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Author's Introduction

This collection of ten studies was originally published in the decade between 1993 and 2003 when I was already pursuing an active academic career after securing tenure in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Riverside. These works concern topics that I continue to explore in my research, such as relating themes appearing in Classic Maya iconography to contemporary Maya lore, as can be seen in the first chapter concerning Maya birth symbolism and curing practices and the last chapter pertaining to ancient Maya concepts of the maize field and forest wilds. In both studies I discuss the cosmic symbolism of Maya houses, a theme also examined in Chapter 2, which focuses on Classic Maya temples, which were essentially “god houses.” During this time I also began exploring Olmec religion and iconography, and in particular maize and agricultural abundance, which in this volume appears in Chapters 2, 3, and 6. In many talks at this time I spoke about breaking the “Olmec barrier,” that is, demonstrating clear continuities between Olmec gods and iconography and those of later cultures of ancient Mesoamerica. At this point this might seem a statement of the obvious, but the very important and well-known god list and compilation of Olmec iconography by Joralemon (1971) provided no road map or apparent attempt at that time

to systematically pursue the topic of cultural continuity. When I began academic research it was as if the Olmec culture was wholly strange and unrelated to later Mesoamerican religious traditions, especially as regards their gods. Related to these studies, I subsequently published the catalog *Olmec Art at Dumbarton Oaks* (Taube 2004c), where many themes pertaining to corn and the Olmec Maize God also appear, especially on greenstone items of jade and serpentine.

Aside from my growing interest in the Olmec, I also continued to develop my research on the great city of ancient Teotihuacan, including the “Turquoise Hearth” study of Chapter 5, which addresses Teotihuacan and later Central Mexican concepts of fire, warfare, and the afterlife solar paradise of warriors. Chapter 9 is a very different topic, this being the Early Classic Maya presence and influence at Teotihuacan, especially as reflected in the Maya-style mural fragments known as the Realistic Paintings from the Tetitla apartment compound. With regard to concepts of souls and the afterlife, Chapter 7 concerns the symbolism of wind as it relates to the breath soul, a theme that I have explored in a number of subsequent studies. In the case of Chapter 8, I also discuss supernatural serpents as embodiments of breath and wind that I directly contrast with centipedes, skeletalized serpent beings pertaining to the deathly underworld.

Chapter 1

The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual

I was first made aware of what I term the Birth Vase by Justin Kerr and others around 1990, this being a remarkable and elaborately painted four-sided vessel which some at the time considered to be a “ceramic codex,” much as if each side constituted a page from an ancient screenfold book. Although the sides could indeed be readily presented in a four-page sequence or passage in a codex, in this study I take a very different approach and suggest that the Late Classic vessel best corresponds to the four sides of a Maya house. In support I cite Late Classic ceramic cache vessels excavated by the Carnegie Institution of Washington at Quirigua and Guaytan in the Motagua region of eastern Guatemala, which resemble houses with the lids as sloping roofs. For one example from Guaytan, one vessel side also has a central doorway, marking it clearly as a house (see also Houston 1998:Fig. 14). Similar four-sided cache vessels have also been discovered at Copan, where they have been interpreted as domiciles: “as is clearly the case with the cylindrical examples, the [rectangular] vessels can be viewed as small houses” (McNeil et al. 2006:242).

Among the more elaborate palace scenes appearing on a Late Classic vessel is the Vase of the Seven Gods, which has a series of deities convening in darkness on the Calendar Round date 4 Ahau 8 Cumku, corresponding to a Long Count date in 3114 BC (see Coe 1973:106-109). Although this is a cylindrical vessel, a four-sided version of the same theme known as the Vase of the Eleven Gods has more recently come to light and is now on display at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (see K7750 at Mayavase.com; Chinchilla Mazariegos 2017:Fig. 19). Clearly its sides evoke the walls of the mythic palace chamber. In view of its elaborate polychrome scenes, this vessel is notably similar to the Birth Vase. As an interior palace scene, it also suggests that the Birth Vase portrays the interior rather than the exterior of a house, in contrast to the cache vessels from Quirigua, Guaytan, and Copan. This is entirely fitting with the primary scene concerning birth, performed privately within houses among Maya to the present.

When I first viewed the Birth Vase, I realized that a pivotally important scene was a young woman grasping a twisted serpent rope above her head while accompanied by aged goddesses, all aspects of Chak Chel or Goddess O, with one of them embracing her abdomen, entirely consistent with contemporary birth practices in which a woman gives birth while supporting herself by a rope strung through the rafters while a midwife squeezes her abdomen. Since this study was published, Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos (2017:118-123, 2018:43-45) has provided the most comprehensive discussion of the Birth Vase scenes. As I note in my study, the twisted, bicephalic rope is commonly held in the beak of the Principal Bird Deity, quite possibly denoting a means of transport and access to the heavens. Excavated in 2004, the Late Preclassic West Wall mural at San Bartolo provides detailed depictions of this motif, with three examples of the bird holding early versions of the same serpent rope while perched atop a world tree (Taube et al. 2010). A goddess of curing and midwives, Chak Chel typically is an aged, wizened being, at times with jaguar ears. One of her most spectacular examples is a finely carved Early Classic limestone figure with feline ears leaning over a frame, almost surely for holding a rectangular divinatory mirror for scrying, divination being a basic tool for determining illness and for curing among ancient and contemporary Mesoamerican peoples (see Fields and Reents-Budet 2005:No. 58).

Another side of the Birth Vase features a young goddess—almost certainly the one in the aforementioned birth scene—along with aged God N figures, including one holding a bowl of sacrificial blades. A spiked burning censer containing a round element with flames and central plumes dominates the lower part of the scene, which I identify as a vessel for heart sacrifice. I subsequently compared such offering vessels to the Aztec *cuauhxicalli* bowls for heart offerings. In the case of both the Maya and Aztec vessels the interior often contains a solar device—for the Maya the *k'in* sign and for the Aztec the date Nahui Ollin (Four Earthquake), the calendrical name for the sun deity, Tonatiuh (Taube 2009c). For the Birth Vase scene, I relate this offering to the Maya concept of *k'ex*, the ritual substitution between a given subject and another object of less value, such as chickens substituted for human souls in curing ceremonies. Although we have for many years discussed ancient Maya sacrificial offerings related to such positive and life-giving themes as the sun, ancestors, maize, and rainmaking, I believe that this is one of the first studies dedicated to the “dark arts” of magic and witchcraft. I note the sacrifice of human infants, which surely must have constituted one of the most precious substitutional offerings, here in relation to malignant curses and curing. In his discussion of the Early Classic infant sacrifices in the Diablo tomb at El Zotz, Andrew Scherer (2015:142-150) also relates the disturbing offerings of infants to the concept of *k'ex* ceremonies.

Chapter 2

The Rainmakers: The Olmec and Their Contribution to Mesoamerican Belief and Ritual

It was during the early 1990s that I first started exploring the wonderful art and iconography of the Olmec, among the most ancient cultures in Mesoamerica, in large part due to F. Kent Reilly III inviting me to contribute to a major catalogue at Princeton University in which this chapter was originally published. For me, understanding the Olmec is of critical importance for seeing the development of later cultures, and I regard the Olmec in many ways and with no reservations as a *cultura madre* of Mesoamerica, especially in terms of ritual and

symbolism pertaining to agricultural wealth and fertility. Living in a region of rich soils and abundant water where it is possible to have three crops a year, the Olmec were truly role models of farming success during the Formative. In my “Rainmakers” study, I address two important beings in Olmec iconography, the Olmec Rain God and a creature which I term the Avian Serpent. I argue that the Avian Serpent is a very early form of the plumed serpent known in the contact period as Quetzalcoatl by the Aztec, Kukulcan by the Yukatek Maya, and Gukumatz by the K’iche’ of highland Guatemala. I note that the so-called “flame eyebrows” found with this being are actually feathers, probably to evoke the crest of the male quetzal. In fact, in subsequent research I have found that for the Classic Maya the feathered serpent commonly has a quetzal crest, quite unlike the plumed serpent of Central Mexico which, beginning with Teotihuacan, is a rattlesnake with quetzal plumes covering its body (Taube 2003b, 2010a). For the Olmec, a mural from Juxtlahuaca, Guerrero, portrays this creature with a quetzal head and crest. In addition, Monument 19 from La Venta depicts the Avian Serpent as a rattlesnake with an avian head and crest, surely relating to the origins of both Quetzalcoatl and the Maya feathered serpent.

In this study, I also take a very different slant on the so-called Olmec “torch” motif and argue that rather than being a burning stick bundle, it is actually a bound package of precious quetzal plumes. In addition I suggest that the “double merlon” sign in Olmec iconography signifies the color green and is not only found on the feathers of these bundles but also the serpentine mosaics from the Massive Offerings at La Venta, as well as basal registers denoting the earth at Late Preclassic Izapa and other sites of southeastern Mesoamerica. In a recent paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology meeting in Albuquerque, I reassessed the double merlon motif, and I am still more confident that this is indeed the Olmec motif for green and probably the origin of the Maya trilobate *yax* sign signifying this color (Taube 2019). Despite the terms “flame eyebrows” and “torches” in Olmec iconographic studies, there is at this point no evidence of the importance of fire in Olmec art and ritual, including even from excavated offerings, where ash would obviously be present.

