Religious Transformation in Maya Guatemala

Religious Transformation in Maya Guatemala

Cultural Collapse and Christian Pentecostal Revitalization

Edited by **John P. Hawkins**

SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED RESEARCH PRESS | SANTA FE
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS | ALBUQUERQUE

© 2021 by the School for Advanced Research
All rights reserved. Published 2021
Printed in the United States of America

ISBN 978-0-8263-6225-4 (cloth)
ISBN 978-0-8263-6226-1 (e-book)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data is on file with the Library of Congress.

Cover illustration: *La Reunión Evangélica* by Antonio Vásquez Yojcom, San Juan La Laguna, Department of Sololá, Guatemala.
Designed by Felicia Cedillos
Composed in Minion Pro 10.25/13.5

SAR Press acknowledges the generous support for this publication received from the research funds of the following Brigham Young University entities: College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences; Department of Anthropology; and David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies.

To Carol Lee Hawkins,
whose unfathomable support made it all possible

Contents

List of Illustrations xi

List of Tables xiii

Foreword. Christian Pentecostalism as Post-Protestant Weberian Religious Rationalization xv
JOHN M. WATANABE

Preface. A Field School Approach to the Ethnography of Religion xxi
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Acknowledgments xxiii

An Introduction to the Ethnography of Religion and Religious Change among the K'iche' 1
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter One. The Communities of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 13
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Part I. Ethnographies of Present-Day Religious Practices in Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán

Chapter Two. The Religious *Cargos* and Fiestas of Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán and Their Decline 31
CLAYTON G. LARSON, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Three. "Come Now!": Current K'iche' Maya Traditionalist Shamanic Ceremony and Cosmology in a Rural Hamlet of Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 53
WINSTON K. SCOTT, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Four. Balance of the Fire: The Neotraditionalist Maya Spirituality Movement in Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 73
FREDERICK H. HANSELMANN, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Five. "The Church Protects Us": Ortho-Catholic Symbolism in Antigua Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 87
JOHN J. EDVALSON, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Six. The Unfinished Church: Accommodation and Resistance as Catholic Responses to the Declining Social Significance of Ortho-Catholicism as the Axial Religion of Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 95
BENJAMIN PRATT, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Seven. Conversion to Evangelical Protestantism: The Ritual Reconstruction of a Disrupted Worldview in Antigua Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 107
MICHAEL H. JONES, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Eight. "Clap Your Hands and Sing": Three Functions of Music in Nahualá's Evangelical Protestant Churches 117
JENNIFER PLEASY PHILBRICK WAYAS, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Nine. Taboos and Togetherness: Religious Prohibitions and Evangelical Community Boundary Maintenance in Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 127
AMELIA SISCO THOMPSON, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Ten. "We Dance Together and Sing and Pray, We Unite as Women": Maya K'iche' Women's Evangelical Conversion and Participation in Nahualá 139
ADRIANA SMITH, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Eleven. A Fervor of Hope: The Charismatic Renovation in Antigua Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 151
AILEEN S. CHARLESTON, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Twelve. The Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán: A Movement of Women 161
NICOLE MATHENY HUDDLESTON, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Chapter Thirteen. A "Modern Generation of Youth": Secularization and the Alienation of Charismatic Catholic Teenage Males in Nahualá 169
GILBERT BRADSHAW, JOHN P. HAWKINS, AND WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS

Part II. Understanding the Christian Pentecostal Wail: Guatemala's Religious Transformation in Historical Perspective

Chapter Fourteen. Corn: The Significance of Maize in Pre-Conquest Maya Society and Religion, circa 3000 BCE–1523 CE 181
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Fifteen. Colonialism: Catholicism and the Spanish Control of Land and People, 1524–1821 185
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Sixteen. Coffee: Independence, Global Markets, Liberalism, and Religion, 1821–1944 189
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Seventeen. Crisis: Population and the Failure of the Maya Corn Culture Covenant, circa 1930–1960 197
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Eighteen. Clemency: The Democratic Opening, 1944–1954 211
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Nineteen. Containment: Military Control, Outbreaks of Insurrection, and Religious Responses, 1954–1978 215
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Twenty. Cachexy: Religious Movements during Brutal War, 1979–1996 233
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Twenty-One. Chaos: The Postwar Generalization of Violence and the Slowing Rates of Christian Pentecostal Expansion, 1996–2019 247
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Part III. Understanding the Christian Pentecostal Wail: Guatemala's Religious Transformation in Synchronic Perspective

Chapter Twenty-Two. The Religions of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán in Juxtaposition 253
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Twenty-Three. The Attractions of Cultural Resonance: Christian Pentecostalism as Resymbolized Traditionalism 277
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Twenty-Four. The Attractions of Practical Consequence: Christian Pentecostalism as a Revitalization Movement in Failing Societies 287
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Twenty-Five. The Attractions of the Gift: Understanding the Conversion Process and Defining Religion 319
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Chapter Twenty-Six. Culture Collapse and Exclusion across the Christianized World 327
JOHN P. HAWKINS

Conclusion. Accounting for Current Pentecostal/Charismatic Appeal in the Digital North 361
JOHN P. HAWKINS

