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To Be Born an Ancestor: Death and the Afterlife Among the Classic Period Royal Tombs of Copán, Honduras

Abstract

This goal of this dissertation is to participate in the study of funerary ritual for the Classic Maya. My approach evaluates comparatively the seven royal mortuary contexts from the city of Copán, Honduras during the Classic period from the early 5th century to early 9th century CE, in order to draw out the ideas that infused the ritual behavior. It is concerned with analyzing the tomb as a ritual context that is a materialization of a community's ideas about death and the afterlife. The heart is the data gathered from my participation in the excavation of the Classic period royal tomb called the Oropéndola Tomb. In addition to the archaeological data, the project draws from ethnohistoric, ethnographic, epigraphic, and iconographic sources as important loci for ideas of how to interpret the archaeological data. The project stands at the intersection of the work by Patricia McAnany's (1995; 1998; 1999) on the role of ancestors in Maya life, James Fitzsimmon's (2002, 2009) comparison of mortuary ritual across sites, and Meredith Chesson's (2001c) study on the relationship between social memory, identity and mortuary practice.

The analysis of the Oropéndola Tomb and its comparison to other royal tombs at Copán was an opportunity to investigate our understanding of Classic Maya conceptualizations of death and the afterlife within one city. After a consideration of how to identify a Maya royal tomb, I was able to confirm that the Oropéndola Tomb is a royal tomb that likely belonged to one of rulers of the site during the second half of the 5th century CE, and that it contains funerary offerings that reflect the identity of the deceased in his role as a warrior and contains information reflecting how the Maya of Classic period Copán conceptualized the afterlife.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction 1
1.1 The research question 1
1.2 Theoretical approaches to mortuary contexts 5
1.2.1 Ritual Studies 5
1.2.2 Mortuary Studies 9
1.2.3 Tomb as context: funerary ritual, the creation of ancestors, identity and social memory 13
1.3 Methodology 16
1.3.1 Categorization and the importance of symbols 20
1.3.2 Hermeneutics of suspicion 22
1.3.3 The use of ethnohistoric evidence 26
1.3.4 The use of ethnographic evidence 28
1.3.5 The use of epigraphic evidence 30
1.3.6 The use of iconographic evidence 31
1.4 The ancient city of Copán

Chapter 2: Ethnohistoric sources 39
2.1 Catholicism in the 1th century 39
2.1.1 Catholic beliefs about death and the afterlife 39
2.1.2 The process of conversion 44
2.2 Ethnohistoric sources 46
2.2.1 Mexica-Aztec ethnohistory 46
2.2.1.1 Bernardino de Sahagún *Florentine Codex* 47
2.2.1.2 Bernardino de Sahagún *Primeros Memoriales* 49
2.2.1.3 Diego Duran *Historia de Las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme* 53
2.2.2 Maya Ethnohistory 56
2.2.2.1 Diego de Landa *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan* 56
2.2.2.2 *Popol Vuh* 61

Chapter 3: Ethnographic sources 67
3.1 Souls 68
3.2 Afterlife Landscapes 70
3.3 Ancestors 74
3.3.1 Chamula 75
3.3.2 Chichicastenango 76
3.3.3 Chenhaló 77
3.3.4 Zinacantán 78
3.3.5 Ixil Area 79
3.4 Rebirth 81
3.5 Funerary Ritual 82
3.5.1 Chenhaló 83
3.5.2 Zinacantán 85
3.5.3 Chan Kom 87
3.5.4 Najá 88
3.5.5 Conclusions 89

Chapter 4: Epigraphy and Iconography 92
4.1 Epigraphic sources 92
4.1.1 c*ham-i* 93
4.1.2 *ik, k'a'ay u sak ? Ik'aal* 93
4.1.3 *ochb'ih and ochha'* 95
4.1.4 Souls 98
4.2 Iconography 100
4.2.1 Rebirth 100
4.2.2 Maize God life-cycle 105
4.2.3 Geography of the world 111
4.2.3.1 Underworld 112
4.2.3.2 Upperworld 118
4.2.4 Ancestors 123
4.3 Conclusions 127

Chapter 5: The Oropéndola Tomb 130
5.1 The Oropéndola Tomb (Tomb 08-01) 131
5.2 The Skeleton 139
5.2.1 Sex 141
5.2.2 Age 143
5.2.3 Pathologies 143
5.2.4 Use of cinnabar 146
5.2.5 Burning or smoking of the body 147
5.3 Ceramics 148
5.3.1 Cylindrical Tripods 150
5.3.1.1 Melano cylindrical slab-foot tripods 150
5.3.1.2 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod 153
5.3.1.3 Stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab-foot tripod 156
5.3.2 Ring-foot bowls 159
5.3.3 Unique vessels 165
5.3.4 Pot stands 168
5.4 Jade 169
5.4.1 Earflares 169
5.4.2 Jade beads 174
5.5 Pyrite mirrors/plaques 184
5.6 Obsidian 192
5.7 “Alabaster” double cups 193
5. 8 Mica 195
5. 9 Shell and pearls 197
5.9.1 Spondylus Shell 198
5.9.1.1 Spondylus shell rings or goggles 198
5.9.1.2 Spondylus shell Beads 199
5.9.1.3 Spondylus shell Spangles 200
5.9.1.4 Worked shell 202
5.9.2 *Nodipecten s*hell 204
5.9.3 Pearls 205
5.10 Wood 206
5.11 Textile 207
5.12 Matting 208
5.13 Basketry 211

5.14 Hide 212
5.15 Black organic material over the floor 213
5.16 Stuccoed and painted objects 214
5.17 Animal bone 216

Chapter 6: A Comparison of the royal tombs of Copán 217
6.1 Introduction 217
6.2 How to recognize a Classic Maya royal tomb 217
6.2.1 Identifying royal tombs of Copán 221
6.2.2 The Margarita Tomb 223
6.2.3 The Motmot Tomb 224
6.2.4 Burial 92-3, Chirmol Burial 227
6.2.5 Tomb 10J-45 228
6.2.6 Tomb of Ruler 16 231
6.3 A detailed comparison of the royal tombs of Copán 235
6.3.1 The elements to be considered for the comparison 235
6.3.2 Tomb locations 235
6.3.3 Tomb chambers 238
6.3.4 Burial platforms 239
6.3.5 Skeletal orientation 239
6.3.6 Body treatment 240
6.3.7 Personal adornment 241
6.3.7.1 Mouth beads 241
6.3.7.2 Headdresses 242
6.3.7.3 Necklaces 242
6.3.7.4 Bar pectorals or tubular beads 243
6.3.7.5 Earflares 244
6.3.7.6 Belts/loincloths 244
6.3.7.7 Bracelets, anklets, etc. 245
6.3.8 Objects on burial platform 246
6.3.8.1 Mats/textiles 246
6.3.8.2 Jaguar skins, hide 247
6.3.8.3 Adornment 247
6.3.8.4 Ceramics 248
6.3.8.5 Animal bones 249
6.3.8.6 Other objects on the burial platform 250
6.3.9 Objects on tomb floor 251
6.3.9.1 Floor covering 252
6.3.9.2. Items of personal adornment 253
6.3.9.3 Ceramic vessels 254
6.3.9.4 Animal bones and shells 264
6.3.9.5 Stone tools 265
6.3.9.6 Miscellaneous 266
6.4 Conclusion 268

Chapter 7: The "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" at Copán 269
7.1 Introduction 269
7.2 Teotihuacan symbols and materials in the Maya Area 271
7.3 The "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" 272
7.3.1 Atlatl 275

7.3.2 Rings or goggles 276
7.3.2.1 Iconography of goggles at Teotihuacan 278
7.3.2.2 Iconography of goggles at Maya sites 279
7.3.3 Shell platelet headdresses 280
7.3.3.1 Iconography of shell platelet headdresses at Teotihuacan 280
7.3.3.2 Archaeological examples of shell platelet headdresses 282
7.3.4 Thick shell collars 283
7.3.4.1 Iconography of thick shell collars 284
7.3.5 Iron-ore mirrors/pyrite plaques/pyrite mirrors 285
7.3.5.1 Iconography of Iron-ore mirrors 285
7.3.5.2 Archaeological examples of iron-ore mirrors 287
7.3.6 Knee garters 288
7.3.7 Square feathered shield 288
7.4 Burials of Warriors at Teotihuacan 289
7.5 "Teotihuacan Warrior" burials at Copán 292
7.5.1 Shell goggles at Copán 294
7.5.2 Shell platelets headdresses at Copán 296
7.5.3 Atlatls and atlatl darts at Copán 298
7.5.4 Iron-ore mirrors at Copán 298
7.5.5 Distribution of the elements of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" 301
7.6 Maya Epigraphic Data Associated with the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" 302
7.7 Conclusion 306

Chapter 8: Conclusion 309

Appendix A: Artifact List 334
Appendix B: Additional data from the analysis of ethnohistoric sources in Chapter 2 344
Appendix C: Additional data from the analysis of ethnographic sources in Chapter 3 371
Appendix D: Additional data from the comparison of the royal tombs of Copán 387

