vaticano B*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Assmann, J. (2003). Cultural Memory: Script, Recollection, and Political Identity in Early Civilizations. *Historiography East and West*, 1(2), 154-177.
- Assmann, J. (2011). *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bastos, S., & Camus, M. (2003). *Entre el mecapal y el cielo: desarrollo del movimiento maya en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Berlin, H. (1951). The Calendar of the Tzotzil Indians. In S. Tax (Ed.), *The Civilizations of Ancient America* (pp. 155-161). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bonor Villarejo, J. L. (1987). Exploraciones en las grutas de Calcehtok y Oxkintok, Yucatán, México. *Mayab*, 3, 24-32.
- Boturini, L. (1746). *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional, fundada sobre material copioso de Figuras, Symbolos, Caractères, y Geroglificos, Cantares, y Manuscritos de Autores Indios, ultimamente descubiertos*. Madrid: Imprenta de Juan de Zuñiga.
- Bricker, V. R., & Miram, H.-M. (2002). *An Encounter of Two Worlds. The Book of Chilam Balam of Kaua*. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute.
- Broda, J. (2001). La fiesta de la Santa Cruz: Una perspectiva histórica. In J. Broda & F. Baez-Jorge (Eds.), *Cosmovisión, ritual e identidad de los pueblos indígenas de México* (pp. 165-

- 238). Mexico D.F.: FCE.
- Bunzel, R. (1952). *Chichicastenango: A Guatemalan Village*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Burgos, E. (1985). *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia*. Mexico D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Burke, P. (2009). *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Burkitt, R. (1930-1931). The Calendar of Solóma and other Indian Towns. *Man*, 30-31, 103-107 & 146-150.
- Carabott, P. (2011). State, society and the religious "other" in nineteenth-century Greece. *Kampos: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek*, 18, 1-33.
- Card, C. (1996). Rape as a Weapon of War. *Hypatia*, 11(4), 5-18.
- Carlsen, R. S., & Prechtel, M. (1991). The Flowering of the Dead: An Interpretation of Highland Maya Culture. *Man*, 26(1), 23-42.
- Carmack, R. M. (1973). *Quichean civilization: the ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological sources*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Carmack, R. M. (1988). *Harvest of violence : the Maya Indians and the Guatemalan crisis*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Carmack, R. M. (2001). *Kik'aslemaal le K'iche'aab': Historia Social de los K'iche's*. Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Carmack, R. M., & Mondloch, J. L. (1983). *Título de Totonicapán: texto, traducción y comentario*. Mexico D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Chávez, A. I. (1979). *Pop Wuj*. Mexico: Ediciones de Casa Chata.
- Choi, J. (2011). El Uso de los Idiomas Español y K'iche' en Momostenango. In H. Ak'abal & R. M. Carmack (Eds.), *La Comunidad Maya K'iche' de Santiago Momostenango* (pp. 115-140). Guatemala: Maya' Wuj.
- Christenson, A. J. (2001a). *Art and Society in a Highland Maya Community: The Altarpiece of Santiago Atitlán*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Christenson, A. J. (2001b). *K'iche' – English Dictionary and Guide to the Pronunciation of the K'iche' Maya alphabet*. The Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. <http://www.famsi.org/> accessed on the 5th of August 2015.
- Christenson, A. J. (2007). *Popol Vuh: Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya People*. Electronic version of original 2003 publication. Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/publications/Christenson/PopolVuh.pdf accessed on the 1st of March 2014.
- Christenson, A. J. (2016). *The Burden of the Ancients: Maya Ceremonies of World Renewal from the Pre-columbian Period to the Present*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Chuchiak, J. F. (2000). *The Indian Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry: the process of punishment in the provisorato de indios of the diocese of Yucatan, 1563-1812*. Ann Arbor: Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.
- Coe, M. D. (1973). *The Maya Scribe and his World*. New York: The Grolier Club.
- Coe, M. D. (1978). *Lords of the Underworld: Masterpieces of Classic Maya Ceramics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Coe, M. D., & Kerr, J. (1982). *Old Gods and Young Heroes: The Pearlman Collection of Maya Ceramics*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, Maremont Pavilion of Ethnic Arts.
- Cojtí Cuxil, D. (1996). The Politics of Maya Revindication. In E. F. Fischer & R. McKenna Brown (Eds.), *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala* (pp. 19-50). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cojtí Cuxil, D. (1997). *El Movimiento Maya en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Colby, B. N. (1976). The Anomalous Ixil. Bypassed by the Postclassic? *American Antiquity*, 41(1), 74-80.