References 371

Contributors 393

Index 397

Illustrations

Maps

1. Location of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 14
2. The region studied 14

Figures

1.1. Populations of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 15
1.2. Population densities of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 16
1.3. Percentage of speakers of Maya as first language in Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 17
1.4. Per capita landholdings, Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 20
1.5. *Cuerdas* per capita in annual crops, Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 22
2.1. Drawing of an indigenous headman, ca. early 1850s 37
2.2. Drawing of an indigenous high priest, ca. early 1850s 38
3.1. Tix with flower offering 57
3.2. Mikaela grinds corn 58
3.3. Tix in prayer 61
3.4. Tix kneels and censes the high altar 64
3.5. Tix conducts a ritual 65
4.1. Neotraditionalist shaman consults deities 75
4.2. The Maya cross 76
6.1. Unfinished Catholic church, Nueva Ixtahuacán 96
6.2. Paraíso Maya high school, Nueva Ixtahuacán 99
7.1. Cordero de Dios Pentecostals in worship 109
7.2. Iglesia de Cristo members in worship 110
7.3. Iglesia de Cristo worship with a woman leading prayer . . . 110
8.1. Pastor healing congregant in a Pentecostal church 121
8.2. Women in pre-trance phase of worship at a Pentecostal church 121
9.1. The author as dressed by her host family 130
9.2. The author in traveling attire 130
9.3. Socially significant sins 135
9.4. Part of the author's host family in Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán 136
10.1. Pastor preaching in a general *culto* meeting 142
10.2. Pentecostal congregation in worship 143
10.3. Sharing food after a women's *culto* meeting 145
10.4. Regional women's *culto* meeting 146
12.1. A charismatic Catholic meeting place 163
13.1. Band in a charismatic church 171
13.2. Pastoral lead couple kneels at the altar in a charismatic church 173
13.3. Male youths of charismatic families gather 176
17.1. Population and compound rate of increase in Guatemala, 1778–2014 198
17.2. Population of Guatemala, agricultural census years 199
17.3. Population of Department of Sololá, agricultural census years 199
17.4. Arable land in Guatemala 199
17.5. Arable land in Department of Sololá 201
17.6. Per capita arable land in Guatemala 201
17.7. Per capita arable land in Department of Sololá 201
17.8. Per capita land area in annuals, Department of Sololá . . 202
17.9. Per capita corn production in *quintales*, Department of Sololá 203
17.10. Per capita landholdings in forest, Department of Sololá . 205
17.11. Flat agricultural land consumed by housing in Nahualá . . 205
19.1. Protestant/Pentecostal population of Guatemala 220
19.2. Protestant/Pentecostal percentage of Guatemala's population 220
19.3. Protestant/Pentecostal population of Sololá 220
19.4. Protestant/Pentecostal percentage of Sololá's population . . 221
19.5. Compound annual growth rate of Protestant/ Pentecostal membership in Guatemala and Sololá 221
26.1. US horse and mule census, 1900–1960 353
26.2. Available farm power, US farms 353
26.3. Rise of tractors and tractor "horsepower" on US farms . . 353
26.4. Number and acreage of US farms by year 354
26.5. US population and farm population 354

Color plates follow page 228

Tables

1.1. Population and Land Area Comparisons (2002 Census) . . . 15
1.2. Population, Ethnicity, and Language Comparisons (2002 Census) . . . 17
2.1. Hierarchy of the Images of Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán . . . 33
2.2. Fully Staffed Rotation of *Cargo* Service . . . 33
2.3. Estimated Costs of the *Cofradía* Concepción in 1982 . . . 35
2.4. Calendar of the Fiestas of Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán . . . 40
2.5. Attendance at the Principal Worship Services in Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán, November 2002 . . . 45
2.6. Religious Affiliation in Nueva Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán, 2003 . . . 46
3.1. The Three Orders of Maya Daykeepers and Their Duties . . . 56
3.2. Ritual Offerings, 2003 . . . 61
3.3. Traditional Spiritual Hierarchy in Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán . . . 62
5.1. Average Fears and Anxieties of Catholic Villagers in Antigua Ixtahuacán . . . 89
17.1. Population and Compound Annual Rate of Increase in Guatemala, 1778–2014 . . . 198
17.2. Corn and Population Data with Protestant Congregations per Capita . . . 206
17.3a, b. Land and Religion . . . 207
19.1. Quake Damage in 1976 and Protestant Congregations in 1981 . . . 231
20.1. Measures of War's Ravages and Protestant plus Pentecostal Membership . . . 236
26.1. US Farm Population and Mechanization . . . 355

Foreword

Christian Pentecostalism as Post-Protestant Weberian Religious Rationalization

THIS BOOK IS ABOUT RELIGIOUS change in two K'iche' Maya *municipios* (townships) in the western highlands of Guatemala "caught between collapse of the old and exclusion from the new." Author and editor John Hawkins gives pride of place to student ethnographies of K'iche' Maya religious traditionalists, Evangelical Protestants, and orthodox and charismatic Catholics from the field school he and Walter Adams directed in Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán and Nahualá, Department of Sololá, in 2002–2003. The centerpiece of this book, however, is the way Hawkins explains the proliferation of Catholic charismatics and Protestant Evangelicals in these ethnographies. He argues that regardless of denomination, their shared Pentecostal-style worship of high-decibel, hands-on, glossolalic communion with the Holy Spirit makes them sufficiently distinct liturgically and theologically from sedate, mainstream Catholicism, Protestantism, and Eastern Orthodoxy to warrant designating them a fourth branch of Christianity that he dubs "Christian Pentecostalism." He goes on to attribute the widespread appeal of this ecstatic form of Christianity in Latin America and elsewhere to the impact of global capitalism. In Hawkins's view, far from being extravagant or irrational, Christian Pentecostalism's embrace of the Holy Spirit holds a revolutionary potential for renewed civic virtue.