Bibliography 443

Lists of Figures and Tables

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Map of Mesoamerica 32
Figure 1.2 Plan map of the Principal Group of the site of Copán 34
Figure 4.1 The Berlin Vase 101
Figure 4.2 Side of Pakal's sarcophagus at Palenque 103
Figure 4.3 Pakal's sarcophagus lid at Palenque 104
Figure 4.4 Carved bone from Tikal Burial 116 107
Figure 4.5 Rebirth of the Maize God 110
Figure 5.1 Section drawing of Structure 10L-16 showing the location of the Oropéndola Tomb 130
Figure 5.2 Oropéndola Tomb shaft 132
Figure 5.3 Las losas (Feature RC-2-561). Large capstones covering the shaft 132
Figure 5.4 The northern edge of losa #5 (RC-2-561) 134
Figure 5.5 Heavy green cobble with red, yellow, and black pigment 135
Figure 5.6 Las Lajas (RC-2-578). The square-cut stones that covered the tomb 136
Figure 5.7 *Emplanteado* (RC-2-582). Small stones on east side of the tomb 137
Figure 5.8 Los canales (RC-2-580). Large capstones most made from reused drain stones 138
Figure 5.9 Right ulna and humerus 140
Figure 5.10 The teeth 144
Figure 5.11 Left Tibia showing cinnabar application to the bone and surrounding area 146
Figure 5.12 Melano slab-foot tripod cylinder. Artifact #09-30/Main Object #31 151
Figure 5.13 Melano slab-foot tripod cylinder. Artifact #09-31/Main Object #32 152
Figure 5.14 Melano slab-foot tripod cylinder. Artifact #09-95/Main Object 42 152
Figure 5.15 Melano slab-foot tripod cylinder (damaged). Artifact #09-105/Main Object #48 153
Figure 5.16 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #08-12/Main Object #2 154
Figure 5.17 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #08-13/Main Object #3 155
Figure 5.18 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #09-102/Main Object #46 155
Figure 5.19 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #09-107/Main Object #50 156
Figure 5.20 Stuccoed and painted slab-foot tripod cylinder. Artifact #09-62/Main Object #33 157
Figure 5.21 Stuccoed and painted slab-foot tripod cylinder. Artifact # 09-106/Main Object #49 159
Figure 5.22 Melano ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact #08-14/Main Object #4 160
Figure 5.23 Melano ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact #08-19/Main Object #6 160
Figure 5.24 Melano Ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact #08-24/Main Object #9 161
Figure 5.25 Melano Ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact 09-99/Main Object #44 161
Figure 5.26 Melano Ring-foot bowl. Artifact #08-27/Main Object #11 163
Figure 5.27 Melano ring-foot bowl. Artifact #09-91/Main Object #39 163
Figure 5.28 Melano ring-foot bowl. Artifact # 09-92/Main Object #40 164
Figure 5.29 Melano ring-foot bowl. Artifact #09-07/Main Object #27 165
Figure 5.30 Faux thin-orange vessel. Artifact #08-21/Main Object #8 166
Figure 5.31 Highly burnished red-orange bowl. Artifact #09-25/Main Object #30 167
Figure 5.32 Pot stands. Artifacts #09-96, #09-97/Main Object #43 and Artifacts #09-100, #09-101/Main Object #45 168
Figure 5.33 Jade mosaic earflares (right side). Artifact #08-55/Main Object #12 170
Figure 5.34 Solid jade earflares. Artifacts #09-02 and #09-03/Main Object #23 170
Figure 5.35 Solid jade earflares. Artifacts #09-10 and #09/11/Main Object #28 171
Figure 5.36 Jade earflare. Artifact #09-104/Main Object #47 172
Figure 5.37 Jade mosaic earflares with shell bases and resin necks and throats. Artifacts #09-109-01 and #09-109-02/Main Object #53 173

Figure 5.38 Jade, shell, and mosaic jade earring. Artifacts #09-108/Main Object #51 173
Figure 5.39 Globular jade and shell bead necklace. Main Object # 1 174
Figure 5.40 Jade bead necklace with face pendant. Artifact #09-05/Main Object #23. 175
Figure 5.41 Jade bead necklace with beads in the shape of macaw heads. Main Object #13 176
Figure 5.42 Beads from the pelvis. Main Object #14 177
Figure 5.43 The jade beads found in association with the right ankle. Main Object #34 178
Figure 5.44 Jade pendant. Main Object #36 179
Figure 5.45 Jade mouth bead. Main Object # 17 180
Figure 5.46 Large rectangular jade bead. Artifacts #08-80 and #08-81/Main Object #20 180
Figure 5.47 Large spherical jade bead. Artifact #08-82 181
Figure 5.48 Large tubular jade bead. Artifact #08-20/Main Object #7 182
Figure 5.49 Tubular jade bead. Artifact #08-49/Main Object #15 182
Figure 5.50 Tubular jade bead. Artifact #08-79/Main Object #19 183
Figure 5.51 Concentric circles of small jade beads. Artifact #09-06/Main Object #26 184
Figure 5.52 Stack of iron-ore mirrors and shell and jade mosaic objects. Main Object #29 185
Figure 5.53 Shell and jade mosaic ring with hematite. Artifact #09-24 186
Figure 5.54 Uppermost pyrite backed iron-ore mirror. Artifact #09-137 188
Figure 5.55 Iron ore mirror with stone back. Artifact #09-138 189
Figure 5.56 Jade mosaic decoration originally from stone animal. Artifact #09-139 190
Figure 5.57 Stone animal (armadillo?) with jade mosaic decoration. Artifact #09-140 191
Figure 5.58 Bottommost iron-ore mirror with slate back. Artifact #09-141 192
Figure 5.59 Pachuca obsidian sequins. Artifact #09-112/Main Object #54 193
Figure 5.60 Stuccoed and painted “alabaster” double cups. Main Object #22 194
Figure 5.61 Sheets of mica. Main Object #57 195
Figure 5.62 Mica circle. Artifact #09-110/ Main Object # 53 196
Figure 5.63 Small mica ovals. Artifact #09-158 197
Figure 5.64 Shell rings/goggles. Artifact #09-94/Main Object # 41 199
Figure 5.65 Shell bead necklace. Artifact #09-153/Main Object #58 200
Figure 5.66 Shell platelets/spangles. Main Object #5 201
Figure 5.67 *Spondylus* shell in the shape of a hand. Artifact #09-93-06/Main Object #21 202
Figure 5.68 Anthropomorphic *Spondylus* shell. Artifact #09-9-12/Main Object #21 203
Figure 5.69 Highly elaborated *Spondylus* shell. Artifact #09-93-10/Main Object #21 204
Figure 5.70 (a) *Nodipectin shell* Artifact #09-93-04, (b) Main Object #21 *in situ* 205
Figure 5.71 Natural Pearls Main Object #18 206
Figure 5.72 Layered textile fragment. Organic Sample #09-522 207
Figure 5.73 Textile fragment found associated with Artifact #09-30 208
Figure 5.74 Petate placed over the body of the tomb occupant 209
Figure 5.75 Petate placed on top of the burial platform 210
Figure 5.76 Petate pressed onto cascajo floor below a cylinder tripod vessel (Artifact #08-12) 210
Figure 5.77 Basketry inside of a ring-foot bowl (Artifact #09-99). Organic Sample #09-518 211
Figure 5.78 Basketry on exterior of the burnished red-orange bowl (Artifact #09-25) 212
Figure 5.79 Basketry from inside a ring-foot bowl (Artifact #09-07) 212
Figure 5.80 Underside of the material placed on burial platform. (*petate* and hide) 213
Figure 5.81 Black organic material covering cascajo at tomb's eastern side wall 214
Figure 5.82 Bone needle fragments. Artifacts #09-29, #09-90, and #09-128 216
Figure 7.1 Tikal Stela 31 front, sides 273
Figure 7.2 Facade of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent at Teotihuacan 276
Figure 7.3 Sepultura V-4 293
Figure 7.4 Burial 95-1 294

Table of Tables

Table 1.1 The Rulers of Copán with the years of their reigns CE 4
Table 2.1 Catholicism 44
Table 2.2 *The Florentine Codex* (FC) 49
Table 2.3 *Primeros Memoriales* (PM) 52
Table 2.4 *Historia de Las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme* 54
Table 2.5 Mexica-Atec Comparison 55
Table 2.6 *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan* 61
Table 2.7 *Popol Vuh* 66
Table 2.8 Maya comparison 66
Table 3.1 Souls 70
Table 3.2 The upperworld 73
Table 3.3 The underworld 74
Table 3.4 Ancestors 80
Table 3.5 Rebirth on earth 82
Table 3.6 Funerary ritual 91
Table 6.1 Comparison of tomb construction, burial platforms, and skeletal treatment 241
Table 6.2 Personal adornment worn by the deceased 245
Table 6.3 Comparison of the burial platforms and associated objects 250
Table 6.4 Floor material and floor covering 252
Table 6.5 Items of Adornment on the floor of the tombs 253
Table 6.6 Hunal Tomb Ceramics 255
Table 6.7 The Margarita Tomb ceramics (Chamber 1) 256
Table 6.8 Oropéndola Tomb ceramics 257
Table 6. 9 Sub-Jaguar ceramics 258
Table 6.10 Chorcha Tombs ceramics 260
Table 6.11 Animal cone and chell from the tomb floors 265
Table 6.12 Flake stone and groundstone tools from tomb floors 266
Table 6.13 Miscellaneous items from tomb floors 267
Table 7.1 Elements of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" in the burials of Kaminaljuyu 300
Table 7.2 The "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" at Copán, Honduras 301

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Dedicated to my family with all my love

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The research question

The study of death and the afterlife has long figured as a major area of study by scholars of Precolumbian anthropology, archaeology, and art. Now, after decades of archaeological and epigraphic research on the Classic Maya we can study these topics at a depth not previously possible. Because death is one of the few universal human experiences faced by every community member, the ideology surrounding death and its aftermath is essential to our understanding of any culture. Unfortunately, as James Fitzsimmons (2009) notes, our current conceptualization of death and the afterlife for the Classic Period Maya remains incomplete. The question is a large one that strikes to the heart of Maya worldview and will therefore not be comprehensively answered by any one scholar, but instead must be built up piece by piece as new information is found and analyzed. The contribution of this dissertation is the introduction of new data and an approach that analyzes burials as a context that results from ritual actions. It uses comparative analysis of archaeological data from new and well-known mortuary contexts to begin to test the range of behavior and meaning these contexts preserve. It also mines ethnohistoric, ethnographic, epigraphic, and iconographic sources for support in interpreting those actions. Specifically, I am interested in how these contexts encode information on the identity of the deceased individual and conceptualizations of the fate of the dead by being a reflection of the funerary rituals that created them.

My project focuses on royal and high elite mortuary data from a single Classic Period site, to look at comparable burial practices within a single community over time. I have chosen the site of Copán for this study because of the long history of archaeological excavations have encountered and recorded numerous tombs and burials from the site center, residential barrios, affiliated secondary centers, and rural households. The first tomb discovered at the ruins of Copán, Honduras was excavated in the 1830s; the most recent was excavated in 2008-2009. Between those dates a number of royal and non-royal elite tombs and hundreds of commoner burials have been excavated, creating a large collection of mortuary

contexts and skeletons representing all ranks at the site. Since the over 1,000 burials have been excavated at Copán have been studied by many distinguished scholars (Baudez 1983; Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004; Buikstra et al. 2004; Fash et al. 2001; Hendon 2003; Longyear 1952; Price et al. 2010; Sanders 1986; Sharer and Traxler 2003; Storey 1985, 1986, 1992 1998, 2005; Webster et al., 2000; Wittington 1991; Wittington and Reed 1997), my project focuses on a comparative analysis of royal and non-royal elite tombs, as that has not yet been undertaken. All of this will be supported by the use of iconographic and epigraphic data relevant to many of these contexts and draw from ethnohistory and ethnography to explore patterns and meaning.

The heart of this work will be the analysis of new data from the excavation of the Early Classic Acropolis Tomb 08-01 (Oropéndola Tomb), for which I acted as field director and main excavator, and its comparison to the other major elite tombs at Copán. It was the rich, yet complex Oropéndola Tomb that inspired my interest in the ideas and actions driving its creation. The tomb and its contents were the result of a number of actions motivated by the community's need to deal with the reality of the death of one of its members and its consequences. It is the organizers of the funerary ritual who determine its form, since the dead person can have no real power to determine its content. A person might begin the planning of their funeral ritual or even the building of their tomb prior to their death, but once they have died the lack the ability to insure their plans are fulfilled. Whether the wishes of the dead are followed is in the hands of the funerary organizers and the traditions of the community about respecting those desires. The ritual must also reflect the community's ideas about what happens when someone dies, as it is often thought to be dangerous for the living if the funeral is not conducted properly, and will often also reflect some aspect of that person's identity, since it is a specific individual known by members of the community who is being mourned and assisted into the afterlife. Excavations throughout the Maya area have shown not all people from one time period, one city, one community, or even one patio group receive identical burial

treatment suggesting the identity of the deceased plays some part in the creation of specific burial contexts (McAnany 1995; Welsh 1988).

