

Accepted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Bachelor of Fine Arts
at
The Savannah College of Art and Design

Jane W. Rehl, Ph.D.
Professor of Art History, Savannah College of Art and Design
Committee Chair

1/1/13



Heather Hurst, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Skidmore College

3/8/13

A Preliminary Iconographic Analysis of a Possible Early Classic-Period
Sweatbath at the Maya Site of Xultun

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Art History Department
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Fine Arts
Savannah College of Art and Design

By

Mary Clarke

Savannah, Georgia

March 2013

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family (Mom, Dad, B & T, and Christian) and friends (Leeza and Jackie), thank you for your ceaseless support and ability to care about my all too 'niche' interests, I love you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Jane Rehl who not only introduced me to the art and architecture of the ancient Maya, but also has been a constant source of information and support, both in writing this thesis and in pursuing my interests in field research. I could neither have imagined nor accomplished this thesis or the research it required without having been her student first. I would also like to thank Dr. Heather Hurst for being a model of an academic who creates art as a means of support within analysis. In writing this, thesis Dr. Hurst's perspective on Mayanist scholarship was invaluable; she pushed me beyond what I knew regarding the Maya as well as methods of artistically presenting the past. I would like to extend my gratitude to Ph.D. candidate, Jennifer Wildt for her notes on the archaeological content, such as the osteological content and phase sequencing; Dr. William Saturno for giving me the chance to draw Maya Rudolph; Patricia Rivera Castillo for her guidance in the lab both in the field and in Antigua; Dr. Karl Taube, Dr. Stephen Houston, Dr. Andrew Scherer, Dr. Julie Guernsey, and Dr. Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos for their notes on the iconography; and finally to the members of the Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun whose research over the past decade has not only inspired my interest in the field, but continues to be of use to so many.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Description.....	2
The Maya.....	2
Site of Xultun.....	3
The Residential Group.....	4
<i>Los Arboles</i>	5
<i>Los Sapos</i>	7
Thesis.....	10
Argument.....	13
Introduction.....	13
Maya Notions of the Caiman.....	14
Maya Notions of the Toad.....	16
Crouching and Kneeling Poses in Mesoamerica.....	19
<i>Los Sapos</i> Revisited.....	21
The Maya Sweatbath.....	24
Space and Liminality.....	28
Ceremonial Sweatbath.....	32
Sweatbath Deities.....	35
Interpretation of <i>Los Sapos</i>	38
Conclusions.....	39
Notes.....	43
Illustrations.....	56
Bibliography.....	92

ILLUSTRATIONS

Map 1.	<i>Map of the Maya Area</i> , 2012 (Map courtesy of Walter R. T. Witschey and Clifford T. Brown, <i>The Electronic Atlas of Ancient Maya Sites</i>).....	57
Map 2.	Xultun and the Surrounding Sites (Courtesy of Mesoweb).....	58
Map 3.	Plan of Xultun (Jonathan Ruane and Adam Kaeding for Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun).....	59
Map 4.	Plan of 12-F Complex (Adam Kaeding for Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun).....	60
Map 5.	Plan of Xultun: North Group 12-F (Jonathan Ruane and Adam Kaeding for Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun).....	61
Figure 1.	<i>Bayal Platform, Los Arboles</i> , Xultun (Drawing by Heather Hurst).....	62
Figure 2.	Portraits and ‘ <i>Pop</i> ’ signs, <i>Los Arboles</i> Frieze, Xultun (Drawing by Heather Hurst).....	63
Figure 3.	Iguana-Jaguar, <i>Los Arboles</i> Frieze, Xultun (Drawing by Heather Hurst).....	64
Figure 4.	<i>Los Sapos</i> , Preliminary Reconstruction (Rendered by Author).....	64
Figure 5.	Phase-Two Masonry Wall, <i>Los Sapos</i> (Courtesy of National Geographic).....	65
Figure 6.	<i>Los Sapos</i> North Façade (Courtesy of National Geographic).....	65
Figure 7.	<i>Los Sapos</i> North Façade: Preliminary Reconstruction (Drawing by Author).....	66
Figure 8.	Detail of the Caiman/Toad from <i>Los Sapos</i> (Courtesy of National Geographic).....	66
Figure 9.	<i>Los Sapos</i> North Façade: Placement of Paint (Drawing by Author).....	67
Figure 10.	Detail of Spot, <i>Los Sapos</i> North Façade (Courtesy of National Geographic).....	67
Figure 11.	Detail of Ear Flare, <i>Los Sapos</i> North Façade (Courtesy of National Geographic).....	68
Figure 12.	<i>Crocodylus Moreleti</i>	69
Figure 13.	Becan Vessel (Photograph by Jorge Pérez de Lar for the Peabody Essex Museum and the Proyecto Arqueológico Becan).....	70
Figure 14.	Stela 8, Izapa, Guatemala (Drawing by Ajax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).....	71
Figure 15.	Stela 25, Izapa, Guatemala (Drawing by R. Jiménez after Norman 1973: pl. 43, Courtesy of the New World Archaeology Foundation).....	72
Figure 16.	<i>Bufo Marinus</i> Toad.....	73
Figure 17.	<i>Uoh</i> Toad.....	73
Figure 18.	<i>Casas de Los Sapos</i> , Copan River Valley, Honduras.....	74
Figure 19.	Stela 11, Izapa (Drawing by Ajax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).....	75
Figure 20.	<i>Birth Glyph</i> , Dos Pilas Stela 25, secondary text (Drawing by David Stuart).....	76

Figure 21. Stela 67, Izapa (Drawing by Ajax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).....	76
Figure 22. Stela 22, Izapa (Drawing by Ajax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).....	77
Figure 23. Balamkú Stucco Frieze (Drawing by Anne S. Dowd).....	78
Figure 24. Transformation figures from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.....	79
Figure 25. Monument 13, Piedra Labrada (Drawing courtesy of New World Archeological Foundation).....	79
Figure 26. Whiteware Effigy Vessel from Santa Cruz Morelos, Private Collection (Photo by Rose and Mayer Photography, Inc.).....	80
Figure 27. Oblique view and plan view of a possible Symbolic Sweatbath at San Miguel, Cozumel, Yucatán (after Houston 1996: Figure 12; Lothrop 1924: Figure 166).....	80
Figure 28. Kerr Vessel K1955 (Photograph by Justin Kerr, Courtesy of FAMSI)....	81
Figure 29. Netted Jade Collar (Museo Arqueológico de Campeche).....	82
Figure 30. Fig. 29. Multi-strand Collars or Necklaces Worn by Rulers, (a.) La Pasadita Lintel 2 (Drawing by Ian Graham); (b.) Stela 11, Piedras Negras (Drawing by Linda Schele); (c.) Stela 11, Yaxchilan (Drawing by Linda Schele); (d.) Female Ruler, Panel in Blood of Kings (Photograph by Justin Kerr).....	83
Figure 31. Multi-strand Collars or Necklaces Worn by Queens/Mothers, (left) Lintel 25, Yaxchilan (Drawing by David Stuart); (right) Lintel 24, Yaxchilan (Photograph by Justin Kerr).....	84
Figure 32. Mirror and Ak'bal signs worn on the body (Drawing by Linda Schele)....	84
Figure 33. Reconstruction, Map, and Plan of R-13 Sweatbath, Piedras Negras (After Child 2006).....	85
Figure 34. Map of the Larger Croup of the Cross and Pan of Temple of the Cross ((above) After Stuart 2005: Figure 1; (below) after Houston 1996: Figure 2; Robertson 1991: Figures 73-75; and Schele and Freidel 1990: Figures 6, 11)	86
Figure 35. Pauhatun Supporting Architecture, La Corona, Panel 6 (Drawing by David Stuart).....	87
Figure 36. The Birth Vase (Photograph by Justin Kerr, Courtesy of FAMSI).....	88
Figure 37. Toci on Sweatbath Door, <i>Codex Magliabechiano</i> (after Nuttall 1903); <i>Tudela Codex</i> (after Tudela 1980).....	89
Figure 38. Images of <i>Ix Chel</i> in Codices, (a.) Goddess O, <i>Dresden Codex</i> page 39b (After Taube 1992); (b.) Goddess O, <i>Dresden Codex</i> page 74 (After Taube 1992); (c.) Goddess O, <i>Madrid Codex</i> page 10b (After Taube 1992); Goddess O, <i>Madrid Codex</i> page 30b (After Taube 1992).....	90
Figure 39. Partial Reconstruction of <i>Los Sapos</i> with the Face of <i>Ix Chel</i> , 2013 (Drawing by Author, head referenced from K1955).....	91

INTRODUCTION

During the 2012 field season of Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun's excavations of the Classic period Maya site of Xultun in Guatemala, I was part of a team that discovered a sweatbath covered in what has been identified as creation imagery.¹ As a student of Boston University's Field School program overseen by professor and project director, William Saturno, I collected data for the forthcoming dissertation of PhD candidate, Jennifer Wildt of Boston University, in a North group defined as an elite residential complex.² During the three months of excavation, I documented various units throughout the 12F-1 North group, but during the last few weeks of our research I worked exclusively on illustrating the exposed and extant portions of the north façade of structure 12F-5, called *Los Sapos* ("Toads"). My illustrations of both the low sculptural relief and the polychrome paint were overseen and corrected by project artist, Heather Hurst. In this preliminary analysis, I rely heavily on contextual data (artifact and structural analysis) collected and analyzed by Jennifer Wildt and the project's various members from three field seasons at Xultun during 2008, 2010, and 2012.³

As one of the original documentarians of this newly discovered façade, I was motivated to take my research from the field and discover meaning and context, specifically what the relationship between the iconography and the architecture might provide for our understanding of the larger spatial setting. While sweatbaths within ceremonial centers are not uncommon, *Los Sapos* with its partially preserved iconography and North group environment presents an opportunity to discern the

symbolism inherent in functioning sweatbaths from Early Classic period ritual contexts.⁴ Having been able to witness the excavation and participate in the documentation, I feel immensely honored to offer a preliminary analysis of *Los Sapos*' iconography and an initial interpretation of its function within its North group setting.

The Maya

The settlements of the ancient Maya are spread across much of Central America, otherwise termed Mesoamerica, within present-day Southeast Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Western Honduras, and El Salvador (Map 1). The ancient Maya developed from localized polities within the Late Preclassic Period (400 BC–AD 300) to large capital sites with corresponding tributaries during the Classic period (AD 300–850), often attributed to the “arrival of strangers” understood to be Central Mexicans from the site of Teotihuacan.⁵ This shift from local to central authority within various Maya regions was reflected directly in the shift from public to private ritual spaces.⁶ Instead of performing ritual for public consumption, monuments in the form of stelae were placed in public spaces depicting rulers (alongside descriptive hieroglyphic texts) performing or acting concurrently as divine figures within celestial realms and, therefore, privatized spaces.⁷ While this constant construction contributed to the efficacy of a ruler, as well as to his or her postmortem legacy, the Maya inevitably over sourced their land.⁸ The collapse of the Maya in the Late Classic period has been attributed to endemic warfare, drought, in addition to environmental denigration. Nonetheless, and contrary to popular opinion, the Maya

persisted. Many contemporary Maya groups still exist today and present remarkable accounts of their customs, beliefs, rituals, craft techniques, and farming methods.⁹

The Site of Xultun

Within what archaeologists William Saturno, Thomas Garrison, and Nicholas Dunning define as the San Bartolo-Xultun territory in the Peten region of the Guatemala lowlands (Map 2), exists two capital sites, San Bartolo and Xultun.¹⁰ The region was an ideal location for settlement due to “raised uplands surrounding perennial wetlands,” which provided ecological benefits for water resources and management, as well as agriculture.¹¹ Although the site of San Bartolo was the local authority within the Late Preclassic period (400 BC–AD 300), it had a ‘mini collapse’ around the third century AD at which point territorial supremacy shifted to the site of Xultun, about 8 miles away.¹² Xultun (Map 3), as the territory’s capital in the Classic period (AD 300–850), was allied with major sites such as neighboring Tikal, Naranjo, and Caracol.¹³ In the famed war between Tikal and Calakmul, Xultun fought on behalf of Tikal and depicted sacrifices of some of Calakmul’s lesser nobles on its stelae, including Stela 5.¹⁴ While Xultun boasts one of the longest lineages in Maya history on Stela 18, more than thirty-three in total, there are only twenty-four known stelae, a proportionally conservative number compared to Xultun’s contemporaries. Despite or because of this conservative artistic program, Xultun continued to erect stelae well into the Late Classic period at a time when Mayanist scholars believe other sites had collapsed.

Xultun (Map 3), measuring 16 km², supported an estimated population of 10,000.¹⁵ Within the site, two monumental plazas, termed the south plaza and north plaza, contained the twenty-four stelae, as well as functioned as Palace groups.¹⁶ Smaller architectural groups populate the areas abutting the south plaza and were both household and artesian compounds.¹⁷ Two *sachbes*, or slightly elevated roads, oriented north-south unified the large ceremonial plazas.¹⁸ Separated from these ceremonial groups by 200 m to the north, the acropolis structure 12F-19, termed *Los Arboles*, transitions into a 50 m flat plaza, which abuts the 12F-1 elite residential complex.¹⁹ Just north of the 12F-1 complex is an architectural group, 12E, consisting of proportionally smaller structures.²⁰ The 12E group is spatially separated from the 12F-1 group by roughly 50 m as well as a significant drop in elevation to the north.²¹ In relation to the relative proximity and density of the architecture found in all other areas of Xultun, the northern and remote architecture was unified thus creating a multi-functional space that included a residential complex.²²

The Residential Group

The 12F-1 quadrant of Xultun (Map 4), an area in the far north of the site, contains an architectural group with a north-south orientation comprised of both ritual and residential architecture, which suggests a multi-functional space. Bounding and centering the 12F-1 architecture to the east is a large stone outcrop (there was also a small aguada formed in this outcrop), to the north and the west is a natural declining slope, and to the south is a large open plaza, the point of entry from the Xultun site core.²³ A monumental staircase, roughly 10 m wide, transitioned occupants in the

south plaza into the east plaza.²⁴ Within the east plaza, a longitudinal platform at the eastern edge of the group faces west and aligns with the axial center of the east plaza in addition to the three pyramidal structures framing the boundary between the east plaza and enclosed central plazas.²⁵ Inside the enclosed or inscribed plazas, there are several small mound structures and residences. The temple structures within the enclosed space (such as structures 12F-7, 12F-3, and 12F-22) support elite residences, some of which showed evidence of corbeled vaults.²⁶ In the sub phases or below the foundations of these residences, vaulted tombs were evident in looters trenches and tunnels.

While features such as the large plazas and a broad staircase suggest a large population, the enclosed architecture suggests residential space, specifically the presence of tombs within substructures. The large, open south and east plazas conflict with the overt seclusion of the entire group, especially considering the fact that the architecture, outside of the buildings bordering the east, faced inward with remarkably narrow points of entry (approximately 1 m). Thus, the 12F-1 North group was a multifunctional space that was unified through isolation. Because of their shared isolation in relation to the rest of Xultun, both 12F-19 and the 12F-1 group function jointly and, I argue, were both thematically unified with the north space of Xultun.

Los Arboles

Los Arboles (Map 3) is a monumental pyramidal temple (40 m north-south, 30 m east-west, and roughly 15 m tall) just 50 m south of the 12F-1 elite residential

complex, which contains four phases of architecture: two from the Early Classic period and two from the Late Classic period.²⁸ The temple, *Los Arboles*, is oriented to the south and rests atop a large platform, termed *Bayal*, which has a monumental staircase.²⁹ On the south facades of the *Bayal* platform (Fig. 1), there are flanking depictions of Jaguar masks (Karl Taube suggests they are Deer/Jaguar confections), wearing headdresses composed of three Maize God Deities.³⁰ Directly above the maize deities, a Jaguar God of the Underworld sits facing forward while a tree sprouting five branches ending in *wak sa'aal* glyphs grows behind.³¹ Although the *wak sa'aal* glyphs appear to be emblem glyphs, David Stuart believes they refer to a mythic *wak sa'aal* place of ancestral origin rather than the site of Xultun (see note 31 for more on the *wak sa'aal* place).³² Meanwhile on the south frieze of *Los Arboles* (Fig. 2), a figure positioned above the doorway sits atop a Flower Mountain throne while holding a serpent bar, a ceremonial object with serpent faces at each end, that emits figures with jaguar claws.³³ Portraits and woven *pop* signs (Fig. 3) repeat to the east and west of the enthroned figure.³⁴ Set back slightly from the frieze, large iguana-jaguars perch in sphinx-like positions with their heads facing east and west (Fig. 4). Below the bodies of the iguana-jaguars, sacrificial victims are seen inverted and severed at their midsection. The inside of this structure has yet to be explored, but it appears that the jaguar and ancestral iconography in addition to the *wak sa'aal* demarcations of an ancestral locale signify a lineage shrine just south of an elite residential group. The current stylistic data suggests a relationship between *Los Arboles* and *Los Sapos*, as does their equally isolated North group setting. This spatial arrangement likely signified a unity in meaning in north as a place, thus the

iconography from *Los Arboles* will be used in the interpretation of the function of *Los Sapos* within this residential complex.

Los Sapos

The 12F-5 structure, *Los Sapos*, located in the south of the residential complex contains no less than four architectural phases (Map 4).³⁶ The first phase of construction (as far as we know today) is the platform and sweatbath, *Los Sapos* (Fig. 5), which is rectangular in shape (6.59 m wide, 5.5 m deep, and 4.34 m tall) with a short and narrow doorway (72 m wide, .75 m deep, and 1.1 m tall) sunken into the bench or step to the north (12.46 m wide, .65 m deep and .24 m tall), which surpasses the length of the building to the east.³⁷ Above the bench or stair to the east, a platform (5.88 m wide, 5.5 m deep, and .3 m tall) connects to the east façade.³⁸ Painted stucco in low relief is found on the north façade and continues along the east façade, although the east façade remains to be uncovered.³⁹ During the use of 12 F-5, the Maya built a masonry construction on top of the east platform that is both flush against the east façade and level with the north façade (Fig. 6).⁴⁰ Within this same phase of construction, steps leading from the east were added, although during the third phase a wall was added to cover these steps.⁴¹ In its final phase of construction, the top of the structure was cut and an offering of human skeletal remains, animal bones, and jade were placed in a cist construction connected to the doorway within the masonry fill of the ultimate construction phase.⁴²

The cist burial capped with a drainage stone contained three partial skeletons of one adult and two juveniles.⁴³ The lower leg bones of an adult in the door were cut

just below the knee.⁴⁴ Placed at the feet of the adult, were beads made of bone and jadeite in an arrangement suggesting they had been strung together.⁴⁵ To the north of the doorway and in front of the bench was a composite skeleton comprised of the body of a less than two-year old child and the modified cranium of an adolescent, believed to be twelve years of age.⁴⁶ Associated with this burial were ceramic sherds, chert flakes and one blade, charcoal, and turkey bones.⁴⁷ Interestingly, the placement of this deposit was in between the legs of the primary figure in a crouching pose.

The façade sculpture (Fig. 7), composed of stucco in low relief on top of a stone masonry construction depicts a large crouching figure (Fig. 8).⁴⁸ This figure is positioned frontally with its appendages framing the doorway, the upper appendages (arms) above and the lower appendages (legs) below, each of which wear bracelets. The face of the figure would have been at the center of the building located over the door. Although the face is not preserved, its location is evident from the still extant necklace seen in four-tiers of beaded strands over the door and framed to the west of the necklace by remains of an ear flare (only one preserved). The damage in this section is extensive due to the proximity to the surface. For example, due to root damage, the rectangular ear flare slumps lower on the façade than would have been its original location.

Amphibian or reptilian creatures compose the limbs of this primary figure (Fig. 8 and 9). These animals ornament each segment of the limbs, although they are best preserved on the forearms. The position of the creature on the forearm is flipped when defining the upper arm, thus two maws touching define the joints. The partial remains of the primary figure's lower leg can be seen in the upper east corner at

which point the painted stucco curves around to the east façade. The amphibian/reptilian creatures are in profile with two feet (one in the front one in the back) that have five talon-like fingers attached to thick legs, the joints of which are comprised of volute-like shapes. Between their heads and bodies is a circular element with a three-dotted motif. Make up their faces is an inset eye with an incised eyelid and concentric circles below and a snout or mouth with a curl at the tip.

The primary figure's body is red/orange, but poorly preserved, while just west of the doorway, there is a black circle with a white outline visible (Fig 11). The hands and feet are quite fragmental, though black vertical lines are seen on the western 'foot'. The area just above the necklace also has red/orange remains that continue onto the necklace feature, which additionally has black paint on its elevated surfaces. The ear flare has a base of red/orange and contains red, black, and white on the rectangular element and exclusively red on the trident shape below (Fig. 12).

The amphibian/reptiles (Fig. 9 and 10) have yellow/orange paint within the black lines articulating the underbelly and mouth as well as on their arms and legs. Conversely, red/orange is found above the same black lines and within the ears and eyes. Their bodies have one thick stripe towards the front, while a series of smaller stripes continue down their backs. The front legs have both black and red spots on top of the red/orange portions while the back legs have black spots on the lower half and stripes on the upper. The three-dotted motifs are painted in black on top of red/orange with concentric circles of red and red/orange at the edges. The amphibian/reptilian creatures appear to be symmetrical, although on the cheek on the bottom left (east) conflation four black vertical lines were apparently made by fingers, which differs

from the bottom right (west) conflation where there is a white line that was only partially preserved.

Despite the overall state of preservation in addition to a looters tunnel dug through the western half of the façade, the primary figure (Fig. 7, 8, and 10) is clearly in a crouching pose with reptilian/amphibian creatures animating its limbs. The identification of this figure likely resided in the head that is no longer extant, thus the pose, jewelry elements, partial body, and the reptilian/amphibian imagery, as well as sweatbath literature, will serve as the evidence for this preliminary analysis.

THESIS

The working hypothesis for *Los Sapos* is that it functioned as a sweatbath within the northern-most ritual group at Xultun (Map 3 and 4) dating to approximately AD400, the Early Classic period.⁴⁹ Because Early Classic period sweatbaths were locations for childbirth and ritual purification, *Los Sapos* compounded the generative and symbolically regenerative acts known to occur within sweatbaths with an explicit birth metaphor—the entry is the vaginal tract of the primary figure and interior is the womb.⁵⁰ The spatial relationship and stylistic similarities between *Los Sapos* and *Los Arboles* suggest a unity in meaning, thus it appears that *Los Sapos* functioned in the ritual use of a *wak sa'aal* ancestral shrine in addition to a residential complex in an isolated North group. The unification of sweatbath architecture and generative/ regenerative iconography presents a fascinating example of ancient Maya conflationary language employed in the construction of their spatial metaphors.⁵¹

This preliminary analysis takes a contextual approach to arrive at meaning within the Maya built form, which is well established within scholarship.⁵² In the seminal collection of essays titled *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture* edited by Stephen Houston, Mayanists approached function, meaning, and perception of space in a myriad of ways. For example, Mary Miller in her essay “A Design for Meaning in Maya Architecture” sought to elucidate the metaphoric ordering of space by determining outlook.⁵³ Miller states, “Beyond formal considerations and, ultimately, iconography, architecture can often be read as a metaphor for a mental outlook, a period in history, or an ethnic or societal identity.”⁵⁴ Due to advances in various research disciplines such as epigraphy, archaeology, ethnography, iconography, etc., the study of choices and motivations of both elite and non-elite Maya have become clearer. Because of the interdisciplinary resources available, that is, evidence in one line of inquiry used to support the theories of another, meaning and perception can be reached as a result of multifarious academic pursuits, which jointly aim at furthering our current understanding of the ancient Maya.