What most struck me on first reading the manuscript of this book was its neo-Weberian scope and significance that take it far beyond field school ethnographies of millenarian outcry against modernity. In its ethnographic rationalization of actors' changing religious orientations, its attention to inner-worldly salvation in the Holy Spirit, and its appreciation of the unintended consequences of such salvation in a neoliberal, capitalist world, Hawkins's argument speaks to the breadth of Max Weber's sociology of religion. It is important to remember that Weber (1978[1968]) wrote about religion not for its own sake, but to understand how, under different historical circumstances, value-rational social action devoted to engaging the world as a meaningful totality comes to rationalize different action orientations of religious carriers and status groups. In like fashion, Hawkins's theory of Christian Pentecostalism develops a model of religious rationalization—in Weberian terms, the interplay of religious values and social action, not progressively more "reasoned" religions—under conditions of late capitalism experienced from the bottom up in peripheral places like Guatemala. As such, this book proves a worthy, and no less provocative, sequel to Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1996).

In relating Christian Pentecostalism to capitalist globalization, Hawkins does more than apply Weber's Protestant work ethic to Maya production, as Sheldon Annis (1987) once did. Instead, I see Hawkins advancing Weber's Protestant ethic thesis by proposing Christian Pentecostalism as a new form of Christianity that he might have called (but modestly chose not to) "post-Protestant" in its ecstatic redemption of life worlds brought to crisis by the very capitalist order that Weber argued Protestantism helped rationalize in the first place. If, as Weber concluded, Calvinist anxiety over preordained, otherworldly salvation begat a Puritan worldly asceticism of living life as a divine calling in which success became proof of salvation but inevitably succumbed to the ceaseless striving for material gain dictated by modern capitalism, Hawkins argues that Maya Christian Pentecostals try to alleviate the disruptions of global capitalism by personally renouncing worldly vices in order to garner acceptance and respect from fellow congregants and sanctification from the Holy Spirit. Together, these aspirations allow Maya Christian Pentecostals a meaningful alternative to past religious imperatives and to inveigh morally against a present fallen world. Hawkins's Christian Pentecostals become the spiritual heirs of Weber's Puritan saints to the extent they embody what happens to the Protestant ethic as the world that that ethos unintentionally made possible further transforms under neoliberal globalization. Theoretically, they reveal what otherworldly salvation looks like in the face of the inescapable, this-worldly, materialist morality Weber attributed to the modern economic order.

This rich, provocative argument holds intriguing neo-Weberian implications that John Hawkins, ever the generous and gracious colleague, has invited me to speculate on here as a complement to his own probing Durkheimian concerns with community renewal, moral revitalization, and life-affirming reciprocity. First, and perhaps most incidentally, the reversal of terms and inversion of relationships between his theory and Weber's meet almost too perfectly Lévi-Strauss's (1955:442–443) definition of structural equivalence: Puritan preoccupation with otherworldly salvation becomes Christian Pentecostal dispossession by global capitalism; worldly asceticism as a calling from God becomes inner-worldly self-discipline against congregationally declared vices; worldly success as a testament to God's glory becomes sanctification of the dispossessed through this-worldly baptism in the Holy Spirit; eternal salvation as God's unknowable justification by grace alone becomes a self-actualized, if provisional, communion with the Holy Spirit before fellow congregants; the loneliness of the Protestant believer before God becomes mutual acceptance in self-selective congregations; and the irresistible temptation of capitalist wealth that corrupts the priesthood of all believers becomes the holy if sectarian wail of all prophets for personal redemption in a fallen world. Hawkins proposes no Lévi-Straussian structure here, but in focusing on the same concerns as Weber's—inner-worldly asceticism, otherworldly salvation in the face of this-worldly morality, the search for meaning in an unknown fate—his theory suggests that the confluence of historical circumstances and action orientations that Weber identified as central to the emergence of modernity still shapes its aftermath in these so-called postmodern times. Indeed, the rise of Christian Pentecostalism as a new form of Christianity may mark a comparable moment of historical transformation in modernity's global reach as experienced from below.

Second, as modernity runs historically to global crisis, Hawkins tempers Weber's pessimism about the inevitable triumph of capitalism's compulsory competition for wealth by affirming the enduring power of ecstatic charisma to heal the world. For Hawkins, Christian Pentecostalism represents a direct response to late capitalist globalization, especially as economic hyperintegration binds local places to a mystifying complexity of distant but interdependent elsewheres. Hawkins knows that explaining the incongruity of ecstatic possession within advanced capitalism calls for more than the reductive functionalism of millennial recursion to the past, defiant (or despairing) emotional release, or redirected postcolonial protest against marginalization in the present. Although he considers each of these, rather than settle for what Christian Pentecostalism *does*, he focuses on what it *is* to the people who practice it. As Weber might, he attends closely to how Christian Pentecostal worship—most distinctively, speaking in tongues—resonates with the occult truth-telling of traditional Maya shamans and diviners even as it forsakes their ritual revelations for a Holy Spirit open to and self-evident before all. Ecstatic possession by the Holy Spirit becomes more compelling as failing K'iche' Maya subsistence maize cultivation ceases to justify shamanic exchanges with local earth lords and ancestors, and as the necessary improvisations of survival in a globalizing Guatemala favor more personal spiritual empowerment against a world now indifferent to old Maya covenants with land, place, and ancestors.