Our preliminary analysis indicates the person buried in the Oropéndola Tomb is an Early Classic ruler of Copán who ruled the site during the second half of the 5th century CE. To identify the occupant of the tomb, therefore, we need to know which rulers died during the 50 year span in question. Our current best understanding of these dates is reported in the work of Simon Martin and Nikolai Grube (2008). There are unfortunately no legible dates at the site for the reigns of the rulers before Ruler 7, except for Ruler 1. Ruler 1, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' is thought to have reigned beginning around 426 CE and likely ending somewhere near 437 CE, as there are indications Ruler 2 is in power at the beginning of the 9th baktun. It is thought that Ruler 1 is the individual buried in the Hunal Tomb. Ruler 7's reign begins in 524 CE leaving the 5 rulers in between to cover approximately a hundred years. Ruler 6's death and burial can probably be assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century, as he likely died just before Ruler 7 acceded in 524 CE. Ruler 5 is a possible candidate, though a less likely one as it would have required Ruler 6 to have been in power for over 24 years to put the death of Ruler 5 in the 5th century. While certainly possible that Ruler 6 reigned over a quarter century, we have no current evidence to point in one direction or the other. The person buried in the Oropéndola Tomb is, therefore, likely to have been either Ruler 2, 3, or 4 all of whom likely ruled for unknown amounts of time during the second half of the fifth century, though we cannot completely rule out Ruler 5. A more accurate determination waits on a better understanding of how many years each of the early rulers of Copán held power and the buildings for which they oversaw construction.

Table 1.1 The Rulers of Copán with the years of their reigns CE

Ruler	Reign Years	Ruler	Reign Years
Ruler 1 K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'	426 – c.437?	Ruler 9 SAK-lu	551 – 553
Ruler 2 K'INICH ?	437? - ?	Ruler 10 tzi?-BAHLAM-ma	553 – 578
Ruler 3 K'AHK'?-?-AHAW?	?	Ruler 11 Butz' Chan	578 – 628
Ruler 4 K'altuun Hix	?	Ruler 12 K'ahk Uti' Witz' K'awiil	628 – 695
Ruler 5 yu-?[ku?]-a	?	Ruler 13 Waxaklajuun Ubaah K'awiil	695 – 738
Ruler 6 MYUAL?-JOL?	? - 524?	Ruler 14 K'ahk' Joplaj Chan K'awiil	738 – 749
Ruler 7 Bahlam Nehn	524 – 532	Ruler 15 K'ahk' Yipayaj Chan K'awill	749 – 761?
Ruler 8 Wi' Yohl K'inich	532 – 551	Ruler 16 Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat	763 – 810?

Our understanding that the tomb was built and used during the second half of the fifth century is based on its position in the stratigraphic sequence, the compliment of ceramic vessels present in the tomb, and what appears to be a number of artifacts that make reference to the iconography of Teotihuacan. The question of how to interpret the inclusion of Teotihuacan iconography of this tomb will be dealt with in detail later in this dissertation, but it is important to point out at the outset that Teotihuacan iconography at Copán has been heavily associated with the Early Classic Period, the founder of the Copán dynasty (i.e. Ruler 1), and perhaps even the founding event itself (Fash et al. 2009). While there absolutely are examples of Teotihuacan imagery in the Late Classic period at Copán, the majority of them are employed to invoke the power of the past and the dynastic ancestors. The only royal tomb from Copán from the Late Classic, the 7th century Chorcha Tomb, is also the only one that contains no Teotihuacan iconography and of the Early Classic Tombs it is the latest of the group, the mid-sixth century Sub-Jaguar Tomb, that has the least amount of Teotihuacan iconography and artifacts. The identification of Tomb 08-01 as belonging to a king of Copán is based on its location in the Acropolis, the quantity, quality, and variety of objects in terms of both material and iconography buried with the deceased, and the bioarchaeological analysis of the skeletal remains themselves. All of this will be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

1.2 Theoretical approaches to mortuary contexts

1.2.1 Ritual studies

As the focus of this project is the analysis of specific ritual contexts, it must be acknowledged that the identification of ritual behavior in the archaeological record has been a contentious topic for many years. From the days when everything without a clear functional purpose was thrown into the catchall category of ritual paraphernalia (c.f. Renfrew 1994), to the years of doubt in the New Archaeology of whether questions concerning religion and ritual were appropriate topics with which archaeologists should be concerned, to the re-embrace of the study of religion that occurred with the growth of cognitive archaeology, the question of how or even whether we should study ritual have undergone many changes in approach and methodology. Recently Colin Renfrew and others (Renfrew and Zubrow 1994) have argued not only is religion an integral part of past society, and therefore, essential to study, but it is also possible to identify ritual behavior in the archaeological record. Though questions of definition and identification of ritual actions in the archaeological record still remain, for the purpose of this study it can be acknowledged that mortuary contexts are one of the least contentious areas with most people agreeing to their creation by ritual practices. For many scholars of religion, rituals are made of intentional actions and repetitive behaviors. Though not performed in the exact same manner each time, their efficaciousness comes from the community's ability to recognize their enactment and parse the meanings of deviation from patterns created by repetitious use of known symbols (C.Bell 1992; Marcus and Flannery 1994; Plunket 2002; Rappaport 1979:176; Renfrew 1994). This repetition means ritual behavior leaves behind remains for the archaeologist to observe in the material record and which must be analyzed.

With such a varied history of study within archaeology itself, many people have found themselves looking outside of the discipline for theoretic ideas with which to guide their studies. The fields of anthropology, sociology, history of religion, and religious studies all have long standing traditions of

study into the questions surrounding ritual and religion. Each discipline on its own trajectory has thought in different ways about the role of ritual in a culture or community and it has proved fruitful for archaeologists to look toward these other disciplines for orienting ideas. A major starting place for anyone asking questions about societies is the work of Emile Durkheim and his students.

On the topic of death rituals, one of the early and still widely cited of these scholars is Arnold van Gennep. His1909 volume, *Rites of Passage,* must be dealt with, even if later dismissed, by anyone plunging into a study of ritual. In it Van Gennep suggests a tripartite framework into which all rituals of transformation partake, as they are concerned with the transition of a person from one status to another. Birth, initiation, marriage, and death rituals are all examples of such. The first part of his schema encompasses the act of separation, in which the individual undergoing the ritual must be separated from the community so he/she can be separated from their previous role within that community. The next step is a liminal time/space, where the person remains separate while the transition to the new role occurs. The third step is the reincorporation of the individual into the community ready to embody the new role.

Many later scholars have criticized the simplicity and lack of explanatory power of his schema, which a hundred years past its publication seems almost so obvious as to be useless. Peter Metcalf and Richard Hungtington (1991:8-9) point out Van Gennep's work goes beyond merely noticing a common framework to rituals and explains that the similarity is because these rituals, from events as dispirit as marriage and death, function in socially similar ways. Society must have a way to transition its members into and out of the various roles and statuses that exist, since they cannot be permanently attached people who will out-grow them and will die, or so too would the role. The way is the various rites of passage, which create an established manner by which those who are eligible to fulfill specific roles in a community are transitioned into them and those who no longer meet the requirements are ushered out.

Funerary rituals can therefore be seen as functioning to remove an individual from his or her previous role as a living member of the community and initiating them into their new role as a community

member who has died. While tripartite structure is generalizable to the rituals of many cultures, it is when the steps of separation, liminality, and reincorporation are viewed in a specific cultural context that the framework becomes a powerful tool with which to analyze the community and its worldview (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:112). This is because embedded within the ritual are the reasons why this process is necessary, the method by which the transition is accomplished, the effect of the ritual on both the survivors and the deceased, as well as how a community understands what it means to be alive and dead. Death is one of the few events experienced by every community member, thus the study of the variation in funerary rituals among the members a single community shows how the choices made both reflect and shape the way the society thinks about itself (Geertz 1973:94-8).

Archaeologists are able to study ritual because the repetitive nature of its performance means it can be found and recognized within the archaeological record, but all funerary rituals are not exactly the same. Any study of ritual, therefore, must take into account the tension between inexorable change inherent in any living culture that is created by its members making choices, and the maintenance of an ideal order and the promotion of continuity that is the goal of ritual performance. Ritual has often been described as being a form of communication (Gossen 1974). Ritual performance is a means to communicate to the gods, to the community, to anyone viewing it, the proper way of understanding and behaving in a given circumstance with the understanding that the ritual organizers and the their their understanding of the definition of proper is contingent upon the their perception of their own needs. If we think of the ritual context we uncover archaeologically as the remains of that communication, we can begin to extract the meaning of what was being transmitted. By combining this understanding of ritual with an approach to the analysis of the material record that does not limit itself to the artifact level, but instead works with the artifact assemblage and its context, we can not only identify rituals, but begin to understand why they were being conducted and what their enactment was trying to communicate to the various members of the audience (Hodder 1995; López Luján 2005:113; Marcus and Flannery 1994). It is

this solid grounding in the material record from multiple moments throughout the Classic Period and from both royal and non-royal contexts that forms the basis of my analysis.

Over the years, there has been a significant amount of work done on how best to think about the study religious contexts in a society. One early characterization whose formulation and later revision directly affect this project was the view that multiplicity of contexts throughout a society in which a variety of religious expressions could be seen were the reflection of the "great" and "little" traditions of a single religion (Redfield 1956). The "great" referring to the rituals and belief systems practiced, often in public, by the royalty and elites in large cities, while the "little" referred to the practices and understanding of the commoners and those living in small villages. Many current scholars, however, reject this terminology because embedded within it is the assumption that belief and practice start at the level of the great tradition and trickle down in an adulterated and simplified form to the little tradition.

Current scholarship views all arenas of a tradition as loci of invention, transformation, and repetition of ritual. What exists is an interrelated system where action and response is stimulated at all points and every iteration of a ritual has potential to inform us about the whole of which it is a part (C. Bell 1992; Farris 1984; Plunket 2002). For funerary ritual, this means that the differences we can observe between the rituals enacted for rulers, for non-royal elite, and for commoners are not merely a reflection of asymmetrical wealth distribution, nor are they the result of non-royals having an impoverished understanding of proper ritual behavior, but are reflections of the different identities of the deceased, the different goals of the organizers, and how death and the afterlife may have been different realities for different members of society. This is particularly important in a project like this that draws from modern ethnographic work, as the social system belonging to the Classic Maya city-states that created the rulers who make up the focus of my project, had not existed for hundreds of years when the Spanish arrived and the ethnohistorical documents were composed, and for over a thousand years when the modern ethnographic research was carried out and the results published. All of the documentary evidence, the

ethnohistories and ethnographies, are separate from the Classic period not only by significant amounts of time, but also the dissolution of the social systems integral to their creation and maintenance.