- Colby, B. N., & Colby, L. M. (1981). *The Daykeeper, the Life and Discourse of an Ixil Diviner*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Colectivo por la Revitalización de la Ciencia Maya. (2012). *Oxlajuj B'ak'tun, el cambio de ciclo y significado desde la Cosmovision Maya*. Guatemala: Colectivo por la Revitalización de la Ciencia Maya.
- Connerton, P. (1989). *How Societies Remember*.

- Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- Cook, G. (2000). *Renewing the Maya World. Expressive Culture in a Highland Town*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cook, G., & Offit, T. (2008a). Pluralism and Transculturation in Indigenous Maya religion. *Ethnology*, 47(1), 45–59.
- Cook, G., & Offit, T. (2008b). *Ritual Symbols in the K'iche' Tutelary Deity Complex*. <http://www.famsi.org/reports/07075/> accessed on the 24th of November 2016. FAMSI.
- Costanza, J. N. (2015). Indigenous Peoples' Right to Prior Consultation: Transforming Human Rights From the Grassroots in Guatemala. *Journal of Human Rights*, 14(2), 260-285.
- Coto, T. (1983). *Thesaurus Verborum: Vocabularia de la Lengua Cakchiquel V(el) Guatemalteca*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México.
- Cru, J. (2015). Language revitalisation from the ground up: promoting Yucatec Maya on Facebook. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(3), 284-296.
- De Fuentes y Guzmán, F. A. (1882). *Historia de Guatemala ó recordación florida escrita en el siglo XVII por el capitán D. Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzman, natural, vecino y regidor perpetuo de la ciudad de Guatemala* (Vol. 6). Madrid: Colegiata.
- De Landa, D. (1966). *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa.
- De las Casas, B. (1909). *Apologetica historia de las Indias*. Madrid: Bailly, Bailliere e Hijos.
- De Sahagún, B. (1950-1978). *Florentine Codex. General History of the Things of New Spain* (A. J. O. Anderson & C. E. Dibble, Trans.). Santa Fe: The School of American Research and University of Utah.
- Deleon Melendez, O. C. (1980). La fiesta de la santa cruz en el municipio de Amatitlán. *La Tradición Popular. Boletín del centro de estudios folklóricos Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala*, 28, 2-15.
- Deloria, V. (1970). *We Talk, You Listen*. New York: Dell Publishing.
- Deloria, V. (1988). *Custer Died for your Sins: an Indian Manifesto*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press.
- Drucker, P. (1944). Review: Contributions to American Anthropology and History. *American Anthropologist*, 46(4), 539-542.
- Duran, D. (1967). *Historia de las Indias de la Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firmes*, 2 tomos. Mexico D.F.: Editorial Porrúa.
- Durkheim, É. (1915). *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
- Earle, D. (1986). The Metaphor of the Day in Quiché: Notes on the Nature of Everyday Life. In G. Gossen (Ed.), *Symbol and Meaning Beyond the Closed Community* (pp. 155-172). Albany: SUNY Institute for Mesoamerican Studies.
- Edmonson, M. S. (1965). *Quiché-English Dictionary*. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute.
- Einbinder, N. (2011). *Dams, Displacement, and Perceptions of Development: A Case from Rio Negro, Guatemala*. Online publication: ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Escandell Bonet, B., & Pérez Villanueva, J. (1993). *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América. Vol. 2: Las estructuras del Santo Oficio*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.
- Escobar, R. (2015). Velan restos de activista comunitario Rigoberto Lima. 19 de Septiembre de 2015. *La Prensa Libre*. Retrieved from <http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/peten/velan-restos-de-concejal-electo-de-sayaxche>. Accessed on the 20th of September 2015
- Evans-Pritchard, E. (1939). Nuer time reckoning. *Africa*, 12, 189-216.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. (1940). *The Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fabian, J. (2002). *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Falla, R. (1992). *Masacres de la Selva*. Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria.
- Fanon, F. (1952). *Peau noire, masques blancs*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Fanon, F. (1961). *Damnés de la terre*. Paris: Éditions Maspéro.
- Förstemann, E. W. (1906). *Commentary on the Maya Manuscript in the Royal Public Library of Dresden*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol.

- 4(2). Cambridge: Peabody Museum.
- Foucault, M. (1966). *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1969). *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Frassani, A. (2017). Representation and Reflexivity: Paradoxes in Images of Christ from Sixteenth-Century Mexico. In K. Kopania (Ed.), *Dolls, Puppets, Sculptures and Living Images. from the Middle Ages to the End of the 18th Century* (pp. 58-74). Białystok: The Aleksander Zelwerowicz National Academy of Dramatic Art.