Third, Hawkins's treatment of Christian Pentecostalism as both rationalized by received Maya religiosity and rationalizing of morally compromised Maya entanglements in modernity fits theoretically with Weber's broader conception of rationalization as a double-sided historical process derived from constellations of accepted values but driven by actors' felt need to reformulate those values as new circumstances challenge established actions and understandings (Kalberg 1980). Like the good anthropologist he is, Hawkins recognizes that if Christian Pentecostalism represents a new form of Christianity, its wide occurrence requires more than local rationalization. Similarly, in good Weberian fashion, he looks to global capitalism's top-down importunities on local ways of life and livelihood as the relevant circumstance that Christian Pentecostalism religiously rationalizes from the bottom up. To the extent that Weber was right, and capitalism already presumes Protestant-derived values, this Christian Pentecostal religious rationalization becomes all the more "post-Protestant" in reshaping Weber's "Protestant ethic" of hoped-for salvation through unceasing work into a response to the increasingly macrocosmic capitalist commodification of people's microcosmic efforts to save themselves materially and spiritually with what they have at hand. (For the interplay of microcosmic "mystics" against macrocosmic markets in North American religious revivalism, see Rodseth and Olsen 2000.) As unseen markets and the demand for alienated labor make self-sanctifying worldly success more problematic for people on the margins regardless of identity, abode, or religious orientation, Christian Pentecostalism reorients the Protestant-cum-capitalist ethic of ceaselessly striving in the world to a post-Protestant but still very much this-worldly spiritual sanctification by promising microcosmically oriented converts the personal moral surety of the Holy Spirit's macrocosmic—but appropriately unintelligible—gift of tongues.

More speculatively, this possible association between the Holy Spirit and macrocosmic capitalism's enigmatic dictates and inchoate promise may help further clarify how Christian Pentecostal trancing and speaking in tongues rationalizes the instrumental opportunism of striving in a capitalist world. Far from senseless, possession by the Holy Spirit powerfully answers the felt need for individual self-affirmation before the mystifying fluctuations of work and wages, production and profit in global marketplaces, and the indifference (if not corruption) of state regulators and enforcers. Such personal affirmation, however, involves more than the Holy Spirit alone. It depends equally on what could be called the "collective individuation" in Christian Pentecostal worship itself. Long distinctive of Pentecostalism, congregations gather to deafening music, song, and preaching—what Hawkins knowingly calls the "pentecostal wail"—but members pray individually in a cacophony of voices to the Holy Spirit that answers only the chosen with trancing, healing, and speaking in tongues. Unlike distant markets or official regulations that appear arbitrarily to advantage or disadvantage, the Holy Spirit presumably sanctifies only the truly worthy. This not only empowers the individuals so blessed before their own congregations to transcend old moral covenants and the moral failings of a wider world beyond local control or suasion. It also inspires them to find their way in that world—itself glossolalic in too often obscuring understanding or anticipation but now made meaningful in each devotee's internalized cacophony of speaking the speech of all nations as proof of their own living salvation.

Such empowerment in turn raises the prospect that this post-Protestant Christian Pentecostal religious rationalization of sanctifying collective individuation ultimately, if unintentionally, promotes capitalist values of possessive individualism. That is, the gift of the Holy Spirit comes from on high, but spiritual possession from above becomes a personal possession of those below already "gifted" with their own charisma of moral virtuosity to resist the worldly vices prohibited by their congregation. This moral rectitude, along with the fervency of their faith in cult song and prayer, defines the unceasing work they must do to save themselves in the Holy Spirit—and in the eyes of their congregation. Should their gift fail, revocation by the Holy Spirit—or rebuke from other congregants—makes their failings public to the congregation that then calls them to redouble their moral, if not practical, striving for personal repentance, redemption, and repossession of (not just by) the Holy Spirit. To the extent they comply, Christian Pentecostals become ever more responsible—and liable—for saving themselves, and congregational collective individuation prepares the way for further capitalist alienation and possessive individualism. Whether in this world or the next, salvation demands the self-sacrifice not just of hard work, but of rendering up that part of oneself drawn to worldly affairs and indulgences in favor of the self-sanctifying gift that inclines the religiously minded to the Holy Spirit in the first place. In both form and substance, the literal incomprehension in the Holy Spirit's gift of tongues helps rationalize the unseen, incomprehensible workings of global capitalism, just as sanctifying collective individuation in Christian Pentecostal worship literally embodies unfathomable marketplaces as potentially, if inconstantly, accessible to the appropriately, if imperfectly, gifted.

Last, Weber's (1946a) observations on the congregational organization of Protestant sects further clarify the post-Protestant direction of Christian Pentecostalism. For Weber, Protestant sects differ from churches (to which anyone can belong) in their self-selective election and the equality of members. Admitted only after adequate preparation and examination, congregants must hold their own by constantly proving their worth to each other through appropriate knowledge and behavior. The resulting social self-esteem of mutual acceptance enhances exclusivity in the congregation, even as it licenses members to speak out equally on matters of doctrine, practice, and propriety. This privileged egalitarianism extends to priests and prophets, whose authority no longer flows solely from their charisma (or routinized status) as intermediaries with the sacred. Instead, like oracles or diviners before them, they are expected not only to provide services for the congregation as a whole, but also to pastor congregants individually on their path to salvation. While this helps attract and retain members in competition with other sects, parsing prophetic revelations into prescriptions for everyday life risks "casuistically" depreciating their sacred source and cosmic truths (Weber 1978:464–465).