What I was still not aware of when I wrote the Rainmakers study is that the “torch motif” is not simply a feather bundle but actually a maize ear fetish, strongly resembling examples known for the ancient and contemporary Puebloan Southwest, which are often wrapped with precious macaw plumes (see Taube 2000a). In addition, the Olmec Maize God—a being that I discuss in detail in Chapter 3—commonly has the double merlon sign for green on his face, quite probably marking him as verdant growing corn. An Olmec celt that has been at the Aberdeen University Museum in Scotland since the early twentieth century portrays the Olmec Maize God holding the maize ear fetish with the double merlon, and there are many other examples of this deity grasping the same device (Hammond and Taube 2019).

The second half of my Rainmakers study concerns another significant complex of ancient Mesoamerica, the rain god known as Tlaloc in highland Mexico, Cocijo for the Zapotec of Oaxaca, and Chahk among the Maya. I based this discussion largely on the chart concerning the evolution of Mesoamerican rain gods first published by Miguel Covarrubias in 1946. However, at the time of this research very little was known about early Maya forms of the rain deity, and in his diagram Covarrubias confuses the Maya Chahk with a zoomorphic head denoting a mountain or *witz*. Shortly before the Rainmakers study was published, David Stuart identified both the Classic form of Chahk and the Witz creature, which in fact surely overlap in both visual attributes and meaning, in part because rain deities are closely identified with mountains in Mesoamerican thought.

In this chapter, I extend Stuart's Late Classic identification of the Maya Chahk a good deal earlier to not only Early Classic but Late Preclassic Maya examples, thereby bridging the Olmec Rain God to the later Maya deity. I do believe that this argument has stood the test of time, and at this point there seems to be an almost seamless evolution of the Olmec Rain God to Chahk, including a Late Preclassic depiction of the Maya deity on the West Wall mural at San Bartolo discovered in 2004 (see Taube et al. 2010). Among the earliest Olmec examples of this being are Early Formative ceramic figurines—frequently ballplayers—with many attributed to Tlatilco in the Valley of Mexico (see Bradley 1991; Taube 2009a). Whether these are locally made or imports from San Lorenzo or other sites in southern Veracruz remains to be seen. In her recent doctoral dissertation concerning Tlatilco, my former student Catharina Santasilia (2019) documented a great many ballplayer figurines of the Olmec Rain God attributed to the site. In recent research, I relate Mesoamerican rain gods to the overlapping themes of ritual boxing and the ballgame, both sweaty and bloody sports concerning fertility and rainmaking and probably beginning with the Formative Olmec. In addition, it appears that many ballcourts were ritually flooded, as can be seen by their basin-like enclosed forms as well as their drains (Taube 2018).

Chapter 3

The Olmec Maize God: The Face of Corn in Formative Mesoamerica

Following my study of Olmec concepts pertaining to rain and agricultural abundance, in the third chapter I focus far more on Olmec concepts of their god of corn. To be clear, this was not my original identification, as both Michael Coe and Peter David Joralemon had already discussed examples of this being, albeit briefly. However, my work was the first systematic effort to identify his basic attributes and relation to corn deities of later Mesoamerica, especially the Classic Maya Maize God, a being that I also discussed and defined in one of my first publications (Taube 1985). Following the discussion of the Olmec Rain God and the later Maya Chahk, this seemed like an obvious avenue. One of the most important attributes I stress in this study is the Olmec Maize God's cranial cleft, a trait very rarely found with any other Olmec deity. I argue that this V-shaped element denotes the bracts or split husk of the maize ear, making his entire head a mature cob, and not a "cosmic vaginal passage" as proposed by Peter Furst (1981:151). In addition, I argue that Olmec greenstone celts of serpentine and jade are symbolic ears of corn, and I note their deliberate placement oriented to cardinal directions in Middle Formative caches, including at La Venta, Tabasco, and San Isidro, Chiapas, much like the creation of the four-sided maize field. The more recent discovery of similar offerings in Middle Formative contexts at the Maya sites of Cival and Ceibal in the Peten have highlighted the importance of celts and world directions during the Middle Formative period in relation to E-Group architectural complexes, a terminology based on Group E at Uaxactun where a major "range structure" to the east faces a radial pyramid (see Estrada-Belli 2006; Inomata and Triadan 2015). In addition, excavations in highland Chiapas at Chiapa de Corzo uncovered a similar celt offering at the base of a major E-Group designated as Group C (Bachand and Lowe 2008:Fig. 65).

In my study of the Olmec Maize God, I was strongly influenced by the aforementioned Covarrubias diagram illustrating the evolution of Mesoamerican rain gods, and I thought it reasonable to apply this elegant model to the origins and development of maize gods in Mesoamerica. The earliest known examples of what I consider the Zapotec maize god from



Figure 1. Early Zapotec portrayal of the maize deity, Monte Alban I, Yale Art Gallery (photo by author).



Figure 2. Late Preclassic stucco sculpture of Maya maize deity, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (from Fields and Reents-Budet 2005:No. 39).

Monte Alban Phase I urns look almost wholly Olmec and are probably only a century or less since the demise of La Venta (Figure 1).

In “The Face of Corn,” I also note the striking similarity of Early Classic Maya examples of the maize god to the Middle Formative Olmec deity, including an extended upper lip framing prominent incisors. However, when I originally did this research there were very few of what I considered Late Preclassic Maya examples, the critical bridge between the Formative Olmec and Classic Maya. One of the few I could cite is a stucco medallion in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Figure 2). However, with the spectacular discovery by William Saturno of the Late Preclassic mural chamber in the Pinturas Group at San Bartolo, this limited corpus extended greatly, with no fewer than six examples of the god now known from this single room (Saturno et al. 2005; Taube et al. 2010). At San Bartolo, he looks wholly Olmec and strongly resembles a jadeite mask of the Olmec Maize God at Dumbarton Oaks (see Taube 2004c:Pl. 30). In addition, excavations at Cival by Francisco Estrada-Belli (2011:Figs. 5.22-5.24) soon after found several



Figure 3. Late Preclassic mural of the Maya Maize God from Cival, Guatemala (photo courtesy of Francisco Estrada-Belli).

murals of this being dating to about the same time (Figure 3). At San Bartolo, an especially important discovery was made by the Guatemalan archaeologist Boris Beltrán, who through tunnel excavations discovered a still-earlier mural sequence under the Pinturas mural chamber dating to the fourth century BC, in other words only roughly a century after the Olmec demise (Taube and Saturno 2008). The face of this deity is virtually identical to the examples from the mural chamber several centuries later (Figure 4). His visage is unquestionably Olmec and at this point there is no gap or “missing link” between the Olmec Maize God and early examples for the Maya.

Chapter 4

The Jade Hearth: Centrality, Rulership, and the Classic Maya Temple

A publication deriving from a 1994 symposium on Classic Maya architecture at Dumbarton Oaks, Chapter 4 also concerns the house theme of Chapter 1, but in this case focusing on the houses of gods, in other words temples, a topic I subsequently revisited at a conference in