- Frühsorge, L. (2010). *Archäologisches Kulturerbe, lokale Erinnerungskultur und jungendliches Geschichtsbewusstsein bei den Maya*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.
- Furst, P. T. (1976). *Hallucinogens and culture*. San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp.
- Gage, T. (2000). *Los viajes de Tomás Gage a la Nueva España. Tercera Parte: Guatemala. Segunda entrega*. Guatemala: Artemis-Edinter.
- García, L. P., Benito, W. G., Cuxil, A., & Cojtí, I. (2012). *Códice Dresde: conociendo su contenido*. Guatemala: Editorial Maya' Wuj.
- García, T. (1993). *Evangelización de la cultura maya-quiché*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Garvin, N. (2004). "La vara es recta, no es torcida": *Der Alcalde Auxiliar als lokale Autorität in einer indigenen Gemeinde Guatemalas*. Cologne: Hundt Druck GmbH.
- George Lovell, W. (1992). "Heavy Shadows and Black Night": Disease and Depopulation in Colonial Spanish America. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 82(3), 426-443.
- George Lovell, W. (2001). Disease and Depopulation in Early Colonial Guatemala. In N. D. Cook & G. Lovell (Eds.), *Secret Judgments of God: Old World Disease in Colonial Spanish America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Girard, R. (1962). *Los Mayas eternos*. Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo.
- Gossen, G. H. (1974). A Chamula Solar Calendar Board from Chiapas, Mexico. In N. Hammond (Ed.), *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (pp. 217-254). London: Duckworth.
- Gossen, G. H. (1983). Colby and Colby: the daykeeper: the life and discourse of an Ixil diviner (Book Review). *American Ethnologist*, 10(4), 813.
- Grandia, L. (2014). Modified Landscapes: vulnerabilities to genetically modified corn in northern Guatemala. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41(1), 79-105.
- Grube, N. (1992). Classic Maya Dance. Evidence from hieroglyphs and iconography. *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 3, 201-218.
- Grube, N. (2012). *Der Dresdner Maya-Kalendar. Der vollständige Codex*. Freiburg: Herder GmbH.
- Guerra, F. (1986). El efecto demográfico de las epidemias tras el descubrimiento de América. *Revista de Indias*, 46, 41-58.
- Gusfield, J. R. (1975). *The community: A critical response*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Halbwachs, M. (1942). *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: Etude de mémoire collective*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Halbwachs, M. (1950). *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Hall, T. D., Fenelon, J. V., & Champagne, D. (2009). *Indigenous Peoples and Globalization: Resistance and Revitalization*. London: Routledge.
- Hansen, R. D., Bishop, R. L., & Fahsen, F. (1991). Notes on Maya Codex-Style Ceramics from Nakbe, Peten, Guatemala. *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 2, 225-243.
- Helmke, C. (2012). Mythology and mythic time. In M. Didrichsen & H. Kettunen (Eds.), *Maya III 2012: Life, Death, Time* (pp. 158-186). Helsinki: Lönnberg Oy.
- Hidalgo, H. G., Amador, J. A., Alfaro, E. J., & Quesada, B. (2013). Hydrological climate change projections for Central America. *Journal of Hydrology*, 495, 94-112.
- Hobson, J. M. (2012). *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hubert, H. (1904). Étude sommaire de la représentation du temps dans la religion et la magie. *École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses*, 18(14), 1-39.
- Human Rights Watch. (2015). *World Report 2015: Guatemala. Events of 2014*. Retrieved from www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/guatemala. Accessed on the 23rd of October 2015
- Hutcheson, M. (2009). Memory, Mimesis, and Narrative in the K'iche' Mayan Serpent Dance of Joyabaj, Guatemala. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51(4), 865-895.
- IFAD, WFP, & FAO. (2012). *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. Rome: FAO.
- Ingold, T. (2011). *The Perception of the Environment*. London: Routledge.
- IPCC. (2007). *Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- IPCC. (2014). *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jansen, M. E. R. G. N. (1988). The Art of Writing in Ancient Mexico: An Ethno-Iconological Perspective. *Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography*, 6, 86-113.
- Jansen, M. E. R. G. N. (2012). The Ancient Mexican Books of Time: Interpretive developments and prospects. *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia*, 43/44, 77-94.