In order to discern the function and meaning of *Los Sapos*, the subject of this thesis, I employ Jules David Prown’s methodology on material culture described in the essay “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method.”⁵⁵ Prown’s Material Culture Method begins first with a formal analysis of material culture, as I have presented in the introduction to *Los Sapos*, *Los Arboles*, the 12F-1 North Group, and Xultun more broadly. From the formal analysis, one generates research questions specific to the subject of the analysis. Thus to discern

meaning conveyed through the iconography, I explore the symbolic associations of the caiman, the toad, and crouching and kneeling poses in Mesoamerican art. Additionally, I compare the jewelry, appendages, and worn symbols depicted on *Los Sapos* to Maya courtly art. Next, Prown's methodology structures a contextual comparison of the subject of the analysis to applicable research aimed at function and meaning of comparable subjects. It is at this point I expand my inquiry into function and meaning of the Maya sweatbath, specifically citing Mark Child's unpublished dissertation, *The Archaeology of Religious Movements: The Maya Sweatbath Cult of Piedras Negras*, and Stephen Houston's article, "Symbolic Sweatbaths of the Maya: Architectural Meaning in the Cross Group at Palenque, Mexico."⁵⁶ In addition to the sweatbath literature, I explore function and meaning in the Maya built environment through a brief introduction to Mircea Eliade's theories of space and liminality and Michel Foucault's notions of heterotopias.⁵⁷ After outlining briefly a foundation of spatial theory, I present the significance of 'living with ancestors' as described by Patricia McAnany, spatial or cardinal symbolism within Maya site plans described by Wendy Ashmore, and a spatial model for the mythical ancestral realm defined by Karl Taube as Flower Mountain.⁵⁸ After formal and contextual analysis of material culture is completed, Prown's method structures an interpretation of data, hence I present an interpretation of the identity of the primary figure as well as the function and meaning of *Los Sapos* within its North Group setting.

ARGUMENT

Introduction

In their iconography, the Maya were quite literal when they established the significance of their visual symbols, the fact of which was rendered necessary, as the Maya populous is not believed to have been universally literate in terms of hieroglyphs.⁵⁹ *Pars pro toto*, or part for the whole, imagery conveyed observable and universally understood aspects of nature to define semiotic meanings and messages; the Maya observed the behaviors and attributes of real animals within their world and subsequently employed their visual depictions to symbolically attribute their nature to larger visual metaphors. Furthermore, the Maya took various visual symbols or visual representations of creatures and blended them together forming a conflationary language to distinguish human actions within the natural world and those occurring in mythical space or time.⁶⁰ Thus, the Maya depicted supernatural human figures (such as deified ancestors) as anthropomorphs by articulating a non-human eye (larger and square shaped versus the traditional almond shape of portraiture) or placing markings on limbs (these signify supernatural environments and are often depicted in halves as they conceptually wrap around the body) termed ‘god markings’ by Linda Schele and Mary Miller (Fig. 32).⁶¹ Similarly, zoomorphs transform into non-naturalistic figures where human features are almost entirely conflated with various animals and are attributed with cause and effect in ritual.⁶² In both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic depictions, the Maya ‘read’ the conflated elements seen to empower the figure as aspects of identity, specifically of individuals acting in otherworldly realms or within ritual contexts in the terrestrial world. Overall, the iconography of the ancient Maya

was a communicative tool to express unambiguously the functioning role and meaning of figures within pictorial space.⁶³

Maya Notions of the Caiman

The Maya saw the *Crocodylus moreletii* (Fig. 13), the most common species in Mesoamerica, as a predatory crocodile, no doubt based on its size (it grows up to four meters in length) and because it preys on humans and jaguars from within bodies of water.⁶⁴ In its youth, this reptilian is bright yellow with black bands along its middle in addition to an elongated snout, powerful tail, and thick scutes on its hide. This species constructs a burrow or hole with an underwater entrance where they are seen to wait out the heat of the day. The action of burrowing into the earth for the Maya recalled actions of construction and farming as well as moving between lateral realms. Also, as the *Crocodylus moreletii* glides within bodies of water with its back slightly exposed, the Maya saw this image of the caiman's back as an emblematic model of the earth's surface.⁶⁵ Caimans thus functioned as sacrificial victims in allegorical scenes of the earth's destruction as well as fixed points that unify the terrestrial world and the Underworld.⁶⁶

In the various editions of the Books of Chilam Balam and in the *Popol Vuh*, allegories referencing caimans appear. First, the Books of Chilam Balam name a figure, *Itzam Kab Ayin* or 'Iguana Earth Crocodile,' who was sacrificed during world ending events within the cyclical process of primordial creation.⁶⁷ As a model of the earth's surface, the decapitation of *Itzam Kab Ayin* symbolically flooded and destroyed not only the current population, but the earth itself.⁶⁸ This act of destruction

within the Maya worldview was necessary in that it encouraged the onset of new life and renewed creation events. Secondly, within the *Popol Vuh*, a great and powerful caiman named Zipacna figured into fixed points of liminality both within household construction and in caves.⁶⁹ Zipacna, when constructing a home, dug face down into the earth's surface establishing the four post holes for the corner posts that supported the structure's roof.⁷⁰ Further, at Zipacna's death, the reptile was positioned liminally, partially within and partially outside of a cave mouth at the base of a mountain.⁷¹ In this regard, Zipacna became a symbolic representation of the earth as well as an *axis mundi*, a fixed point that intersected the multilayered universe, thus the caiman signified points of transition on the surface of the earth as well as the closing of cycles.

The use of caimans ranges spatially and temporally within Mesoamerica, not to mention in various conflated ways, but a remarkable vessel (Fig. 14) found at the site of Becan in Campeche, Mexico is argued by Taube and Houston to reference *Itzam Kab Ayin*.⁷² On the Becan vessel, *Itzam Kab Ayin* is in a swimming pose, modeling the surface of the earth, although it has been noted elsewhere by Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos that this is an Iguana-Jaguar.⁷³ Akin to the deluge associated with the 'Iguana Earth Crocodile,' the reptilian on the Becan vessel participates and takes primacy over the three figures severed at their midsection and inverted as in death. Taube and Houston also state that the belt worn by the figure marks the center of his back with "...a jade belt assemblage of the Maize God, both maize and jade being closely identified with the world center in ancient Maya thought."⁷⁴ The Becan vessel illustrates an example of a caiman figure as simultaneously the earth's surface

and possessing the fixed point on its back that permits communication between lateral realms. Along the same lines, on Stela 8 from Izapa (Fig. 15), the back of a zoomorphic crocodile is depicted as a quatrefoil within which a ruler sits enthroned.⁷⁵ According to Julia Guernsey, the quatrefoil's placement on the zoomorphic reptilian's back positioned the enthroned ruler within the world's center thus showcasing an ability to intercede between the earthly realm and the supernatural realm below.⁷⁶ Recalling the allegory of Zipacna, Stela 25 from Izapa (Fig. 16) depicts a crocodile inverted, head down, while the lower half of its body, including its tail, turns into a tree, the world tree predominately figured as an *axis mundi* within Mesoamerican thought.

In these visual examples of caiman forms, the Maya and the Izapan cultures place symbolic centers on the backs of caiman such that they become emblematic of fixed points of transition marked on the earth's surface. Thus, the use of the caiman within Mesoamerican iconography positioned and signified set locations of transition as well as communication along the *axis mundi*.⁷⁷ The caiman also figured in cyclical acts of the world's destruction, an event that caused the onset of a new creation. In this regard, caimans embodied the sacrifice needed for the end of a cycle, a type of destruction, in the same manner that toads embodied the beginning (sometimes a renewed beginning), a type birth or regeneration.

Maya Notions of the Toad

Within the Maya world, amphibians are known for their ability to reproduce in large numbers and with great frequency.⁷⁸ Toads are thus recognized as symbols of

procreation. The nocturnal *bufo marinus* toad (Fig. 17) grows up to 24 cm long and defensively secretes milky white venom from its pitted parotid glands located between its head and neck.⁷⁹ It lays up to 35,000 eggs within each birth cycle, corresponding to the rainy season.⁸⁰ Also nocturnal, the *uoh* toad or the *Rhinophrynus dorsalis* (Fig. 18), while not poisonous like the *bufo marinus*, only emerges from its underground burrow during the rainy season solely to give birth and in cases where the toad is taken from the burrow prior to the rainy season, the toad is seen swollen with water as if pregnant.⁸¹ Both the *bufo marinus* and the *uoh* toad breed or lay eggs in water, although both species prefer to give birth in safe, secluded locations such as perennial ponds.⁸² Attributes of the *uoh* toad are its brownish-black body, red/orange stripe down its back, and white and yellow markings in addition to its loud and vociferous call heralding the rainy season from which its name derives. Similar to the milky venom of the *bufo marinus*, the *uoh* toad also expels a white material, although from its mouth and in a consistency akin to ground maize, specifically green maize gruel.⁸³ As mentioned above, the various cycles of creation occurred after a form of destruction, but the Maya believed that the present population was fashioned by the primordial creator couple from ground maize, meaning the *uoh* toad symbolically reproduced the original material of human creation. The associated nocturnal and underground environments of these toads as well as the secluded and watery places where they gave birth respectively connote a sense of wet darkness. In addition to their generative symbolism, toads were employed by the Maya in metaphors of wet remote location where gestation and regeneration occurs, not unlike a cave or womb.

On a remote hillside of the Copan River Valley in Honduras, a sculptural group carved into natural rock, *Casas de los Sapos* (Fig. 19), depicts a female giving birth in the company of several toads, although it is heavily eroded.⁸⁴ Ancient Maya women would climb to this remote locale to be secluded during the last stages of birth or at times when they wished to be more fertile. The presence of both toad and female in similar squatting poses (one of the few birth positions in the Americas) signifies a visual correlation to and pictographic substitution for the generative acts of both figures. Further, in Mayan texts where the verb ‘to birth’ is included pictographically (as opposed syllabically), the verb is rendered as an upended frog head where the mouth is pointing up (Fig. 20).⁸⁵ The toad’s mouth as a place of birth is widely established in both Maya and Izapan art. For example, on Izapa Stela 11 (Fig. 21), a toad, likely a *bufo marinus* given the affixed parotid gland between the head and neck, squats within a ‘U’-shaped enclosure and births a figure from its mouth.⁸⁶ The position of the emerging individual from the toad’s maw recalls Stela 67 (Fig. 22) and 22 (Fig. 23) from Izapa, where a similar figure emerges from a water band associated with the Underworld, solidifying at least visually the equivalence of rebirth from the Underworld and rebirth from the toad’s maw.⁸⁷ Furthermore, from the site of Balank’u (Fig. 24), three toads sit atop Flower Mountains and generate enthroned ancestors from their maws each of which wears Sun God masks.⁸⁸ In this visual metaphor, toads act at the liminal point where ancestors are reborn as new suns.

In these examples, the natal symbolism of the toad is clear. Both the *bufo marinus* and the *uoh* toad produce a semen-like substance in addition to mimicking the squatting position and large belly of a birthing female making them singular in

notions of birth. As the *uoh* toad produces a substance akin to ground maize, they are believed to possess the seeds of new life. As such, they both produce new life in the terrestrial world and rebirth in the ancestral world. Because the sample of such art exists mainly from elite contexts, it appears that their symbolic use was reserved for elite, specifically apical ancestors. The toad is therefore emblematic of the point of rebirth or transition from mortal death of elite ancestors and the gestation of descendants from green maize gruel. Thus, crouching toads are iconographic metaphors for cyclical beginnings by means of transformation and, as I argue later, transition from progenitors to descendants.

Crouching and Kneeling Poses in Mesoamerica

The depiction of the crouching or kneeling pose has a history in and of itself within the various cultures of Mesoamerica.⁸⁹ In early examples of the kneeling pose, Olmec rulers, believed to have been shamans by many scholars and capable of transforming into jaguars when in trance, were depicted at stages of shamanic transformation, although beginning in a kneeling pose (Fig. 25). These figures are often shown with their heads in a pictographic tension where lines between jaguar and human become blurred. Thus, they signify a liminal position and recall the ritual power attributed to zoomorphs.⁹⁰ Furthering this, in their article on human-jaguar depictions of nahualism, Gerardo Gutiérrez and Mary Pye describe how similar anthropomorphic figures factor into agricultural rituals.⁹¹ For example, on Monument 13 from the Late Classic site of Piedra Labrada (Fig. 26), a ruler named Lord 10 Knot is depicted as a jaguar zoomorph, yet “the typical jaguar spots on the body have been

replaced with raindrop motifs, like those seen on Preclassic Chalcatzingo monuments, reinforcing the idea that the ruler Lord 10 Knot is a jaguar nahual with the ability to control rain.”⁹² Similar nahual figures, they claim, continue to be found in various agricultural fields by contemporary farmers, suggesting that these transformation figures are believed to possess powers to summon rain, imbuing them with primacy over agrarian fertility.⁹³

When women are depicted giving or referencing birth they too are shown crouching or kneeling, a known pose for birth in Mesoamerica, as was seen at *Casa de Los Sapos* (Fig. 19). Recalling the toad mouth birth (Figs. 20–24), an effigy vessel from Santa Cruz, Morelos (Fig. 27) is in the shape of a kneeling pregnant female where her mouth opens upwards and serves as the vessel’s spout.⁹⁴ The aged nature of her body and pendulous breasts are similar to an aged crouching form employed as a caryatid fronting a potentially symbolic sweatbath, the Temple of San Miguel, on the island of Cozumel (Fig. 28).⁹⁵ This symbolic sweatbath is thought to be a shrine to the aged midwife *Ix Chel*, whom I discuss later.⁹⁶ The aged form of *Ix Chel* is also seen in a kneeling pose with partial jaguar features similar to earlier examples of Olmec shamanic transformations seen her three-dotted eye or *Ix* motif and jaguar ears (in other depictions she has jaguar claws for hands and feet), (Fig. 29).⁹⁷ Her upper body and head project forward in front of an architectural feature defined by Elisabeth Wager as a *witz* mountain (*witz* being an animate mountain typically characterized by facial features such as teeth, strong upper jaw, and missing lower jaw), although the stepped decent seems to center her vagina or womb making this a cave entry/exit within a mountain.⁹⁸ Women become actively liminal as they bring

new life to the world and, in these images of aged midwives, they are attributed with primacy over the success of birth rather than physically generating life.

Crouching and kneeling poses within Mesoamerica connote an active stance of transition and transformation. Both rulers and midwives conveyed their primacy over fertility (agrarian and natal) through this powerful pose. Olmec and Late Classic rulers, seen in stages of nahualism, visually communicate an ability to control fertility by zoomorphizing their features with supernatural jaguars. Similarly, aged midwives become actively liminal when they bring new life into the terrestrial realm and are likewise depicted with jaguar features. Hence, this pose connotes a unique ability to control fertility and traverse realms intermittently.

Los Sapos Revisited

Depicted on the north façade of the Early Classic *Los Sapos* structure (Figs. 7–10) is a large crouching figure whose four-strand collar suggests portraiture. The four-strand collar, likely depicting green stone (Fig. 30), is a costume element reserved for elite personages in Maya courtly art. When worn by rulers, both male and female, the multi-strand collar is a definitive aspect of their position of power and dominance displayed frequently at times of blood sacrifice (Fig. 31a), accession (Fig. 31b), war or captive sacrifice (Fig. 31c), and political/supernatural negotiations (Fig. 31d). In other depictions, the collar is worn as a costume element of royal women, specifically wives or mothers of kings or queens performing as warrior women, an example of which is Yaxchilan Lintel 25 and 24 (Fig. 32) where Lady Xok performs a bloodletting ritual.⁹⁹ In effect, the green stone collar is a signifier of ritual duty and

power and likely references newly grown green maize, recalling the *uoh* toad. Thus, the collar worn by the primary figure identifies this as an elite and likely royal person displaying dominance or primacy over ritual acts of similar noteworthiness as blood sacrifice, accession, captive sacrifice, or political/supernatural negotiations.

Although the collar suggests royal portraiture, the lower appendages of the primary figure (Figs. 7 and 8) when compared to these portraits (Fig. 31 and 32) suggests an animal conflation, either anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Furthering this proposal, the paint found on the preserved surfaces of the west lower appendage suggest concentric 'scale' lines, recalling the iguana-jaguar depicted on the Becan vessel (Fig. 14) presented earlier. The upper appendages, or the front feet in the case of the iguana-jaguar, are likewise similar, although it should be stated that the *Los Sapos* figure's upper appendages are an interpretation based on the few surviving pieces and could potentially be more human than animal. On the only preserved painted area of the primary figure's body thus far uncovered (Fig. 11), a black spot outlined in white is seen and while several figures wear spots, most of them are supernatural anthropomorphs or animals who dwell in the Underworld. The ear flare (Fig. 12) worn by the primary figure seems to contain an *ak'bal* sign denoting darkness.¹⁰⁰

Akin to god markings, the caiman/toad creatures (shown in profile as they wrap around the limbs) empower and define the function and significance of the primary figure. Markings (Fig. 32) on limbs, as I have stated, is a common attribute of anthropomorphs and, in this case, the reptilian and amphibian creatures likewise serve as 'god markings,' which signify a supernatural nature (Fig. 7 and 8). I argue

that the caiman and toad are conflated as was suggested by Karl Taube.¹⁰¹ For example the stripes down the bodies of the conflation recall the stripes on the *Crocodylus moreleti* in its youth (Fig. 13). Also, the shape of their heads and bodies recall the *uoh* toad, as does the overall color composition (Fig. 18). The proportion of the legs and feet to the body as well as the heavily lidded eye are employed in the depiction of both figures. As caiman embodied destruction and cycle endings (Figs. 14–16), the toad embodied creation and cycle beginnings (Figs. 20–24). Hence, the primary figure controlled acts of death and acts of life, although more broadly the primary figure controlled cyclicity. Also, as caiman signified the surface of the earth and the fixed point of transition, the *axis mundi*, and the toad signified isolated cave and womb-like environments where gestation, birth, and rebirth occurred. This is clearly a powerful figure placed liminally that contained a point of transition between the multilayered universe and controlled cyclicity.

The primary figure from *Los Sapos* has both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements, such as the jewelry features, claw-like feet, and supernatural body markings. In summary, ear flares are worn by humans, anthropomorphs, and sometimes zoomorphs, but are not worn by animals alone defining the primary figure as something other than purely animal. Elite and royal figures (this includes post-mortem depictions of ancestors as supernaturals) wear the multi-strand collar, thus this element suggests a form of elite or royal portraiture. The claw-like feet (and potentially the upper appendages) signify animal attributes, which suggest they are zoomorphic, although anthropomorphic ritual performers are often depicted with jaguar claws. The spot on the body defines this as a supernatural associated with the

Underworld suggesting an anthropomorphic identification. Also suggesting an anthropomorph, the caiman/toad conflation, I argue, are akin to ‘god markings’ that empower anthropomorphs in their supernatural roles. As the primary figure is in a crouching pose it not only conveys an ability to move intermittently between realms, but it possess fertility. Therefore, this is a deified ancestor depicted as a supernatural and anthropomorphic deity possessing a liminal ability in a point of transition, recalling the shamanic transformation figures (Fig. 25) and the *Ix Chel* depiction presented earlier (Fig. 29). Figures entering or exiting *Los Sapos* were symbolically transitioned in that they were born (in the case of children) or reborn (in the case of adults) from the vagina of this deified ancestor, both gendering the deity as female and recalling Maya ritual sweatbath use.

The Maya Sweatbath

The Maya sweatbath, known as a *pib-na* or *temazcal*, is a unique type of building within the larger corpus of Maya architecture in that it functioned as a fixed point of transition and transformation.¹⁰² Caves, believed to be the dwellings of supernaturals and ancestors, were embodied in the womb-like interior of the sweatbath and are conceptualized as the center of the world.¹⁰³ Thus, within the sweatbath (or cave) one could commune with or draw power from ancestors and supernaturals dwelling in otherworldly realms.¹⁰⁴ Sweatbaths are also known to transition occupants, through a change in physical states (usually from cold to hot or containing profane matter to purified) to and from supernatural as well as celestial realms.¹⁰⁵ Aside from their symbolic role, the sweatbath functioned as a location for

childbirth. Therefore, sweatbaths were buildings that transitioned, transported, and transformed occupants during natal generation and ritual transfiguration as well as salubrious restoration.

When a person was perceived as ill (externally or internally), the Maya understood the person to be cold or possessing cold winds.¹⁰⁶ Healers would cure coldness by reheating the body within a sweatbath, which created a hot wind or steam, thus restoring a harmonic equilibrium.¹⁰⁷ Prior to entering the structure, medicinal drinks were imbibed and, once inside, healers would take wet leaves and whip or slap the areas where the illness was believed to reside.¹⁰⁸ In doing this, the healer encouraged blood circulation and pores to open quickly thus sweating out impurities.¹⁰⁹ Illness was then left behind within the sweatbath and individuals exited restored. It logically follows that the sweatbath consumed illness and therefore acted in conjunction with healers and midwives within a fixed point of liminality.

Sweatbaths were seen as liminal largely because they were understood to be figurative caves, the dual natured and womb-like locations where the first ancestors were born and to which all ancestors returned after death.¹¹⁰ In times of childbirth, pregnant women prepared for, performed, and recovered from birth within a sweatbath, defining their natal resonance.¹¹¹ Midwives, conceptually if not characteristically aged grandmothers, would gage the health of the pregnant female in relative stages of hot or cold, akin to the restorative acts of healers.¹¹² In the months leading up to birth, midwives prescribed medicinal drinks, administered massages that oriented the fetus (occurring both within and outside of the sweatbath), and maintained the heated equilibrium of mother and child.¹¹³ In some cases, women were

secluded during the later phases of gestation, as various forms of interaction would alter their harmonic balance.¹¹⁴ That is, their mood needed to remain unaffected by emotional responses that could alter the heated state of the fetus. Directly after giving birth, the mother conceptually lost her heat and therefore needed the sweatbath to reestablish her equilibrium.¹¹⁵ Also the postnatal sweatbath is said to help lactation as well as soothe the mother's body.¹¹⁶ When a woman died giving birth, she was seen as a sacrifice in the land of the living for the new life of her child, and posthumously received the honorary position of a *kaloomte*, a warrior who died in battle, equating acts of birth to acts of war.¹¹⁷ The Maya perceived souls as cyclical and inherited, thus natal births occurring within sweatbaths assuredly functioned in the sense that they symbolically rebirthed souls within apical lines.¹¹⁸ The ancestral soul then transitioned liminally within the womb of the earth and transformed in the womb of the mother producing a location for lineage succession.