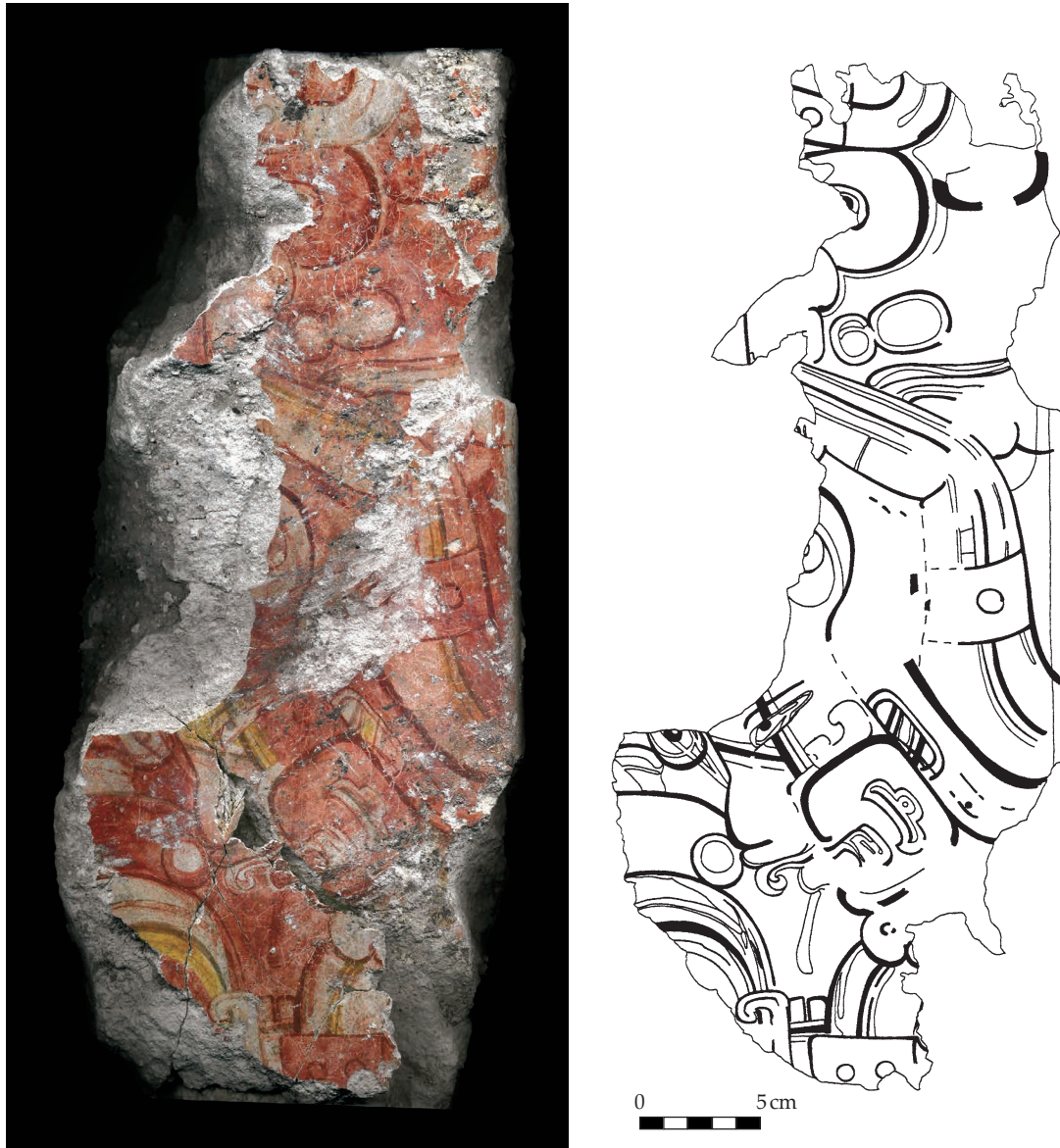


Figure 4. Mural fragment portraying the Maya Maize God dating to the fourth century BC, San Bartolo, Guatemala (photo from Taube and Saturno 2008:Fig. 14b; drawing by Heather Hurst).

2012 for the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (Taube 2013). Among the themes I discuss is houses, and by extension temples, as cosmic models, the four corner posts related to world trees at the intercardinal points (see also Taube 2017b). In terms of the cosmic house, the posts symbolically frame the central hearth, and in this paper I pursued a brilliant insight by Linda Schele (Freidel et al. 1993) that the three stones mentioned in inscriptions pertaining to the 4 Ahau 8 Cumku event beginning the last Long Count cycle concerned the setting of these pivotal stones at the *axis mundi*, where they are prefixed by the term *yax* or green, the color direction corresponding to the world center. According to David Stuart (2011:220), a possible reading of this three-stone logograph is *yoket*, a word form which is probably

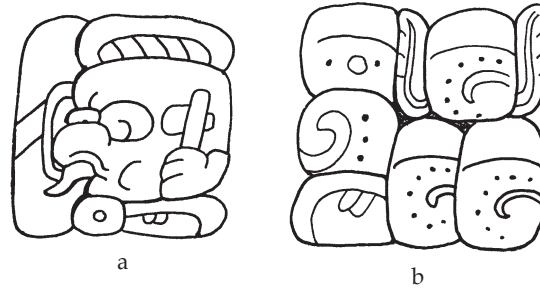


Figure 5. Structure A-3 at Ceibal, Guatemala, viewed from the southwest (photo by author).



Figure 6. Stela 21 atop Structure A-3 at Ceibal, Guatemala (photo by author).

Figure 7. Epigraphic examples alluding to Ceibal as the “central place” from monuments in the Structure A-3 Group: (a) glyphic compound from Ceibal Stela 1 referring to the ruler as a *yax kaloomte'*; (b) three-stone hearth sign with *tahn* logograph denoting center or middle, Ceibal Stela 10 (drawings by author).



governed by the concept of inalienable possession of certain things in Mayan languages, whereby the related word *yotoch* in Yukatek means not simply “house” but a house owned by someone. As the symbolic center of the house, the hearthstones may have entailed a similar concept of ownership, perhaps by the very house itself.

In support of the three-stone hearth identification, I supplied epigraphic examples with smoke and flames in the “Jade Hearth” paper. Subsequently, excavations directed by William Saturno of the West Wall mural at San Bartolo in 2004 provided explicit evidence of cooking stones (Taube et al. 2010). Much of the West Wall mural features a series of world directional trees, with three featuring animal sacrificial offerings, these being a fish, a deer, and an ocellated turkey. All of these have smoking stones in their open abdomens, and while the fish has five, the deer and bird have three, clearly relating to the three hearthstones so prominent in Classic Maya texts.

In the Jade Hearth study the most striking discovery for me was the cache in Structure A-3 at Ceibal, a radial temple bearing dates relating to the completion of baktun 10, although the stelae in this group primarily concern an event a katun later, that being 10.1.0.0.0 5 Ahau 3 Kayab, corresponding to AD 849 (Stuart 2016). It is probably no coincidence that this late date relates not only to a major period ending but also the time of the Maya Collapse. This remarkable structure has stelae and altars on all four sides and, oddly, Stela 21 in the pivotal center of the temple superstructure, with evidence of considerable burning on the stucco floor (Figures 5 and 6). While gleaning over the Peabody Museum excavation reports for the building, I realized that there were three jade boulders placed directly below this central stela, hence my title “The Jade Hearth.” Of special relevance of course is that the Ceibal royal emblem glyph denotes the “sacred lord of the three stone place.” David Stuart (2016) observes that in fact the pivotal Stela 21 atop Structure A-3 explicitly refers to the green three hearthstones pertaining to the 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ahau 8 Cumku event. For Stela 1 from the same radial temple, the lord bears the title *yax kaloomte'*—*kaloomte'* being a major and rare title for Maya kings, logographically portrayed as the rain God Chahk wielding a lightning axe and typically designating particular cardinal points (Figure 7a). In Maya directional color symbolism, red is east, north white, west black, and south yellow, with the center as green or *yax*. In addition, on Ceibal Stela 10 from the same A-3 Group, the three-stone sign is prefixed by the *tahn* glyph based visually on the human abdomen (Figure 7b), but meaning “middle” or “central.”

The glyph for *tahn*, “within,” but also “chest,” is shown in later examples by the arch of the solar plexus, two nipples, and a belly button. Earlier examples with quincunx signs probably indicated “centrality,” the center of the body. (Houston et al. 2006:36, see Fig. 1.37a)

Clearly enough, Late Classic inscriptions at Ceibal denote it as the “Middle Place,” both as

regards the three hearthstones but also the color green denoting the center in Maya color directional symbolism. At Late Classic Ceibal, Structure A-3 with its celtiform directional stelae oriented to the four directions and center was probably the locus of ceremonies pertaining to concepts of world creation and foundation involving calendrics and the cardinal points, which can be seen as early as the Middle Formative with directional celt offerings as well as the three hearthstone cache in the immediately adjacent E-Group to the north.

Recent excavations at Ceibal directed by Takeshi Inomata at the E-Group just north of the A-3 complex uncovered a wide range of Middle Formative “Olmec-style” offerings on the central axis, including directionally oriented greenstone celts and ceramic vessels as well as a set of three large stone spheres placed in a triangular pattern, suggesting that at a very early date Ceibal, as the place of the three stones, was a pivotally important center of the ancient Maya world (see Inomata and Triadan 2015:Fig 32). Geographically, it is indeed located in the center of the Maya lowlands, and perhaps Structure A-3 concerns Maya lords from different realms in the Maya region converging at Ceibal to celebrate not only the baktun ending of 10.0.0.0.0 (one katun later on 10.1.0.0.0) but also an extremely long era of Maya rulership in the Peten. Although publicly commemorating the completion or termination of royal dynasties may seem counterintuitive, the last known completely carved major monument at Copan, Altar Q from AD 776, has four kings on each of its four sides, which although creating a pleasantly symmetrical cosmogram leaves no room for a successor, with the founder K’inich Yax K’uk’ Mo’ and the sixteenth ruler Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat facing each other on the western side, much as if marking the end of the Copan dynasty that began with the arrival of K’inich Yax K’uk’ Mo’ 350 years earlier in AD 426. In terms of the Maya Collapse, Dennis Puleston (1979:67-68) gathered a trove of ethnohistoric data concerning the importance to Colonial Maya polities of katun endings of the “Short Count,” and he noted that this was surely present among the Classic Maya as well:

[I]t seems undeniable that a thirteen-katun historical cycle was recognized and was of great influence during the Classic Period. Even the katun prophesies which survived in the Post-Conquest period may reflect something of these events which must have already had a rhythm of their own which, like waves on an ocean of time, had a momentum that carried the fortunes of civilization with them.