- Jansen, M. E. R. G. N., & Pérez Jiménez, G. A. (2007). *Encounter with the Plumed Serpent: Drama and Power in the Heart of Mesoamerica*. Boulder: University Press Colorado.
- Jansen, M. E. R. G. N., & Pérez Jiménez, G. A. (2011). The Mixtec Pictorial Manuscripts : Time, Agency, and Memory in Ancient Mexico. Leiden: Brill.
- Joyce, R. A. (2004). Mesoamerica: A Working Model For Archaeology. In R. A. Joyce & J. A. Hendon (Eds.), *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Juarez, A. (2002). Ecological Degradation, Global Tourism, and Inequality: Maya Interpretations of the Changing Environment in Quintana Roo, Mexico. *Human Organization*, 61(2), 113-124.
- Kanth, R. K. (Ed.) (2009). *The Challenge of Eurocentrism. Global Perspectives, Policy, and Prospects*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Keegan, W. F., & Carlson, L. A. (2008). *Talking Taíno: Caribbean Natural History from a Native Perspective*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Kelley, D. H. (1976). *Deciphering the Maya Script*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Klein, C.F., Guzmán, E, Mandell, E.C., & Stanfield-Mazzi, M., 2002. The Role of Shamanism in Mesoamerican Art. *Current Anthropology*, 43(3), pp. 383-419
- Klepek, J. (2011). The New Men of Maize. In G. Grandin, D. T. Levenson, & E. Oglesby (Eds.), *The Guatemala Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (pp. 569-575). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kubler, G. (1961). On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art. In S. K. Lothrop (Ed.), *Essays in Precolumbian Art and Archaeology* (pp. 14-34). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- Kubler, G. (1981). Period, Style, and Meaning in Ancient American Art. In J. A. Graham (Ed.), *Ancient Mesoamerica: Selected Readings* (pp. 11-23). Palo Alto: Peek Publications.
- Kvale, S. (2006). Dominance Through Interviews and Dialogues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(3), 480-500.
- La Farge, O. (1947). *Santa Eulalia, the Religion of a Chuchumatán Indian Town*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- La Farge, O. (1994). *La costumbre en Santa Eulalia*. Rancho Palos Verdes: Yax Te' Press.
- La Farge, O., & Byers, D. (1931). *The Year Bearer's people*. New Orleans: The Tulane University of Louisiana.
- Lehmann, W. (1911). Der Kalender der Quiché-Indianer Guatemalas. *Anthropos*, 6, 403-410.
- Liata, E. (2007). The Anti-Semitic Disturbances on Corfu and Zakynthos in 1891 and their Socio-political Consequences. *The Historical Review*, 4, 157-169.
- Lincoln, J. S. (1942). The Maya Calendar of the Ixil Indians of the Guatemala Highlands.

- Contributions to American Anthropology and History*, publication 528, 7(38), 99-128.
- Lippert, D. (2006). Building a Bridge to Cross a Thousand Years. *American Indian Quarterly*, 30(3/4), 431-440.
- Little, W. E. (2004). *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Looper, M. G. (2009). *To Be Like Gods: Dance in the Ancient Maya Civilization*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lopes, L. (2005). A New Look at the Name Phrase of the "Snake Lady". *Wayeb Notes*, 19, 1-8.
- López Austin, A., 1967. Cuarenta clases de magos del mundo náhuatl. *Estudios de cultura Náhuatl*, 7, pp. 87-117.
- Lothrop, S. K. (1929). Further notes on Indian ceremonies in Guatemala. *Indian Notes*, 6, 1-25.
- Mace, C. E. (1967). *Three Quiché Dance-Dramas of Rabinal, Guatemala*. (Doctor of Philosophy), Tulane University, Ann Harbor. (Doctoral Dissertation 67-3854)
- Mace, C. E. (1970). *Two Spanish-Quiché dance-dramas of Rabinal*. New Orleans, Tulane University.
- Macfarlane, A. (1977). History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities. *Social History*, 2(5), 631-652.
- Macleod, M. (2013). Mayan Calendrics in Movement in Guatemala: Mayan Spiritual Guides or Daykeepers Understandings of 2012. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 18(3), 447-464.
- Macuil Martínez, R. (2015). Los dos mundos de Santa Catarina. In M. E. R. G. N. Jansen & V. Raffa (Eds.), *Herencias e Interacciones Socioculturales en Mesoamérica y Occidente* (pp. 53-64). Leiden: Archaeological Studies Leiden University.