The sweatbath as a fixed location of liminality in the built environment also helped the Maya structure and organize ritual transformation and performance.¹¹⁹ According to Mark Child, in ritual purification, "...these sacred structures function to purify the individuals for participation, as well as serve to transport them to the supernatural realm."¹²⁰ The opening of rituals were marked first with a purging of profane contents consisting of enemas, induced vomiting, and sweating out impurities thereby transporting a purified performer into the supernatural realm.¹²¹ The closing of rituals likewise transported the performer from the perilous supernatural realm and cleansed them of any lingering supernatural spirits that might wish to follow them into the world of the living.¹²² Individuals ritually interacting with supernatural forces

were conceptually propelled into symbolically threatening conditions that had perilous consequences akin to war and birth. Those that performed in ritual transcendence were lauded for their abilities in a similar manner as successful war campaigns, reserving this ritual position for an elite class, if not exclusively royal personages.¹²³

As a place where ancestors and supernaturals were believed to originate at birth and return to at death, the sweatbath was a liminal embodiment of the ancestral past as well as the souls destined for the future.¹²⁴ Within these structures, ancestors and supernaturals were called upon to facilitate transition and transformation, thus acting as primary conduits who aided movement of newly purified ritualists into liminal places within the landscape, in much the same manner as the toad depictions presented earlier. In acts of purification, sweatbaths, and the figures attributed to them, consumed the illness and profane matter of both the infirm and the elite ritualists. In acts of childbirth, sweatbaths housed the continuity of a lineage in a place where the *way* and *tonal* souls of ancestors, which I discuss below, were known to reside. Childbirth, therefore was more than procreation, it was a symbolic rebirth of an ancestor's soul embodied in or attributed to a descendant. Because birth and rebirth were synonymous ritualized activities, the sweatbath building itself was a dynamically liminal place fixed in the ritual lives of the elite that embodied the broad concept of cyclicity.

Space and Liminality

There are generally two fundamental elements in the structuring of space for liminality: (1) the harnessing of cosmogonies (theories of the origin of the universe) and (2) the structuring of fixed points in the landscape that permit communication between physical realms.¹²⁵ The allegorical origin of the universe in addition to the task of its continuity, according to Mircea Eliade, shapes mankind's need to exist in non-homogeneous domains, specifically spaces that structure a type of control over assailing forces of nature.¹²⁶ For instance, geomancy, the act of orienting space and architecture, with response to celestial bodies throughout Mesoamerica, transforms physical environments into simultaneously real and imagined settings, which unify occupants of the past, present, and future. As environments are structured to mitigate and mirror cultural cosmogons, there are also fixed points within the landscape that facilitate connections to or communication between other worldly realms, called *axis mundi*.¹²⁷ Entry into the ritual use of these heterotopias (see note 128 for an explanation of Foucault's heterotopias versus utopias) would have required a "system of opening and closing" largely based on a purification of profane matter at the opening and a purification of religious matter at the closing.¹²⁸ Allocations of 'sacredness' often occur within breaks in the terrestrial world, and the points of transition between real and other become liminal.¹²⁹ In building structures that model the universe or cosmogonies as well as house communication via the *axis mundi*, cultures construct and define their own liminal points of transition in addition to their own settings of fixed transcendence.¹³⁰

For the Maya, their cosmogony was their built environment, meaning that they lived within virtual constructions of their universe that enabled their communication with both ancestors and supernaturals.¹³¹ According to Wendy Ashmore, the Maya universe was comprised of "...a multilayered universe, with a sky of many levels, in which the royal ancestors lived, and a watery underworld below the natural world, likewise with multiple layers, where the supernaturals lived."¹³² The concept of above and below was topographically presented as north and south, conferring spaces in the north with the celestial and ancestral realms, while spaces in the south were locations of supernaturals.¹³³ These layers were unified by the cyclical death and rebirth of celestial bodies, such as the sun and the moon.¹³⁴ Ritual acts that encouraged continuity of the universe pertained directly to the continued movement of the sun and the seasons that correspond to its annual cycle. In order to assure the daily rebirth of the sun and the annual rebirth of the year, the Maya would call upon particular ancestors or deities that dwelled within specific realms via locations possessing liminality or an *axis mundi*.

Within the cosmogonic landscape of the Maya, the presentation of these liminal points of communication is twofold. First, the elite and non-elite Maya buried or entombed the bones of their ancestors below the floors of their homes, thus creating a means of accessing ancestors and claiming inheritance.¹³⁵ Similar to the cosmogonic landscape, the household too became a model of the universe: the four corner posts were *bacabs* (elderly male figures) or world trees supporting the sky (the metaphor for the roof), while the center was the 'jade hearth' or the 'earth's navel' that provided access to ancestors and supernatural deities.¹³⁶ The entombment of

ancestors within the household defined the home as a place that unified past generations with those of the present, and thus identity and selfhood were anchored into place where past was perpetually present.¹³⁷ Secondly, natural breaks in the terrestrial realm in the form of caves or mountains were (and still are) seen as “...vertical connections in space between the natural world and the super natural domains.”¹³⁸ Caves, set into the earth’s surface, provided a setting for communication with the recently deceased ancestors and the supernaturals in the Underworld.¹³⁹ Mountains projecting into the sky provided locations to communicate with apotheosed ancestors in the paradisaal realm above.¹⁴⁰ As the Maya treated geological features as sacred points in the landscape, they also imbued their architecture with the natural attributes of these locations, such as sweatbaths and ancestral shrines.¹⁴¹ As the north was considered by the Maya to be a manifestation of the ancestral realm, north as a place of residence exponentially amplified the presence or allocation of ancestral resonance and therefore possessed attributes of the ancestral paradise termed ‘Flower Mountain.’¹⁴²

The Flower World complex, according to Taube, possesses two distinct features for the ancient Maya: (1) a fixed place called Flower Mountain to “conjure gods and ancestors through fire offerings and music [such as] Classic Maya temple pyramids” and (2) the manifestation of the “the breath soul” or the *ch’ulel*, which persists after death and ascends to Flower Mountain.¹⁴³ Depictions of Flower Mountain, such as the Balamk’u frieze (Fig. 24), pertain explicitly to the soul of an elite figure being reborn as the Sun. Within this depiction, there are clear spatial correlates: the jaguars emerging from a bicephalic serpent mark the low points

between *witz* figures signifying the Underworld; the *witz* figures are temple pyramids and Flower Mountains elevated into the sky; the toads are watery places such as caves where ancestors return to after death and are subsequently rebirthed in the ancestral realm; and the ruler is seen as the sun god reborn in the ancestral realm above. While the Balamk'u frieze depicts rulers reborn, it is in fact the embodiment of the apotheosized aspect of the soul, the *ch'ulel*, that is being depicted.¹⁴⁴ In concepts of the Maya 'being,' everyone possesses two souls: the *ch'ulel* and the *way* (or *tonal*).¹⁴⁵ The *ch'ulel* is the ethereal part of an individual's soul and is envisioned as wind and breath as well as sweet scents and music.¹⁴⁶ The *way* or *tonal* is a 'spiritual co-essence' that is determined at birth by midwives and diviners and made manifest in co-spirits such as thunder, bats, jaguars, etc. and defines a person's character.¹⁴⁷ While a person's *ch'ulel* transcends after death to reside in Flower Mountain, a person's *way* remains in a place of darkness associated with the Underworld and is considered an inherited nature.¹⁴⁸ Flower Mountain therefore transitions the soul of an ancestor from their death in the Underworld into a liminal point in an elevated space where a toad, cave, or sweatbath rebirths the ethereal 'breath soul' or *ch'ulel* into the ancestral realm, while the *way* or *tonal* stays within.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, "the pivotal world axis, Flower Mountain was both the home of gods and honored ancestors, and the means of supernatural ascent into the heavens."¹⁵⁰ While pictographic depictions of this concept abound, it is rare to find a preserved, both in architecture and iconography, example of this metaphor as a constructed place within the ancient Maya landscape.

Ceremonial Sweatbaths

Sweatbaths are located within the ceremonial centers of several Classic period Maya capital sites (such as Piedras Negras, Palenque, Uaxactun, Copan, Quirigua, Yaxchilan, and Tikal) and their initial florescence of ritual use according to Child, corresponds to '*la entrada*' or 'the arrival of strangers' dating to AD 379–445 within the Early Classic period.¹⁵¹ Child suggests that there were domestic sweatbaths in use in the Peten lowlands prior to this period, but the elite ceremonial use of the sweatbath corresponds to this contact period.¹⁵² The earliest-known example of a ceremonial sweatbath is the R-13 sweatbath at Piedras Negras (AD 430–480), located within an enclosed south group, which also contains ritual architecture such as a ball court and a burial shrine believed to be Ruler A, Itzam K'an Ahk II (Fig. 38).¹⁵³ The form of R-13 consists of a nearly squared building on top of a platform with a low doorway sunken into the platform itself. This ditched entry forms the drainage system where water, either from condensation or spill over from the creation of steam, flows out of the structure, through the doorway, and into the plaza. The heat mechanism, termed the hearth or firebox, was placed within. These features with slight variations in scale were the standard in sweatbath construction during the Classic period, although there was a shift in location from enclosed to open spaces.¹⁵⁴

While the sweatbaths from the Early Classic period were in ceremonial groups with defined boundaries, the Classic period sweatbaths were built within monumental architectural groups that had broader and more inclusive points of access.¹⁵⁵ The spatial shift according to Child signified that sweatbath use had "become more universal with shared experiences, in order to transcend beyond ethnic boundaries

into foreign regions.”¹⁵⁶ In effect, the broadly established use of sweatbaths during a time of inter-site trade and alliances necessitated large ceremonial spaces for such communal activities to be performed by visiting figures, thus fusing ritual and politics in practices of standardization within both ritual life and the built environment.¹⁵⁷ In the Late Classic period, sweatbaths, located within monumental architectural complexes, and built on top of temple pyramids, were modified in form to support their growing communal use.¹⁵⁸ External enclosures, termed outer sanctuaries, were built around the newly constructed sweatbaths in addition to earlier sweatbaths.¹⁵⁹ After this fusion of communal politics during the Classic period created an elaborate inter-site networking system, visiting emissaries no longer needed to see that a sweatbath worked to understand what it symbolized. During the Late Classic period, the form and function of the sweatbath evolved in such a way that sweatbaths no longer needed to create heat or contain steam to communicate its actively natal and actively transformative role.¹⁶⁰ Signifying a desire for unification in functioning and symbolic forms, outer sanctuaries and secondary enshrinements containing separate rooms for changing and consuming medicinal drinks that were part of the Late Classic sweatbath architecture, were built around earlier sweatbaths as well.¹⁶¹ While symbolic sweatbaths were built at Copan and Tonina during this time, the most documented are those found at the site of Palenque.¹⁶²

The Palenque ruler Kan Balam built three symbolic sweatbaths, symbolic because they were unable to create or contain steam, on top of monumental temples within a public ceremonial complex dating to the Classic period.¹⁶³ Each of the sweatbaths are defined as the natal sweatbath of a supernatural figure associated with

primordial creation.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile the composition of the Cross Group as a whole was dedicated to Kan Balam's grandmother, Ix Sak K'uk.¹⁶⁵ According to Linda Schele and David Freidel, "his own claim to descent from his grandmother replicated the practices of the gods at the time of genesis."¹⁶⁶ The symbolic ordering of space, both mythical and heterotopic in nature, attributed the beginning of time to a specific ancestral line. It is interesting that, in order to communicate this message, Kan Balam equated his grandmother with "Goddess O, the great genetrix" also known as *Ix Chel* making this goddess the "female deity of the ancient Maya sweatbath."¹⁶⁷ In Child's research at Piedras Negras, complementary gender tropes were in place where the aged male counterpart of Goddess O, named God N or *Itzamnaaj*, was "the male deity of the ancient Maya sweatbath" and was conceptually the deified ancestor, Ruler A or Itzam K'an Ahk II.¹⁶⁸

In both functioning and symbolic models, the sweatbath was attributed to male and female aged creators, God N and Goddess O, as well as individual ancestors, specifically apical Kings and Queens. Thus, the ancient Maya actively transformed the perception of their progenitors into established supernatural figures. Maya ancestors were both fixed in space by the interment of their bones and their manifestation into gods and goddesses imbedded in physical architecture. Therefore, ancestors were both real and supernatural within the elite ruling class. As inter-site politics shaped ritual life within Mesoamerica, spatial metaphors that centered the ruler conceptually in heterotopic time (unifying past, present, and future in a fixed setting), as well as physically in the center of the universe, became expected attributes of ceremonial architecture, a role aided by the sweatbath.¹⁶⁹ Rulers built ceremonial

spaces that embodied or housed the center of the earth and employed the sweatbath as a fixed point where their apical grandparents (past Kings and Queens), fused with underworld supernaturals God N and Goddess O, guided their divine ability to transform and transition between worlds as well as control cyclical acts such as agrarian and natal fertility.

Sweatbath Deities

The aged Gods, God N and Goddess O, are a dualistic creator couple that go by the names of *Itzamnaaj* and *Ix Chel*.¹⁷⁰ Although they each have individual associations, they perform as dualistic complements in cyclical acts of death and rebirth or more aptly destruction and creation akin to the caiman and toad. These figures, as day keepers, watch over the sun, moon, and maize gods; that is, the manifestations of cyclicity in Maya thought.¹⁷¹ *Itzamnaaj* and *Ix Chel* are the quintessential diviner and midwife who chart the movement of time and manage the heated state of souls, not to mention aide in the cyclical processes of birth, ritual transformation, and the movement of both the *ch'ulel* and *way* souls. On the aptly named “Birth Vase” (Fig. 35), *Itzamnaaj* and *Ix Chel* perform their complementary roles during a supernatural birth.¹⁷² For example on Side IV, the aged *Itzamnaaj* creates and maintains the fire or hearth, while *Ix Chel*, pictured multiple times, performs divination, massages the midsection of the pregnant female, and grasps the aged supernatural from the serpents maw.¹⁷³ As complementary opposites within the sweatbath, *Itzamnaaj* is associated with the hearth, specifically the fire and heated

stones, as well as the earth (surface), whereas *Ix Chel* is associated with wombs, fertility, earth (dirt), and water.¹⁷⁴

God N or *Itzamnaaj*, also known as *Pauhtun* or Mam, is by his very name united with *Itzam Cab Ayin*, the ‘Iguana Earth Crocodile’ that was sacrificed during the world’s destruction as well as Zipacna who burrowed into the earth to establish the postholes used in the construction of a home.¹⁷⁵ As discussed earlier, the back of the caiman signifies the surface of the earth and contains the fixed point of transition between conceptual spaces, the *axis mundi*. Thus God N or *Itzamnaaj* is known as the Earth Lord and associated with the *axis mundi* within the home known as the ‘three-stone hearth’ as well as the fire hearth within the sweatbath.¹⁷⁶ Beyond the symbolism of the center, God N or *Itzamnaaj* as *Pauhtun* physically supported the roofs of Maya architecture as an atlantid (Fig. 34), recalling the image of Zipacna on Izapa Stela 25 (Fig. 14).¹⁷⁷ As the home was a cosmogonic representation of the universe, the *Pauhtun* or Mam, symbolically held up the sky and time itself.¹⁷⁸ In this regard, God N or *Itzamnaaj* is often attributed with weather features such as wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, akin to the Maya god *Chac*.¹⁷⁹ According to Taube, God N is an “old and often malevolent mountain god, a quadripartite supporter of the world identified with thunder, music, drunkenness, and the old year.”¹⁸⁰

Goddess O or *Ix Chel*, an aged goddess also named *Chac Chel*, is associated with fertility, both natal and agrarian, and, as was mentioned earlier, is often conflated with jaguars seen in her *Ix* eye (three-dotted motif) and jaguar paws and ears. In her role as midwife, Goddess O or *Ix Chel* was in direct contact with new life, hence she required liminal positioning, which was pictographically communicated in

her anthropomorphic depiction (Fig. 35, see Sides I and II) Thus, as a supernatural deity interceding at points of liminality, she draws power from the quintessential Underworld figure, the jaguar, akin to rulers depicted as *nahuals* and shaman. Goddess O or *Ix Chel* "...shares many traits with Toci," the Aztec sweatbath goddess also known as *temazcaltoci* (*temazcal* meaning sweatbath).¹⁸¹ Within the *Codex Magliabechiano* and *Tudela Codex*, a portrait of Toci is depicted on the front façade of an Aztec sweatbath directly above the doorway (Fig. 37), recalling the depiction of *Ix Chel* as a centered caryatid at the Temple of San Miguel on the island of Cozumel (Fig. 27).¹⁸² In Post-Colonial documentations describing birth, both the midwife administering the birth within the sweatbath and the pregnant female would call out to and draw power from the goddess Toci, who was embodied in the architecture, to aide successful delivery.¹⁸³ Both Toci and *Ix Chel* appear as part of the sweatbath architecture and are associated with caves and the eating of filth, likely recalling the acts of purification and healing that took place within their structures. In her depictions within the *Dresden* and *Madrid* codices, Goddess O or *Ix Chel* is shown in a crouching pose with water flooding from her womb, which is attributed with life and death properties akin to those of the flood attributed to *Itzamnaaj*.¹⁸⁴ Although Goddess O or *Ix Chel* does not appear conflated with toads, I suggest their symbolic roles within fertility and reproduction make them visual cognates as evinced at *Casas de Los Sapos*.

The dualistic creators, God N or *Itzamnaaj* and Goddess O or *I Chel*, signify acts of creation and destruction both individually and in their complementary roles. They are the quintessential aged creator couple that function liminally. Whereas God

N is the surface of the earth akin to the caiman signifying and centering a fixed point of transition and acts of closing or destruction, Goddess O is a liminal anthropomorph who's womb was akin to the cave and signified acts of opening or creation. Their sweatbath symbolism defines God N as the heat that is brought into the structure such as the 'hearth' stones (in this case basalt) heated outside and brought into the sweatbath and Goddess O as the water poured on stones to create steam within.¹⁸⁵

The metaphor for the binary roles in the process of creating new life is implicit, thus the entry of a natal sweatbath indubitably becomes a vagina where the actions of men instigate a gestation within the sweatbath's womb-interior. This symbolic construct seems to make less sense when ascribing a male deity to a sweatbath, but either way, *Los Sapos* makes the explicit metaphor for female gestation attributed to a deified ancestor-midwife unambiguous.

Interpretation of *Los Sapos*

As I have argued, the north façade of *Los Sapos* depicts a crouching figure with signifiers of portraiture as well as anthropomorphic traits that communicate the figure's primacy over cyclicity as well as gestation. Although there are examples of both male and female gendered deities attributed with Classic period sweatbaths, the *Los Sapos* structure is gendered female, as is evident in the presentation of the vaginal entry, the door between the legs. I have presented the hypothesis that the primary figure is an elite royal female deified as the supernatural midwife, Goddess O or *Ix Chel* (Fig. 38). While the identity of the ancestor is not known, she would have been shown as a supernatural *Ix Chel* who transitioned 'beings' from one essence to

another. Bestowed with *Ix Chel's* intermittently liminal power, this ancestor was not entirely in one space, but in two. Thus this liminal placement, and pose in general, demonstrates power over both cause and effect in cyclical and ritual acts (specifically at the opening and closing) occurring along the *axis mundi*.

Liminal depictions of power are a Mesoamerican trope that confers supernatural abilities through confections with jaguars. *Ix Chel* was a supernatural midwife that reached warrior status after overseeing successful births for centuries. If in fact there were an element of portraiture, as I suggest, then the woman depicted would have been esteemed for her fertility and demonstrated a warrior status after successive births akin to *Ix Chel*. As is evident by the *kaloomte* moniker acquired in cases of death during birth and death during battle, women giving birth were equated with warriors thus those that were successful many times over were conceptually warrior women. It seems to follow that, in a location where royal women gave birth to kings and queens, they would draw power from a deified warrior woman located in a fixed point of liminality (presented both in the physical and conceptual place as well as the *Ix Chel* sweatbath) who was known to have been a successful creator of kings and queens. *Los Sapos*, therefore, was a place where a female ancestor who was deified as *Ix Chel* held a power over fertility, specifically the creation of kings and queens within a remote North group location, 12F-1.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I have presented the current research pertaining to a potential sweatbath, *Los Sapos* or 12F-5, ornamented with creation imagery in an isolated

North group residential complex at the site of Xultun. My analysis included comparisons of both iconographic elements and contextual signifiers as vehicles for the function and meaning of both *Los Sapos* and the 12F-1 group. The interpretations presented here are preliminary and, with further excavations at the site, will assuredly develop. This interpretive study, derived from contextual clues and cross-site/cross-cultural comparisons, contributes to a growing understanding of both the site of Xultun and the construction of spatial metaphors within the Maya built environment. The study of the metaphoric ordering of space not only serves as a means of elucidating ritual performance, but also aides in the reconstruction of the metaphoric Maya mind, providing some answers to Mary Miller's question, "What is Maya architecture a metaphor for?"¹⁸⁶

The 12F-1 complex presents a case study for how the Maya furnished the metaphorical Flower Mountain with architecture, iconography, and residences suited for the movement of ancestors through time and space. The dramatic way in which the sweatbath released steam that was simultaneously the 'breath souls' or *ch'ulel* of ancestors transitioning from an Underworld death placed both the bones and the souls of the ancestors in accessible proximity to the rulers of Xultun. Similarly, the sweatbath actively contained *way* souls (or *tonal*) that were destined for future successors. Isolating an ancestral realm that embodies ancestors in addition to fertile seeds of new life (green maize gruel), defines this as the central place of cyclical and royal power at Xultun. Just as the *Los Arboles* Acropolis embodied the Xultun rulers' ability to transform or apotheosize after death, *Los Sapos* embodied a queen's ability to birth future kings and queens. To insure efficacy of birth, women were spatially

isolated to maintain their heated states and those of their children. The isolated 12F group or the 12E group would have been ideal for prenatal isolation. Here women were obscured from view (especially if residing in the 12E complex) within the flowery fragrant dwelling of their ancestors while drawing power from the deified warrior woman embodying and absorbed by *Los Sapos*.