In this regard, there is also the Late Classic Altar 3 from Altar de los Reyes in Campeche that appeared to have originally featured 13 emblem glyphs from major Maya centers, a pattern strongly evocative of the katun cycle of the early Colonial period (see Taube 1988a; Šprajc 2003).

The relation of the three hearthstones to the mythic 4 Ahau 8 Cumku event is not limited to Quirigua but also appears in inscriptions from other sites, including Palenque, Piedras Negras, and Dos Pilas. In addition, an important Early Classic example occurs on the back of a greenstone mask of GI, an aquatic aspect of the sun deity (see Van Stone 2010:52-54). The inscription indicates that the mythic relation of the three stones to the 13.0.0.0.0 event was of considerable antiquity and widely shared by the Classic Maya.

The three hearthstones are relatively rare in the Postclassic Maya codices, although page 43 of the *Codex Madrid* has a glyphic passage concerning offerings with eight columns of vertical text beginning with the glyphs for East, North, West, and South, followed by the three hearthstones, a temple glyph, then a fire sign, and finally an undeciphered glyph with a ceramic vessel as the main sign (Taube et al. 2010:25, Fig. 15d) (Figure 8c). In

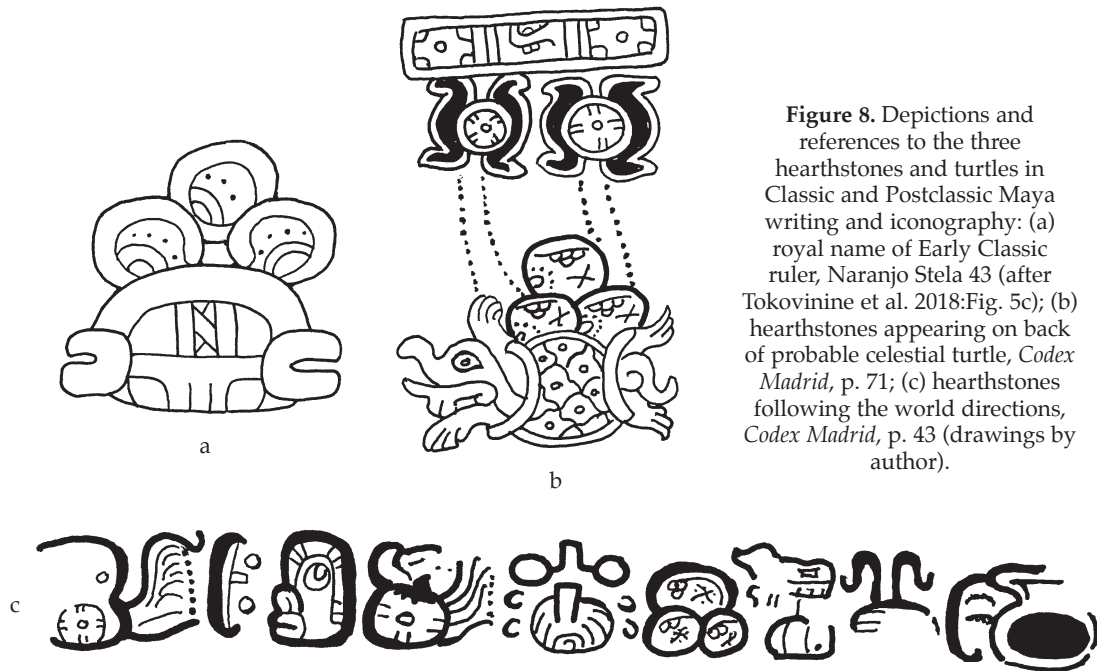


Figure 8. Depictions and references to the three hearthstones and turtles in Classic and Postclassic Maya writing and iconography: (a) royal name of Early Classic ruler, Naranjo Stela 43 (after Tokovinine et al. 2018:Fig. 5c); (b) hearthstones appearing on back of probable celestial turtle, *Codex Madrid*, p. 71; (c) hearthstones following the world directions, *Codex Madrid*, p. 43 (drawings by author).

addition, page 71 of the *Codex Madrid* also features a turtle below a skyband with falling rain, a scene that has been interpreted as a depiction of the constellation Orion (see Friedel et al. 1993:Fig. 2.16) (Figure 8b). Rather than being Orion, however, the Madrid scene could perhaps simply portray a skyband shedding rain atop the earth turtle (Taube et al. 2010:25). Nonetheless, an Early Classic royal name from Naranjo indicates that despite the fact that the turtle is indeed a basic symbol of the earth, it may have celestial connotations as well. The recently discovered Naranjo Stela 48 depicts the ruler Ajnumsaaj Chan K'inich wearing a mask backpiece with his father's name appearing as a turtle headdress along with the sky glyph and the three hearthstones, with this sky turtle hearthstone name appearing in other glyphic contexts pertaining to Naranjo (Tokovinine et al. 2018) (Figure 8a). In addition, in my Jade Hearth study I also note textual examples of celestial hearthstones at Copan and Salinas de los Nueve Cerros. At this point, I have no firm idea as to what this means, but I am not confident that the celestial hearthstones and turtle indeed refer to the constellation Orion.

As in my Birth Vase study (Chapter 1), I also discuss the relation of Maya temples to ceramic censers and cache vessels, and I suggest that they serve as miniaturized symbolic forms of the temple as the focus of ritual. The relation of temple facades to such ritual urns is especially visible during the Early Classic, and the recent discovery of the elaborate Early Classic El Diablo Temple at El Zotz is a striking example of the similarity of stucco facades to the images on censers and cache vessels (see Taube and Houston 2015). In this case the royal tomb within the structure could well be considered a symbolic "cache offering." Indeed, the sarcophagus of K'inich Janaab Pakal in the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque has been compared to a cache vessel, with the placement of five jades on Pakal's hands and feet as well as one on his loins being much like the directional placement of offerings in Classic Maya caches, as seen for instance at Copan (see Miller 1992; Taube 2012b, 2015a).

Chapter 5

The Turquoise Hearth: Fire, Self Sacrifice, and the Central Mexican Cult of War

After my Jade Hearth study focusing on Maya concepts of jade in relation to cosmic temples and centrality, I published a paper concerning Teotihuacan and later Central Mexican concepts of fire, warfare, and the afterlife, which I entitled the “Turquoise Hearth.” Although here I only tangentially refer to the precious stone itself, I addressed it specifically in a conference at the British Museum in 2009, published several years later (Taube 2012c). In the Turquoise Hearth I discuss the subject of the cult of war at Teotihuacan, where despite the fact that there is essentially no evidence of turquoise at the Early Classic site, themes pertaining to its later symbolic significance were already present, including a supernatural creature linked to war, fire, and meteors. In this work I reappraise my initial identification of the War Serpent, which I first identified and named in my Temple of Quetzalcoatl paper (Taube 1992c). Here I take a more nuanced approach and argue that rather than being based on a snake, the War Serpent relates to widespread Mesoamerican concepts of fiery meteors and meteorites as caterpillars, a theme entirely consistent with the Late Postclassic Aztec Xiuhcoatl, or “meteor snake,” whose segmented body shares the same form with early Colonial portrayals of caterpillars in the *Codex Mendoza*, *Matrícula de tributos*, and other documents (see also Taube 2012c). In a Dumbarton Oaks symposium in 2008, I presented visual evidence linking Late Classic versions of the War Serpent to early forms of the Xiuhcoatl (Taube 2011). In the British Museum conference on turquoise I also relate the Classic-period War Serpent to the Late Postclassic Aztec Xiuhcoatl, the most impressive examples being the magnificent pair on the sides of the great Calendar Stone, with flames emerging from each segment of their bodies, much like pupate butterfly wings. In other words, this massive solar disk of Tonatiuh is surrounded by supernatural caterpillars, meteoric beings of fire and turquoise (Taube 2012c).

Of particular interest to me in the Turquoise Hearth paper is the concept of fire in relation to the immolation of deceased heroic warriors transmuted into butterfly souls through the transformational element of fire. That is, the burning of warrior mortuary bundles symbolized the metamorphosis of the chrysalis or cocoon into a resplendent, fiery butterfly. At Teotihuacan, the most direct expressions of this concept are the so-called “theater censers,” which I argue are portrayals of masked mortuary bundles, with the act of burning the offering symbolizing a reenactment of their cremation, as known for the later Aztec and illustrated in the *Codex Magliabechiano* and *Codex Tudela*. Originally rendered in bright polychrome, these censers are frequently ornamented with floral mica mirrors, butterflies, quetzal birds, and other resplendent items and in fact serve as excellent Early Classic encapsulations of the Flower World first defined and discussed by the late linguist Jane Hill (1992).