At each turn, Christian Pentecostalism's emphasis on individual responsibility and evangelization ordained in the Holy Spirit intensifies, if not transforms, these Weberian congregational dynamics. While still predicated on individual election through conformity to God's word and the rule of law (expressed most immediately in congregational injunctions against immoral behavior), Christian Pentecostal sanctification in the Holy Spirit pushes congregations in contradictory directions. As assemblies of all prophets, congregations become ever more exclusive, but personal righteousness can also make them more exclusionary—and inspire self-sanctified dissenters to leave and found their own congregations. Sectarian schisms result, but the collective fervor essential to Christian Pentecostal sanctification necessitates tempering doctrinal disputation enough to attract new converts to keep congregations viable. The Holy Spirit obliges by minimizing, if not dispensing with, pastoral authority over adepts, who become their own intermediaries with the sacred. Collective individuation also obviates the relativization of charismatic revelations through each congregant's own direct religious experience, and doctrine comes to focus increasingly on procedures and on the vices singled out for intolerance by the congregation. This, however, increases the risk of "idolatry" in Roy Rappaport's (1999:444) sense of "oversanctification of the specific" by too closely equating congregational acceptance (or disapproval) with divine will, creating further grounds for both sectarian intolerance and righteous disputation.

The egalitarian, exclusionary, experiential tensions in Christian Pentecostal congregations result more in what sociologist Émile Durkheim (1949[1893]:130–131) called the mechanical solidarity of likeness, as opposed to his organic solidarity of complementary interdependence. Despite the worldwide appeal of Christian Pentecostalism, the fact that congregations tend toward tight-knit insularity may limit the extent to which their moral imperatives can generalize on larger, more diverse social scales. This may occur most readily when state power appeals to Christian Pentecostals' respect for the rule of law, God's or otherwise, or to their moral rectitude as subjects in the sense of a political constituency instead of as self-actualizing, moral selves (Foucault 1982). Cynicism aside, however, Weber (1946a:307–310) noted that congregational organization in turn-of-the-twentieth-century North America had diffused into secular society through the growth of self-selective, voluntary associations—from mutual aid and burial societies among the aspiring middle classes to "the Boys' Club in school . . . the Athletic Club or Greek Letter Society . . . the notable clubs of businessmen and the bourgeoisie . . . [and] the clubs of the metropolitan plutocracy." All of these presumed election by merit and ongoing, appropriate conduct that helped to foster not only sober bourgeois respectability, but also the wider bonds of "civil society" that made the United States more than a "sand heap" of grasping opportunists. Whatever the ultimate import of Christian Pentecostalism under late capitalism, Weber reminds us that it will be mediated by its congregational organization as well as by the resulting action orientations of its individual converts.

All this said, these Weberesque ruminations remain incidental to John Hawkins's deeply humanistic concern for the fate of Mayas in Guatemala and how Christian Pentecostalism as community building, cultural revitalization, and moral reciprocity links their mountain fastness of Sololá to the heartland of the United States and beyond. This ambitious book reflects the courage of Hawkins's convictions as an anthropologist, ever committed to both careful ethnography and comparative generalization. In tracing the wider causes and consequences of his and his students' ethnographic findings, Hawkins argues here for the revolutionary potential of Christian Pentecostalism as "the only response so far devised that enables a growing sector of the poor to conceptualize and construct a meaningful and workable response to state failure, societal chaos, economic exploitation, and exclusion." While many (most?) secular humanist readers may well decry—and thus perhaps not see coming—a Christian Pentecostal revolution under God's rule of law, Hawkins again demonstrates the courage of his convictions to follow his evidence where it leads and at least consider the possibility. Given how convincingly he roots Christian Pentecostalism in the same cultural and economic crises of dispossession, dislocation, and disregard that drive current populist politics across the globe and the demagoguery at the heart of capitalist modernity, his proposition is one we need to take seriously.

As Weber (1946b) counseled, however, the path forward remains historical, as much evolutionary as revolutionary. It seldom leads where actors themselves envision, and our task as social scientists is to seek clarity—about actors' values and orientations, the means available to them, the consistency (or not) between their means and ends, and the capacitating or countervailing circumstances working for or against either or both. This book draws clarity out of complexity in identifying and rationalizing Christian Pentecostalism. While some may contest the answers it presents, the agenda it sets in the questions it poses and where it looks for answers will prove its own enduring, redemptive gift.

JOHN M. WATANABE
Dartmouth College

Preface

A Field School Approach to the Ethnography of Religion

JOHN P. HAWKINS

GIVEN THAT THE REST OF this book describes and analyzes religion in Guatemala and around the world, let me briefly describe the methods we used to bring the data together. This is the fourth volume of ethnography derived from the Brigham Young University (BYU) Department of Anthropology's Nahualá/Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán Ethnographic Field School. (The first three are Hawkins and Adams 2005a; Adams and Hawkins 2007; and Hawkins, McDonald, and Adams 2013.) In other publications, we (Hawkins and Adams 2005b; Hawkins 2014; and Hawkins and Adams 2014) describe the field school rationale and procedures in some detail, so I do not say much about our field school or field methods here. Suffice it to say that the time period for most of the descriptive fieldwork of this volume is mid-May through mid-August 2003, the exception being Larson and colleagues' chapter, which is based on fieldwork from mid-August through late December 2002. Subsequently, several of the lead authors of ethnographic chapters returned to these townships for further fieldwork, which enriched their analyses. Hawkins and Adams directed the field school in 1995–2006 and have been doing fieldwork in Guatemala at various times, thinking about it frequently, and writing about it for more than fifty and nearly forty years, respectively.