- Macuil Martínez, R. (2017). *Los Tlamatque, Guardianes del Patrimonio. Dinámicas interculturales en la sociedad naua (México)*. Leiden: Archaeological Studies Leiden University 36, Leiden University Press.
- Malinowski, B. (1927). Lunar and seasonal calendar in the Trobriands. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 57, 203-215.
- Manning, R. A. G. F. M. (1993). *Vrouwen met goddelijke kracht: godinnen en vroedvrouwen bij de Maya's*. (Doctorate Dissertation). Leiden: Leiden University.
- Marcus, J. (1976). The Origins of Mesoamerican Writing. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 5, 35-67.
- Martin, S. (1997). The Painted King List: A Commentary on Codex-Style Dynastic Vases. In B. Kerr & J. Kerr (Eds.), *The Maya Vase Book: A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases. Volume 5*. (pp. 847-867). New York: Kerr Associates.
- Martínez González, R., 2011. El nahualismo. Mexico: UNAM.
- Mata Amado, G. (1999). La cerámica prehispánica en los depósitos subacuáticos del lago de Amatitlán: Los depósitos de Zarzal I, Zarzal II, San Juan y Mata. In J. P. Laporte & H. L. Escobedo (Eds.), *XII Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 1998* (pp. 455-465). Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.
- Mauss, M., & Beuchat, H. (1968). Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés Eskimos. In M. Mauss (Ed.), *Sociologie et anthropologie* (pp. 389-475). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Maxwell, J. M. (2012). Rapture or a Turn of the Wheel? Kaqchikel Ajq'ija' Daykeepers and the End of the 13th B'aqtun. *The Mayan Studies Journal*, 3(10), 1-14.
- May Castillo, M. (2014). *Análisis, estudio y conservación de los edificios astronómicos mayas: arquitectura maya y urbanismo, una aproximación desde la astronomía y el paisaje*. (Doctorate Dissertation). Valencia: Universidad Politécnica de Valencia.
- McMillan, D. W., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 6-23.
- Mikulska Dąbrowska, K., 2010. "Secret Language" in Oral and Graphic Form: Religious-Magic Discourse in Aztec Speeches and Manuscripts. *Oral Tradition*, 25(2). Pp. 325-363
- Milbrath, S. (1999). *Star Gods of the Maya: Astronomy in Art, Folklore, and Calendars*.

- Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Miles, S. W. (1948). *A Comparative Analysis of the Survivals of the Ancient Maya Calendar*. (Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts), University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Miles, S. W. (1952). An Analysis of Modern Middle American Calendars. In S. Tax (Ed.), *Acculturation in the Americas* (pp. 273-284). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, M., & Taube, K. (1997). *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Montejo, V. (2003). *Oxlanh B'aqtun: Recordando al Sacerdote Jaguar (Chilam Balam) en el portón del nuevo milenio*. Guatemala: Editorial Cultura.
- Montejo, V. (2005). *The Maya Intellectual Renaissance*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Morales Tujillo, H. (2010). Femicide and Sexual Violence in Guatemala. In R.-L. Fregoso & C. Bejarano (Eds.), *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Americas* (pp. 127-137). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Morley, S. G. (1946). *The Ancient Maya*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Munn, N. D. (1992). The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay. *Annual Reviews Anthropology*, 21, 93-123.
- Muñoz, G. (2016). Femicidios continúan en aumento. 22 de Mayo de 2016. *La Prensa Libre*. Retrieved from <http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/femicidios-continuan-en-aumento>. Accessed on the 22nd of May 2016
- Mutz, R. (2010). *Visión Indígena del AGUA. Desarrollo Endógeno para el Vivir Bien*. Guatemala: Maya' Na'oj.
- Nájera Coronado, M. I. (2008). El rito de palo volador: encuentro de significados. *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 38(1), 51-73.
- Nash, M. (1957). Cultural Persistences and Social Structure: the Mesoamerican Calendar Survivals. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 13(2), 149-155.
- Nicholson, H. B. (1976). Preclassic Mesoamerican Iconography from the Perspective of the Postclassic: Problems in Interpretational Analysis. In H. B. Nicholson (Ed.), *Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (pp. 157-173). Los Angeles: University of California.
- Nowotny, K. A. (1961). *Tlacuilolli: Diemexikanischen Bilderhandschriften. Monumenta Americana III*. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.
- Oakes, M. (1951). *The two crosses of Todos Santos: Survivals of Mayan religious ritual*. New York: Pantheon.
- Oakes, M. (2001). *Las dos cruces de Todos Santos: la religiosidad de un pueblo maya*. Rancho Palos Verdes: Yax Te' Press.