One of the main workshops for creating the mold-made ceramic appliqué for the censers was annexed directly to the northwest corner of the Ciudadela at Teotihuacan, and I argue in this study that the Ciudadela, containing the Temple of Quetzalcoatl (or the Feathered Serpent Pyramid) with its massive dedicatory offering of sacrificed victims, may well constitute the original “Turquoise Enclosure” of self-sacrifice during the Early Classic period. The phenomenal discovery by the archaeologist Sergio Gómez Chávez (2017) of an early massive tunnel with hundreds of thousands of offerings leading directly under the center of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl creates a whole new perspective on the relation of the Ciudadela to Teotihuacan as well as the cultural origins and development of this great center.

Chapter 6

Lightning Celts and Corn Fetishes: The Formative Olmec and the Development of Maize Symbolism in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

I consider Chapter 6 to be one of my most ambitious and far-ranging papers as well as among my favorites. This was composed when there were two major exhibitions devoted to the Olmec, the aforementioned one at Princeton and another at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., with my "Rainmakers" paper being the result of the first and this paper the result of the latter. The central theme concerns the origins of maize ritual and symbolism of not only Mesoamerica but the American Southwest as well. I argue that the Olmec were the first to articulate an elaborate symbolic complex pertaining to maize and wealth, including its relation to cosmic world directions, green jade, and quetzal plumes as well as ritual items, especially greenstone celts and maize ear fetishes. It is important to note that in native perspective, "wealth" is not simply something inherited and manipulated, but reflects the moral value of living in the correct way and in balance so that the powers of rain will bestow further abundance for the benefit of human increase, such as can be seen among the contemporary Hopi. In other words, certain Olmec were probably regarded as sacred mediators to this divine realm as "rain-makers." The dissemination of maize agriculture did not just include farming techniques but also elaborate symbolism and ritual, clearly in part to ensure the summer rains that would make the growth of this sacred plant possible. One of the reasons that maize was never adopted among native peoples in California where I live is that in the absence of major irrigation networks, maize cannot grow without the summer monsoon cycle of rain that is present in the American Southwest as well as Mesoamerica.

In this chapter I argue that this symbolic complex of corn first developed during Olmec times, especially during the apogee of Middle Formative La Venta (ca. 900–400 BC) when maize iconography becomes widespread, along with trade routes for acquiring jadeite from the Motagua Valley of eastern Guatemala as well as quetzal plumes from the Maya highlands. I note that for the Olmec there are two precious items directly related to maize. One is the maize ear fetish, a bundle of bound reeds or sticks surrounding a central ear of corn with a tuft of feathers at the top, much like the verdant husk around an ear of maize. Although in my 1995 Rainmakers study I identify these as simply bundles of precious plumes, they almost invariably have a projecting ear of corn. In addition, there are stone examples carved in serpentine or jadeite that explicitly show the head of the maize god with an emerging cob, including an example from Ejido Ojoshal, to be subsequently discussed (Figure 9).

What I find truly remarkable is that for Puebloan peoples in the American Southwest to this day, among the most prized and sacred items are perfect ears of corn—that is, the grains go entirely to the tip of the cob—surrounded by feathers. These are the embodiments of the maize spirit, and at times they can be supplied with necklaces as if sentient beings, as in the case of a fetish from Sia Pueblo, New Mexico (Figure 10a). White (1962:307-308) graphically describes the creation of these at Sia as personified embodiments of the corn spirit:

The fetish has a "face" on one side of the tip end. At the back of the "head," two long parrot tail feathers are inserted. A necklace of turquoise, obsidian and beads is placed around iariko's "neck."

For Acoma close to Zuni, the goddess of the earth and maize created the first maize ear fetish, known as *honani*:



Figure 9. Serpentinite maize ear fetish found with an offering of over 100 greenstone celts, Ejido Ojoshal, Chiapas: (a) overview of offering (photo courtesy of Mary Ellen Miller); (b) detail of serpentinite maize fetish in center of offering (photo by author).



Figure 10. Maize ear fetishes from North America: (a) maize fetish from Sia, New Mexico (from Stevenson 1894:Pl. 9); (b) maize fetish from the Pawnee of Oklahoma (from Fletcher 1904:Pl. 88).

So Iatiku made this honani with corn in the center into which she had blown her own breath, into the hollow in the bottom of the cob, and then closed it with the cotton. This breath was to be her own power in it; she blew her heart (soul) into it. This ear of corn would thereafter symbolize herself... (Stirling 1942:31-32)

In the American Southwest, these precious and esteemed items are frequently bound with feathers of the macaw, a bird from Mesoamerica, suggesting an origin for these sacred maize ears further south where corn was actually first domesticated. What is quite remarkable is that with the Pawnee of Oklahoma the corn fetish is documented in the late nineteenth century, where it has a tassel of feathers on the tip, much like examples from the Puebloan Southwest (Figure 10b). Alice C. Fletcher (1904:22) provides an account of the profound significance of this maize ear:

The ear of white corn, called Atira, Mother, represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

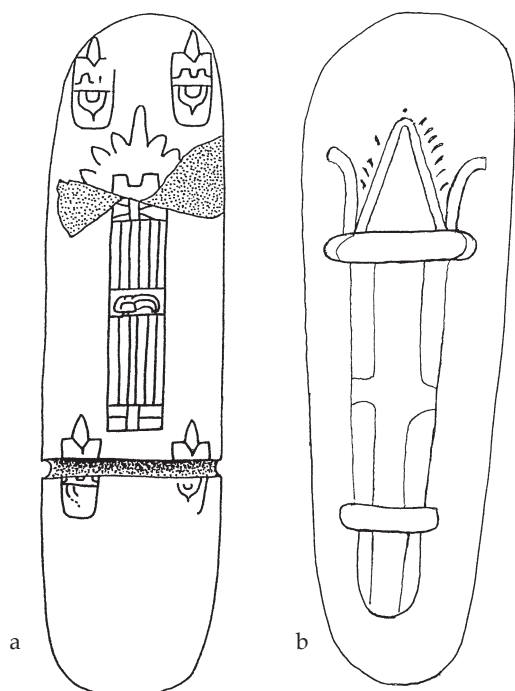


Figure 11. Middle Formative Olmec images of the corn ear fetish incised on serpentine celts: (a) feathered maize fetish surrounded by four celtiform ears of corn, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (from Taube and Saturno 2008:Fig 7d); (b) large serpentine celt with maize ear fetish, Yale Art Gallery (drawings by author).

Given the fact that the maize deity is prominently portrayed on images of Olmec maize ear fetishes, it is more than likely that they were similarly treated as items of reverence and living embodiments of the spirit of corn.

The other Olmec item of value pertaining to maize is the greenstone celt, symbolizing the verdant ear of corn. In fact this axe contextually overlaps in many ways with the feathered maize ear fetish. An incised serpentine celt in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art portrays the maize fetish as the central element of a quincunx pattern flanked at the four corners by celtiform maize ears (Figure 11a). In addition a massive serpentine celt in the Yale Art Gallery features an incised image of a maize ear fetish, in this case with the lower portion broken into four quarters, again alluding to the directions and world center (Figure 11b). However, the most spectacular display of the relation of the maize fetish to celts is an Olmec offering found at Ejido Ojoshal, Tabasco, located some 15 kilometers north of La Venta.

The cache had in the center a serpentine rendering of the maize ear fetish with the head of the maize god surrounded by a bed of over one hundred greenstone celts, with all the bit edges oriented in same direction (see Roca Cogordan 2012:176) (Figure 9).

As has been mentioned, there have been many Middle Formative Olmec-style caches found in recent years at sites in the Maya area, the most noteworthy being Cival and Ceibal in the Peten of Guatemala. In addition, recent excavations at Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, have also uncovered celt offerings, including one with an incised image of the Olmec Maize God. As I note in this study, the Hopi have sacred celts, *chamahiya*, fashioned of soft hornblend—the same material used to carve European meerschaum pipes. Among the Hopi Snake Society in the nineteenth century, certain *chamahiya* were actually encased in feathered *tiponi* bundles as symbolic ears of corn. In addition, the Mennonite missionary Henry Voth illustrates scenes of kiva initiation at the Third Mesa pueblo of Oraibi where there was a sand painting with stone *chamahiya* of yellow, blue, red, and white, with corresponding ears of maize oriented to the directions of the horizontal plane presided over by the four Cloud Chiefs represented by stepped clouds (Figure 12). The middle of this cosmogram depicts the levels of the worlds, with the *sipapu* place of emergence being in the center (corresponding to a particular yellow travertine dome in the Grand Canyon) and then followed by the underworld levels of yellow, blue, and red, with humankind living in the fourth world of white.