1.2.2 Mortuary studies

To be able to analyze a burial context for the variety cultural of information it contains, it is important to realize the multiple forces at work in the creation of the context. When burials were first studied beyond the culture-history framework, the interpretive focus was on the ability of tombs to give information about status differentiation (Binford 1971; Saxe 1970). Burials were seen as a reflection of an individual's status in life. It was thought a careful analysis of how much time, energy, and wealth went into the preparation of the context, especially in comparison with other burials from that culture, could tell a researcher about the place of the deceased individual within his or her society. The idea was that burial variation was a reflection of they way the society was organized and could be used to deduce that organization (Gillespie 2001; O'Shea 1984; Peebles and Kuss 1977). As Carr reminds us in such a schema, social structure was thought to be the "primary determinant of variation in mortuary practices and burial form" (1995:106 in Gillespie 2001:76). It is clear, however, that not every culture decided to alienate its wealth items by placing them out of circulation in burials. Many cultures have practices of curating items as heirloom and among groups of people for whom the potlatch was traditional giving away of goods instead of hoarding them was seen as the real reflection of one's wealth and status (Ucko 1969). There are also numerous examples where burial variation can be seen among members of the same social status, where variation appears to be determined at least in part by the identity of the deceased and the roles within society that person performed (Welsh 1988)

As the previous paragraph shows the ideas of status and identity are often used when discussing the analysis of mortuary contexts. Status has been an important axis of investigation, especially for scholars interested in issues of social structure and social hierarchy, but the way it was was defined by

Ralph Linton (1936:113) as “a collection of rites and duties” limits the questions we ask and therefore the conclusions reached. Speaking about “social identities” instead of discussing someone's status takes into account the reality that individuals take on and perform multiple identities in various situations and at various times (Gillespie 2001). It contains a built in acknowledgment that human individuals are active agents in navigating their own identities, but that their performance are in embedded in the various relationships in which the individual participates. These relationships can occupy multiple scales and a diverse set of interactions including with: individuals, groups, their communities, and the gods and ancestors. In every interaction, and even when alone, humans are shifting between identities based partially on who the person sees themselves to be and partially on who they are perceived to be by those they are in relationship with. Ward Goodenough (1965) was the first to use the term “social identity” and “social persona” to discuss these shifting and interwoven identities that together are the social persona. They came from his work at trying to find ways to move beyond “status” and “role” in theorizing about social relationships to be able to more accurately reflect the complexities he saw as people negotiated their various relationships with the world around them and its inhabitants.

Applying this to burials means thinking carefully about which parts of an individual's social persona are being expressed in such a context. The individual, being dead, has a limited ability to influence the form or content of his or her funeral. While an individual might make plans for his or her funeral ritual and even start its construction, after death their power to see their desires realized has significantly diminished. It is the funeral organizers who shape its execution and will chose what is accentuated, what is minimized, what is hidden, and what is completely left out. As mortuary rituals are in some manner public events, the organizers will not be able to completely make up the identity of the deceased without people knowing it is false, since the person would have been embedded in a network of relationships in the community, but they will have the ability to sift through the various facets of who the deceased was known to be and select with which parts to engage. The selection of the funerary ritual

elements will not only be driven by the interest of the organizers, but must also fit into the community's existing framework for this ritual. Too much deviation puts the ritual in peril of not succeeding with often dangerous results, as can be seen in the many Maya ethnographic accounts where the soul of the deceased can cause harm to the living if not assisted in their transition by a properly enacted ritual.

Robert Hertz, another student of Durkheim's, whose work was first published in 1907, but only translated into English in 1960 was central to developing the idea that mortuary rituals were constructed based on the relationships between the corpse, the soul and the mourners. It is the various ways these three elements come into dialogue with each other that creates the rituals whose remains we observe. For Hertz, these relationships were very direct and had specific consequences with regard to the design of the ritual. The interaction between the mourners and the corpse reflect the social structure of the community thereby contributing to the elaborateness of the ritual, while the relationship between the corpse and the soul speaks to the community's beliefs about death and the afterlife from which derives the form of the ritual, while the interaction between the soul and the mourners determines how the deceased is transitioned out of the community of the living and the interaction of the living with the dead (see Metcalf and Huntington 1991:fig. 2). I would like to suggest the elements are even more interrelated than in Hertz's original formulation and that one needs to evaluate the shifting interactions between each element to see the way they limit and feedback with each other.

Continuing research on mortuary contexts have also shown that burials are not merely reflections of the deceased's identity, but instead encode multiple strands of information based on which audiences are being addressed by the ritual and who is doing the addressing. Burial contexts do reflect the identity of the individual buried within to some extent, but as a dead person has very little direct influence over their own burial context, it has been acknowledged that a pure representation of who the deceased was is not what is present in a burial context. The depiction of the deceased individual is mediated through the creation of the burial context and enactment of the funeral ritual by the living. This means the living

organizers can use the event for their own political purposes and manipulate the ritual depending on what outcome they would like to achieve. They may not be successful in communicating what they intend, but they do have a measure of control over the attempt (Goody 1962; Metcalf 1982). Their gods, their peers, or their subordinates are all possible targets of the ritual and to each the organizers might be communicating something different.

Manipulation of the ritual, however, must be done within certain culturally accepted bounds. Everyone who would witness or hear about such a ritual would have a basic template in their mind about what is appropriate ritual behavior within their own context, beyond which the organizers of the ritual could not trespass beyond for fear of the dangers an incomplete or a wrongly completed ritual would bring. What is proper would be defined by what the culture perceives to be necessary action with regard to the dead. We should therefore expect that burial contexts would encode information about a culture's worldview on death and perhaps what happens afterward, in addition to information about the identity of the individual who died, both mediated by the goals of the ritual organizers.

Another consideration that must be dealt with when analyzing the intersection of worldview and identity in mortuary contexts is whether the variation between different burials solely reflects the identities of the deceased and the perspective of the living, or if at least some of the differences might be a reflection of what happens to individuals in the afterlife? For the specific case of the Maya during the Classic period, it is clear from contemporary iconography and epigraphy, as well as burial contexts in which re-entry rituals have occurred, that at least some individuals continue to have relationships with the living after death. These people have undergone a transformation that has resulted in their incorporation into the community dead as ancestors who maintain ties with the living (Fash 1989; McAnany 1994). It appears, however, that either not all members of the society become ancestors, or that perhaps there are different kinds of ancestors with different roles in the afterlife. How much variation is present in the

possible roles for people once they have died and how it is decided who will enter the different roles are still a very much unanswered questions.

1.2.3 Tomb as context: funerary ritual, the creation of ancestors, identity, and social memory

Patricia McAnany's *Living With the Ancestors*: *Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society* is focused on the ways in which ancestors affected the lives of living communities. Drawing from Welsh's (1988) survey of lowland Maya burials, McAnanay points to the comparison between wealthier burials in shrine contexts and less wealthy burials in domestic locations to posit the shrines as locations of ancestor worship and the interred as the ancestors (1995:55). She explicitly states that becoming an ancestor is not possible for everyone, but was instead reserved for "leaders and prominent lineage members" (McAnany 1995:60). In her view ancestors are not just lineage founders, but are also made up of important members of succeeding generations demonstrated by the remodeling and continual use of shrines as burial locations (1995:115). She is, therefore, arguing for a direct connection between one's role in life as the reason for a specific role in the afterlife. The prestige of one's living role is indicated by how "well-furnished" the grave and the grave's location which facilitates the deceased's new role as an ancestor in the afterlife. McAnany sees their role as tied in intimately with the maintenance of current societal realities and the promulgation of those realities into the next generation. By burying their dead under the floors of houses, in public plazas, and pyramids accompanied by ceremony and veneration the Maya prevented the deceased members of the community from disappearing from mind and memory. Ancestors could then be used as the basis from which one derived one's right to power and privileges and could provide a rational for the traditions that govern people's lives (McAnany 1995:1, 23). Unfortunately for my own study, she does not delve into the burial contexts themselves to see whether there is any way to demonstrate that these "well-furnished" burials belonged to people who were powerful in life and became ancestors after death content with regard to the goals of her own project to let the wealth of the grave and its location

indicate both things.

While she is interested in the ideology of ancestors, McAnany's main goal is to look at their place in the functioning of economic, social, and political processes to understand the formation and maintenance of social inequalities within and between communities. The institution of ancestor veneration was, according to her formulation, ripe for exploitation by a growing elite structure who took the idea of ancestor veneration already established throughout all communities in the formative period and used it as a basis for separation of elites from commoners and legitimization of elite power. This was done by taking the entrenched connections between ancestors, control of land and power present in small communities and using it to consolidate power under the control of a small group of people who made claims to a type of divinity via their ancestors (1995:125-126). This was not to say that commoners no longer had ancestors, but they were only the focus of the veneration of small groups of people for whom they provided access to rights and resources, while the ancestors of elites, especially royalty, became the focus of veneration for entire kingdoms (1995:16-161). The extension of McAnany's work into the arena of mortuary analysis indicates that if anyone would become an ancestor, it would be royalty, and suggests that burial context, certainly location and likely contents, would reflect this new identity.

James Fitzsimmons's (2002, 2009) work on the mortuary rituals of the Kings of the Classic Maya is a great foundation from which my own project can jump off. While we are both interested in mortuary ritual at the royal and elite level, his work is based in a comparison across sites of royal tombs and the hieroglyphic texts to try to better understand the rituals themselves, especially with regard to extended or multiphase mortuary rites. His work brings together the evidence in some tombs of re-entry events or rituals extended over a period of days or weeks, with evidence in the epigraphic record of rituals at tombs days, weeks, months, and even years after the known death of the individual. His reliance on the epigraphic record, by its very nature, limits his study and its conclusions to the very highest levels of society and sites with this kind of data, but its drive to wring every last detail from that limited record

makes it valuable to scholars interested in the topic. His theoretical basis in Arnold Van Gennep's (1960) work on liminality and Robert Hertz's (1960) on extended mortuary practices, secondary burial, and the state of the corpse as reflection of the state of the soul and social relations, and Victor Turner's (1967, 1969) work on liminality as a time spent being "betwixt and between," however, suggest his investigation may be applicable beyond the context in which it was developed. Fitzsimmons also uses iconography, and to a lesser extend ethnography and ethnohistory, in his effort to interpret the actions and ideas embedded within Classic Maya mortuary ritual. His robust conclusions that mortuary ritual among the Classic Maya royalty does extend beyond a single funerary event, helps create a framework for the placement of my study of specific tomb contexts within the larger panoply of ritual events that attending the death of a king at his moment of expiration and over the days, weeks, months, and years to come.