When compared to the spatial setting of The Cross Group at Palenque, which structured larger and more communal rituals, the isolation and size of 12F-1 suggests that the intention of the space, as well as the intention of the occupants, would have differed. One would have retreated to the ancestral realm of Xultun, thus the intention of the 12F-1 group was, like the architecture itself, focused internally. The symbolism was lineage driven and actions occurring there reciprocated and reinforced the ancestral nature of ‘north space.’ The transition into the lineage driven locale was the *Los Arboles* structure marked with imagery concerning the apotheosis of divine rulers, but, more importantly, with signs of a *wak sa’aal* place.¹⁸⁷ Also, *wak sa’aal* translates directly to “maize gruel place,” which I have stated, is the original material of the current creation, a substance believed to be contained within the *uoh* toad. *Los Sapos* was the place where the gestation of ‘maize gruel’ occurred and thus its role within the Early Classic *wak sa’aal* place was to birth the lineage as well as transition its descendants during ritual into a supernatural realm where they could commune with the past entombed in both the north space and *Los Arboles*.¹⁸⁸

While the response to Mary Miller’s question, “What is Maya architecture a metaphor for?”¹⁸⁹ is multidimensional in that there are meanings devised from local, regional, and culture-wide perspectives, but in the case of Xultun’s North group, the

metaphor is becoming much clearer. In general, the cosmogony of the Maya was reflected in their landscape, with ancestral and celestial meaning ascribed to north as a place. The Maya of Xultun transformed north space into an ancestral realm where lineages were both born and dwelled eternally. Apical figures were ascribed to the liminal locations, thus architecture and place thus became the visual embodiment of claims to royal inheritance. Therefore, through the metaphorical and spatial ordering of Flower Mountain, the Xultun North group is a *wak sa'aal* place riddled with symbolism that structured and housed claims to 'kinship' through a *sa'aal* lineage that transcended the boundaries of Xultun and participated in inter-site claims to 'kingship.'

NOTES

Introduction, page 1

¹ Jennifer Wildt, Mary Clarke, Emily Bushold, and Martin Rangel, “Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1,” In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 243–280, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.

² Ibid.; Jennifer Wildt, Alejandra Diaz, Srivatsa Dattatreya, Madeline Koines, Jared Katz, Maxwell Chamberlin, Juliana Fernandez, Andrew Pegg, Kathleen Scanlan, Anna Kayes, and Holly Swanson, “Xul 12F, Xul 12E: Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F-Plazas y el Cuadrante 12E,” In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 9, Año 2010*, eds. Luis Alberto Romero and William Saturno: 129–185, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.

³ Wildt, Diaz, Dattatreya, Koines, Katz, Chamberlin, Fernandez, Pegg, Scanlan, Kayes, and Swanson, “Xul 12F, Xul 12E,” 129–185. Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, “Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1,” 243–280; Franco Rossi, “Xul 12F19: Excavaciones y Túneles de la Acrópolis, Xultun, Petén,” In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 9, Año 2010*, eds. Luis Alberto Romero and William Saturno: 109–128, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City; Stephanie Simms, “Excavaciones Preliminares en el Sitio de Xultun, Peten,” In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 7, Año 2008*, eds. Mónica Urquizú and William Saturno: 242–260, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City; Rosalba Yasmin Cifuentes Arguello, “Excavaciones en el Cuadrante 12F-1, Structures 3, 4, 15, y 38,” In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 281–320, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City; William Saturno, Elisa Mencos, Harrison Apple, Jorge Sagastume, y Lauren Scully, “Excavaciones en la Acrópolis Los Arboles (12F19),” In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 321–358, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City; William Saturno, Heather Hurst, and Franco Rossi, “Observaciones Preliminares Sobre la Iconografía de la Acrópolis Los Arboles (12F19),” Xultun, In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 561–574, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City. While I cite a few chapters here specifically, the *Informes* present a larger body of work produced seasonally by the Project’s various members from the perspective of their individual sub-disciplines.

⁴ Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, “Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1,” 243–280. I discuss ceremonial sweatbaths in the section Ceremonial Sweatbaths.

The Maya, page 2

⁵ David Stuart, “Arrival of Strangers: Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya History,” *Mesoamerica’s Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, eds. David Carrasco, Lindsey Jones, and Scott Sessions (Boulder: University of Press of Colorado, 2002): 465–513. The site of Teotihuacan in what is presently Central Mexico was, in c. AD1–AD700, a thriving metropolis. Roughly around the 4th cent AD in an event termed *La Entrada*, an emissary from Teotihuacan named Siyah K’ahk’ arrived in the Maya lowlands, evidence of which was first seen at the site of El Peru on

January 15, 378. *La Entrada* is most pronounced at the site of Tikal, where former ruler, Chak Tok Ich 'Aak I, was seen to 'enter the water,' that is to say he died shortly after the arrival of Siyah K'ahk', an emissary believed to have been sent by Teotihuacan lord Spearthrower Owl to enthrone his son by a Tikal Lady named Yax Nuun Ahiin I. The stylistic evidence for change ranges from the *talud tablero* architecture to the presence of green obsidian and tripod footed vessels.

⁶ Stephen Houston, "Literacy among the Pre-Columbian Maya: A Comparative Perspective," *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, eds. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994): 27–49. The shift from the Preclassic to the Early Classic Period was reflected in the shift from public ritual that incorporated many to privatized ritual that focused on the actions of few. Action within privatized space was subsequently conveyed or retold to the public in the form of hieroglyphic captions or depictions of rulers in their ritual roles on stelae. Such a shift was spatially articulated as formerly public ritual space was rebuilt so that it housed fewer and physically separated and elevated the position of the ruler. In his work on literacy, Houston seeks to distinguish the extent to which the general populous could read these hieroglyphic captions and if they were in fact ingesting the visual images of rulers performing as divine figures as one would written text or if there were translators present orating the acts of the ruling lineage in their privatized spaces.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Thomas Garrison and Nicholas Dunning, "Settlement, Environment, and Politics in the San Bartolo-Xultun Territory, El Peten, Guatemala," *Latin American Antiquity*, 20, no. 4 (December 2009): 525–552. The use of natural resources to construct architecture and stelae involved heating thus the use of trees. In the later years of the Late Classic Period, such natural resources were in fact rare. It is the contention of Garrison and Dunning that Xultun's conservative artistic program aided in the site's relative longevity.

⁹ W. George Lovell and Christopher H. Lutz, "'A Dark Obverse': Maya Survival in Guatemala: 1520–1994," *Geographical Review* 86, no. 3 *Latin American Geography* (July, 1996): 398–407; William L. Fash, "Changing Perspectives on Maya Civilization," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 181–208; Macduff Everton, *The Modern Maya: A Culture in Transition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991). While there is ample scholarship on the topic of contemporary Maya, these sources are a great start for questions concerning the Pre-Colonial to Contemporary Maya transition as well as implications of current research of various contemporary Maya communities.

The Site of Xultun, page 3

¹⁰ Garrison and Dunning, "Settlement, Environment, and Politics," 527–530. The authors define the territory as being located "...in the southern portion of the Azucar Lowlands physiographic province of the Three Rivers region." While acknowledging the problems associated with ascribing specific territorial boundaries, the authors define the boundaries of the San Bartolo-Xultun territory by topographical features. "The western boundary...runs through the source of the Bajo de Azucar from the source of the Rio Tikal to an area south-southwest where raised patches of terrain come out of the *bajo*. The southern border is defined by medium-sized scrub *bajos*, one of which begins the drainage of the Ixcanrio. The Ixcanrio then flows northward delimiting the eastern boundary of the territory, eventually flowing into to Rio Tikal, which defines the northern limit of the territory." They also clarify their definition of capital sites "Capitals are identified by the presence of: one or usually more large public plazas, multiple courtyard groups, one or more ball courts, one or more stelae (usually carved), and multiple monumental structures. In addition, every well-investigated capital site that dates to the Classic period has an Emblem Glyph signifying the presence of a *k'uhul ajaw* ("holy lord"), or at least an *ajaw* ("lord"). Capitals were the home to the royal Maya court and presented the stages for the performance of theater state rituals."

¹¹ Ibid., 545. Ideal in that the perennial wetlands aided in agriculture and karstic bedrock for construction of architecture and stelae as well as chultuns (hollowed out narrow depressions in the earth's surface) used for burials and food storage.

¹² Ibid., 538, 539. The 'mini collapse' at San Bartolo appears to have occurred due to a prolonged drought from AD150–250.

¹³ Ibid., 541. On Xultun Stela 6 dating to AD 501, the Tikal emblem glyph appears, while on Tikal Stela 17, a Xultun lord named Upakal K'inich is mentioned. On Caracol Stela 16, a retrospective text cites the arrival of a Xultun woman named Yohl Ch'e'n, the wife of Early Classic period Caracol ruler, K'ahk' Ujol K'inich I.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Jonathan Ruane, "2010 Mapeo en el Sitio Arqueologico Xultun," *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo, Novena Temporada 2010*, ed. L. Romero and W. Saturno, Guatemala: 207–217; Jonathan Ruane, "2012 Mapeo en el Sitio Arqueológico Xultun," *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 437–450, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.

¹⁶ Eric Von Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions 5–1: Xultún* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Eric Von Euw and Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions 5–2: Xultún, La Honradez, and Uaxactun* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

¹⁷ Franco Rossi, "El Grupo Taaj: El Contexto Del Cuarto De Los Murales y las Excavaciones de una Residencia Elite" *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 97–166, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.

¹⁸ Ruane, "2010 Mapeo," 207–217; Ruane, "2012 Mapeo," 437–450.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, "Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1," 245. The 12F1 group is located 300 m to the north of the northern most monumental plaza, Plaza 2, and 50 m. north of the Acropolis *Los Arboles* (12F-19).

The Residential Group, page 4

²³ Wildt, Diaz, Dattatreya, Koines, Katz, Chamberlin, Fernandez, Pegg, Scanlan, Kayes, and Swanson, "Xul 12F, Xul 12E," 129–185; Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, "Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1," 243–280; Rossi, "Xul 12F19," 109–128; Cifuentes Arguello, "Excavaciones en el Cuadrante 12 F1," 281–320. Saturno, Mencos, Apple, Sagastume, y Scully, "Excavaciones en la Acropolis Los Arboles (12F19)," 321–358; Saturno, Hurst, and Rossi, "Observaciones Preliminares Sobre la Iconografía de la Acropolis Los Arboles (12F19)," 561–574. The summary of this space is based on the data collected by Jennifer Wildt.

²⁴ Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, "Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1," 243–280.

²⁵ Cifuentes Arguello, "Excavaciones en el Cuadrante 12 F1," 281–320.

²⁵ Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, "Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1," 243–280.

Los Arboles, page 5

²⁸ Rossi, "Xul 12F19," 126–128; Saturno, Mencos, Apple, Sagastume, y Scully, "Excavaciones en la Acropolis Los Arboles (12F19)," 321–358; Saturno, Hurst, and Rossi, "Observaciones Preliminares Sobre la Iconografía de la Acropolis Los Arboles 12F19," 561–574. The summary of the iconography and phases of architecture are based on these chapters.

²⁹ Saturno, Hurst, and Rossi, “Observaciones Preliminares Sobre la Iconografía de la Acropolis Los Arboles 12F19,” 561–574.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Alexander Tokovinine and Vilma Fialko, “Stela 45 of Naranjo and the Early Classic Lords of Sa’aal,” In *PARI Journal* VII, no. 4 (2007): 1–24. Tokovinine and Fialko describe the *wak sa’aal* place as potentially the triadic group C-9 at Naranjo during the Late Classic, and define it as ‘*the six maize gruel place*.’ They also state that the Early Classic location of this place is believed by Nikolai Grube to be in the Holmul area, a theory that is supported by the presence of *wak sa’aal* place glyphs at Xultun, located in close proximity to Holmul. The *sa’aal* lineage is claimed at Naranjo as well as Tikal. Both sites were allied and connected with Xultun.

³² Ibid.; Saturno, Hurst, and Rossi, “Observaciones Preliminares Sobre la Iconografía de la Acropolis Los Arboles 12F19,” 561–574.

³³ I describe Karl Taube’s “Flower Mountain” in *Space and Liminality*.

³⁴ Prudence Rice, *Maya Political Science: Time, Astronomy, and the Cosmos* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 60; Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*, (New York: Thames and Hudson New York, 1993), 104. Pop is the first month of the 360 (plus 5 additional days) day solar calendar termed *haab* and, according to Miller and Taube, the patron saint of this day is the Water Lilly Jaguar. They state, “. . .the Water Lilly Jaguar wears a water lily on his head and usually a collar of extruded eyeballs around the neck or a scarf. The Water Lilly Jaguar serves as a throne [and] marches in Underworld processions. . .”

³⁵ Saturno, Mencos, Apple, Sagastume, y Scully, “Excavaciones en la Acropolis Los Arboles (12F19),” 321–358; Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos, “El Jaguar Iguana,” *Arqueológica Mexicana* 16, 81 (2006), 82–85. Chinchilla compares the primary figure from the Becan vessel to depictions found at the site Cotzumalhuapa in the Pacific piedmont of Guatemala.

Los Sapos, page 7

³⁶ Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, “Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1,” 270–278. Jennifer Wildt defined the phases of architecture.

³⁷ Ibid. Because of *Los Sapos* was uncovered at the end of the season, we were unable to enter the building to find the firebox.

³⁸ Ibid. The platform appeared to lip up to the east façade.

³⁹ Ibid. Between the masonry construction and the east façade there was painted stucco apparent.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. Wildt states (personal communication, February 19, 2013) that the adult in the doorway contained: “articulated leg bones from the feet to the distal ends of the femora, where the bones were cut, just above the knees, also one miscellaneous long bone off to the side; between the feet, one jadeite bead (1cm in diameter) and six bone beads (less than 1 cm in diameter) were found in a row, as though they were strung together; and the legs were resting on a large stone slab, covering about half of the entrance to the sweatbath.” Further, in front of the doorway, was a “composite skeleton with the cranium and mandible of a roughly 12 year old and the body of an under 2 year old. . .the older juvenile shows marked intentional cranial deformation, with compression of the forehead. . .[the younger juvenile] was aged based on vertebral fusion and ribs in less than two year olds, ribs were about 10–12cm in diameter, still in reasonable articulation, thoracic and lumbar vertebrae showed unfused neural arches, buried stomach down E-W (top of head would have been pointing east).”

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Wildt, Clarke, Bushold, and Rangel, “Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1,” 243–280. The description of both the sculpture and painted elements from the north façade provided here are based on my report presented to the Project and Jennifer Wildt at the end of the 2012 field season.

Thesis, page 10

⁴⁹ Ibid. Mark Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Movements: The Maya Sweatbath Cult of Piedras Negras*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University. New Haven, 2006. I discuss the florescence and dating of the Early Classic sweatbath in Ceremonial Sweatbaths.

⁵⁰ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Movements*; Stephen Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths of the Maya: Architectural Meaning in the Cross Group at Palenque, Mexico,” *Latin American Antiquity* 7, no. 2 (1996); Frank Cresson, “Maya and Mexican Sweat Houses,” *American Anthropologist* 40, no. 1 (1938); Alain Ichon, “A Late Postclassic Sweathouse in the Highlands of Guatemala,” *American Antiquity* 42, no. 2 (1977); Linton Satterthwaite, Mary Butler, and J. Alden Mason “*Piedras Negras Archaeology, 1931–1939: Piedras Negras Preliminary Papers, Piedras Negras Archaeology: Architecture*,” eds. John Weeks, Jane Hill, and Charles Golden (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005).

⁵¹ Stephen Houston, David Stuart, and Karl Taube, *The Memory of Bones: Body, Being, and Experience among the Classic Maya* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006): 66, 70, 270–276. The process of conflation, simply stated, is taking several different symbolic elements and placing them into a single poetic element. This practice was employed by the Maya in the creation of their art, architecture, site plans, ritual performance and elite identities to convey dynamic and attributive concurrence, which constructed larger metaphors within what Houston, Stuart, and Taube define as the ‘socio-mythic domain.’ The ‘sociomythic domain’ is defined as “...those areas where social life touches myth [and] blend two or more personages into shared realities...” Conflationary language in art and architecture as well as that of identity permitted the Maya to construct opportunities for mortal rulers to transubstantially or concurrently perform as supernaturals within mythically ascribed spatial settings.

⁵² Some great examples of contextual analyses can be found in *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture* edited by Stephen Houston and *The Memory of Bones: Body, Being and Experience among the Classic Maya* by Stephen Houston, David Stuart, and Karl Taube. Both resources focus on contextualization of aspects of art and architecture. In other examples of translating the meaning found in archaeological data, *Maya Palaces and Elite Residences: An Interdisciplinary Approach* edited by Jessica Joyce Christie as well as *The Art of Urbanism: How Mesoamerican Kingdoms Represented Themselves in Architecture and Imagery* edited by William Fash and Lenardo Lopez Lujan.

⁵³ Mary Miller, “A Design for Meaning in Maya Architecture,” *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1998), 218.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Jules David Prown, “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 1–19.

⁵⁶ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Movements*; Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths”; Cresson, “Maya and Mexican Sweat Houses”; Ichon, “A Late Postclassic Sweathouse”; Satterthwaite, Mary Butler, and J. Alden Mason “*Piedras Negras Archaeology*.”

⁵⁷ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, (Orlando: Harcourt Books, 1957); Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias,” *Rethinking Architecture: A*

Reader in Cultural Theory, ed. Neil Leach (New York: Routledge Press, 1997): 330–336. See further explanations in notes 125 and 128.

⁵⁸ Patricia McAnany, “Ancestors and the Classic Maya Built Environment,” *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1998): 271–298; Patricia McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Wendy Ashmore, “Site-Planning Principles and Concepts of Directionality among the Ancient Maya,” *Latin American Antiquity* 2, 3 (1991); Karl Taube, “Flower Mountain: Concepts of Life, Beauty, and Paradise among the Classic Maya,” *RES* 45 (2004): 69–98.

Argument: Introduction, page 13

⁵⁹ Stephen Houston, “Literacy among the Pre-Columbian Maya: A Comparative Perspective” *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacy in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, eds. E. H. Boone and W. D. Mignolo (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994): 27–49.

⁶⁰ See note 51.

⁶¹ Linda Schele and Mary Miller, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1986): 42, 43.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Maya Notions of the Caiman, page 14

⁶⁴ Daniel Finamore and Stephen Houston, *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mythic Sea*, Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2010, 227; Carlos Navaro Sement, “The Return of Morelet’s Crocodile *Crocodylus Moreletii*” *Reptilia* 36 (2004): 54–60. Navarro-Serment describes the nature of the *Crocodylus Moreletii*.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Houston, Stuart, and Taube, *Memory of Bones*, 188; Karl Taube, “Itzam Cab Ayin: Caimans, Cosmology, and Calendrics in Postclassic Yucatan,” *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 26 (Washington, DC: Center for Maya Research, 1989): 1–12.

⁶⁶ Taube, “Itzam Cab Ayin,” 2; Karl Taube, “The Jade Hearth: Centrality, Rulership, and the Classic Maya Temple,” *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1998): 439; Erik Valasquez Garcia, “The Maya Flood Myth and the Decapitation of the Cosmic Caiman,” *PARI Journal* VII no. 1 (2006): 1–10; David Stuart, *The Inscriptions from Temple XIX at Palenque: A commentary* (San Francisco: The Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, 2005).

⁶⁷ Taube, “Itzam Cab Ayin,” 2; Finamore and Houston, *Fiery Pool*, 251. The name *Itzam Kab Ayin* is translated to Iguana Earth Crocodile in Colonial Yucatec.

⁶⁸ Houston, Stuart, and Taube, *Memory of Bones*, 91–95; Erik Valasquez Garcia, “The Maya Flood Myth,” 1–10; David Stuart, *The Inscriptions from Temple XIX at Palenque*.

⁶⁹ Allen Christenson, *Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya* (New York: O Books, 2003), 59–305; Dennis Tedlock, *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996): 81–85. The *Popol Vuh* is an anonymously authored book written by members of a Maya group called Quiché-Maya from the highlands of western Guatemala in both Spanish and Quiché Mayan. While the document was transcribed after the conquest (1554–1558) and likely was influenced in some way by Post-Conquest Christian mores, the text captures the traditions and Gods of the contemporary Maya, the nature of which informs our understanding of their ancient progenitors. Allen Christenson in his 2003 translation worked directly from the original Quiché transcription. The earlier edition of the *Popol Vuh* translated

by Dennis Tedlock from the original Spanish.

⁷⁰ Ibid. In the *Popol Vuh*, Zipacna demonstrated his strength by dragging a huge log to the location where a new house, specifically for a group of 400 boys, was to be built. After doing so, the 400 boys were threatened by Zipacna so they devised a plan to kill him; they invited him to return the following day to help with digging the post-holes for the house construction where they planned to trap or skewer him within the hole. When Zipacna did return, the caiman dug deep into the earth's surface, and luckily perceived the 400 boys' plan thus he dug a small cavity within the post-hole. After Zipacna was secure in the cavity, the caiman called up to the boys and they trapped Zipacna in the hole. There, Zipacna waited for a few days and then he emerged taking the house down and killing every last boy.

⁷¹ Ibid. The Hero Twins lured Zipacna into the cave and are attributed with his destruction.

⁷² Chinchilla Mazariegos, "El Jaguar Iguana," 82–85; Finamore and Houston, *Fiery Pool*, 251; Houston, Stuart, and Taube, *Memory of Bones*, 89–97.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Finamore and Houston, *Fiery Pool*, 251; Taube, "The Jade Hearth," 427–478. As discussed in detail later, the center of the world is perceived as a three-stone hearth or a jade hearth in this case as is placed in the center of the back of the 'Jaguar-Iguana.' This configuration places a symbolic world center on the back of the Jaguar-Iguana, a figure akin to *Itzam Cab Ayin* or the Iguana Earth Crocodile, presenting a depiction of the surface of the earth and the required triadic sacrifices that encourage the regeneration of the world.

⁷⁵ Julia Guernsey, *Ritual and Power in Stone: The Performance of Rulership in Mesoamerican Izapan Style Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 136.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Taube, "The Jade Hearth," 439.

Maya Notions of the Toad, page 16

⁷⁸ Alison Bailey Kennedy, "Ecce Bufo: The Toad in Nature and in Olmec Iconography," *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 3 (1982): 274–275.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Kennedy, "Ecce Bufo," 274–275; Peter Furst, "Jaguar Baby or Toad Mother: A New Look at an Old Problem in Olmec Iconography," *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth Beson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1981):149–162.

⁸¹ Karen Bassie-Sweet, *Maya Sacred Geography and the Creator Deities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 203.

⁸² Kennedy, "Ecce Bufo," 274–275.

⁸³ Bassie-Sweet, *Maya Sacred Geography*, 203, 296–297. Bassie-Sweet cites Eric Thompson (1970: 258) who "...notes that the Maya believe this toad [the *uoh* toad] is full of green corn gruel."

⁸⁴ Heather Hurst, personal communication, 2013.

⁸⁵ Tatiana Proskouriakoff, "Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala," *American Antiquity* 25, no. 4 (1960), 454–475.