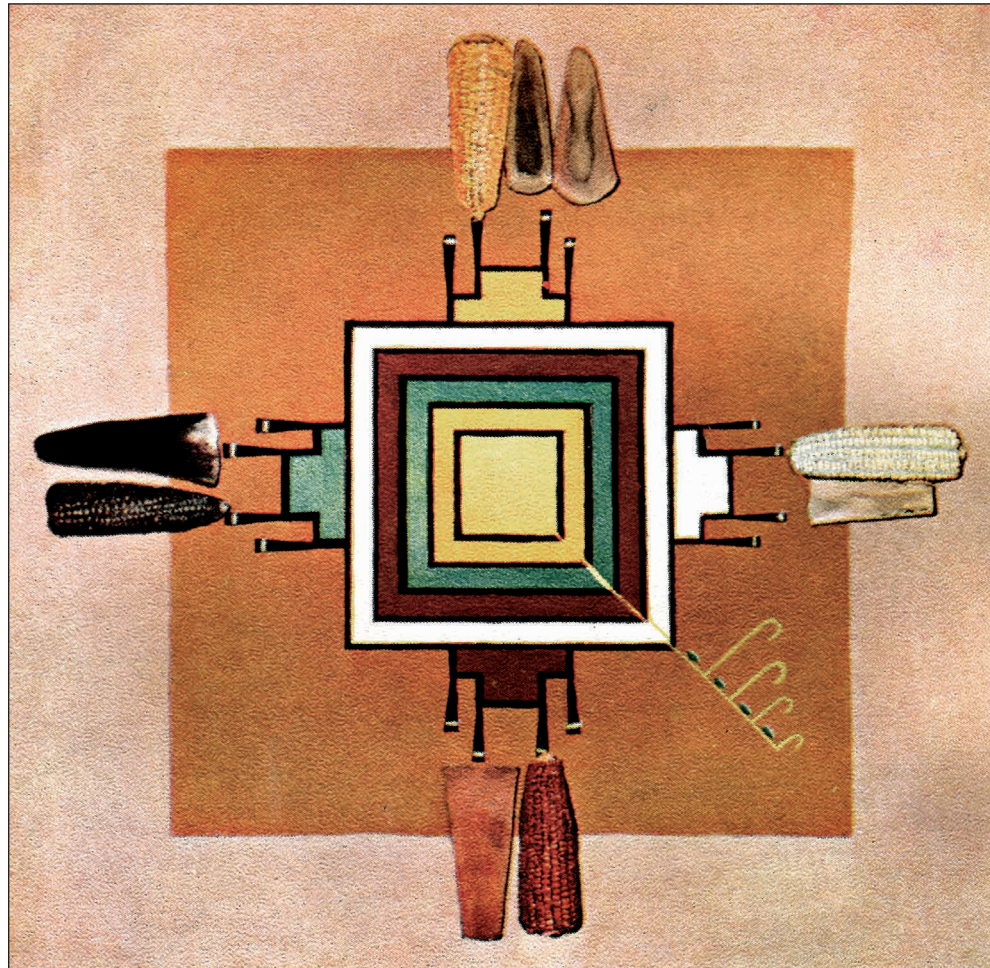


Figure 12. Hopi kiva initiation sand painting from nineteenth-century Oraibi of color directional maize ears and *chamahiya* celts framing image of the central *sipapu* surrounded by the four colored levels of the world (from Voth 1901:Pl. 52).

If this was found with the “*chamahiya*” buried in southeastern Mesoamerica, one would assume it was an Olmec cache.

Chapter 7

The Breath of Life: The Symbolism of Wind in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

This study is the direct result of a question by the late Virginia M. Fields, then curator of Art of the Ancient Americas at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, who asked me what would be an exhibit that I would like to participate in. I immediately responded with “The Road to Aztlan,” a way to bridge the rich cultures of the American Southwest to Mesoamerica, with Los Angeles being a perfect place to do this. My particular piece in the exhibition catalog focuses on native concepts of breath and wind, known in Hopi as *hikwisi* and a very



Figure 13. Fred Kabotie painting entitled "Flute Ceremony" (from Kabotie 1977:116).

their floral instruments before a pool inhabited by the plumed water serpent Paalölöqangw (Figure 13). At the baseline, one can discern his rendering of the levels of the earth, beginning with yellow, blue, and red, and ending with us in the white world, something perhaps not that obvious but perfectly clear to initiated Hopi. In addition Kabotie depicts a demure woman in the background, and almost surely this is a Corn Maiden, with the overlapping cloak suggesting her head emerging from the cleft husk of maize. Her legs are blue, which is the color of the hardy ear of corn first favored by the Hopi at their emergence from the *sipapu* when they encountered Maasaw, the god of fire and death, who presented them with both maize to eat and a gourd canteen of water to drink.

As it turns out, feathered flutes are widespread in ancient Mesoamerica, including Aztec examples from the *Primeros memoriales*, and the roughly contemporaneous *Codex Tudela* depicts a musician holding an explicit floral flute with a blossom and even vegetation on the side (Figure 14a–b). Classic Maya imagery is replete with depictions of flutes and trumpets having feather or paper elements at the distal ends, as can be seen in graffiti from Tikal (Figure 14c). In addition, a figurine attributed to Jaina grasps a floral trumpet rimmed with petals having the central breath element explicitly portrayed three-dimensionally (see Miller and Martin 2004:Pl. 19). Oddly enough, inscriptions from both La Corona and Tikal, Guatemala,

sacred means of blessing among the Zuni—moist breath being the essence of the ancestral rain spirits for both peoples. Once I started delving into this somewhat arcane but surprisingly rich topic, I realized that this complex of breath and wind can be readily traced to the Formative-period Olmec, including Monument 1 at Chalcatzingo with its exhaling cave maw, relating as well to the importance of flowers as sources of breath emanations, in other words, their sweet aroma. Simply put, flowers are symbols of the breath soul, and as I note in this study the sacred flutes of the Hopi summer Flute Society members have distal ends in the form of flowers. Out of the ends of these flutes hang *hikwisi* breath cords, thereby linking the music through synesthesia to the aroma of flowers as well as the ancestors. A fully initiated member of a kiva society, the famed Hopi artist Fred Kabotie painted a rendering of Flute Society priests playing

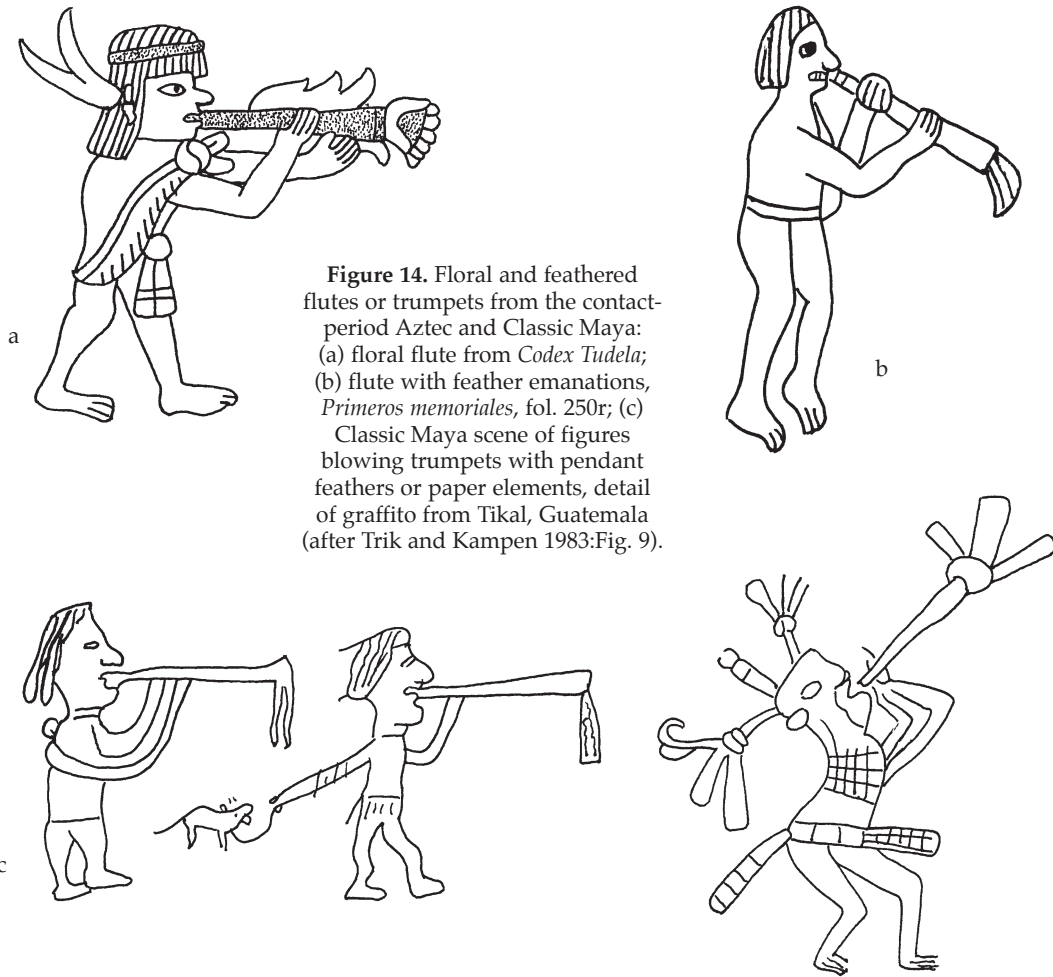


Figure 14. Floral and feathered flutes or trumpets from the contact-period Aztec and Classic Maya: (a) floral flute from *Codex Tudela*; (b) flute with feather emanations, *Primeros memoriales*, fol. 250r; (c) Classic Maya scene of figures blowing trumpets with pendant feathers or paper elements, detail of graffito from Tikal, Guatemala (after Trik and Kampen 1983:Fig. 9).

refer to dance performances accompanied by *yax k'uk'uum amaay* "green-feathered flutes" (David Stuart and Stephen Houston, personal communications, 2012). The relation of flutes and trumpets to feathers extends to the southern limits of Mesoamerica. Dating to roughly the Early Postclassic period, a Papagayo polychrome vessel from the Nicoya Peninsula of Costa Rica depicts a human figure in apparent flight blowing a trumpet emanating feathers (Figure 15). Blossoms with feathers appear on both his headdress and back, and clearly enough this is a very southern extension of the Flower World concept first defined by Jane Hill. Broken into four quarters, his chest piece recalls the Aztec symbol for gold, suggesting that he is wearing a pectoral of this precious material. The identity of this being remains obscure, although he could well be a local embodiment of a solar-related deity, much like a version of the Aztec god of flowers and music known as Xochipilli, the Flower Prince.