Fitzsimmons's work has demonstrated the Classic Maya revisited tombs and performed mortuary rituals as part of an ongoing process with different ideas present at different moments, thereby shaping communal perception of both the deceased and the community. The next piece of the theoretical landscape to review is that of the relationship of social memory and identity in understanding a community's response to death and its attendant rituals. The concept of social memory, which draws on the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1980, 1992) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977) to discuss the relationship between society and the effects of creation, alteration, reformulation, and recreation of memory on social frameworks and structure. It has been applied to anthropology and archaeology to tackle in many different topics (Fowler et al. 2010; Climo and Cattel 2002; Hodder and Cessford 2004; Mills and Walker 2008; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Meredith Chesson and colleagues (2001) specifically bring the approach to mortuary customs as an orientation that can bring together archaeologists and ethnographers working on questions about death, and tie it to issues of identity. The authors see social memory and identity as inextricably bound together in the realm of mortuary behavior, since the creation of memory and identity draw from and feedback with each other. The identity(s) expressed in mortuary contexts are bound up in

how a community chooses to remember the dead and those memories can be altered by the selection of certain identity elements to emphasize over others. Memory is not static, to be created once and preserved whole forever, but is subject to manipulation and reinterpretation. Identity, likewise, is not a unified whole, but something malleable to circumstance. Death rituals are a place where these two come together out of the control of the object of the rite, which gives the society more leeway in crafting the story it tells itself about the deceased and his or her relationship with the community.

The dissertation stands at the intersection of McAnany's (1995; 1998; 1999) work on ancestors and their role as legitimizing forces for power, landholding, and tradition, Fitzsimmon's (2009) study on the symbolic connection between corpse and soul and its relationship to social relations, and Chesson and colleagues discussion of the interdependence of social memory and identity in shaping mortuary ritual and how mortuary ritual can shape memory and identity (Chesson 2001; Bell 2007; Fitzsimmons and Shimada 2011). Together they give us the tools with which we can evaluate the tomb as a context for the formation and contestation of identity and society.

1.3 Methodology

The central project of this dissertation is the comparative evaluation of the assemblages created by royal funeral activities to observe the patterning of remains resulting from the rituals surrounding death. Since there will always be regional and temporal variation even among groups with similar ideology and origins, the study grounds itself in the royal and non-royal elite burials of the Classic period with an emphasis on the Early Classic at a single site, in order to have some confidence that the similarities and differences observed are more likely to be related to the deceased and their community rather than a reflection of the different trajectories of regional traditions over time. As we will never be able to witness an actual funerary ritual of the Classic Maya, our recreation of the events are based in the remains that are left behind. Therefore, one of the most important pieces of this task is an analysis of the

different symbolic valences of the physical materials that make up the contexts being studied (D. Chase 1988; López Luján 2005; Mock 1998:3; Rice 1999). We are unfortunately limited in our discussion of the variety of ritual paraphernalia used in the course of the events by the issue of preservation. In the vast majority of Mesoamerican contexts most organic material does not survive the rigors of becoming part of the archaeological record. This is not merely true for this project, but is a frustrating reality for anyone interested in cultures who lived over a thousand years ago, especially those located in the hot and humid tropics.

1.3.1 Categorization and the importance of symbols

Such a limited repertoire of material to analyze has led scholars to try to wring as much information out of each object available. One of the ways this has been accomplished is by detailed analysis of each material type or grouping of artifacts to improve our understanding of the deposits by associating symbolic meanings with each material type or by assigning them to categories based on supposed symbolic similarities among objects of similar material types. Such studies have included things such as jades (Garber 1983; Nagao 1985; Miller and Martin 2004; Proskouriakoff 1974; Taube 1998, 2005), stone tools and other pointy objects (López Luján 2005:160-161, 199-200; Freidel et al. 1993), specific types of ceramics (Chase 1988; Cuevas Garcia 2003; Garber et al. 1998; López Luján 2005:194; Rice 1999), human and animal bones (López Luján 2005:191, 202-208; Mock 1998), sea creatures, marine and lacustrine shells (Freidel et al. 1993; Miller and Martin 2004), stone and stucco sculpture (Masson and Orr 1998), copal, resin, and rubber (Freidel et al. 1993; López Luján 2005:158-159; Rice 1999; Taube 1998; Vogt 1998), the red pigments: cinnabar and specular hematite (Freidel et al. 1993). All of the materials mentioned above show up in varying amounts within the corpus of burials to be studied.

The analysis of artifacts just mentioned is based in their material type, which is a way of categorizing artifacts based on material attributes identified by the archaeologist. Its implication is based on the idea that an analysis of materials and their patterns of use and deposition will give archaeologists an idea of how the culture being studied perceived the object. These patterns will help the archaeologist to group objects together as related, as it is believed finding objects in similar contexts having been used in similar ways reflects that their users viewed them as similar or interchangeable at a symbolic level.

This approach, therefore, begins not with categories internal to the culture being studied, what Houston et al. (1989) call "folk categories," but instead categorizes materials based on criteria of the outsider (i.e. the archaeologist). This is at some level absolutely necessary, as it gives archaeologists a place to begin when "folk categories" are unknown or confusing to the outsider. It also has the potential to reveal underlying connections between or among groups of objects that might have been present, but were not made explicit by the categories employed by the society being studied. Creation of categories by outsiders can, however, also be problematic as they are artificially based on an evaluation of when a certain observed pattern is strong enough to be 'significant' and can lead to conclusions drawn from or about categories the creating society would not have recognized. In the specific context of the Classic Maya, a methodology based around material types can still be useful, as there is evidence that material type was very important to the Maya in determining how the object should be used, though it is important to be cautious in its application. Ellen Bell (2007), in her study of the caches and burials of the Early Acropolis at Copán, is able to show examples of the importance of material as a category by exploring some ritual contexts in which the inclusion of jade appears to be important without regard to its color, quality, size, surface treatment or decoration.

Bell's work suggests the material to be the organizing framework governing its placement in certain contexts, rather than any of the possible sub-categories within the material type. Stephen Houston and Simon Martin (2012) discuss the important idea in ancient Maya thought between the individual

example and the general class where the smallest pieces or perhaps roughest piece can still stand in for the general idea of the category. Perhaps this is what leads to the examples observed of the creation of imitation materials used in the same manner as the model they represent. This occurs at the site of Piedras Negras where jade seems to be scarce even for royal tombs, but its inclusion is so expected that ceramic beads were made and painted blue-green (Coe 1959). Here a substitution of material is accepted, but to be proper it is disguised as the missing material type.

The assignment of things in the world into categories is an essential part of how a culture assigns meaning and understands the world around them (Lakoff 1987). Categorization is how some things become taboo and others sacred. It is how the correct tool for any job are recognized. As Houston et al. (1989) argue, when we can access categories created by the culture under study by virtue of being able to read a culture's own writing about objects, we add meaning to our analysis, even if it is only to verify what we have already suspected. More often, however, it adds a layer of meaning that is hard to access from the outside. Houston and Martin (2012) demonstrate for the Maya part of the layered meaning comes from the embedded mythological reality of the object; "[t]o see and depict such things and beings might have been, for the ancient Maya, a binocular process. It perceived the specific in the general, and the general amidst the wondrous particulars of ever-present myth." When writing is not available, either because the society was not literate, the literature has not survived, or the society did not choose to discuss the subjects being evaluated, scholars often turn to iconography as another way to approach categories of meaning significant to their creators.

As outsiders in both time and culture, modern researchers shall never fully understand all of the depth and intricacy of "folk categories," but even a small window in can expand our analysis in ways we would be hard pressed to recreate from outside. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that according to Freidel and colleagues, many of the objects mentioned above and found within Classic Maya tomb

contexts fall into the broad category of what modern Tzotzil speaking communities call *ch'ulel*, while also containing, at another level, their own specific types of meaning:

> Classic Maya artists depicted ch'ulel as streams of holy substance represented by jade beads, bones, shells, the color signs *chak, yax,* and *kan* (red, blue-green, yellow), zero signs, maize kernels, and mirrors. In addition glyphic texts add spondylus shells, jade earflares, jade beads, ahow signs, shell or pearl counterweights, bones and obsidian to the inventory of things that represent *ch'ulel*. (Freidel et al. 1993:245)

While we might expect folk categories to give us insight into details or nuances of object categorization we might otherwise miss, the example of *ch'ulel* also show us that there are larger categories we might not conceive of simply because they contain objects of varied enough materials and functions to escape the detection of people looking for patterns based on material type or small contexts of use. These larger categories give us another layer of symbolism to work with when trying to understand the creation and composition of the context under evaluation. Of course, according to epigraphers the equivalent Classic Maya term would have been *k'uhlel*, which has not yet been observed indicating such a category in texts (personal communication Marc Zender 2012), which leaves us with yet another example of the complexity of bringing together modern ethnographies, epigraphy, and archaeology to try to understand the Classic Maya.

1.3.2 Hermeneutics of Suspicion

While the material content and context of the ritual deposits form the basis of my analysis, there are other kinds of evidence that may be brought to bear on the project of interpreting mortuary rituals and their remains. These include the use of ethnographic data from modern Mesoamerican communities, the use of ethnohistoric documents from the period of first contact with the Spanish, and the use of iconographic and epigraphic data from the Classic Period. All of these sources have the potential to be important loci of data and ideas for the interpretation of archaeological material, but each must be navigated with care as the conditions under which they were created affect the ways in which they can be

useful. To extract their potential a critical evaluation of the strengths and limitations of each data source is necessary.

Following David Carrasco (2000) working the tradition of Paul Ricoeur, what is necessary is a "Hermeneutics of Suspicion." According to Carrasco the "'Hermeneutics of Suspicion' means that before we display a 'willingness to listen' and to try to make something meaningful out of the material available, we must ask penetrating questions about the nature, reliability, and intentions of the material itself" (2000:11-12). As his words imply, before using any data source it is important to interrogate them as to their historical context and the motive for their creation as regards the authors, the informants, and the intended audience. The very real problems with data sources made distant from their subject by time, space, and the culture of the author means conclusions cannot be based in these data alone. Instead, the information serves better as a method of generating hypotheses to test with data from the period under study or as supporting material to arguments based in data contemporary to the questions being asked. While this approach has been productively applied to work from the colonial period and the study of contemporary ethnographic research, it should also be at the forefront of our thoughts when working with epigraphic and iconographic data as well. Both of these sources were created by specific people or groups of people for a variety of purposes all of which influence the form and content of their creation.