In the ethnographic chapters of part 1, each lead author uses a variety of well-known qualitative and quantitative methods. All were functionally fluent Spanish speakers from the outset. Each had a K'iche'–Spanish translator who also functioned as a field guide and companion. All of the BYU students had attended a one-semester K'iche' language course that effectively drilled language basics: phrases, vocabulary, and grammar. (Some completed two semesters.) This language exposure helped students maintain the quality of translations since most could follow enough K'iche' to determine whether the translator was doing a reasonably good job of translating into Spanish, rather than summarizing or skipping. All conducted interviews and kept field notes and transcriptions of tape-recorded interviews in Spanish or in K'iche'. The translators produced interlinear translations from K'iche' to Spanish and added commentary on interviews conducted in K'iche'. Prior to discovering anthropology, Winston Scott already spoke fluent Q'eqchi', one of the Maya family of languages along with K'iche'. Consequently, he quickly became functionally fluent in K'iche'.

In each of the town centers or their associated *aldeas* (rural hamlets) in Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán, field school members and faculty lived, one to each household, with families of traditionalist shamans, healers, Ortho-Catholic leaders, Catholic *carismático* group leaders, Pentecostal *evangélico* congregational ministers, or quite ordinary people participating in one or more of these ways of worship as experienced in that location. Throughout this volume, first-person singular pronouns refer to the experience and perspective of a chapter's lead author. "We" refers to collectively massaged insights that involved the lead author, the field school directors, and fellow students. All lead authors chose the pseudonyms used in their chapter; any reuse between chapters is purely coincidental and does not denote the same person.

The substantial number of willing team members who coordinated their work on interrelated segments of Guatemalan religion made possible this distinctive, comparative, multisited approach. The term "multisited" references goals elaborated by Marcus and Fischer (1986), Marcus

(1995), and Falzon (2009), among others. They advocate the study of an issue, process, concept, material substance, social network, or symbolic "flow" by paying attention to it at multiple locations and by trying to portray its various interconnections and implications throughout a large or even global cultural, symbolic, and social system. This we have tried to do with regard to religion by distributing the field school students throughout the diverse religious system as experienced in Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán. I could not have achieved this ethnographic result alone, nor could I have arrived at the theoretical interpretations I did based just on my own experiences. I benefited from the wealth of their data and social connections over the years.

Thus, I restate the claims I made in Hawkins (2014) and in Hawkins and Adams (2014). A well-run ethnographic field school can be a life-changing and effective pedagogy for students of any major. In addition, the undergraduate field school mobilized for publication can be a powerful research method that ought to be among the techniques available to any anthropologist. Our field school's multisited format made possible our simultaneous documentation of multiple faith practices. Had I been doing fieldwork solo, I would not have had the time to study all these strands of faith myself. Nor would I have been allowed such diverse access to so many "pathways to God" (Morgan 2005:90–91) by the sometimes jealous faith groups promulgating their truths. Simultaneous documentation by students in multiple locations and habitats, as well as their social connections and my own, enabled me to attend to all styles of religious practice in an atmosphere of trust and provided me a much richer and broader range of experiences. The range of religions we delved into allowed me to see similarities among Pentecostals and charismatics that I would not otherwise have seen. It enabled me to recognize them as "Christian Pentecostals." Thus, the conclusions of this book emerge as a direct product of collaboration in undergraduate research using the field school format. I recommend this approach to others as a legitimate research method and a rich source of theoretical stimulation.

Acknowledgments

In 1974 I chanced to meet an older researcher—an economist fomenting development projects—in the street at the border between San Marcos and San Pedro Sacatepéquez in Guatemala's western Department of San Marcos. We chatted. He asked what I was doing. I told him that I was a doctoral student studying ethnicity, family, and economy in the two towns for my dissertation, a study that eventually became *Inverse Images* (Hawkins 1984). My description of this research topic bored him. Across the street in front of us, the largest non-Catholic church in San Pedro had just finished its noisy services, broadcast by rooftop speaker. Its Pentecostal worshippers came pouring out. Pointing to the church and its members, he blurted enthusiastically: "*That* is what you anthropologists *should* be studying; that is where the *real* social action is!" I have forgotten his name and university; I have not forgotten his injunction. It took me thirty years to act on his suggestion for this fieldwork and another sixteen years to think it through and write it up, I hope coherently. This book shows how prescient he was.

I have many to thank. Indeed, *we* have many to thank, for this is a collective research effort. But the impossibility of the task daunts us. How can we possibly thank adequately the many people who have helped so much to make this project possible?

We—the editor and chapter authors—profoundly appreciate the innumerable Guatemalans who guided our steps, explained to us their actions and dilemmas, and tolerated our presence. Think about it! Maya families opened their lives to us. They allowed us to live with them in their homes, no matter how small. In some homes they shoved belongings out of the way to clear a room for one of us. In others, they hammered together frames and tacked up opaque plastic sheets to create privacy-granting screens that divided a single room. They cooked nutritious and healthy food for us. They nursed us, prayed for us, and cheered us on. They guided our footsteps to help us avoid cultural pitfalls and physical risks. In a word, they mothered and fathered us as they would their own. Whole flocks of Pentecostals received us as *hermanos* and *hermanas* (congregational brothers and sisters). The charismatic communities warmed to us, too, and called us, like they called each other, *qachalal*, the K'iche' term for "we kin" or "our sibling." Over the years, traditionalist shamans repeatedly blessed us, anointing our bodies from crown to calf with the soft sweep of the sacred ears of silk-tasseled corn so dear to Maya lives. Catholic priests in three town centers and bishops in department and national centers answered our every question and brokered us into their communities. Each of our students had a translator or shared a translator who not only made access to K'iche' possible, but also guided the students into the culture, advised, fixed problems, translated tapes, typed interviews, and coached in whatever the topic was.