In my *Breath of Life* study, I realized that much of the rich complex pertaining to breath, flowers, and music was fully present among the Classic Maya. For the exhibition *Road to Aztlan*, Maya material would not have been a good idea, as Classic Maya imagery is jarringly different from the sharp and elegant imagery of the American Southwest. Nonetheless, these distant regions do share fundamental cultural concepts, despite the fact that they may be portrayed in very different styles. Because of issues of length, I cut a good deal of the Maya

Figure 15. Feathered flute blown by flying floral figure, Nicoya Peninsula, Costa Rica (from Fontana Coto 2001:85).



content from my published chapter. What I was able to include, however, was the identification of the Maya god of breath and wind, known as God H in the Paul Schellhas (1904) classificatory system of deities appearing in the *Madrid*, *Paris*, and *Dresden* codices. About the same time that I was working on this essay, Andrea Stone noted that God H of the Postclassic codices seemed to be a god of flowers, much like the “Flower Prince” Xochipilli of highland Mexico. However, what I realized was that this Late Postclassic deity seemed to better correspond to a comely youthful being appearing in Classic Maya art and writing. In Classic Maya texts he appears in very specific contexts—as the Initial Series Introductory Glyph patron of the month Mac, as the personified form of the numeral 3, and most importantly as the personified form of the second day name Ik, meaning wind, in the twenty named days of the Maya calendar. In all three contexts he can appear with rattles and apparently singing, thereby also identifying him as the Classic Maya god of music. It was thanks to Ginny Fields that I pursued this whole field of research with flowers, music, and the breath soul in my subsequent study entitled “Flower Mountain: Concepts of Life, Beauty, and Paradise among the Classic Maya” (Taube 2004b), which I regard as one of my most important contributions to our field.

Chapter 8

Maws of Heaven and Hell: The Symbolism of the Centipede and Serpent in Classic Maya Religion

As the origin of this paper, I had the honor to be invited to a conference in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, organized in 2002 by the Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas. In this study I note that among the Classic Maya, serpents serve as basic symbols of breath, much like Quetzalcoatl of Central Mexico, and can appear as stylized heads floating before faces of Maya gods and kings. Based on an insightful decipherment by Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm (1994) of the glyphic spelling *chapaht*, centipede, in a roster of Classic Maya *wahy* characters, I pursued its meaning in ancient Maya thought as a creature basically antithetical to the serpents of breath and life. At a number of sites, including Yaxchilan and Copan, centipedes appear in monumental art and surely depict these creatures as skeletal snakes

of the night and darkness. Oddly enough, the south side of Temple 11 at Copan features a pair of massive iguana heads chomping on centipedes in the corners of their mouths, quite possibly some of their favorite fare (Figure 16).

In Mesoamerican iconography, it is readily possible to trace the centipede to the Early Formative Olmec, including a ceramic vessel attributed to Las Bocas, Morelos, as well as a shell carving excavated by archaeologists of Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History working at the very same site (see Paillés 2008) (Figure 17a). As it happens, Justin Kerr also has an example of a carved shell centipede head in his exceptional corpus of Precolumbian art (see K6207 in the Precolumbian Portfolio at Mayavase.com) (Figure 17b). In the snake and centipede paper, I also note the exquisite Late Preclassic pair of centipede shell carvings from Chiapa de Corzo, and clearly enough there is a close relationship to shell with this odd creature. Quite possibly this might have to do with cut and polished shell



Figure 16. Iguanas from southwest corner of Temple 11, Copan, devouring centipedes (photo by author 1995).

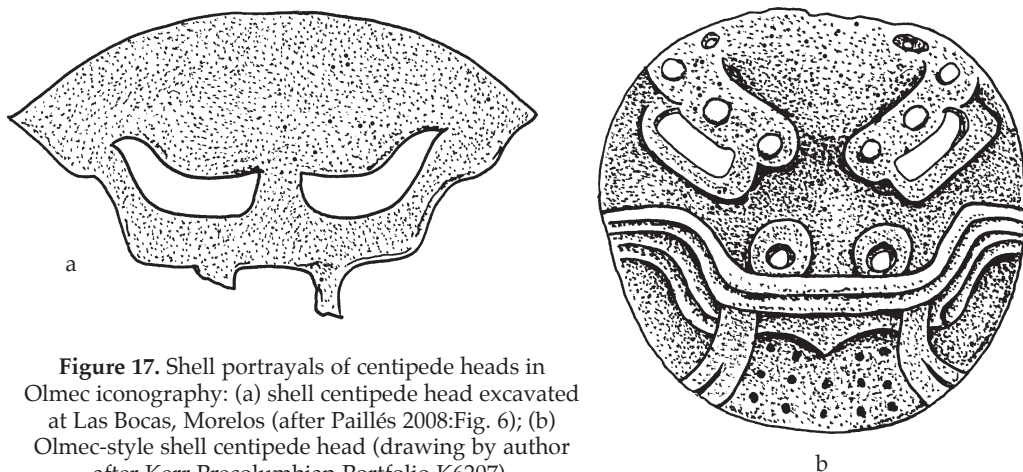


Figure 17. Shell portrayals of centipede heads in Olmec iconography: (a) shell centipede head excavated at Las Bocas, Morelos (after Paillés 2008:Fig. 6); (b) Olmec-style shell centipede head (drawing by author after Kerr Precolumbian Portfolio K6207).

(aside from *Spondylus*) usually being a non-colored and thus nocturnal material evoking the lustrous moon, much as silver was compared to this celestial body in ancient Peru.

Chapter 9

Tetitla and the Maya Presence at Teotihuacan

One of my main research interests over many years has been the complex relationship of Teotihuacan to its Maya neighbors, situated roughly 600 miles to the east. Oddly enough, many researchers regard the Maya region as being “south” of Teotihuacan, but this is indeed not the case. In fact during the Early Postclassic period two of the greatest sites in Mesoamerica were Tula in central Mexico and Chichen Itza in Yucatan, and Chichen Itza is even slightly further north in latitude than Tula. Since the research directed in the 1940s by Alfred Kidder in Mounds A and B at Kaminaljuyu (Kidder et al. 1946), it is becoming increasingly clear that there was direct and sustained contact between the Maya and Teotihuacan. This understanding of the strong link between these two distant and very foreign cultures was further reinforced by the major archaeological project directed by William Coe of the University of Pennsylvania at Tikal with the discovery of the critically important monument Stela 31 dedicated in AD 445. Due in large part to David Stuart’s (2000) groundbreaking readings of hieroglyphic texts from Tikal and Copan, we now realize that Teotihuacan had a very direct influence on local Maya dynasties during the Early Classic period. However, there has been surprisingly little interest in how the Maya influenced Teotihuacan, which is the focus of this chapter.

Among the most striking traits during the earliest development of Teotihuacan are triadic groupings, generally oriented to the northern part of the site, featuring a large central pyramid flanked by two smaller ones facing each other across a plaza. This constitutes a basic theme in Late Preclassic Maya architecture of the Peten in the central Maya lowlands. In addition, one can only wonder where the inspiration for creating the massive pyramids of the Sun and Moon and the Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent came from, given the obvious corollaries at El Mirador, Guatemala, where at this early time structures were far more impressive and extensive than the contemporaneous Late Formative monumental architecture of Tlapacoya or Cuicuilco in the Basin of Mexico. Moreover, dating to roughly AD 200, the Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent features rattlesnakes with green quetzal plumes swimming in an ocean of shells, the quetzal being entirely foreign to Central Mexico and a natural inhabitant of the Maya realm of highland Chiapas and Guatemala. In other words, during the initial development of the city, Teotihuacan was fully cognizant of the Maya culture and the vast wealth and economic power to the east.