The use of ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources, removed as they are from the Classic Maya by time, by a complete change in political system, and the disruptive presence of the Spanish, is clearly fraught with challenges for the responsible scholar. Anyone attempting to use these sources responsibly to look at the past must acknowledge that no culture is stagnant over time, especially not one that has undergone genocide, re-location, and forced religious conversion. Likewise, however, they must recognize the Maya were not passive in the face of Spanish domination, but instead strategically picked and chose what to maintain, what to discard, and what to add through a process that has been called transculturation (Ortiz 1940). In the end creating something that takes from both sides, but is also

different from both; its own unique creation. The use of any of these sources by themselves would inevitably lead to false conclusions. Instead, a methodology, called the conjunctive approach, that employs not only ethnohistoric and ethnographic information, but grounds itself in archaeological data, and where possible contemporaneous iconographic and epigraphic data, is the most secure methodology and will gain insights and build stronger arguments based on multiple lines of evidence than is possible from archaeological data alone (Fash and Sharer 1991).

1.3.3 The use of ethnohistoric evidence

While the ethnohistoric documentary material from the early colonial period does not have the same time depth problems of the modern ethnographic material, it suffers from having been written by the Spanish interlopers who were neither trained ethnographers not taught to question their cultural assumptions or reflect on their personal biases, but empowered to impose their worldview on the indigenous people of the New World by virtue of its assumed superiority. While the obvious proselytizing and resource extraction goals of the Spanish can be clearly seen in many of the documents, there are also more subtle biases that have been introduced into the documentary record simply by virtue of the fact that it was the 16th century Spanish with their specific worldview who were asking the questions, framing the debate, and deciding what was important to record. To make matters more complex, the Spanish themselves were a lot less monolithic in thought than many modern researchers acknowledge with different individual friars concerned with different issues facing their mission. For some the enthusiasm of the new converts for the performance of Christian ritual was a sign of the success of their conversion and their embrace of Christianity, while others were worried that the zeal reflected a failure of the process and hid pagan practices in a false cloak of outward piety. Each of these perspectives would have led to very different accounts by the friars creating them. With all of these hurdles clearly stated, the ability of

the documentary material can add depth and detail that the archaeological record could never hope to match, and makes it an invaluable resource in understanding the Mesoamerican past..

One way the information from ethnohistoric sources can be useful is its ability to broaden and deepen the questions scholars ask and the answers they pursue. For an investigation into death rituals and afterlife beliefs they can help raise issues a western trained scholar might not otherwise consider due to his or her own situated worldview. The very nature of the topic of death has the potential to be both highly charged emotionally and philosophically complex, which increases the need for the investigator to stringently police his or her assumptions about what death is and what it means. To give an example of how ethnohistoric accounts can help expose western assumptions about death that might otherwise be imposed on Mesoamerican beliefs about death and the afterlife I will turn briefly to the ethnohistoric accounts of the Mexica-Aztec. According to Bernardino de Sahagún (Sahagún 1950-1982) Mexica-Aztec beliefs, like those Christianity, contain the idea of something else beyond this world after one dies. Also, similarly, is that the something else is in fact multiple places, some of which are more desirable than others. For those who grew up within a Judeo-Christian culture there is an assumption that the people who go to the desirable places in death are the people who were good in life. Their afterlife fate being a reward for making the right choices and acting well, while the opposite is true for bad people. It often comes as a shock for such people to learn the Mexica-Aztec conception is somewhat different.

For the Mexica-Aztec, many of the differences between where different individuals go after death is based on the manner of their death not how they lived their life. In the case of the drowned or lightning struck, they go to Tlaloc's paradise called Tlalocan. It is described as a paradise with an abundance of food and a beautiful landscape, but reaching Tlalocan is via what a modern Christian might consider an accident or even poor planning rather than an adherence to proper behavior and the maintenance of a life consonant with a Christian identity. This demonstrate a fundamental difference in how the two cultures approach the idea of death and the afterlife. On the other hand, it was Aztec warriors who were killed in

battle or were sacrificed who had the honor and good fortune to make up part of the company that escorted the sun in its daily journey across the sky. In that case, one's identity as a warrior was inextricably tied to the place and type of afterlife experienced by the individual. These are only two examples of Aztec afterlife locations sufficient to demonstrate the concept, but more exist. One can begin to see that in order to understand the philosophical complexity Mexica-Aztec beliefs surrounding death and the afterlife, the models cannot be taken from Judeo-Christian culture, as it does not have a method for dealing with what appears to it be contradictions.

It is likely that the multiple afterlife locations in which the Mexica-Aztec believed had an impact on what archaeologists have the potential to find during excavations. Archaeologists, like all scientists, have a hard time dealing with negative data, especially when they do not know part of their data set is missing. Differential preservation and the various issues that affect where we dig and how much we dig create such large gaps in the data recovered that it can be very difficult to identify what is systematically missing due to cultural practice. In the case of the Aztecs, the afterlife one joined was reflected in how the body of the individual was treated after death. Warriors were burnt to allow them to more easily reach the sun, while those going to Tlalocan were buried, as Tlalocan was thought to be located directly below the ground (Chapter 2). This means the burial record maybe systematically missing the Aztec warriors and women who died in childbirth, who shared the same afterlife fate as warriors, as these people were burned instead of buried. Without the knowledge provided by the ethnohistoric information these two populations, their deaths and their afterlife fates, might have fallen into the hole created by archaeological data collection realities. The Aztec lived in a different part of Mesoamerica, spoke a different language, and post-date the end of the Classic Maya period by 500+ years, which means their view of the afterlife is not one I would automatically assert for the Maya, but it does give an idea of some of the possible complexities involved in the study of death and the afterlife.

Having seen a glimpse at how fruitful a search of Mexica-Aztec ethnohistoric accounts could potentially be to archaeologists who study the Mexica-Aztec, it is unsurprising that Maya scholars have looked for similar help among the ethnohistoric documents that pertain to the Maya. When looking for ethnohistoric sources that more directly tied to the Maya many scholars turn to the *Popol Vuh*. In fact, much of our understanding of the Classic Maya afterlife comes from that Postclassic Quiche Maya text, which contains an evocative description of Xibalba, which means "place of fear" in Quiche and describes their vision of the underworld. In the *Popol Vuh*, Xibalba is described as a place full of gods with grotesque names evoking blood, pus, and disease and where there are obstacles to be overcome and tests that must be passed for failure results in being killed by the Lords of the Underworld. From this account people have extrapolated that the Maya afterlife was not paradise, but instead a horrible and scary place (Taube 2006).

Yet no Classic Maya word for Underworld/Xibalba has been found in the inscriptions, which should caution us about whether such a vision of the afterlife was actually present during that time. There are Classic Period iconographic scenes that appear to depict the dead in underworld environments, but there are also iconographic references to an upperworld/celestial place containing dead ancestors (Chapter 4 for details on iconographic approaches to these questions). Whether this upperworld fits the idea of some kind of 'paradise' either like the Mexica-Aztec or a more Christian version is up for question and how separate it is from the underworld is still debated. While the majority of the account of the Hero Twins in the *Popol Vuh* is concerned with their adventures in the underworld a brief reference is made to what could be an upperworld location when the Hero Twins ascend to the sky at the end of the story to become some of the astronomical heavenly bodies. Alas, there is no description on what they find when they reach the sky, giving us nothing on which we might base a search for archaeological correlates or use to make comparisons with Classic Period iconography (Tedlock 1985). I have brought up these examples

here to illustrate both the challenges and great promise these kinds of data contain (Chapter 2 for an analysis of the use of ethnohistoric sources).

1.3.4 The use of ethnographic evidence

A second important genre of data to be used as a resource in crafting a multi-threaded understanding of Classic Maya ideas about death and the afterlife is modern ethnographic information collected by anthropologists who lived with and studied modern Maya communities during the 20th century. The modern Maya do indeed descend from the Classic Maya, and might be thought, therefore, to be a resource in helping modern archaeologists overcome some of the problems in the ingrained biases we have that I briefly outlined above. It has been over 500 years, however, since the Spanish arrived and over 1000 years since the 'collapse' of the Ancient Maya cities. This time depth alone would require us to take into account the profound cultural change that would have occurred between the Maya of the Classic period and their modern descendents, as no culture or people are ever stagnant. In addition to the passage of centuries must be added the impact of the Spanish invasion, the forced conversion to Christianity, and the concomitant destruction of locally evolved structures of social, political, and religious organization that have all played their parts in shaping the challenges that the Maya have been meeting for hundreds of years.

As if that is not enough to caution the unexamined use of modern ethnographic material applied to ancient practice, I have been indulging in the completely inaccurate shorthand of referring to *the Maya*, as if some such self-identified and unified group ever existed before the modern times. With 29 different Mayan languages currently spoken and the speakers spread during ancient and contemporary times roughly from the Mexican and Guatemalan Highlands to the Lowlands of Yucatan, Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras the daily realities of these disparate Maya communities are, and have always been, profoundly different. On the other hand, it has long been recognized that there are elements of culture that

connect the many communities speaking the various languages of the Mayan language family and with greater Mesoamerica beyond (Bricker 1981; Farriss 1984; Gossen 1974; Houston et al. 2000, 2001; McAnany 1995).

For years people have looked to the Direct Historical Approach as one of the most productive tools for evaluating and using ethnographic analogy to interpret past cultures. Its efficacy is in its call for us to think about cultural continuity and to make analogies between past and present only when there is compelling evidence of real similarity (Ascher 1961; Fash 1997; Marcus and Flannery 1994; Steward 1942; Wylie 1985). The Direct Historical Approach suggests real similarity can most reliably be found when subjects for comparison are as close as possible in time and space. It is therefore better to compare the Classic Maya to modern Maya groups or other Mesoamerican cultures before we compare them to North or South American precolumbian cultures, since there are reasons to suspect real similarities based on a shared cultural past, the continuity of residence in the same general geographical region, and the long term relations between communities that interwove regions together by trade networks that have spanned thousands of years throughout all of Mesoamerica.

From ethnographic sources we can look at ideas about death and the afterlife from a few different directions. The most obvious is direct information about funerary ritual itself. We can also, however, look at ideas about the role of the soul to the living and the dead as it is often the soul or a similar counterpart that is the part of the deceased that makes the journey into the afterlife. There is also information to be found about the role of ancestors in the living community and who become ancestors. Ethnographic sources can also give insight into the range of emotional responses associated with death something too easily ignored when focused solely on the material remains. Among many of the ethnographic studies of the Maya area, death is depicted as a time of danger for the living, the amelioration of which is dependent upon conducting and completing funerary rituals in the correct manner at the correct time. This creates an

internal communal pressure that contributes to the replication of certain fundamental parts of the ritual framework and limits the amount and kind of modifications the community will accept.