- Ordoñez, J. M. (1968). Bailes de los Tzules. *Tradiciones de Guatemala, I*, 35-37.
- Ordoñez, J. M. (1970). El baile de la culebra en Santa Cruz de Quiché. *Guatemala indígena*, 4(4), 147-149.
- Oudijk, M. R. (2008). De tradiciones y métodos: investigaciones pictográficas. *Desacatos*, 27, 123-138.
- Pedersen, A. (2014). Landscapes of Resistance: Community Opposition to Canadian Mining Operations in Guatemala. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 13(1), 187-214.
- Peña Sánchez, E. Y. (2013). K'ëña, la serpiente, entre los Hñähñü del valle del Mezquital, Hidalgo. *Arqueología Mexicana*, XIX(120), 82-87.
- Pérez Jiménez, G. A. (2015). Decolonizar memoria, mentalidad e investigación. In M. E. R. G. N. Jansen & V. Raffa (Eds.), *Tiempo y Comunidad: Herencias e Interacciones Socioculturales en Mesoamérica y Occidente*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Pinkola Estés, C. (2008). *Women who Run with the Wolves: Contacting the Power of the Wild Woman*. London: Rider.
- Pozas, R. (1952). El trabajo en las plantaciones de café y el cambio socio-cultural del indio. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, 13(1), 31-48.
- Rappaport, R. A. (1999). *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Recinos, A. (1988). *Memorial de Sololá, Anales de los Kaqchikeles*. Guatemala: Editorial Piedra Santa.

- Redfield, R. (1950). *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Redfield, R., & Villa Rojas, A. (1964 [1934]). *Chan Kom, A Maya Village*. Chicago: Phoenix Books.
- Reents, D. J., & Bishop, R. L. (1987). The Late Classic Maya "codex style" pottery *Memorias Primer Coloquio Internacional de Mayistas* (pp. 775-789). Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Reyes García, L., & Christensen, D. (1976). *Der Ring aus Tlalocan: Mythen und Gebete, Lieder und Erzählungen der heutigen Nahuja in Veracruz und Puebla, Mexiko*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Reyes Gómez, J.C. (2017). *Tiempo, Cosmos y Religión del Pueblo Ayuuk (México)*. Archaeological Studies Leiden University 37, Leiden University Press.
- Roberts, L. (1989). Disease and death in the New World. *Science*, 246, 1245-1247.
- Robicsek, F., & Hales, D. M. (1981). *The Maya Book of the Dead. The Ceramic Codex*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Art Museum.
- Rojas Martínez Gracida, A. (2014). *El tiempo y la sabiduría: un calendario sagrado entre los Ayöök de Oaxaca*. Oaxaca: CONACULTA & Secretaría de las Culturas y Artes, Gobierno de Oaxaca & Fundación Alfredo Harp Helú.
- Roys, R. L. (1965). *Ritual of the Bacabs*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Book Ltd.
- Sam Colop, L. E. (1991). *Jub'aqtun Omay Kuchum K'aslemal: Cinco Siglos de Encubrimiento*. Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Sapper, K. T. (1895). Altindianische Ansiedelungen in Guatemala und Chiapas. *Veröffentlichungen aus der Königlichen Museum für Volkenkunde*, 4, 13-20.
- Sapper, K. T. (1904). Religiöse Gebräuche und Anschauungen der Kekchi-Indianer. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 7, 453-470.
- Sapper, K. T., Seler, E., & Termer, F. (1998). *Estudios Q'eqchi'es: etnógrafos alemanes en la Verapaces*. Philadelphia: Yax Te'.
- Saquin Cael, R. (1970). Baile de gracejos. *Guatemala indígena*, 5(1), 203-206.
- Schele, L. (1992). *The Blood of Kings. Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Schele, L., D. Freidel, J. Parker. (1993). *Maya Cosmos. Three Thousand Year on the Shaman's Path*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Schele, L., & Grube, N. (1997). The Dresden Codex. In: *Notebook for the XXIst Maya Hieroglyphic Forum at Texas, Austin* (pp. 79-247). Austin: University of Texas.
- Schellhas, P. (1904). *Die gottergestalten der Mayahandschriften* (2. umgearb. Aufl. ed.). Berlin: A. Asher & Co.
- Schlesinger, S., & Kinzer, S. (2005). *Bitter Fruit. The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*. Cambridge: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.
- Schneider, T., Bischoff, T., & Haug, G. H. (2014). Migrations and dynamics of the intertropical convergence zone. *Nature*, 513, 45-53.