All these families, communities, and individuals forgave our cultural sins and taught us how to be better local citizens, how to be proper men and women, and how to be more understanding practitioners of their cherished beliefs and religious activities. Religious leaders, congregational members, community citizens, and translators did this knowing full well that we were not real adherents to their faiths nor permanent members of their religious communities. The host families of this volume's fourteen coauthors deserve much recognition and thanks. And so do the many families who received previous and subsequent cohorts of about 200 field school students throughout the years 1995–2006 and 2009. These students from before and after the 2003 religion-focused cohort also deserve thanks for their professional behavior: they made it possible for the 2003 group to be trusted from the first day.

In particular, I thank Pascualino Tahay Ixtos; his wife, Catalina Perechú y Perechú; and their children, with whom I lived for five summers. Pascualino has helped me learn culture and language, translated innumerable recordings, and been a true friend. At Brigham Young University, David Shuler's visionary direction of the field studies section of the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies made our administrative and recruitment work for each field school cohort much easier. First as a field school student, then as a field school student facilitator, later as a Kennedy Center employee, and finally as David Shuler's replacement, Malcolm Botto Wilson guided generations of students through K'iche' classes, helped them fill out forms, and prepared them for the field. From an idea in 1993 to the present publication, we received support from Joel Janetski, David Crandall, Charles Nuckolls, and James Allison, as successive chairs of the Department of Anthropology. Two patient and savvy department administrative secretaries, Evie Forsyth and Tami Pugmire, facilitated the work. Deans Clayne Pope and David Magleby opened purses and doors throughout the university, as did Dean Ben Ogles during the write-up phase.

From 2002 through 2006, funding from the National Science Foundation's program Research Experience for Undergraduates made it possible for students from six universities to participate in the field school at a much lower cost than otherwise would have been the case. The SES grant 0139198 covered 2003, the year most focused on religion, but the SES grant 0354014 for 2004–2006 had lingering effects that also deserve recognition.

John Monaghan from the University of Illinois at Chicago, Jon McGee from Texas State University–San Marcos, and Servando Hinojosa from the University of Texas–Pan American (now renamed University of Texas Rio Grande Valley) recruited and advised students from their respective universities and helped them craft papers from the experience. Walter Randolph Adams, who coedited previous volumes from the field school and who coauthored with and advised students as codirector of the field school from 1995 to 2006, has been a constant support. James McDonald, likewise, has helped me think through many an issue during our collaborations from 2006 to the present.

John Clark rendered a particularly incisive critique of my introductory and concluding chapters when they were in a dismal state of organization. Anonymous reviewers were also most helpful and quite patient; they saw the vision of what we were up to and gave profoundly good advice. Stephen Houston and James McDonald read and critiqued the more or less penultimate draft and penned evaluations that helped bring it to our publisher's attention. Norman Schwartz read, discussed the issues, and encouraged me to finish this manuscript up until the day before he died. Henri Gooren and John Watanabe both unmasked their reviewer status and gave more than one round of enormously insightful suggestions. Sarah Soliz, director of the School for Advanced Research Press, provided a detailed edit, with nearly every recommendation used. Merryl A. Sloane rendered an extraordinary copyedit that helped me smooth the manuscript, clarify its meaning, and eliminate many infelicities. I thank you all; to raise up a manuscript, as with a child, it takes a village.

Richard N. Adams (now deceased) and Betty Hannstein Adams hosted our annual assessment conference in their home in Panajachel (Department of Sololá, Guatemala). We thank both of you for your hospitality and gracious intellectual and physical support over the years. Several of our students recovered their health in the sunny warmth of your patio guest bedroom. As a result, they could return to Nahualá or Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán to enrich their studies.

All the coauthors owe debts to the spouses, fiancées, friends, parents, siblings, nieces and nephews, children, grandparents, and grandchildren who in one way or another made a three-month stint of undergraduate fieldwork possible. Again, collectively, we thank you all!

It would appear that Santa Catarina (the patron saint of the Catholic people in both communities that we studied), Mary as mother of Jesus, Maximón as Judas Iscariot, and a legion of living local ministers, *pastoras*, healers, priests, *ajq'ijab'*, *sobrenas*, and prophets have interceded for us with God, Jesús, Espíritu Santo, qatat/qanan, Santo Mundo, ancestors, and the members of these communities of Mayas. We appreciate the willingness of both the intercessors and the importuned to let us intrude on their domains. We hope that in this book we have represented these K'iche' people, their communities, their divinities, and their diverse yet related religious practices and beliefs fairly, meaningfully, analytically, and with dignity.

Religion in cultural and historical context is a complex topic that cannot be dealt with briefly and cannot ever be done completely. On both counts I have suffered. Every time I went through the manuscript to shorten and remove duplications, I also discovered new interconnections that needed to be analyzed. In the end, the length is needed to show the complex ways that Nahualá and Santa

Catarina Ixtahuacán are excellent windows on worldwide religious processes.