Chapter 3 will include ethnographic data from across the varied landscape the modern Maya inhabit. The goal of the analysis is to bring together the ideas and beliefs of the various contemporary Maya groups to look for patterns within the accounts suggesting origins in the Precolumbian past which can then be compared to the other data sets mentioned. The hope is to see among the various accounts the threads of similarity that demonstrate common ideas and beliefs shared among the groups. Much like the recreation of a proto-language by historical linguists, the process of comparison and juxtaposition will reveal what ideas have been passed down through the generations and how they have changed and been adapted as the needs of the communities have shifted.

1.3.5 The use of epgraphic evidence

The great Strides made in the decipherment of Mayan hieroglyphs that occurred during the second half of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century can now provide an integral source of data from which to study Ancient Maya ritual practice. As the Ancient Maya are the ones who selected the locations of texts, the decision of what should be recorded, and the vocabulary used for the recording, it is the closest we can get to an emic perspective (Houston et al. 1989). A real emic perspective is impossible to achieve as we are limited by our very identities as contemporary archaeologists. The 21st century archaeologist will never ask all the right questions or fully understand the answers. Variable preservation of texts is also a factor that prevents archaeologists from more fully accessing a contemporary view point into Classic Maya world. Even more limiting that it might seen at the outset, variable preservation can cause systematic gaps in our knowledge because the variation in preservation isn't random. Instead, what is preserved is rooted in the choices the Maya made about the proper media in which to record various texts. In the hot and often humid climate of Mexico and Central America the vast majority of the texts,

which were written on bark paper, did not survive the ravages of time and environment. What did survive were the texts written in stone on stelae, benches, stairways, and buildings. These texts made of monumental sculpture, placed in public locations, and commissioned by rulers and high elites must, by their very nature, be limited in the topics they cover and the manner in which they convey them. This reality is essential to the decisions we make or how this data may be best employed.

With these caveats firmly in mind, there are at least three phrases for death found among the current corpus of Maya hieroglyphic texts given by Fitzsimmons (2002:24; 2009). They are: *cham-i* ' he died,' *k'a'ay u sak* 'flower' *ik'il* 'it ends, his white 'flower' breath,' *ochbih'* 'road entering' and *mukhaj* 'he/she was buried.' Current epigraphic work suggests *cham-i* not only means 'he dies,' but is also used to describe someone who falls gravely ill, while the sign (T533) given as 'flower' likely means seed, but is not yet deciphered, and it is now known the correct transliteration for the final word of the phrase is *ik'aal* (personal communication Marc Zender). While originally thought to be interchangeable words all indicating death, Fitzsimmons's work suggests that these different terms were not a set of euphemisms for the same thing, but instead refer to different parts of the ritual process concerning things such as: death, burial, body preparation, and the journey of the soul.

A fourth phrase Fitzsimmons's (2009) mentions that appears to be used in reference to issues of death, but does not mean death itself, is *och ha'* 'water-entering,' which he posits may refer to the idea of the watery underworld. That the underworld is a watery place has been a part of Maya studies for decades and its implications will be explored throughout this project. As the field of epigraphy has been advancing very quickly over the past few decades, what it can tell us about the Maya view on death and the afterlife is likely only at its beginnings. Part of the contribution of this dissertation will be to look at the terms that have been found in the current corpus within the larger context of the other kinds of data that can be brought to bear on understanding death for the Maya.

1.3.6 The use of iconographic evidence

Using iconographic analysis suffers from similar issues to those mentioned above. It too is limited by who created it, the themes deemed appropriate for representation, and the interaction of these issues with differential preservation. Image can also be enigmatic when we do not understand the ideas behind its creation. We are in danger of projecting our own situated perspective on the interpretation, if we are not very careful to ground our understanding in the culture in which they were created. There should to be some basis in Maya society for the meanings we make of the images they created. While text and image are heavily intertwined in Classic Maya contexts, images often address other or additional topics to what appears in text. Frequently, things which someone might not have thought necessary to mention in text will show up in image because it is an essential and expected part of the scene being represented, even if not the focus of the vignette.

Images can also be a window into ideas whose expression we do not completely understand in text. Above I briefly mentioned the term *och ha'* with the translation of 'water-entering." Ethnography and ethnohistory are of very little use here as they do not speak of going into any water beyond the mention of a river crossing with the help of a dog. An image on bones from Tikal Burial 116, however, gives another possible way to think about the term. They show a figure, who appears to be the Maize God, being ferried in a canoe with a set of animals by the paddler gods. They have their hands to their foreheads, which has been interpreted to be a sign of sorrow and possibly mourning (Houston et al. 2006). The canoe does not merely traverse water, but is show being propelled beneath the surface showing a rather literal depiction of "water-entering." It is known that this is a scene from the mythic cycle of the Maize God's death and resurrection, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, and gives us quite a good place to start our investigation of this term. Image, then, can help draw connections between other sets of data and help craft understandings of past behavior and ideology, which when used with the other lines of evidence

already discussed can help to uncover the layers of meaning and significance embedded in a complexly rich context such as a royal tomb.

1.4 The ancient city of Copán

The Classic period Maya polity of Copán consisted of a large capital city surrounded by densely situated residential barrios and more dispersed communities throughout the valley landscape. Most of its cultural material in this time period shows an affiliation with Classic Maya communities to the north and west, though there is also evidence of interaction with non-Maya communities to the south and west. The main habitation of Classic Maya Copán was between the early fifth and early ninth centuries, though there is substantial evidence that people lived in the area both before and after these dates. The Copán polity is located in a mountainous region in the northwestern corner of the modern state of Honduras. This places Copán at the southeastern periphery of the Classic Maya world. The Copán Valley, through which the Copán River flows on its way to meet the Motagua River in Guatemala, is composed of a number of pockets of different sizes and compositions, all of which appear to have been inhabited during the Classic period. It is the largest in the series of pockets created by the river that is the home of Copán's Principal Group and thousands of smaller residential communities, which was the center of the Copán polity at this time. In the Copán pocket, evidence of habitation can be found throughout the 24 cm3 of valley bottomland, as numerous communities located in the foothills above the river. According to the hieroglyphic texts at the site, Copán was ruled by at least 16 sequential members of a dynasty, who were likely related or considered themselves to be part of the same legitimate line of rulers. The dynasty, as represented in the hieroglyphic texts of Copán, was composed of only male rulers and began around 426 CE with the ruler K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and likely ended with the 16th ruler, Yax Pasaj Chan Yopat, around 810 CE. The final monument at the site is unfinished, but appears to bear the date of 822CE, demonstrating an attempt to continue the traditions of Copán after the death of Yax Pasaj Chan Yopa



Figure 1.1 Map of Mesoamerica (Lucero 2006:fig. 2.1)

The Principal Group is located on the alluvial plains of the valley pocket and has suffered loss to its major structures as the shifting course of the Copán River has at times taken large bites out of the Acropolis. The layout of the Principal Group is dominated by a large plaza to the north, called the Great Plaza, which is surrounded by buildings on three sides. The Great Plaza is the location of a series of stelae and altars erected by the 13th Ruler of the site and a small radial pyramid (Structure 10L-4). The the majority of the southern section of the group is an acropolis created from hundreds of years of

superimposed buildings that has resulted in an upthrust section of construction with the tallest building, Structure 10L-16 towering 30m above the plaza floor. The transition between these two areas is the ballcourt and its associated structures, which include the Hieroglyphic Stairway (Structure 10L-26), though both it and the ballcourt have numerous earlier stages like the rest of the Acropolis. The southern boundary of the Great Plaza is the stairs of Structure 10L-11. To the south of Structure 10L-11 is an area called the West Court, while south and east of Structure 10L-11 is the East Court. Together the East and West Courts form the bulk of the Acropolis. Dividing the Courts are the Dance Platform (Structure 10L-25) that sits at the top of the Jaguar Stairs, and Structure 10L-16 whose temple was the tallest point on the Acropolis during its final phase. The northern end of the East Court is made up of a series of structures: 10L-22a, 10L-22, 10L-21a, 10L-21. The eastern edge of 10L-21, as well as Structures 10L-20, 10L-19, of which exist limited descriptions from early 19th and early 20th century visitors to the site, were lost to the ravages of the Copán River. Partial remains of the buildings underneath 10L-19 and 20 survive as does Structure 10L-18 at the southern end. The destruction was finally stopped when the Carnegie Institution of Washington was able to reroute the river in 1930 (Stromsvik 1935, Trick 1939), saving Structure 10L-18.

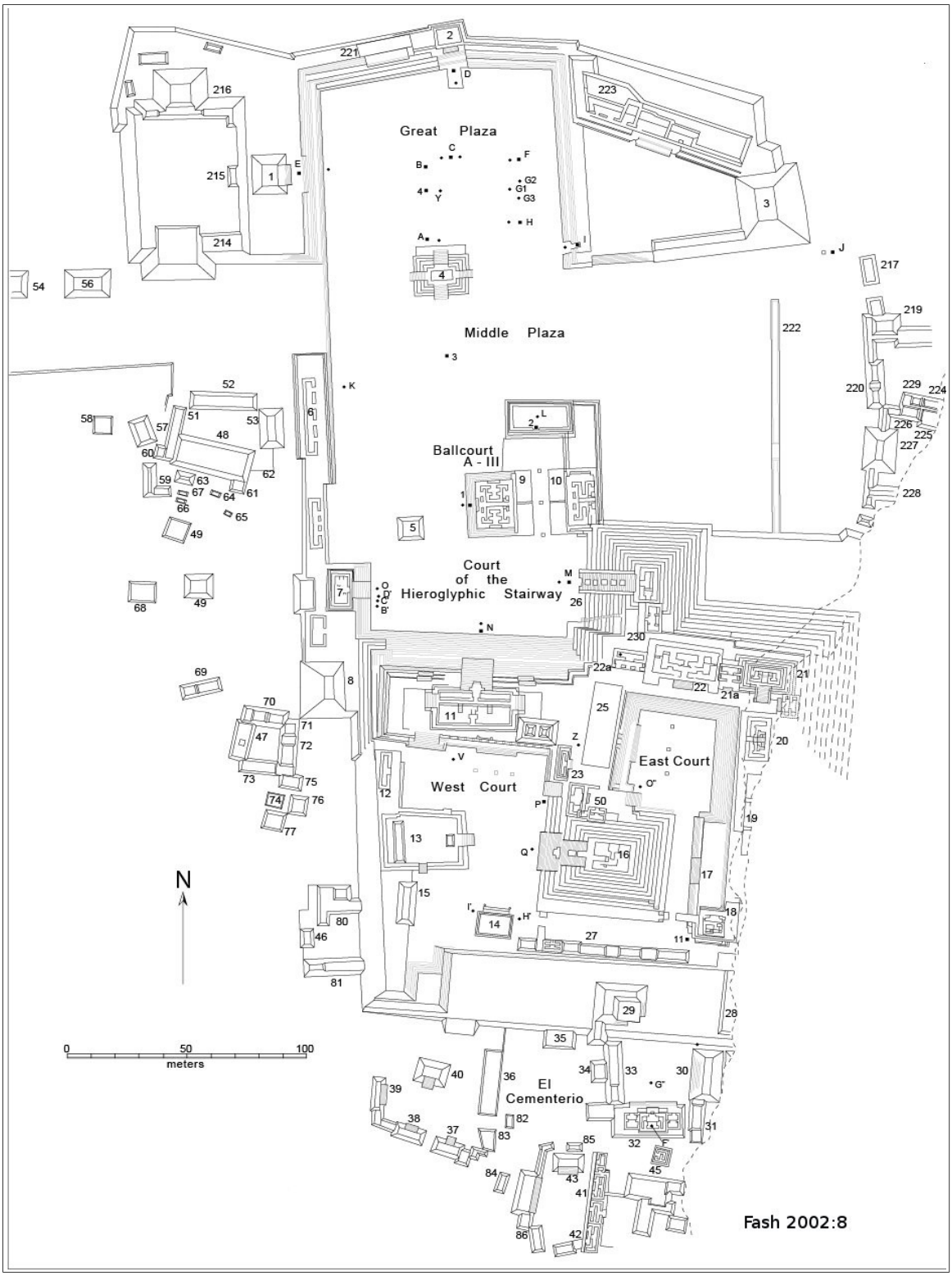


Figure 1.2 Plan map of the Principal Group of the site of Copán (Fash 2002:8)