⁸⁶ Julia Guernsey, *Ritual and Power in Stone*, 125. The site of Izapa (and Kaminaljuyu at times) was in fact not a Maya site, as argued by Guernsey. While the stylistic relations between Izapan art and the Maya Preclassic period murals at San Bartolo are quite striking, in this thesis, I do not argue for or against this dynamic as it is out of scope. I will structure comparisons of the *Los Sapos* façade to the amphibians and reptilians depicted on various Izapa altars and stelae both in style and in context.

⁸⁷ The act of birth via the mouth is not attributed exclusively to toads as snakes, crocodiles, and zoomorphic figures also act in this way.

⁸⁸ Taube, “Flower Mountain,” 69–98; William Saturno, Karl Taube, David Stuart, and Heather Hurst, “The Murals of San Bartolo, El Petén, Guatemala: Part 1: The North Wall,” *Ancient America* 7 (2005): 1–71.

Crouching and Kneeling Poses in Mesoamerica, page 19

⁸⁹ Gerardo Gutiérrez and Mary Pye, “Iconography and the *Nahual*: Human-Animal Transformations in Preclassic Guerrero and Morelos,” *Place of Stone Monuments: Context, Use, and Meaning in Mesoamerica’s Preclassic Transition*, eds. Julia Guernsey, John Clark and Barbara Arroyo, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2010): 27–54.

⁹⁰ Anthropomorphs and zoomorphs are explained in the introduction to the thesis section on pages 10 and 11.

⁹¹ Gutiérrez and Pye, “Iconography and the *Nahual*,” 53; Lee A. Parsons, “Post Olmec Sculpture: The Olmec-Izapan Transition on the Southern Pacific Coast and Highlands” *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1981): 257–288. Parsons compares the Piedra Labrada Monument 13 to ‘potbelly’ monuments in the Monte Alto style. While a few still contain their heads, they are often found decapitated. In an example Parsons presents (Fig. 28) from Copan, in Honduras, a figure remarkably similar to Monument 13 from Piedra Labrada with the addition of a potbelly was found beneath Copan Stela 5. It appears that the potbelly monuments conflate the fertile nature of the toad with the powerful nature of a ruler as shaman or nahual and thus they are sacrifices or offerings at times of new rule., as is depicted on Stela 5. Similar concepts are depicted on the Xultun Stelae where rulers offer up baby jaguars, some of which appears conflated with toads (Xultun Stelae 23, 24, 25).

⁹² Gutiérrez and Pye, “Iconography and the *Nahual*,” 27, 49. According to Gutiérrez and Pye, “Nahualism is a concept that has long been identified in the Mesoamerican belief system: some individuals were believed to be endowed with certain powers, among them the control of natural elements—rain, hail, wind, thunder, and lightning—and the ability to transform into an animal...the human-jaguar transformation, the most powerful nahual of the Mesoamerican cosmology, an attribute that was monopolized by native rulers as early as the Preclassic period.”

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁹⁴ In other examples of similar figures the entrance into the vessel is within the abdomen.

⁹⁵ Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths of the Maya: Architectural Meaning in the Cross Group at Palenque, Mexico,” *Latin American Antiquity* 7, no. 2 (1996): 143–144.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Elisabeth Wagner, “Some Notes on Kerr 1955, An Early Classic Stone Sculpture of Goddess O” <http://www.famsi.org/research/kerr/articles/k1955/index.html> (accessed February 28, 2013). In this depiction, *Ix Chel*’s visual jaguar attributes are the *Ix* three-dotted motif in her eye and her jaguar ears, but in other depictions such as those in the Dresden Codex show her with jaguar claws (Fig. 37 a-d).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*; David Stuart, “Ten Phonetic Syllables,” *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing*, no. 14 (1987): 17–23. *Witz* mountains can be frontally displayed, such as those seen on the Balamk’u frieze, or in profile and are associated with the paradisaical realm, Flower Mountain. According to Miller and Taube, “...jaguar pelts and cushions were the symbol of the enthroned lord, and many stone thrones, particularly among the Maya, took the shape of jaguars, sometimes double-headed.”

Los Sapos Revisited, page 21

⁹⁹ Kathryn Reese-Taylor, Peter Mathews, Julia Guernsey, and Marlene Fritzler, “Warrior Queens among the Classic Maya,” *Blood and Beauty: Organized Violence in the Art and Archaeology of Mesoamerica and Central America*, eds. Heather Orr and Rex Koontz (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2009): 39–72. The authors present a remarkable case study focused on Coba,

Calakmul, Nachtun, and Naranjo where they examine the development of ruling Queens among Maya capital sites. They also define the beaded net skirt as the costume of warrior women as they were dressed as the Moon Goddess.

¹⁰⁰ Schele and Miller, *The Blood of Kings*, 43.

¹⁰¹ Karl Taube, personal communication, 2012.

The Maya Sweatbath, page 24

¹⁰² Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths,” 133, 134, 138; David Stuart, “‘The Fire Enters the House’: Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts,” *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1998): 402; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Movements*, 85, 139; Cresson, “Maya and Mexican Sweat Houses,” 88–90; Ichon, “A Late Postclassic Sweathouse,” 203–205. While *pib* directly translates to oven and *na* to place or house, the phrase *pibna* has been attributed to sweatbaths, specifically the symbolic structures comprising the Cross Group at Palenque. The etymological origins for the Nahuatl word *temazcalli* are *tema* “to bathe” and *calli* “house.”

¹⁰³ Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths,” 138; Evon Vogt and David Stuart, “Some Notes on the Ritual Caves among the Ancient and Modern Maya,” *In the Maw of the Earth Monster: Mesoamerican Ritual Cave Use*, eds. James Brady and Keith Prufer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 166.

¹⁰⁴ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 99–112.

¹⁰⁵ “The liminal space of the New World sweatbath is cosmologically symbolized through the sacred geography of caves and springs...In addition, the underground cave ‘also means place of the dead. Our mothers, our fathers have gone; they have gone to rest in the water, in the cave...These communities [indigenous] not only symbolize the sweatbath as a cave entrance to the underworld, but also conceptualize them as the sacred domain of the supernatural,” according to Child (109–110).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 112–122; Sheila Cosminsky, “Maya Midwives of Southern Mexico and Guatemala,” *Mesoamerican Healers*, eds. Brad Huber and Alan Sandstrom (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 197–198; George Foster, “On the Origin of Humoral Medicine in Latin America” *Medical Anthropology* 1, no. 4 (1987): 355–393.

¹⁰⁷ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 120, 124; Foster, “On the Origin of Humoral Medicine,” 355–393.

¹⁰⁸ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 123–129, 138–140.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 99–109.

¹¹¹ Bernardino Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 6-Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy* trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969, 142, 149, 151–160; Cosminsky, “Maya Midwives,” 197–198. Frey Bernardino de Sahagún and his attendants created the Florentine Codex, also known as the General History of the Things of New Spain, after the Spanish conquest in the 16th century. Sahagún and his aides interviewed several elite men from Central Mexico who spoke Nahuatl, the language of the Mexica or Aztecs, and compiled a general history of all things, albeit indirectly. Sahagún details the process of birth specifying the use of sweatbaths prior to the birth for massages performed by the midwife as well as humoral means of maintain an emotional equilibrium manifested in relative hotness or coldness. The text also states that births occurred inside the sweatbaths while in the contemporary ethnographic evidence presented by Cosminsky illustrates their postpartum use. After women gave birth, they lost their heat and therefore needed to be reheated. Also Cosminsky mentions the perceived need for woman to heat in order to encourage lactation.

¹¹² Cosminsky, “Maya Midwives,” 197–199.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*; Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 6*, 151–160; Karl Taube, “The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya and Ritual,” *The Maya Vase Book Volume 4*, eds. Barbara Kerr and Justin Kerr (New

York: Kerr Associates, 1994), 658. This is both depicted in the *Florentine Codex* as well as in Child (Fig. 2.03). Furthermore, on the aptly named Birth Vase (Fig. 36 in this text), specifically Side I, *Ix Chel* is shown grasping the midsection of a Maya Goddess.

¹¹⁴ An example of this location would be *Casas de los Sapos* and, as I argue in the Conclusion, the 12F-1 North group at Xultun.

¹¹⁵ Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 6*, 151–160; Cosminsky, “Maya Midwives,” 197–198; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 93–101, 361–370.

¹¹⁶ Cosminsky, “Maya Midwives,” 197–198.

¹¹⁷ Bassie-Sweet, *Maya Sacred Geography*, 297. Bassie-Sweet claims that *Ixik*, the first wife of *One Ixim* also referred to as the Maize God, died during childbirth and was considered a *Kaloomte*.

¹¹⁸ Taube, “The Birth Vase,” 673. Taube presents a ritual termed *k'ex* where souls were perceived as cyclical in aspects of death and birth. When one ancestor died they became the *k'ex* sacrifice for the life of a descendant, thus they unified acts of death with complimentary acts of life or regeneration. *K'ex* rituals are interesting in that they are often structured to trick forces of evil by way of giving a substitute for oneself as a diversion. In cases of illness, a healer would entice or draw out the forces of evil from the ailing individual with an offering that would then be taken “...from the home into the bush to be buried in a hole.” Similar *k'ex* rituals are performed to restore stolen co-essences or ensoul a new home.

¹¹⁹ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 130, 397, 406–411.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 127–129.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 397, 406–411.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 129–140.

¹²³ This concept is discussed in the section entitled Ceremonial Sweatbaths.

¹²⁴ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 99.

Space and Liminality, page 28

¹²⁵ Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 37; Julia Guernsey-Kappleman and F. Kent Reilly, “Paths to Heaven, Ropes to Earth: Birds, Jaguars, and Cosmic Cords in Formative Period Mesoamerica,” *Ancient America* 3, (Washington, DC: Center for Ancient America Studies, 2001), 33; Ashmore, “Site-Planning Principles,” 201; Miller, “A Design for Meaning,” 187–222. Eliade defines a universal cosmogony as “...a sequence of religious conceptions and cosmological images that are inseparably connected and form a system that may be called the ‘system of the world’ prevalent in traditional societies: (a) a sacred place constitutes a break in the homogeneity of the space; (b) this break is symbolized by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld); (c) communication with heaven is expressed with certain images, all of which refer to the *axis mundi*: pillar (the *universalis columna*), ladder (Jacob’s ladder), mountain, tree, vine, etc; (d) around this cosmic axis lies the world (=our world), hence the axis is located ‘in the middle,’ at the ‘navel of the earth’; it is the Center of the World.” Similarly, Guernsey-Kappleman and Reilly identify various depiction of a “cosmic umbilicus.” They define this as a central cord that is formed at the point in which the four corners of the world meet and then travels vertically through the three realms: heaven, earth, and underworld. This cord conceptually connected rulers to their divine ancestors, providing them with the ability to draw on and harness their power thus stabilizing their reign through politically and generatively charged ritual.

¹²⁶ Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹²⁸ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 330–336. Foucault states that “...in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like

counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.” Although he goes on to define this statement as a heterotopia in contrast to a utopia, he states that there are six principles of a heterotopia: (1) a ‘crisis’ heterotopia or heterotopia of deviation akin to a non-normative institution or jail; (2) a fixed place with individually ascribed meaning such as a cemetery, which contains varied forms of sentiment; (3) several unrelated spaces juxtapose into a singular location permitting quick movement in time and space such as Disneyland which contains multiple worlds; (4) a general space that contains all space and all time in a singular location, a museum like the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art is a good example in that it contains art from various times, locations, techniques in a singular space to be experienced in succession; (5) contain rituals of opening and closing of space such as crossing oneself with holy water when entering a Catholic church; and (6) they either unify all space in a perfect manner or create space entirely unique, meaning they are differentially defined from chaos as they are organized and pristine.

¹²⁹ Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*.

¹³⁰ Taube, “The Jade Hearth,” 432–446. Taube states that, “In the cosmic house model, the four corner posts represent directional trees supporting the heavens. However, traditional Maya houses lack a central post for the *axis mundi* from which the directions radiate. Instead the middle place is represented by the three-stone hearth known as *k’oben* in Yucatec; *yoket* in Chol, Tojolabal, and Tzeltalan languages; and *xkub* in Quiche.” Taube also states that “...as the *axis mundi*, the hearth is also the conduit between levels of earth, sky, and underworld. Similarly...for the Classic Maya, the sacred hearth is also portrayed as a water place and frequently fuses with the verdant Ceiba, or *yax che*, also marking the world center.” It is interesting to recall the Becan Vessel that contains an image of the world’s surface in the embodiment of *Itzam Cab Ayin* and the figures jade belt pendant or jade hearth as well as the three sacrifice victims felled at the feet of the Jaguar-Iguana.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ashmore, “Site-Planning Principles,” 201.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Taube, “The Jade Hearth,” 432–446; McAnany, “Ancestors and the Classic Maya,” 271–298; McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 1–19, 43–47. The concept of inheritance, as McAnany argues, transcends our contemporary concepts of monetary gain. It incorporates access to rare materials grown or traded within prime land holds and bones (long bones and skulls) of ancestors interred within places imbued with meaning (such as ancestor shrines and North groups).

¹³⁶ Taube, “The Jade Hearth,” 432–446.

¹³⁷ McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 57–66. McAnany states, “The dwelling is seen as a place of convergence. It is here that ancestral shrines are located as well as the physical remains of progenitors, who by their presence bear witness to the successional chain of resource rights.”

¹³⁸ Ashmore, “Site-Planning Principles,” 201.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., Taube, “Flower Mountain,” 70–71.

¹⁴² Taube, “Flower Mountain,” 70–71.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 70-72, 92.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 70-73.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.; Stephen Houston and David Stuart, “The *Way* Glyph: Evidence for ‘Co-essences’ among the Classic Maya,” *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 30 (Washington, DC: Center for Maya Research, 1989): 1–16.

¹⁴⁶ Taube, “Flower Mountain,” 70, 71. Taube states that “...*ch’ulel* is the Tzotzil Maya term for the inner soul specifically located in the heart and by extension, the blood of people... However, an ethereal soul centered in the heart, the *ch’ulel* is more than blood. At death, it is not bleeding but the utter cessation of the heart and the fluttering breath that marks the end... breath constitutes the soul’s essence, which continues after death as an ethereal ‘soul of the dead.’” He also states, “This soul [*ch’ulel*] relates closely to both scent, such as the sweet smell of flowers and copal, and sound, especially music—ethereal qualities carried by wind and air.”

¹⁴⁷ Houston and Stuart, “The *Way* Glyph,” 1–16.

¹⁴⁸ Taube, “Flower Mountain,”; Taube, “The Birth Vase,” 670–674.

¹⁴⁹ This concept of cyclicity recalls the *K’ex* rituals described by Taube.

¹⁵⁰ Taube, “Flower Mountain,” 93.

Ceremonial Sweatbath, page 32

¹⁵¹ Ichon, “A Late Postclassic Sweathouse,” 203, 206; Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths,” 143–144; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 448. According to Child, the florescence of sweatbaths corresponds to the arrival of strangers, specifically Siyah K’ahk’ at El Peru, Tikal, and Uaxactun in AD 378. There does appear to be some oddities in regards to lack of ceremonial sweatbaths in the potential sites of origin of the arriving figures thus establishing a secure lineage of structures use blurs prior to this arrival date.

¹⁵² Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 435–447.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 213–219, 448–457.

¹⁵⁴ Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths,” 143–144.

¹⁵⁵ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 345–433.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 471.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 345–433.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 83–86, 396–411.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 345–433.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 470–482.

¹⁶³ Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths”; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 347–360.

¹⁶⁴ Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths,” 136.

¹⁶⁵ Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbaths,” 138–139; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 467. The Palenque sweatbaths are symbolic as evident in their architecture. The Temple of the Cross, the Temple of the Foliated Cross, and the Temple of the Sun were never intended to heat or create steam. In texts associated with these structures, the sweatbaths are defined as the natal sweatbaths of the gods GI, GII, and GIII whom are aspects of the Male creator from primordial creation.

¹⁶⁶ Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya* (New York: Morrow Books, 1990): 244.

¹⁶⁷ Karl Taube, *The Major Gods of the Ancient Yucatan* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1992): 68; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 355.

¹⁶⁸ Taube, *The Major Gods*, 92–99; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 348–354.

¹⁶⁹ See note 128.

Sweatbath Deities, page 35

¹⁷⁰ Itzamnaaj and Ix Chel were the original parents and the first grandparents in the *Popol Vuh*. They are also characterized as midmost seers, meaning they are liminal diviners and day keepers.

¹⁷¹ Bassie-Sweet, *Sacred Maya Geography*, 126–138.

- ¹⁷² Taube, “The Birth Vase.”
- ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 657–659.
- ¹⁷⁴ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 348–360.
- ¹⁷⁵ Taube, *The Major Gods*, 92–99.
- ¹⁷⁶ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 90–92, 348–355.
- ¹⁷⁷ Stephen Houston, “Finding Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture” *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1998): 519–538.
- ¹⁷⁸ Taube, “The Jade Hearth,” 432–446.
- ¹⁷⁹ Taube, *The Major Gods*, 92–99; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 348–355.
- ¹⁸⁰ Taube, *The Major Gods*, 99.
- ¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 105; Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 95–99, 355–361.
- ¹⁸² Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 355–356; Houston, “Symbolic Sweatbath,” 140–141.
- ¹⁸³ Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 6*, 142, 149, 151–160.
- ¹⁸⁴ Taube, *The Major Gods*, 100.
- ¹⁸⁵ Child, *The Archaeology of Religious Systems*, 112–118, 385–389.

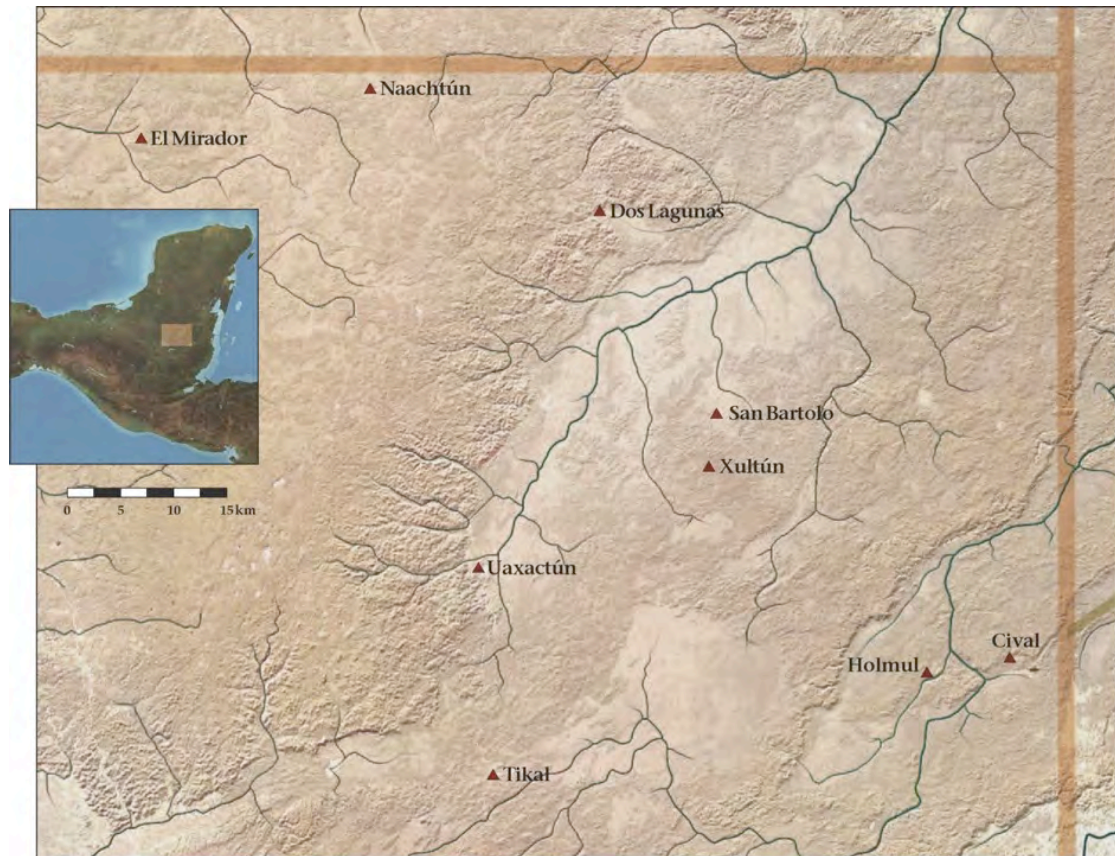
Conclusions, page 39

- ¹⁸⁶ Miller, “Design For Meaning,” 218.
- ¹⁸⁷ See note 31.
- ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