- Schultze Jena, L. S. (1933). *Indiana I: Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala*. Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer.
- Schultze Jena, L. S. (1938). *Indiana III: Bei der Azteken, Mixteken und Tlapaneken der Sierra Madre del Sur*. Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer.
- Schultze Jena, L. S. (1954). *La vida y las creencias de los indígenas quichés de Guatemala*. Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación Pública.
- Seler, E. (1904). The Mexican Chronology, with Special Reference to the Zapotec Calendar. In C. P. Bowditch (Ed.), *Mexican and Central American Antiquities, Calendar Systems and History* (pp. 11-55). Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Severi, C. (1996). *La memoria ritual: Locura e imagen del blanco en una tradición chamánica amerindia*. Quito: Biblioteca Abya-Yala.
- Sidneva, S. (2012). The Transformation of Modern Greek Calendar Customs Associated with Fire: Tradition and Contemporaneity. *Traditiones*, 41(1), 263-269.
- Siegel, M. (1941). Religion in Western Guatemala: A Product of Acculturation. *American*

- Anthropologist*, 43(1), 62-76.
- Siegel, M., & Grollig, F. X. (1996). *Konob' samiel yet peyxa: San Miguel Acatán, 1938-1959. Las observaciones de dos antropólogos norteamericanos*. Rancho Palos Verdes: Yax Te' Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (pp. 271-313). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Stoll, O. (1889). *Die Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala*. Leipzig: Wintersche Verlagshandlung.
- Stoll, O. (1958). *Etnografía de Guatemala*. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.
- Stuart, D. (2012). *The Order of Days: the Maya world and the truth about 2012*. New York: Random House.
- Taube, K. (1985). The Classic Maya Maize God: A Reappraisal. In M. Greene Robertson (Ed.), *Fifth Palenque Round Table, 1983* (pp. 171-181). San Francisco: The Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.
- Taube, K. (1989). Ritual Humor in Classic Maya Religion. In W. F. Hanks & D. S. Rice (Eds.), *Word and Image in Maya Culture. Explorations in Language, Writing, and Representation* (pp. 351-382). Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Taube, K. (1992). *Major Gods of Ancient Yucatán*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Taube, K. (1994). The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual. In B. Kerr & J. Kerr (Eds.), *The Maya Vase Book* (Vol. 4, pp. 652-685). New York: Kerr Assoc.
- Taube, R. (2009). *Dancing in the Altiplano : K'iche' Maya culture in motion in contemporary highland Guatemala*. (Doctorate Dissertation), University of California, San Diego.
- Tavárez, D. (2011). *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline and Dissent in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Tax, S. (1949). Folk Tales in Chichicastenango: An Unsolved Puzzle. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 62(244), 125-135.
- Tax, S. (1964a). *El capitalismo del centavo. Una economía indígena de Guatemala. Tomo I*. Guatemala: Centro Editorial "Pedro José de Pineda Ibarra".
- Tax, S. (1964b). *El capitalismo del centavo. Una economía indígena de Guatemala. Tomo II*. Guatemala: Centro Editorial "Pedro José de Pineda Ibarra".
- Taylor, D. (2004). Scenes of Cognition: Performance and Conquest. *Theatre Journal*, 56(3), 353-372.
- Tedlock, B. (1982). *Time and the Highland Maya*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Tedlock, B. (1992). *Time and the Highland Maya, revised edition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Tedlock, B. (2002). *El tiempo y los mayas del altiplano*. Rancho Palos Verdes: Fundación Yax Te'.
- Tedlock, D. (1996). *Popol vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings* (Rev. ed.). New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Tedlock, D. (2010). *2000 years of Mayan literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Termer, F. (1930). *Zur Ethnologie und Ethnographie des nördlichen Mittelamerika*. Berlin: F. Dümmler.
- Termer, F. (1957). *Etnologia y etnografía de Guatemala* (E. Schaeffer & A. Mendoza, Trans.). Guatemala: Editorial del ministerio de educación publica.
- Termer, F. (1976). Los bailes de culebra entre los indios quichés en Guatemala. *Tradiciones de Guatemala*, 5, 305.
- Thompson, J. E. S. (1960). *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. An Introduction*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Thompson, J. E. S. (1970). *Maya History and Religion*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Thompson, J. E. S. (1972). *A commentary on the Dresden codex : a Maya hieroglyphic book*. Philadelphia,.