I thank chair Jim Allison and the faculty of the BYU Anthropology Department, Renata Forste as head of the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, and Dean Benjamin Ogles of the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences for their help in many ways and for matching grants that have made the publication of this complex analysis and its underlying ethnographic and historical data a purely intellectual decision based on the merits of the argument. This book could have been seen as an economic impossibility and rejected out of hand (and it was, many times). I thank Sarah Soliz for having perceived the merits rather than rejecting on the economics.

The mistakes and shortcomings that surely exist in this book are our own—and mostly my own, not anyone else's. Any strengths you may find in this book had their genesis in the wisdom of the people of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán or were inspired by the many teachers and authors who shared their perspectives with us in person, in class, or in print over the years.

JOHN P. HAWKINS
Provo, Utah
July 10, 2020

An Introduction to the Ethnography of Religion and Religious Change among the K'iche'

JOHN P. HAWKINS

IN THIS BOOK WE INVESTIGATE religious variety and religious transformation among the K'iche' Mayas living in Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán, two townships (*municipios*) in the Department of Sololá, an administrative province located largely in the highland region of western Guatemala. These Guatemalan Mayas are undergoing a rapid and massive religious transformation via individual conversion. From varieties of stately and relatively sedate Catholicism and a Maya Catholic traditionalism wherein spirit visitation to the shaman and considerable alcohol use can give the impression of excess but in which both the shaman's and client's behavior is quite sedate, many have converted to one or another of several varieties of ecstatic, motile, noisy Christian Pentecostal faiths.

I attach a special meaning to the phrase "Christian Pentecostalism": I coined the term to include both Protestant-derived ecstatic religious practices and denominations called *evangélico* as well as the Catholic-derived ecstaticism called Charismatic Renewal. In these Christian Pentecostal faiths, ordinary adherents and their leaders become bodily agitated during worship meetings. Some adherents may fall into trance during these religious services, many may speak in tongues, and any can be healed. In most congregational meetings, the sound output from electronic amplification can be literally deafening. Why? What is the meaning embedded in the increasing acceptance of this style of worship, and why has that style expanded rapidly from the 1950s to the present?

Some academics find the Christian Pentecostal style of worship rather off-putting if not downright illusory, although the judgment is seldom seen in print. I rather prefer the approach implied by Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). Durkheim (2001[1912]:62) asserts, "It makes no sense that systems of ideas like religion, which have held such a major place in history and from which people have always drawn the energy needed to live, are merely tissues of illusion." Rather than be put off by a style, Durkheim and a long line of successor anthropologists of religion would say we should find its meaning or its social value to the group.

My thesis is simple and not at all illusory. Throughout the twentieth century and especially since the 1950s, Mayas have been experiencing culture collapse and systemic exclusion. Those who change from traditional *costumbre* (a term for traditionalist religious performance) and Roman Catholic practice to Christian Pentecostal make this person-by-person conversion because Mayas, and indeed all Guatemalans, are currently undergoing the collapse of their colonially organized way of life. This collapse disrupts ideologies, symbols, life practices, and social structures that have undergirded the society of colonized Mayas and colonizing Catholic Ladinos for almost 500 years.

For the Mayas, the collapse swirls around the high cultural value placed on corn. Indeed, both physically and mentally, corn is their staff of life, the key substance on which they exist. Yet in the present day, they encounter grave difficulties in producing sufficient corn for their needs. This is so for two reasons. First, Mayas have experienced a century-long population increase that has quadrupled and quintupled, on average, the number of mouths each highland Maya village must feed (with an elevenfold increase in the country as a whole). Second, the Mayas have experienced colonial expropriation and the outright theft of indigenous lands, and they must contend with the simple fact that one cannot grow new land except by destroying forest on ever-steeper mountainsides, which are subject to erosion and depletion when put to corn production. Thus, the fast-rising Maya population and a relatively static base of arable land have combined to produce from the 1950s to the present a condition in which the average Maya family has been increasingly unable to support itself with a sufficient quantity of the primary substance of Maya well-being, which is also a major component of Maya religious and cultural symbolism: corn.

This shortage of a cultural essential has produced a crisis of cultural faith in a society that ideologically, relationally, and symbolically centers on corn as the key life-giving substance. With the increasing cultural crisis brought on by land and corn insufficiency has come a crisis regarding family and municipal autonomy as well as the increasing irrelevance of those religious ideas, symbols, and practices that connect to corn and autonomy and have represented and guided Maya residents in this colonized society. In a word, corn and land crises led to cultural crisis; cultural crisis led to religious crisis; and religious crisis has, ultimately, precipitated religious change on a massive scale.

At the same time that the Mayas' corn culture has been collapsing, substantial numbers of Guatemalans—especially poor urbanites and indigenous Mayas—have been effectively excluded from secure participation in the emerging neoliberal global order that increasingly penetrates their villages and hinterlands and seems to be the only visible alternative to the old colonial corn-raising and tax-extraction regime. This exclusion has added to the crisis. Exclusion from any apparent viable alternative has exacerbated the people's consternation regarding corn culture collapse and has increased their sense of desperation. Thus, exclusion also fuels their interest in and style of religious change.

These two factors—cultural collapse and systematic social and economic exclusion—explain the recent religious transformation of Maya Guatemala and the way, style, and emotional intensity in which that religious transformation gets expressed in current Christian Pentecostal ritual. Convert by convert and sometimes community by community, Mayas move from relatively sedate Maya traditionalism and thoroughly sedate Ortho-Catholicism to various forms of trance-inducing, tongues-speaking, bodily animated, electronically hyperamplified ecstatic Christian Pentecostalisms.

To explore and understand this phenomenon of religious change, we need three components: description, history, and theory.