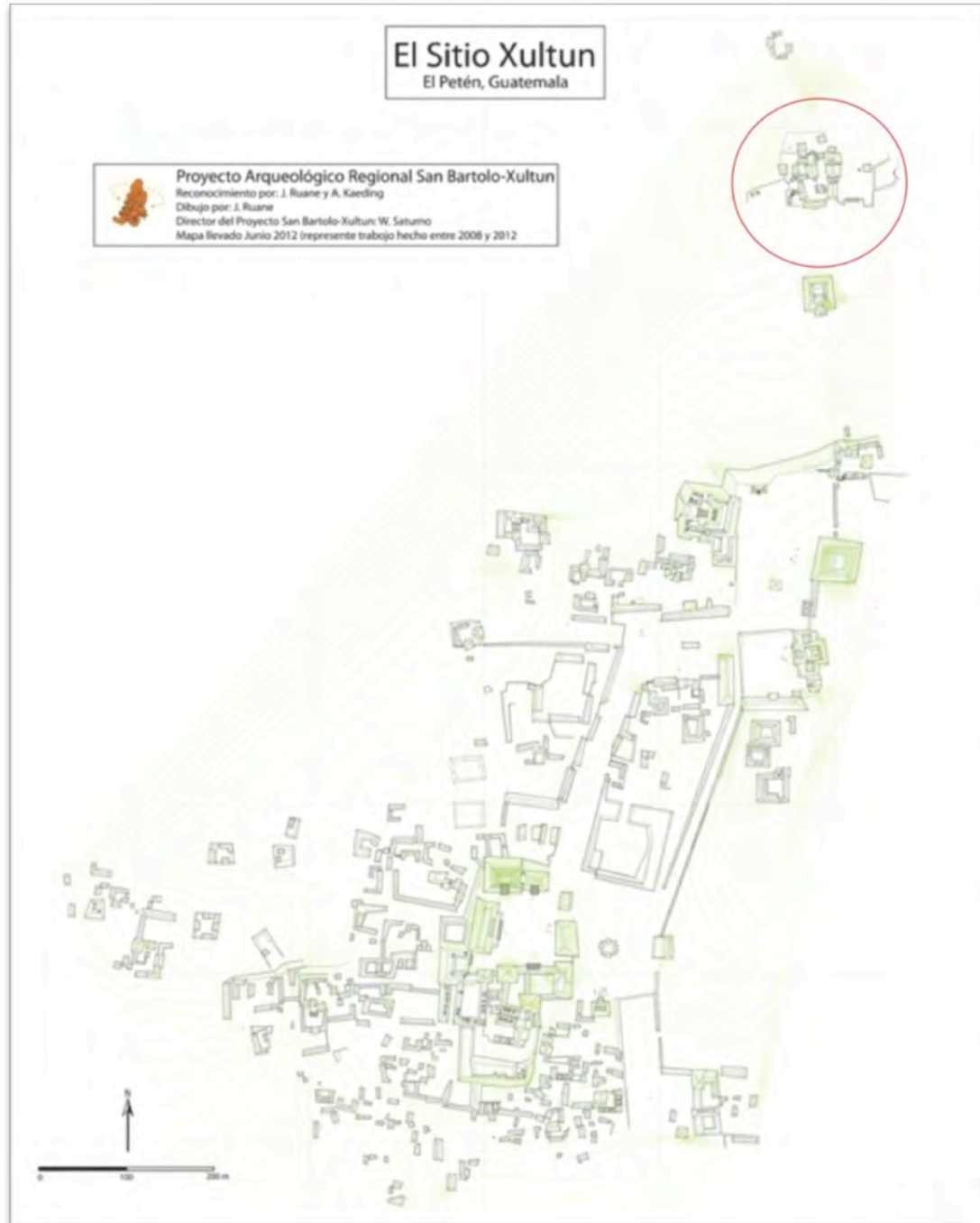
ILLUSTRATIONS



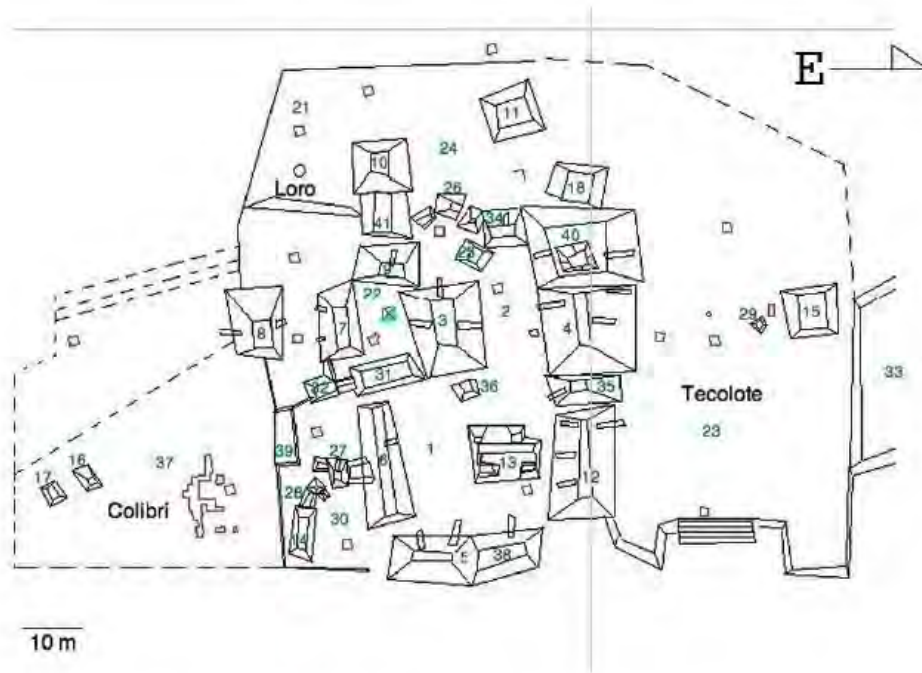
Map 1. *Map of the Maya Area*, 2012 (Map courtesy of Walter R. T. Witschey and Clifford T. Brown, *The Electronic Atlas of Ancient Maya Sites*).



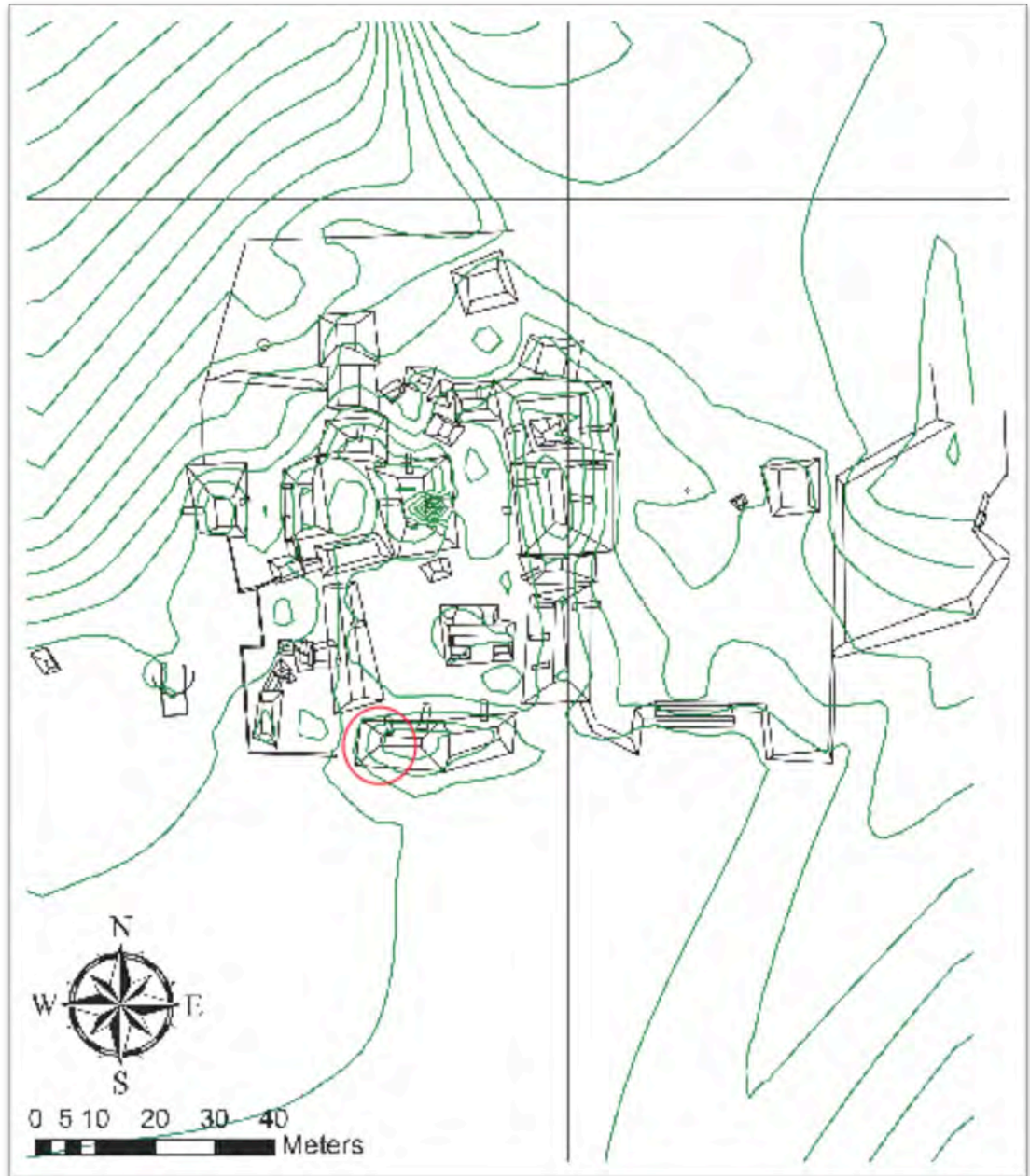
Map 2. *Xultun and the Surrounding Sites*, 2012, Peten, Guatemala (Map courtesy of Pre-Columbian Mesoweb Press).



Map 3. *Plan of Xultun*, 2012 (Jonathan Ruane and Adam Kaeding for the Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun; North Group Complex indicated with the red circle).



Map 4. *Plan of 12F-1 Complex of Xultun, 2010* (Adam Kaeding for the Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun).



Map 5. *Plan of Xultún: North Group- 12-F-Complex*, 2012 (Jonathan Ruane and Adam Kaeding for the Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun, Peten, Guatemala; *Los Sapos* located within the red circle).

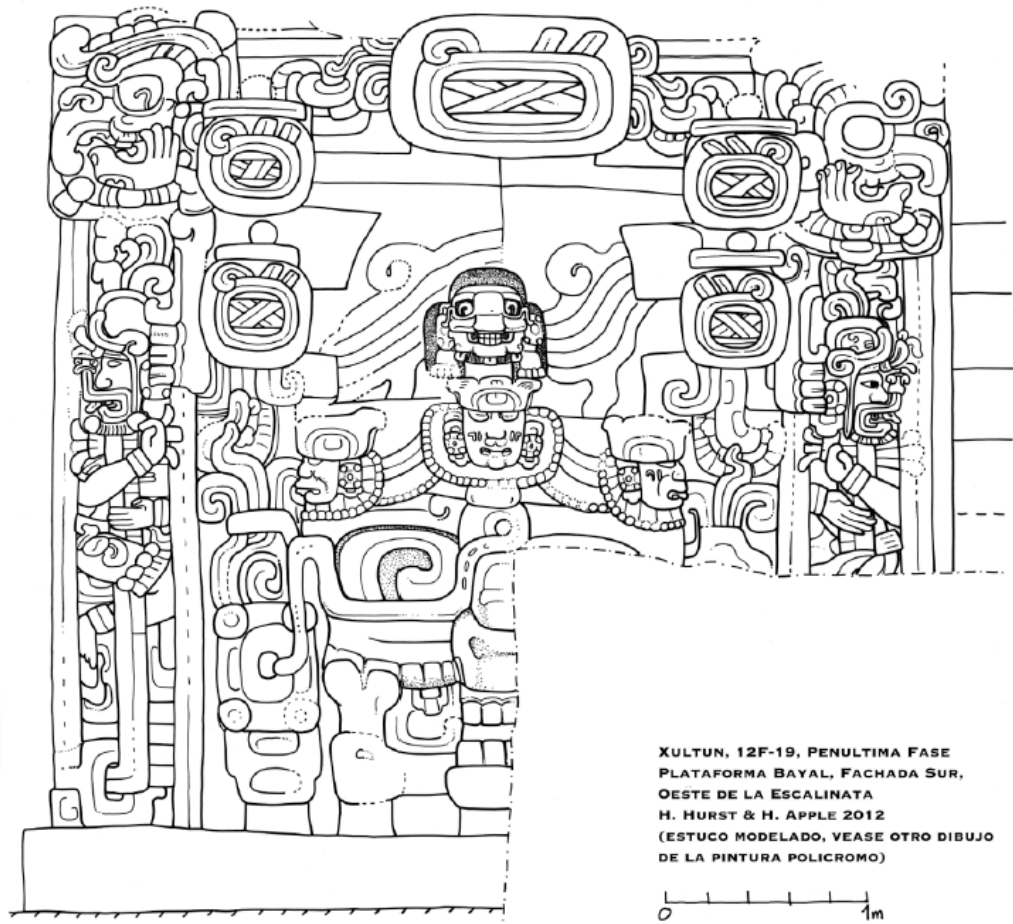
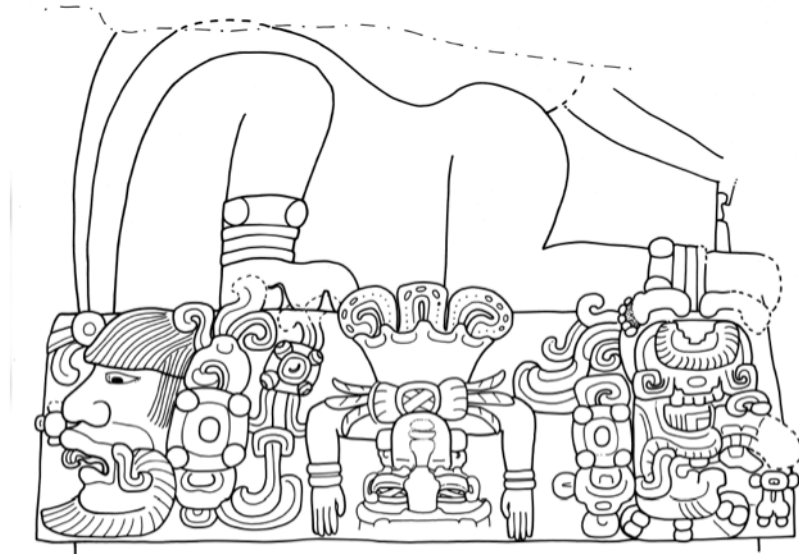


Fig. 1. *Bayal Platform South Façade, Acropolis Los Arboles, Xultun, Peten, Guatemala, 2012* (Drawing by Heather Hurst and Harrison Apple, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultún)



Fig. 2. *South Frieze, South Façade, Acropolis Los Arboles, Xultun, 2012* (Drawing by Heather Hurst, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultún).



XULTUN, 12F-19, PENULTIMA FASE
ESTRUCTURA COROZAL, FACHADA SUR,
(ESTE DE LA ESTRUCTURA PIMIENTA)
H. HURST 2012

Fig. 3. *South Frieze, Acropolis Los Arboles, Xultun, 2012* (Drawing by Heather Hurst, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultún).

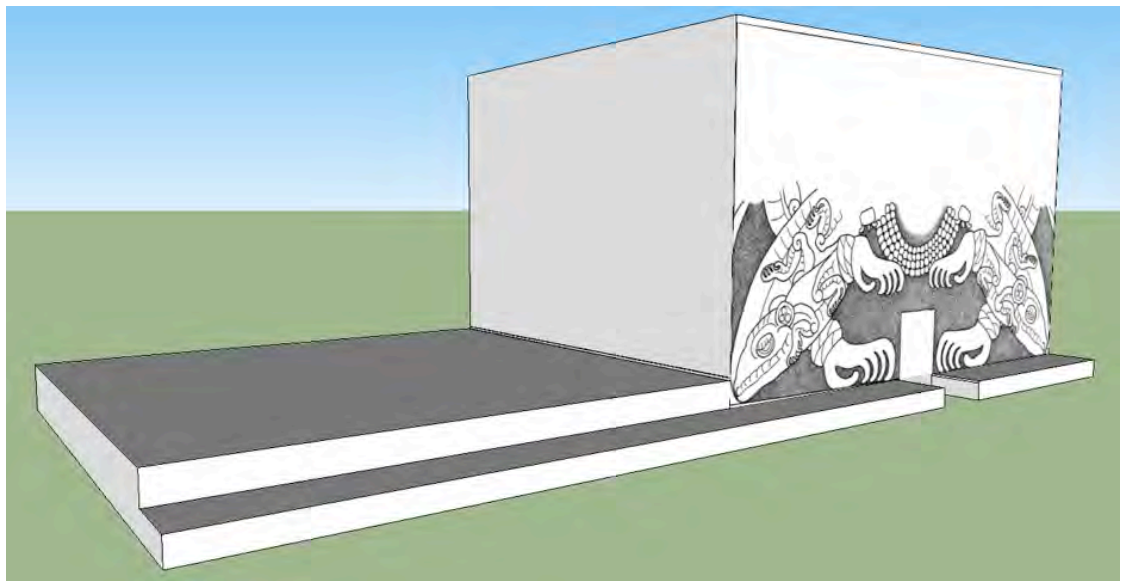


Fig. 4. *Reconstruction of Los Sapos, 2012* (Drawing by Author, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultún).



Fig. 5. *Detail of Phase Two Masonry Construction*, 2012 (Photo courtesy of National Geographic).



Fig. 6. *Los Sapos North Facade*, 2012, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultún (Photo courtesy of National Geographic).

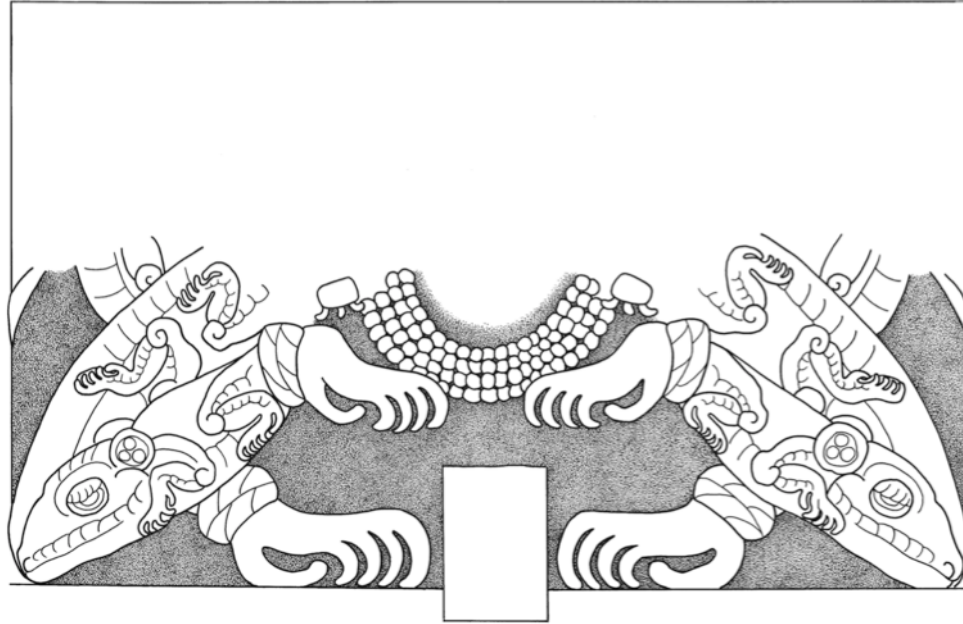


Fig. 7. *Los Sapos: North Façade*, 2012 (Drawing by Author, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun).



Fig. 8. *Detail of Caiman/Toad from Los Sapos North Façade*, 2012, (Photo courtesy of National Geographic).

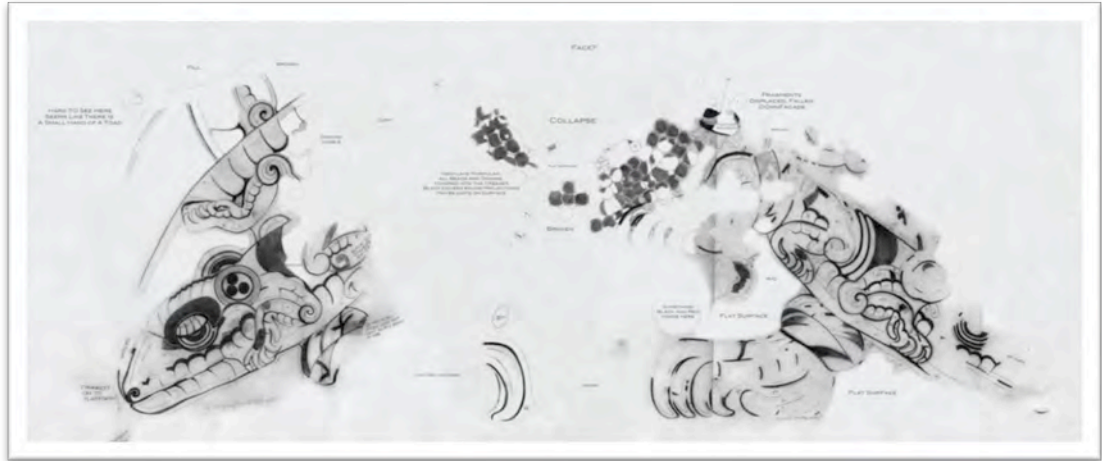


Fig. 9. *Los Sapos: North Façade*, 2012 (Drawing by Author, Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultún).



Fig. 10. *Detail of Spot, Los Sapos North Façade*, 2012 (Photo courtesy of National Geographic).



Fig. 11. *Detail of Ear Flare, Los Sapos North Facade, 2012* (Photo courtesy of National Geographic).



Fig. 12. *Crocodylus Moreleti* or Morelet's Crocodile.



Fig. 13. *The Becan Vessel*, Becan, Campeche, Mexico (Photograph by Jorge Pérez de Lar).

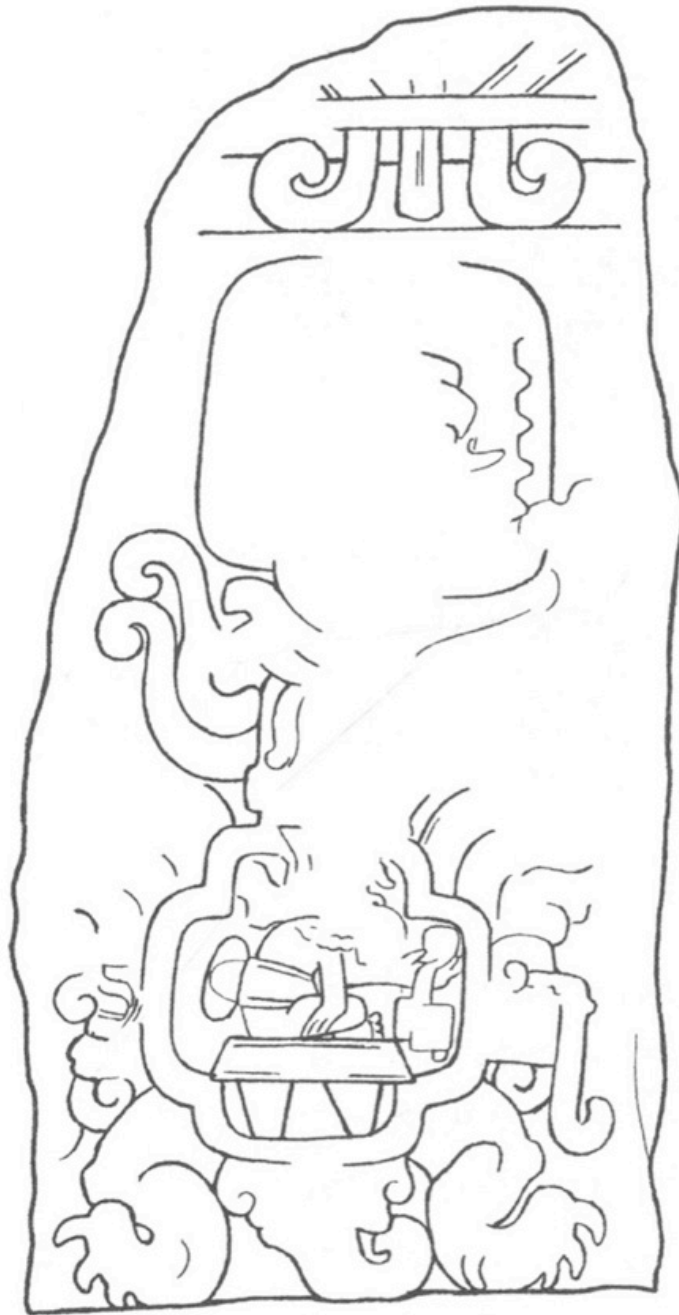


Fig. 14. Stela 8, Izapa, Guatemala (Drawing by Ajax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).