- Thompson, R., & Hanamaikai, H. (2005). "All

- Men Are Like That”: Gender Roles and the Sociocultural Context of a Rape in Nahualá. In J. P. Hawkins & W. R. Adams (Eds.), *Roads to Change in Maya Guatemala: A Field School Approach to Understanding the K'iche'* (pp. 126-137). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Tozzer, A. M. A. (1907). *A Comparative Study of the Mayas and the Lacandonas*. New York: Macmillan Co.
- UN General Assembly. (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. A/RES/61/295*. Online Publication http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf accessed on the 2nd of March 2014: United Nations.
- Vähäsantanen, K., & Saarinen, J. (2012). The power dance in the research interview: manifesting power and powerlessness. *Qualitative Research*, 13(5), 493-510.
- Vail, G. (2013). Códice de Madrid: descripción de los folios. In H. Cabezas Carcache (Ed.), *Códice de Madrid*. Guatemala: Publicaciones Mesoamericanas.
- Valladares, L. (1989). *Culta al maíz en Guatemala y psicología del indígena Coloteco*. Guatemala: Afanes, S.A.
- Van de Sandt, J. (2009). *Mining Conflicts and Indigenous Peoples in Guatemala*. Report commissioned by Amsterdam University Law Faculty and financed by Cordaid. Retrieved from https://www.cordaid.org/media/publications/Mining_Conflicts_and_Indigenous_Peoples_in_Guatemala.pdf. Accessed on the 19th of September 2015.
- Van den Akker, P. (2017). Madre Milpa, Modified Maize, and More: Conflict and transnational colonialism in the Highlands of Guatemala. In M. May Castillo & A. Strecker (Eds.), *Heritage and Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Patrimonio y Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas*. Leiden: Leiden University Press. Pp. 137-147.
- Van den Akker, P. (2018). The Dresden Codex and Contemporary K'iche' Serpent Dance. In M. E. R. G. N. Jansen, V. Llado-Buisan, & L. Snijders (Eds.), *Mesoamerican Manuscripts, New scientific approaches and interpretations*. Accepted for publication. Leiden: Brill.
- Van der Loo, P. (1987). *Códices, costumbres, continuidad. Un estudio de la religión mesoamericana*. (Doctorate Dissertation), Leiden University, Leiden.
- Vay, L. (2015). Repression against CODECA: The criminalization of organization. April-March 2015. *EntreMundos*, pp. 12-15.
- Villa Rojas, A. (1988). The Concepts of Space and Time Among the Contemporary Maya. In M. León-Portilla (Ed.), *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya* (pp. 113-159). Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Villela, S. L. (1997). De vientos, nubes, lluvias, arco iris. Simbolización de los elementos naturales en el ritual agrícola de la Montaña de Guerrero (México). In M. Goloubinof, E. Katz, & A. Lammel (Eds.), *Antropología del clima en el munda hispanoamericano. Tomo I* (pp. 225-236). Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Vogt, E. Z. (1970). *The Zinacantecos of Mexico. A Modern Maya Way of Life*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Wagley, C. (1941). *Economics of a Guatemalan Village*. Menasha: American Anthropological Association.
- Wagley, C. (1949). *The Social and Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village*. Menasha: American Anthropological Association.
- Wagley, C. (1957). *Santiago Chimaltenango: estudio antropológico-social de una comunidad indígena de Huehuetenango*. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.
- Warren, K. B. (1998). *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Weeks, J. M., Sachse, F., & Prager, C. M. (2009). *Maya Daykeeping: Three Calendars from Highland Guatemala*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Westphal, W. (1991). *Die Mayaforschung: Geschichte, Methoden, Ergebnisse*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag.
- Whetten, N. L. (1958). The Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 38(1), 45-47.

- Whitmore, T. M. (1991). A simulation of the sixteenth-century population collapse in the Basin of Mexico. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 81, 464-487.
- Wilson, R. (1999). *Maya Resurgence in Guatemala: Q'eqchi' Experiences*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: Norman.
- Wisdom, C. (1961). *Los Chortis de Guatemala*. Guatemala: José de Pineda Ibarra.
- Ximénez, F. (1967). *Historia Natural del Reino de Guatemala. Compuesta por el reverendo padre predicador general fray Francisco Ximénez, de la Orden de Predicadores, escrita en el pueblo de Sacapulas en el año 1722*. Guatemala: José de Pineda Ibarra.
- Zapil Xivir, J. (2010). *Oxlajuj B'aqtun*. Guatemala: Osociación Pop No'j.
- Zimmermann, G. (1956). *Die Hieroglyphen der Maya-Handschriften*. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter.