For my Tetitla paper, I was immediately intrigued by a major decipherment presented by Stephen Houston and David Stuart (1996) concerning the impersonation of Maya gods by kings, in which the glyphic phrase *ubaahil aan* referenced “the image of” the impersonated deity. I realized that one of the “Realistic Paintings” fragments from Tetitla Corridor 12 excavated by Agustín Villagra (1954) bore this very phrase. To his credit, Villagra readily realized that these fragments from Tetitla portrayed Maya individuals, including such detailed traits as the rendering of earspools. What my research did was to expand the Maya presence at Teotihuacan not only to Tetitla but the greater site as a whole, including locally made plano-relief ceramics, where there are many portrayals of what is clearly an Early Classic Maya serpent head in profile. I suspect rather strongly that this motif at the site designated the Maya as “people of the serpent” in local Teotihuacano thought. In addition, a good many of



Figure 18. Maya maize deity holding *Spondylus* shell, detail of Late Classic Codex Style bowl, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (photo by author).

these vessels have what appear to be a series of tightly bound bundles on the rims, perhaps alluding to the characteristic top knot of hair corresponding to the main sign of the emblem glyph of Tikal. Although not mentioned in this study, it is more than likely that such local burnished Maya-style vases at Teotihuacan were for drinking cacao, a foreign beverage from the Maya area.

Following the publication of this paper in 2003, the most remarkable development at the Tetitla compound was the discovery of hundreds more of Villagra's renderings of Maya-style fragments (Staines Cicero and Helmke 2017). While I am still trying to absorb this huge amount of new material, it is clear to me that some of the murals featured the death and underworld journey of the maize god in search of marine shell. A large Late Classic bowl at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art features the Maya maize deity apparently singing into a *Spondylus* shell in the context of the watery underworld, denoted by a central skull sprouting waterlilies (Figure 18). Years ago, Charles Kolb (1987) suggested that Tetitla was a compound for traders in marine shell, and the newly published fragments from Corridor 12 strongly indicate that this was the case. In my study, I noted that the mural fragments from Tetitla constitute virtually pure versions of Maya art and writing of the Early Classic period. Moreover, it is now clear that these examples were to be surpassed, and extremely fine mural fragments currently being excavated by Nawa Sugiyama in the Plaza of the Columns, southwest of the Pyramid of the Moon, reveal that in fact the relation of Teotihuacan to royal

courts of the Maya was of a much higher level involving presumably Maya artists from royal courts of major sites, with one of the themes being portrayals of the Maya god of maize (Sugiyama et al. 2016). The new discoveries from this portion of the site are far finer than anything of Early Classic Maya style that I have seen before at Teotihuacan.

Chapter 10

Ancient and Contemporary Maya Conceptions About Field and Forest

As in “Lightning Celts and Corn Fetishes” (Chapter 6), this “Field and Forest” study of Maya concepts of the forest wilds was an opportunity to delve directly into Mesoamerican ethnology. I should note that I consider myself an archaeoethnologist, someone who embraces complex excavated material and art from the past together with the living presence of native perspectives. Another person who engages in this angle of research is Linda Brown, as seen in her exceptional work documenting hunting shrines in the Lake Atitlan region (Brown 2009). As I mentioned in my introduction to the previous volume of these selected works, I lived in a Maya community in Quintana Roo for almost a year and gradually learned to speak Yukatek, along with a basic understanding of the surrounding natural environment. What was very clear to me in local thought was that the bush is not such a great place for hanging out, and aside from the immediately annoying presence of snakes and bugs, especially chiggers and ticks, there were insidious forest spirits, such as the *alux* and the *x’tabay* that would readily take you to crazy land if you got lost. The *alux* are basically mischievous goblin-like creatures that generally want to make things more difficult and annoying, especially in the deep forest. The *x’tabay*, however, is a very scheming and ominous female being with long and lovely hair, and once one embraces her as lost drunkards are wont to do, they realize that her back is sheer bark and the experience starts going downhill from there.

In this study, I address the symbolic significance of the forest wilds among the ancient and contemporary Maya, and note that in contrast to the carefully cultivated milpa or *kool* in Yukatek, this is very much a region of both supernatural power and danger. Clearly enough the unruly and truly creepy *wahy* spirits of dreams and nightmares come from this very marginal place. One of the insights that I was able to elaborate is the identification of the Classic Maya god of the hunt and forest wilds, still known as Sip among the contemporary Yukatek Maya. In ancient Maya art he typically appears as a quite ugly old man with a drooping lower lip, an ungainly appearance that was probably unhappily common for hunters in Classic Maya society, unfortunate isolates on the boundary of no man’s land. This god’s striking features continued into the Late Postclassic period, and a remarkable censer from Cerro Maya in the Chetumal Bay area of Belize depicts him wearing a deer headdress—quite possibly to approach deer during the hunt—with deeply furrowed wrinkled features and a long drooping lower lip flanked by a beard, a trait commonly used to designate old men in Maya art (see Milbrath and Walker 2017:Fig. 10.13). I realized while working at Bonampak in a project directed by Mary Miller that an extremely fine and detailed portrayal of this strange and wily being appears in Room 3 of Structure 1, basically as a graffito but also of the highest quality Maya artistry. Along with his wizened features and an antler on his brow he wears a large hat, of obvious use when trekking into the bush.

At Copan, the Late Classic Maya ruler Waxaklajuun Ubaah K’awiil commissioned a series of stelae in the Great Plaza, and Stela B names him as an impersonator of the god of the hunt standing in a cave on Macaw Mountain with stacked Witz heads on both sides.

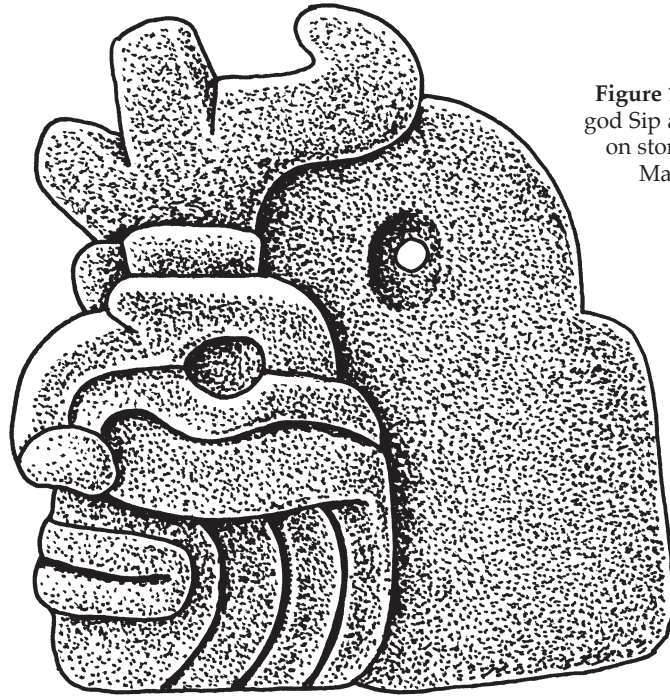


Figure 19. Head of Maya hunting god Sip as old god with deer antler, on stone *hacha* (after Shook and Marquis 1996:119 [H53]).

The glyphic text explicitly refers to him in this monumental context as Sip, with a deer ear, a repugnant protruding nose, and elaborate breath emanations that surely are smelly. This monument closely relates to depictions of this very same being residing in his cave domicile with stacked Witz heads at the sides in Late Classic Maya “Codex Style” vessel scenes (see K1559 and K4012 at Mayavase.com). In a detailed study of ancient and contemporary Maya hunting imagery and lore, Edwin Braakhuis (2001:Fig. 8) illustrates a Late Classic polychrome Maya vessel with the obviously ailing Sip in a cave flanked by stacked Witz heads, notably similar in composition to the sides of Copan Stela B. In the same study, Braakhuis (2001:402) cites a Nicaraguan tale recorded by Wolfgang Haberland of a hunter following a wounded deer to a mountain house, only to learn that in fact it is the Lord of the Deer who is wounded.

In a study cited in my Field and Forest paper, Nicholas Hellmuth (1991) focused on the relation of the god I identify as Sip to ballgame scenes on Late Classic Maya ceramics. Hellmuth rightly points out that many of the ballplayers wear headdresses corresponding to forest denizens, including the deer and vulture as well as the hunting god. Although not elaborated by Hellmuth, stone *hachas* directly pertaining to the ballgame and dating to the Late Classic period from the piedmont area of south coastal Guatemala and neighboring regions of southeastern Mesoamerica very frequently depict the same wilderness environment, including many depictions of deer and vultures (Shook and Marquis 1996). One particular *hacha* features the god of the hunt as a wizened old being sprouting a deer antler from his forehead (Figure 19). Although from a region distant from the Maya lowlands, the object clearly portrays this deity in the context of the ballgame. As with many other insights arising from the study of ancient Mesoamerican lore, there remains a good deal to be said about the ancient Maya ballgame concerning its relation to animal spirits and gods of the forest wilds.

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