Fig. 15. Stela 25, Izapa, Guatemala (Drawing by R. Jiménez after Norman 1973: pl. 43, Courtesy of the New World Archaeology Foundation).



Fig. 16. *Bufo marinus* toad.



Fig. 17. *Rhinophrynus dorsalis*, Uoh Toad.



Fig. 18. *Casas de Los Sapos*.



Fig. 19. Stela 11, Izapa, Guatemala (Drawing by Ayax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).

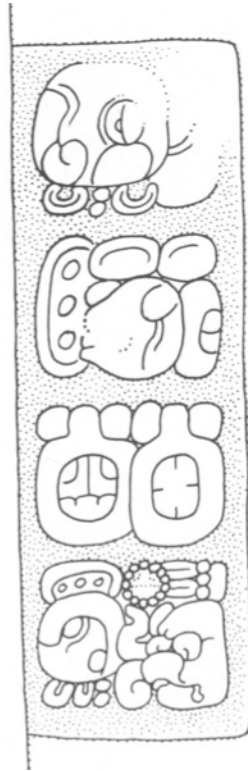


Fig. 20. *Birth Glyph*, Dos Pilas Stela 25, secondary text (Drawing by David Stuart).

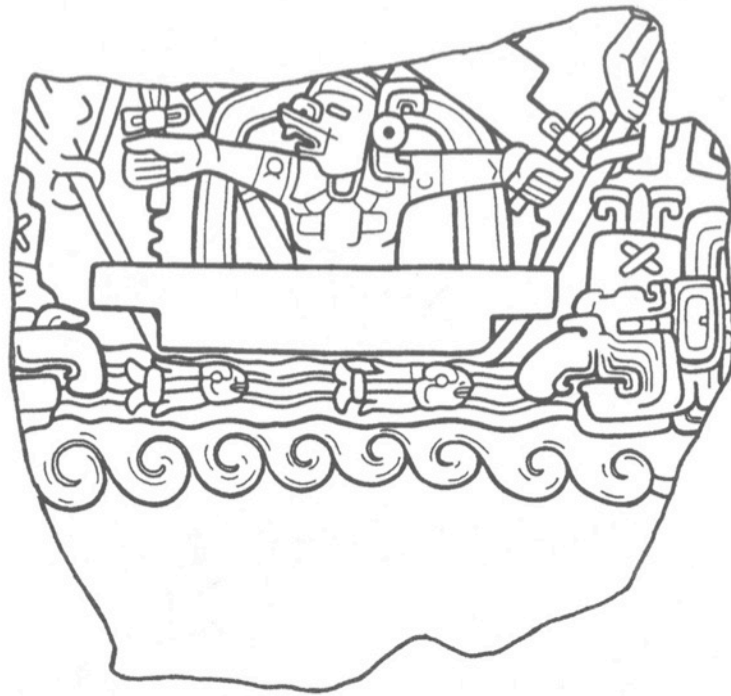


Fig. 21. Stela 67, Izapa, Guatemala (Drawing by Ayax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).

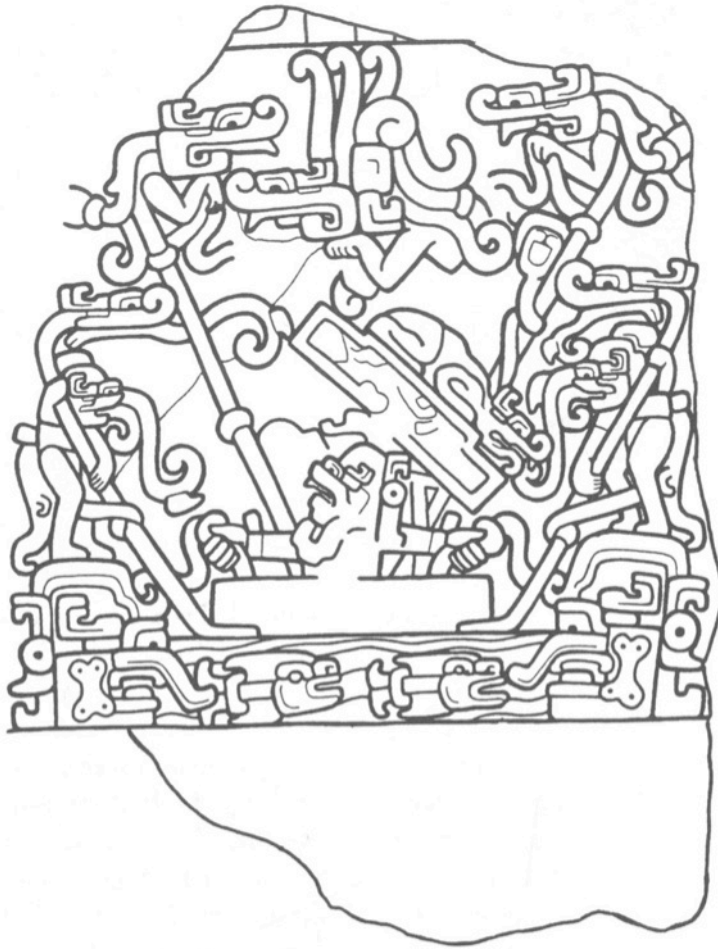


Fig. 22. Stela 22, Izapa (Drawing by Ajax Moreno, Courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation).



Fig. 23. Balamkú Stucco Frieze (Drawing by Anne S. Dowd).



Fig. 24. Transformation figures from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

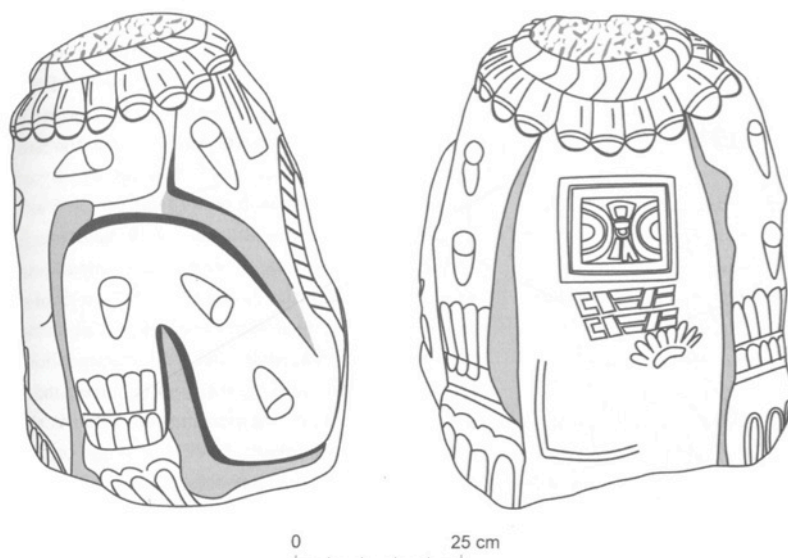


Fig. 25. Monument 13, Piedra Labrada, Guatemala (Drawing courtesy of New World Archeological Foundation).



Fig. 26. Whiteware Effigy Vessel from Santa Cruz Morelos, Private Collection (Photo by Rose and Mayer Photography, Inc.).



Fig. 27. Oblique view and plan view of a possible Symbolic Sweatbath at San Miguel, Cozumel, Yucatán (after Houston 1996: Figure 12; Lothrop 1924: Figure 166).



Fig. 28. Kerr Vessel K1955 (Photograph by Justin Kerr, Courtesy of FAMSI).



Fig. 29. Netted Jade Collar, Calakmul, Mexico (Museo Arqueológico de Campeche).



Fig. 30. Multi-strand Collars or Necklaces Worn by Rulers, (a.) La Pasadita Lintel 2 (Drawing by Ian Graham); (b.) Stela 11, Piedras Negras (Drawing by Linda Schele); (c.) Stela 11, Yaxchilan (Drawing by Linda Schele); (d.) Female Ruler, Panel in Blood of Kings (Photograph by Justin Kerr).



Fig. 31. Multi-strand Collars or Necklaces Worn by Queens/Mothers, (left) Lintel 25, Yaxchilan (Drawing by David Stuart); (right) Lintel 24, Yaxchilan (Photograph by Justin Kerr).

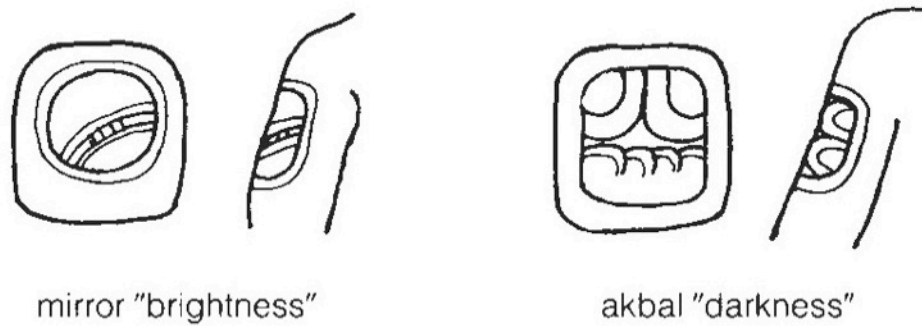


Fig. 32. Mirror and Ak'bal signs worn on the body (Drawing by Linda Schele).

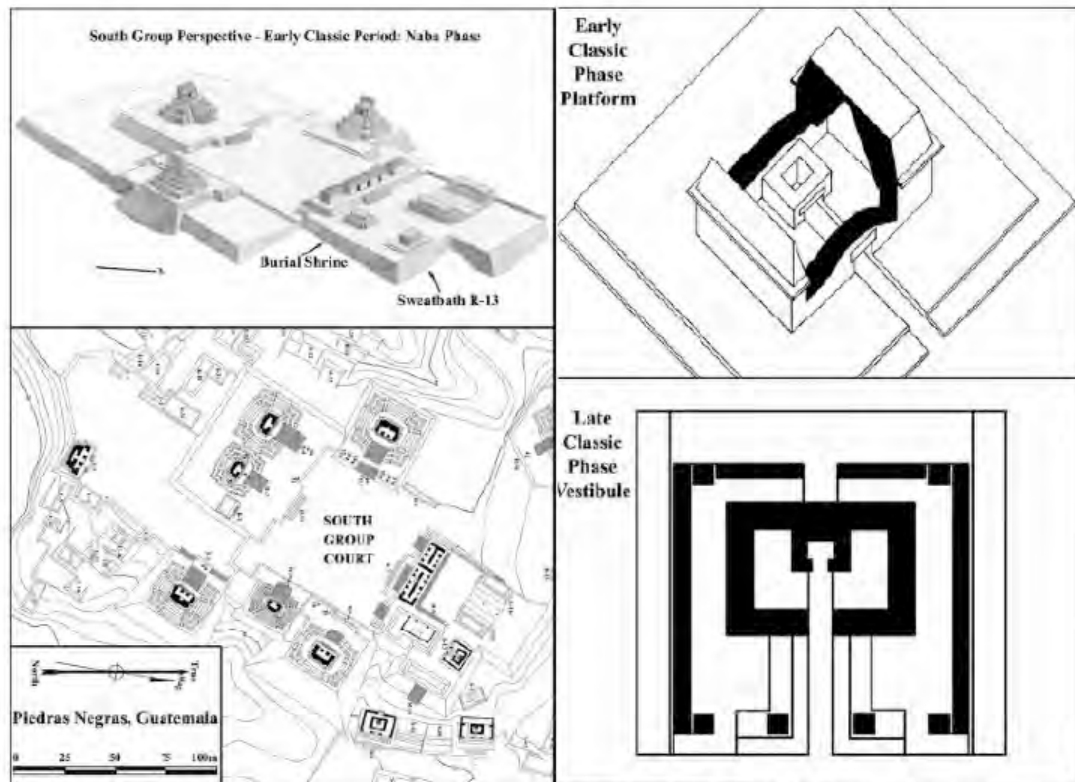
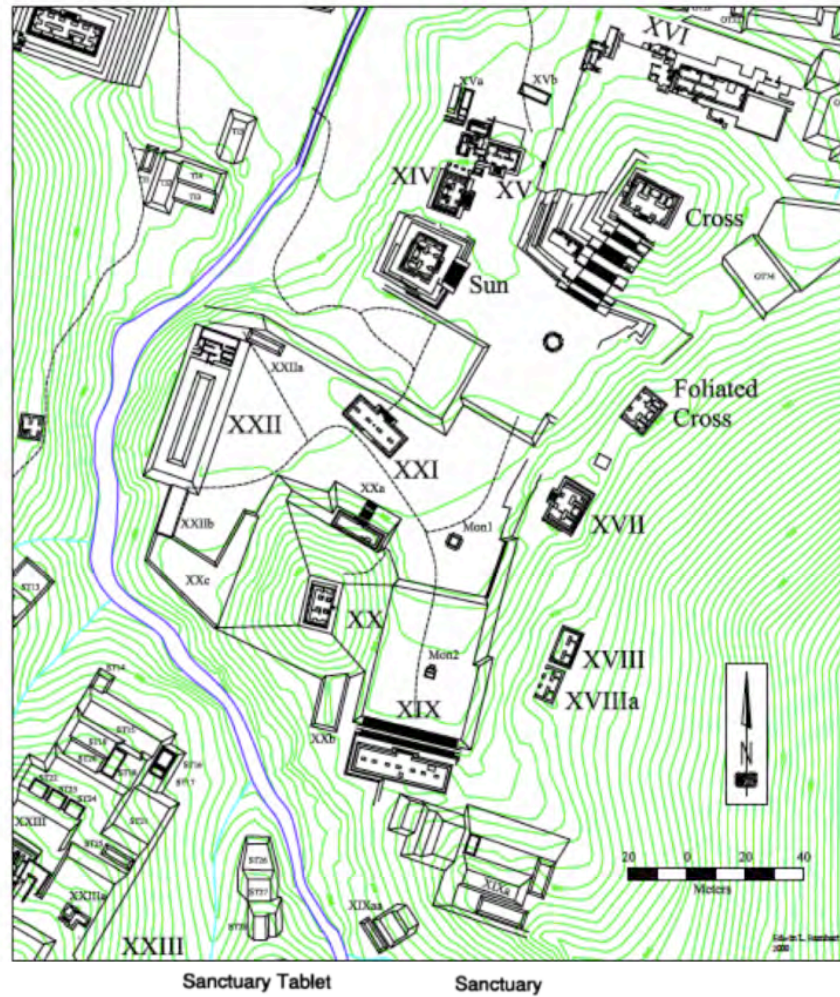


Fig. 33. Reconstruction, Map, and Plan of R-13 Sweatbath, Piedras Negras (After Child 2006).



Sanctuary Tablet

Sanctuary

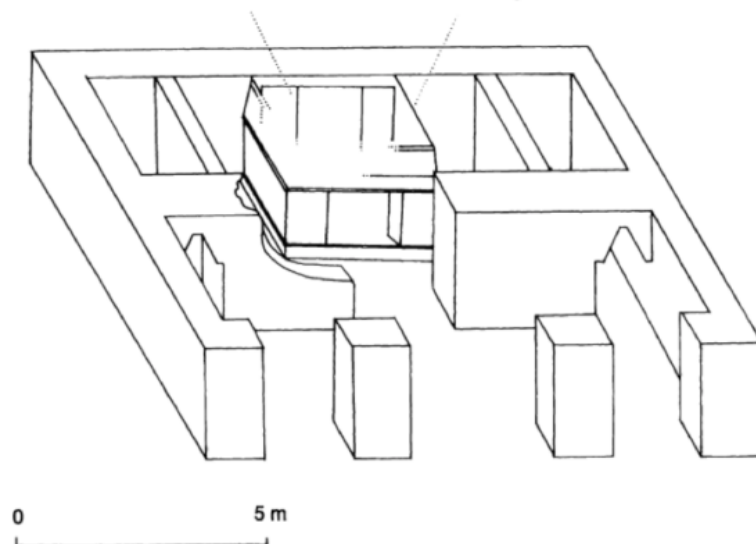


Fig. 34. Map of the Larger Croup of the Cross and Plan of Temple of the Cross ((above) After Stuart 2005: Figure 1; (below) after Houston 1996: Figure 2; Robertson 1991: Figures 73-75; and Schele and Freidel 1990: Figures 6, 11).

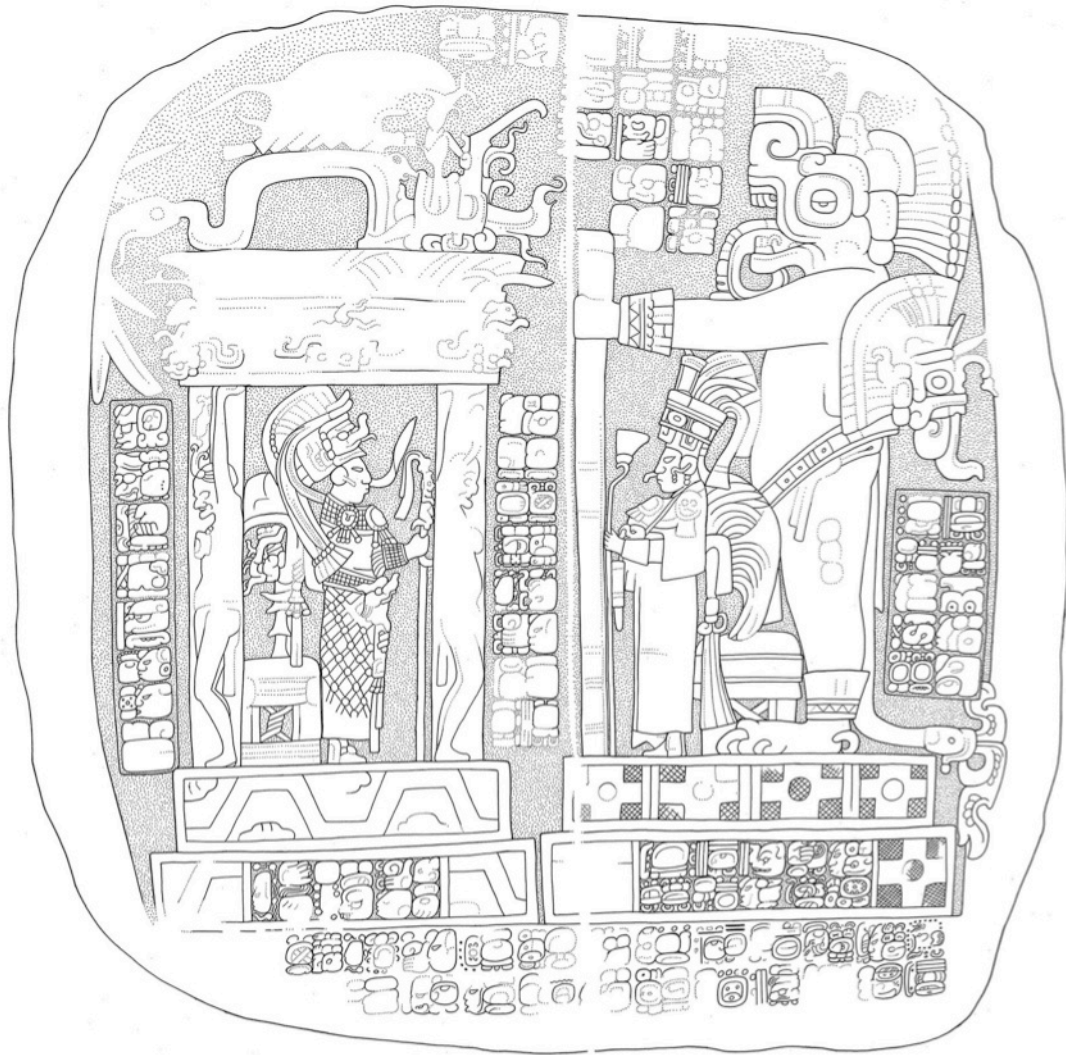


Fig. 35. Pauahtun Supporting Architecture, La Corona, Panel 6 (Drawing by David Stuart).

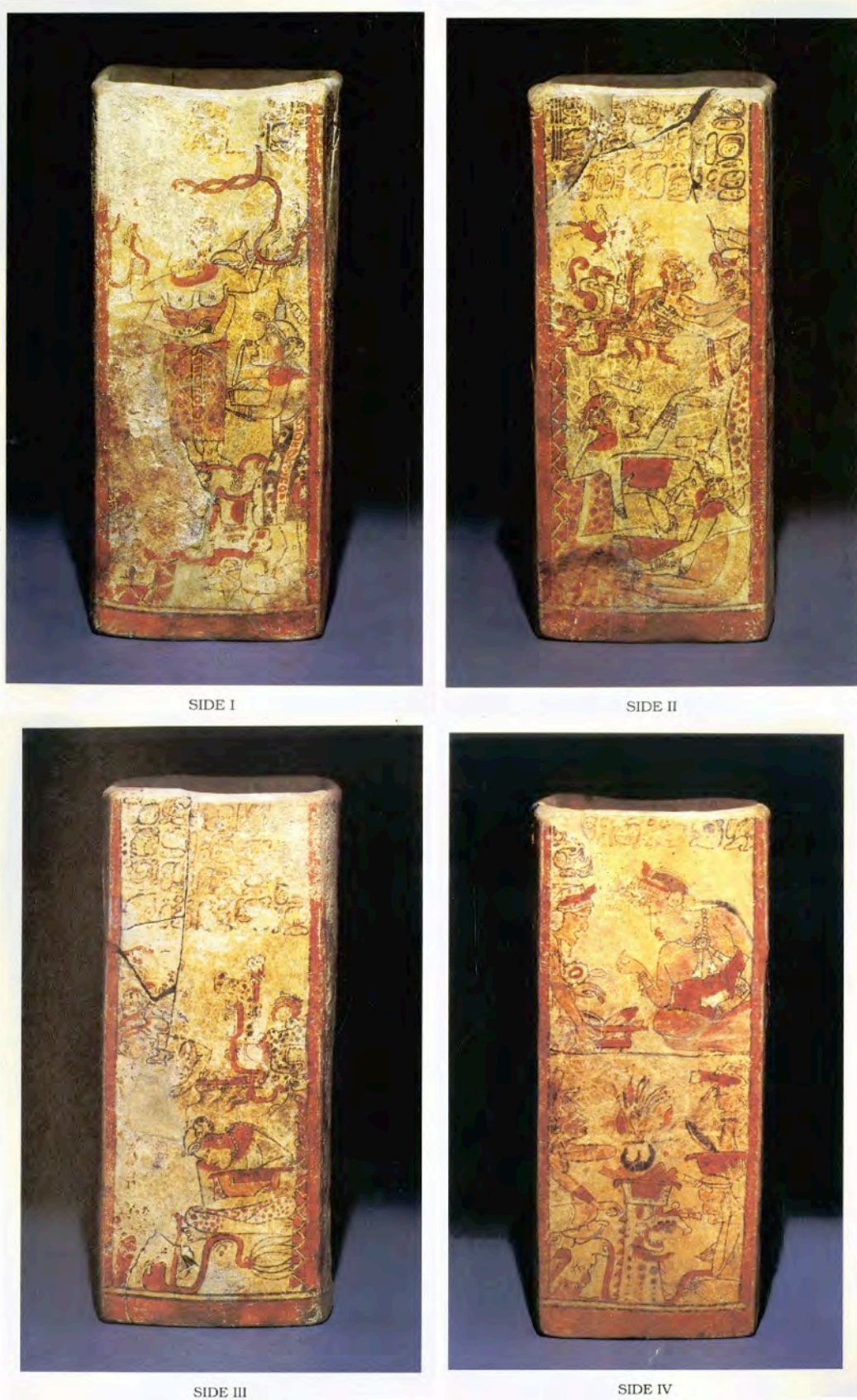


Fig. 36. The Birth Vase (Photograph by Justin Kerr, Courtesy of FAMSI).



Fig. 37. Toci on Sweatbath Door, (above) *Codex Magliabechiano* (after Nuttall 1903); (below) *Tudela Codex* (after Tudela 1980).



a.



b.



c.



d.

Fig. 37. Images of *Ix Chel* in Codices, (a.) Goddess O, *Dresden Codex* page 39b (After Taube 1992); (b.) Goddess O, *Dresden Codex* page 74 (After Taube 1992); (c.) Goddess O, *Madrid Codex* page 10b (After Taube 1992); Goddess O, *Madrid Codex* page 30b (After Taube 1992).

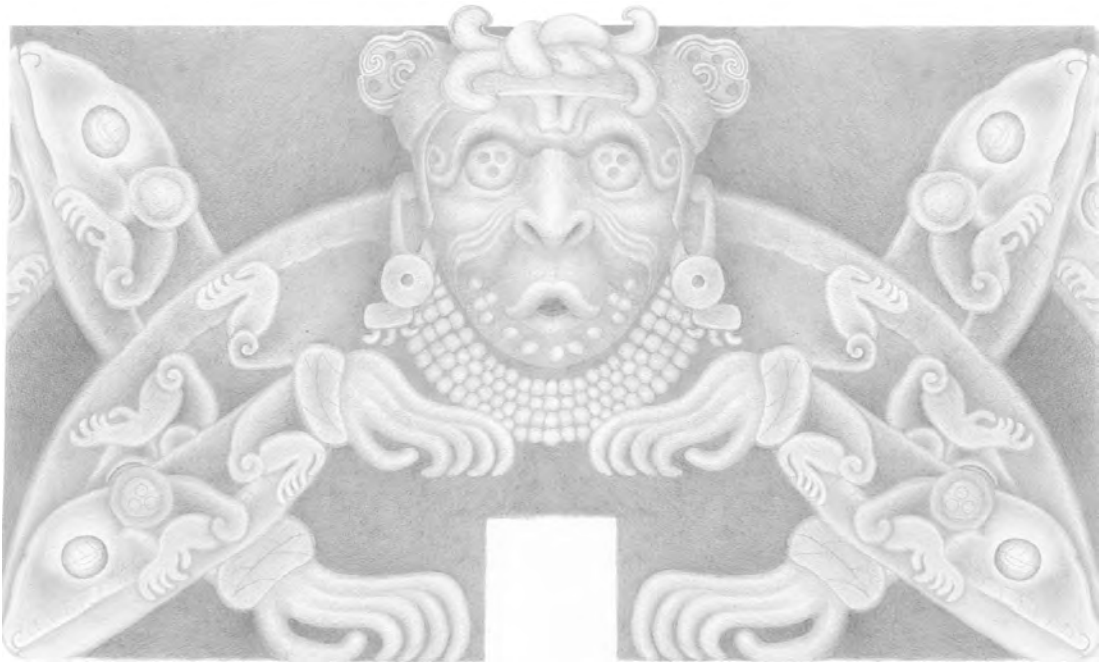


Fig. 38. Partial Reconstruction of *Los Sapos* with the Face of *Ix Chel*, 2013 (Drawing by Author, head referenced from K1955).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arden, Tracy. "Women and Gender in the Ancient Maya World." In *Ancient Maya Women*, ed. Tracy Arden, 1–11. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- Ashmore, Wendy. "Classic Maya Landscapes and Settlement." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, eds. Julia Hendon and Rosemary Joyce, 169–191. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- . "Encountering Maya Women." In *Ancient Maya Women*, ed. Tracy Arden, 229–245. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- . "Site-Planning Principles and Concepts of Directionality among the Ancient Maya." In *Latin American Antiquity* 2, no. 3 (1991): 199–226.
- Ashmore, Wendy, and Jeremy Sabloff. "Spatial Orders in Maya Civic Plans." In *Latin American Antiquity* 13, no. 2 (2002): 201–215.
- Bassie-Sweet, Karen. *Maya Sacred Geography and the Creator Deities*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- Brinton, Daniel. "The Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths, Central America." In *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 19, no. 109 (1881): 613–647.
- Carlsen, Robert, and Martin Prechtel. "The Flowering of the Dead: An Interpretation of Highland Maya Culture." In *Man* 26, no. 1 (1991): 23–42.
- Chinchilla Mazariegos, Oswaldo. "Classic Maya Culture, History, and Myth." In *Ancient Maya Art at Dumbarton Oaks: Pre-Columbian Art at Dumbarton Oaks* 4, eds. Joanne Pillsbury et al, 27–37. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2012.
- . "El Jaguar Iguana." In *Arqueológica Mexicana* 16, 81 (2006).
- Cifuentes Arguello, Rosalba Yasmin. "Excavaciones en el Cuadrante 12 F1, Estructuras 3, 4, 15, y 38." In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 281–320, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.

- Coe, Michael. "Art and Illusion among the Classic Maya." In *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 64 (2005): 52–62.
- Coe, Michael, and Justin Kerr. *The Art of the Maya Scribe*. New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams Press, 1998.
- Cosminsky, Sheila. "Maya Midwives of Southern Mexico and Guatemala." In *Mesoamerican Healers* eds. Brad Huber and Alan Sandstrom, 179–210. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.
- Cresson, Frank M. "Maya and Mexican Sweat Houses." *American Anthropologist* 40, no. 1 (1938): 88–104.
- Cyphers, Ann, Belem Zúñiga, and Anna di Castro. "Another Look at *Bufo Marinus* and the San Lorenzo Olmec." *Current Anthropology* 46, no. S5 (2005): S129–S133.
- Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard Trask. Orlando: Harcourt Books, 1957.
- Fash, Barbara. "Watery Places and Urban Foundations Depicted in Maya Art and Architecture." In *The Art of Urbanism: How Mesoamerican Kingdoms Represented Themselves in Architecture and Imagery*, eds. William Fash and Leonardo López Luján, 230–259. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 2009.
- Fash, William. "Dynastic Architecture Program: Intention and Design in Classic Maya Building at Copan and Other Sites." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 223–270. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Collections and Library Press, 1998.
- Finamore, Daniel, and Stephen Houston. *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mythic Sea*. Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2010.
- Fisher, J. "Notes on the Vapour Bath and Its Variants." In *Folklore* 62, no. 3 (1951): 367–382.
- Foster, George. "On the Origin of Humoral Medicine in Latin America." In *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1987): 355–393.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias." In *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* ed. Neil Leach, 330–336. New York: Routledge Press, 1997.

- Freidel, David. "Polychrome Facades of the Lowland Maya Preclassic." In *Painted Architecture and Polychrome Monumental Sculpture in Mesoamerica*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone, 5–30. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1985.
- Freidel, David, and Linda Schele. "Symbol and Power: A History of the Lowland Maya Cosmogram." In *Maya Iconography*, eds. Elizabeth Benson and Gillett Griffin, 44–93. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Freidel, David, and Stanley Paul Guenter. "Soul Binding Caches, Tombs, and Cenotaphs: Creating the Places of Resurrection and Accession in Maya Kingship." In *Sacred Bundles: Ritual Acts of Wrapping and Binding in Mesoamerica*, eds. Julia Guernsey and F. Kent Reilly, 59–79. Barnardsville, NC: Boundary End Archaeology Research Center, 2006.
- Furst, Peter. "Jaguar Baby or Toad Mother: A New Look at an Old Problem in Olmec Iconography." In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth Benson, 149–162. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1981.
- Garrison, Thomas G., and Nicholas P. Dunning. "Settlement, Environment, and Politics in the San Bartolo-Xultún Territory, El Petén, Guatemala." In *Latin American Antiquity* 20, no. 4 (2009): 525–552.
- Gillespie, Susan D. "Rethinking Ancient Maya Social Organization: Replacing "Lineage" with "House"." In *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 3 (2000): 467–484.
- Guernsey, Julia. *Ritual and Power in Stone: The Performance of Rulership in Mesoamerican Izapan Style Art*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006.
- Guernsey, Julia, and F. Kent Reilly. "Paths to Heaven, Ropes to Earth: Birds, Jaguars, and Cosmic Cords in Formative Period Mesoamerica" In *Ancient America* 2 (2001): 33–49.
- Gutiérrez, Gerardo, and Mary Pye. "Iconography and the *Nahual*: Human-Animal Transformations in Preclassic Guerrero and Morelos." In *Place of Stone Monuments: Context, Use, and Meaning in Mesoamerica's Preclassic Transition* eds. Julia Guernsey, John Clark and Barbara Arroyo, 27–54. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 2010.
- Hellmuth, Nicholas. "Early Maya Iconography on an Incised Cylindrical Tripod." In *Maya Iconography*, eds. Elizabeth Benson and Gillett Griffin, 152–174. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.

- Houston, Stephen D. "Classic Maya Depictions of the Built Environment." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 333–372. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Collections and Collections Press, 1998.
- "Decorous Bodies and Disordered Passions: Representations of Emotion among the Classic Maya." In *World Archaeology* 33, no. 2 (2001): 206–219.
- "Finding Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 519–538. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1998.
- "Literacy among the Pre-Columbian Maya: A Comparative Perspective." In *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, eds. E. H. Boone and W. D. Mignolo, 27–49. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
- "Symbolic Sweatbaths of the Maya: Architectural Meaning in the Cross Group at Palenque, Mexico." In *Latin American Antiquity* 7, no. 2 (1996): 132–151.
- Houston, Stephen, Claudia Brittenham, Cassandra Mesick, and Alexander Tokovinine. *Veiled Brightness: A History of Ancient Maya Color*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009.
- Houston, Stephen, and David Stuart. "The Way Glyph: Evidence for 'Co-essences' among the Classic Maya." In *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 30, 1–16. Washington, DC: Center for Maya Research, 1989.
- Houston, Stephen, David Stuart, and Karl Taube. *The Memory of Bones: Body, Being, and Experience among the Classic Maya*. Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2006.
- Houston, Stephen, and Takeshi Inomata. *The Classic Maya*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ichon, Alain. "A Late Postclassic Sweathouse in the Highlands of Guatemala." In *American Antiquity* 42, no. 2 (1977): 203–209.
- Joralemon, Peter David. "The Old Woman and the Child: Themes in the Iconography of Preclassic Mesoamerica" In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth Benson, 163–180. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1981.

- Kennedy, Alison Bailey. "Ecce Bufo: The Toad in Nature and in Olmec Iconography." In *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 3 (1982): 273–290.
- Looper, Matthew. "Women-Men (and Men-Women): Classic Maya Women and the Third Gender." In *Ancient Maya Women*, ed. Tracy Arden, 171–202. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- Lopatin, Ivan A. "Origin of the Native American Steam Bath." In *American Anthropologist* 62, no. 6 (1960): 977–993.
- MacLeod, Barbara, and Dennis Puleston. "Pathways Into Darkness: The Search For the Road to Xibalbá." Presented at the Third Palenque Round Table, June 11–18, 1978.
- Marcus, Joyce. "The Iconography of Power among the Classic Maya." In *World Archaeology* 6, no. 1 (1974): 83–94.
- Martin, Frederick. "A Dresden Codex Eclipse Sequence: Projections for the Years 1970–1992." In *Latin American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (1993): 74–93.
- Martin, Simon. "Cacao in Ancient Maya Religion: First Fruit from the Maize Tree and other Tales from the Underworld" In *Chocolate in Mesoamerica: A Cultural History of Cacao*, ed. Cameron McNeil, 154–183. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2006.
- Martin, Simon, and Nikoli Grube. *Chronicle of Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008.
- McAnany, Patricia. "Ancestors and the Classic Maya Built Environment." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 271–298. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.
- . *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.
- Milbrath, Susan. *Star Gods of the Maya: Astronomy in Art, Folklore, and Calendars*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press: 1999.
- Miller, Mary. "A Design for Meaning in Maya Architecture." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 187–222. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.
- Miller, Mary, and Karl Taube. *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*. New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1993.

- Moyes, Holley. "The Sweatbath in the Cave: A Modified Passage in Chechem ha Cave, Belize." In *Stone Houses and Earth Lords: Maya Religion in the Cave Context*, eds. Keith Prufer and James Brady, 187–212. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 2005.
- Nash, June. "Gendered Deities and the Survival of Culture." *History of Religions* 36, no. 4 (1997): 333–356.
- Newsome, Elizabeth. *Trees of Paradise and Pillars of the World: The Serial Stela Cycle of '18-Rabbit-God K, ' King of Copan*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001. *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth Benson, 257–288. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1981.
- Olivier, Guilhem. "The Sacred Bundles and the Coronation of the Aztec King in Mexico-Tenochtitlan." In *Maya Iconography*, eds. Elizabeth Benson and Gillett Griffin, 199–225. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Palka, Joel W. "Left/Right Symbolism and the Body in Ancient Maya Iconography and Culture." In *Latin American Antiquity* 13, no. 4 (2002): 419–443.
- Parsons, Lee. "Post-Olmec Stone Sculpture: The Olmec-Izapan Transition on the Southern Pacific Coast and Highlands." In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth Benson, 257–288. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1981.
- Peck, Douglas T. "Re-Examination of Spanish Colonial Period Documents Related to Prehistoric Maya History and Mythology." In *Revista de Historia de América* no. 136 (2005): 21–35.
- Pohl, Mary. "Ritual Continuity and Transformation in Mesoamerica: Reconstructing the Ancient Maya Cuch Ritual." In *American Antiquity* 46, no. 3 (1981): 513–529.
- Preuss, Mary H. "Vestiges of the Past: The Role of the Grandmother in Contemporary Yucatec Literature." In *Wicazo Sa Review* 1, no. 2 (1985): 1–10.
- Prown, Jules David. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." In *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring, 1982) 1–19.
- Proskouriakoff, Tatiana. "Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala." In *American Antiquity* 25, no. 4 (1960): 454–475.

- Prufer, Keith. "Shamans, Caves, and the Roles of Ritual Specialists in Maya Society." In *In the Maw of the Earth Monster: Mesoamerican Ritual Cave Use*, eds. James Brady and Keith Prufer, 186–222. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Pugh, Timothy. "Caves and Artificial Caves in Late Postclassic Maya Ceremonial Groups." In *Stone Houses and Earth Lords: Maya Religion in the Cave Context*, eds. Keith Prufer and James Brady, 47–70. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 2005.
- Rapoport, Amos. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992.
- Reese-Taylor, Kathryn, Peter Mathews, Julia Guernsey, and Marlene Fritzler. "Warrior Queens among the Classic Maya." In *Blood and Beauty: Organized Violence in the Art and Archaeology of Mesoamerica and Central America*, eds. Heather Orr and Rex Koontz, 39–72. Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2009.
- Rice, Prudence M. "Time, Power, and the Maya." In *Latin American Antiquity* 19, no. 3 (2008): 275-298.
- Robin, Cynthia. "Gender, Farming, and Long-Term Change: Maya Historical and Archaeological Perspectives." In *Current Anthropology* 47, no. 3 (2006): 409–433.
- Rossi, Franco. "El Grupo Taaj: El Contexto del Cuarto de los Murales y las Excavaciones de una Residencia Élite." In *Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 321–358, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- "Xul 12F19: Excavaciones y Túneles de la Acrópolis, Xultun, Petén." In *Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 9, Año 2010*, eds. Luis Alberto Romero and William Saturno: 109–128, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- Roys, Ralph L. "A New Maya Historical Narrative." In *American Anthropologist* 24, no. 1 (1922): 44–60.

- Ruane, Jonathan. "Mapeo en el Sitio Arqueológico Xultun." In *Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 437–450, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- ". "Mapeo en el Sitio Arqueológico Xultun." In *Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 9, Año 2010*, eds. Luis Alberto Romero and William Saturno: 297–217, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- Sahagún, Bernardino. *Florentine Codex, Book 6-Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy* trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969.
- Satterthwaite, Linton. "A Stratified Sequence of Maya Temples." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 5, Latin American Architecture (1945–1946): 15–20.
- Satterthwaite, Linton, Mary Butler, and J. Alden Mason. *Piedras Negras Archaeology, 1931–1939: Piedras Negras Preliminary Papers, Piedras Negras Archaeology: Architecture*, eds. John Weeks, Jane Hill, and Charles Golden. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005.
- Saturno, William, Elisa Mencos, Harrison Apple, Jorge Sagastume, y Lauren Scully. "Excavaciones en la Acropolis Los Arboles (12F19)." In *Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 321–358, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- Saturno, William, Heather Hurst, and Franco Rossi. "Observaciones Preliminares Sobre la Iconografía de la Acropolis Los Arboles (12F19), Xultun." In *Proyecto Arqueológico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 561–574, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- Saturno, William, Karl Taube, David Stuart, and Heather Hurst. "The Murals of San Bartolo, El Petén, Guatemala, Part 1: The North Wall." In *Ancient America* 1, 2005: 1–108.

- Saunders, Nicholas J. "Predators of Culture: Jaguar Symbolism and Mesoamerican Elites." In *World Archaeology* 26, no. 1, Archaeology of Pilgrimage (1994): 104–117.
- Scarborough, Vernon L. "Ecology and Ritual: Water Management and the Maya." *Latin American Antiquity* 9, no. 2 (1998): 135–159.
- Schele, Linda. "Color on Classic Architecture and Monumental Sculpture of the Southern Maya Lowlands." In *Painted Architecture and Polychrome Monumental Sculpture in Mesoamerica*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone, 31–49. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1985.
- . "The Iconography of Maya Architectural Facades during the Late Classic Period." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 479–518. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1998.
- . "The Xibalba Shuffle: A Dance after Death." In *Maya Iconography*, eds. Elizabeth Benson and Gillett Griffin, 294–317. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Schele, Linda, and Mary Miller. *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art*. Fort Worth, TX: Kimbell Art Museum, 1986.
- Simms, Stephanie. "Excavaciones Preliminares en el Sitio de Xultun, Peten." In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 7, Año 2008*, eds. Mónica Urquizú and William Saturno: 242–260, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- Stuart, David. "Arrival of Strangers: Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya History." In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs* eds. David Carrasco, Lindsey Jones, and Scott Sessions, 465–513. Boulder: University of Press of Colorado, 2000.
- . "Blood Symbolism in Maya Iconography." In *Maya Iconography*, eds. Elizabeth Benson and Gillett Griffin, 175–221. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- . "Ten Phonetic Syllables." In *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing*, no. 14 (1987): 17–23.

- " 'The Fire Enters the House': Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 373–426. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1998.
- *The Inscriptions From Temple XIX at Palenque: A Commentary*. San Francisco, CA: The Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, 2005.
- "Ritual and History in the Stucco Inscription from Temple XIX at Palenque." In *PARI Journal* 1, no. 1 (2000): 1–7.
- Taube, Karl A. "The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya and Ritual." In *The Maya Vase Book Volume 4*, eds. Barbara Kerr and Justin Kerr, 652–685. New York, NY: Kerr Associates, 1994.
- "Flower Mountain: Concepts of Life, Beauty, and Paradise among the Classic Maya." In *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 45 (2004): 69–98.
- "Itzam Cab Ayin: Caimans, Cosmology, and Calendrics in Postclassic Yucatan." In *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 26, 1–12. Washington, DC: Center for Maya Research, 1989.
- "The Jade Hearth: Centrality, Rulership, and the Classic Maya Temple." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen Houston, 427–478. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1998.
- *The Major Gods of the Ancient Yucatan*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections Press, 1992.
- "A Prehispanic Maya Katun Wheel." In *Journal of Anthropological Research* 44, no. 2 (1988): 183–203.
- "The Teotihuacan Cave of Origin: The Iconography and Architecture of Emergence Mythology in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest." In *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 12 (1986): 51–82.
- Taube, Karl, William Saturno, David Stuart, and Heather Hurst. "The Murals of San Bartolo, El Petén, Guatemala, Part 2: The West Wall." In *Ancient America* 10 (2010): 1–108.
- Tedlock, Dennis. *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

- Tokovinine, Alexandre, and Vilma Fialko. "Stela 45 of Naranjo and the Early Classic Lords of Sa'aal." In *PARI Journal* VII, no. 4 (2007): 1–24.
- Tozzer, A.M. "Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan." In *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 18, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941.
- Vail, Gabrielle, and Andrea Stone. "Representations of Women in Postclassic and Colonial Maya Literature Art." In *Ancient Maya Women*, ed. Tracy Arden, 202–228. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- Velásquez García, Erik. "The Maya Flood Myth and the Decapitation of the Cosmic Caiman." In *PARI Journal* VII, no. 1 (2006): 1–10.
- Vogt, Evon, and David Stuart. "Some Notes on Ritual Caves among the Ancient and Modern Maya." In *In the Maw of the Earth Monster: Mesoamerican Ritual Cave Use*, eds. James Brady and Keith Prufer, 155–185. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Von Euw, Eric. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions 5-1: Xultún*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Von Euw, Eric, and Ian Graham. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions 5-2: Xultún, La Honradez, Uaxactun*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Wagner, Elisabeth. "Some Notes on Kerr 1955, An Early Classic Stone Sculpture of Goddess O" <http://www.famsi.org/research/kerr/articles/k1955/index.html> accessed February 28, 2013.
- Wildt, Jennifer, Alejandra Diaz, Srivatsa Dattatreya, Madeline Koines, Jared Katz, Maxwell Chamberlin, Juliana Fernandez, Andrew Pegg, Kathleen Scanlan, Anna Kayes, and Holly Swanson. "Xul 12F, Xul 12E: Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F-Plazas y el Cuadrante 12E." In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 9, Año 2010*, eds. Luis Alberto Romero and William Saturno: 129–185, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.
- Wildt, Jennifer, Mary Clarke, Emily Bushold, and Martin Rangel, "Investigaciones en el Grupo 12F1," In *Proyecto Arqueologico Regional San Bartolo-Xultun: Informe de Resultados de Investigaciones Temporada de Campo No. 11, Año 2012*, eds. Patricia Rivera Castillo and William Saturno: 243–280, Report to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Guatemala City.

Wilk, Richard R. "Ancient Maya Household Organization: Evidence and Analogies."
In *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past*, eds. Richard Wilk
and Wendy Ashmore, 135–152. Albuquerque, NM: University of New
Mexico Press, 1988.