The Principal Group was densely surrounded by residential barrios. Directly to the south of the Acropolis was an elite residential area called El cementerio that was inhabited at least by the family of Ruler 16 of Copán and possibly other royal families as well. To the west in El bosque was another set of residential groups including examples of elite architecture and at least one vaulted tomb. Northeast of the site at a bit more of a distance, but connected to the Principal Group by a causeway (sakbe), is Las Sepulturas, which contained extensive residential remains of both elite and commoners. Like the Principal group, the majority of the structures visible on the surface of these areas are from the Late Classic Period (CE 600-800), but excavation in all areas has turned up evidence of earlier habitation. In addition, Las Sepulturas has evidence of Preclassic artifacts, while El bosque shows evidence of Postclassic artifacts and habitations (Fash 1981, 2001; Manahan 2003). Beyond this areas are a number of small communities and rural habitation. While an estimation of the number of people who lived in the Copán Valley at any one time has been the subject of debate, it seems clear that during its height in the Late Classic the number should be measured in the tens of thousands (Sharer 1996; Fash and Sharer 1991; Webser and Freter 1990).

The site has been excavated by formal archaeological projects since the end of the 19th century starting with a project sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography at Harvard University. The Peabody expedition was not, however, the first group to document the site. The first record of Copán in European sources is from the Spanish explorer Diego Garcia del Palacio who briefly visited the site in 1576 (Garcia de Palacio 1983[1576]). A longer visit was made by the explorer who called himself Colonel Juan Galindo in 1834. He remained at Copán for months recording the site, structures, and sculptures. He also excavated a vaulted tomb below Structure 10L-19, which likely belonged to a Late Classic ruler of the site based on its stratigraphic location (Gallindo 1835, Graham 1963; Morley 1920:596). Unfortunately, the recording of the tomb excavation was extremely limited by modern standards and no information as to current location of the artifacts he removed survives.

Gallindo's visit was followed soon after by John Loyd Stephens and Fredrick Catherwood who spent time documenting the site, especially the monuments in 1841 (Stephens and Catherwood1841). Their visit was followed by Alfred Maudslay in the late 19th century whose work focused on the Acropolis. He organized the clearing of some of the major buildings, lettered and numbered the monuments and made many casts of them. His impressive documentation of all his activities make his work an essential foundation of all the projects that followed and continues to be consulted to this day (Maudslay 1886).

The last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th saw the arrival of the Peabody Museum's expedition concerned with clearing structures and doing formal excavation in the Principal Group. Around the same time Sylvanus G. Morley (1920) visited the site and created a comprehensive recording the monuments. The 1930s and 40s brought the Carnegie Institution of Washington to Copán. The members of this project spent significant amount of time in excavation and restoration of structures, as well as successfully diverting the Copán River (Longyear 1952; Stromsvik 1941, 1952; Trick 1939). The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology went back to work at Copán upon the invitation of Gordon Willey by the Insituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia (IHAH) in the 1970s. The IHAH was interested in having Willey construct a long term design for research at the site. His proposal emphasized the need to have projects working both in the site core and in the dispersed settlements throughout the valley whose data could be integrated together to give a fuller picture of precolumbian life in the Copán Valley (Willey et al. 1975).

Following Willey's recommendations a number of projects were formed working all over the area during the final quarter of the 20th century and continuing into the beginning of the 21st. This has included The Copán Valley Project directed by Willey and concerned with mapping and excavating the habitation outside of the civic-ceremonial site core, which resulted in the first evidence of textual information out of the site core when it found monumental texts in association with residential architecture (Fash 1983; Willey and Leventhatl 1979; Willey et al. 1978; Willey et al. 1994). It was followed by the Copán

Archaeological Project phases I and II in the late 70s and early 80s directed by Claude Baudez and William T. Sanders respectively and focusing on both settlement research within the valley and excavation in the Principal Group. The Rural Sites project under the direction of David Webster from 1985-1988 pushed the settlement survey and excavation outside of the area of central Copán to investigate hinterland communities about which little was known (Abrams 1994; Freter 1988; Gerstle 1988; Gonlin 1993; Hendon 1987; Webster 1989). Barbara and William Fash began the Copán Mosaic Project in 1985 and it continues to this day. It was designed to record, conserve, and where possible reconstruct, the stone mosaic sculpture that had once decorated the buildings of Copán, but now lay tumbled and forgotten on the ground (Fash 2001; Fash and Sharer 1991; B. Fash et al. 1992; Fash 199; W. Fash et al. 1992).

Wanting to spread beyond the mandate of the Copán Mosaics Project, William Fash began the Copán Acropolis Archaeological Project (PAAC) in the late 1980s. The goal of the project was an ambitious one. It was interested understanding and preserving the history of the Copán polity via the excavation and conservation of the Acropolis cut, the mosaic sculpture that had decorated the facades of the structures, the superimposed structures of the Acropolis, such as the Hieroglyphic Stairway Structure (Structure 10L-26), and the structures of the royal residential area to the south. The project envisioned bringing a conjunctive approach to this work in order to weave together the multiplicity of evidence strands uncovered. Such a massive undertaking required the cooperation of many teams of archaeologists, local excavators, iconographers and epigraphers leading Fash to invite additional archaeologists and institutions to join him each running their own projects under the umbrella of PAAC. These included Ricardo Agurcia Fasquelle, Robert Sharer, Rudy V. Larios, E. Wyllys Andrews and their colleagues and students each work to excavate, consolidate, and restore sections of the Acropolis and beyond. Essential to the ability of all of the projects to successfully complete their projects was the major undertaking of the conservation of the Acropolis cut before more of the site was lost to the river. Thought the Carnegie

project had successfully diverted the river, the Copán River had always had a tendency to shift its route and there was concern that a strong storm could send it back toward the Acropolis. The success of this work and the need to keep up with its maintenance was made manifest after 1998's Hurricane Mitch sent enough water down the river to wipe out the local bridges crossing the river, but did not damage the Acropolis.

It is due to the projects undertaken under the PAAC umbrella that the royal tombs under consideration for this dissertation were excavated. The Hunal, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar Tombs were all found and documented by Robert Sharer's Early Copán Acropolis Program (ECAP), while Ricardo Agurcia and the Oropéndola Project excavated and documented the Oropéndola Tomb, and William Fash and his team were responsible for the Chorcha Tomb's discovery and documentation. The tombs were all found as part of larger projects, which means there is significant information not only about the tombs themselves, but about their contexts and associations within the larger history of the Acropolis. It is this kind of rich contextual data that allows us to analyze the tombs with regard to the community and time that created them.

CHAPTER 2: ETHNOHISTORIC SOURCES

Please see Appendix B for more in depth descriptions of the data from this study of ethnohistoric sources.

2.1 Catholicism in the 16th century

2.1.1 Catholic beliefs about death and the afterlife

When making use of either ethnohistoric or ethnographic literature to investigate the Classic period, the scholar must contend not only with the centuries of time that have elapsed, but also with impact of the Spanish conquest n the 16th century. Ethnographic sources of information collected in the 20th century must wrestle with how the introduction of Catholicism changed the belief systems of Maya communities to the point the claim could be made that the countries once under Spanish colonial control were Catholic countries. Ethnohistoric accounts of indigenous practices from the 16th and 17th centuries maybe less permeated with Catholic ideas since less time had elapsed for Catholicism to have effected religious ideology, but their production by the Spanish for specific purposes means they a product of Catholic minds using that framework to evaluate and record what they observed. In order to work with either of these types of sources, therefore, an understanding of Catholicism in 16th century Europe and specifically Spain is useful. Such a project is an opportunity to look at the mental framework of the Friars when they came to do their work. That religious lens is essential to how they would have interpreted and reacted to what they saw and is the foundation of what they would have tried to teach the people of the Americas. This will help provide a basis from which to discuss the ways Catholicism was integrated in to the religious imaginations of indigenous people and how this new understanding may have influenced various communities to modify and add to their repertoire of ideas and actions.

It is easy to relegate the work of Spanish missionaries as a handmaiden to a larger Spanish project of colonization and resource extraction, especially since the aggregation of dispersed communities in central places to more easily convert them, called *congracion* or *reducion,* also made it significantly easier for the Spanish to exploit the population for its labor and collect taxes on its goods. It is, however,

important not to forget that for the Spanish Church the conversion of the ingenious people of the New World was the most important thing. As a letter written by Fray Bartolome de la Vega of the Order of Preachers to the Supreme Royal Council of the Indies states:

> Unless I am mistaken, there is certainly no other matter that can surpass the business of the Indies in magnitude. For what is at stake is nothing less than the salvation or loss of both the bodies and souls of all the inhabitants of that recently discovered world. Rightly, then, is this work to be regarded as supremely important, for it is vitally necessary for the whole world. (in Las Casas 1992: 5)

Thus, the friars saw their work as essential and while their goal was never to produce more Spaniards, the creation of new Christians was of vital importance. Since death and burial were understood primarily through religious imagination, it should be expected that all of the concepts I will be exploring were impacted in various ways and to various degrees by the work of the Friars.

Many authors have spent pages and years discussing and debating how to characterize the influence of the Conquest on the lives and especially the religion of the indigenous people of Central and South America (Bricker 1981; Burkhart 1989; Farriss 1984; Hunt 1977; Watanabe 1992; Wasserstrom 1983). What can be concluded most strongly from this work is that different communities have been impacted differently depending on the particular circumstances of the people, Native, Spanish, and Mestizo, throughout the intervening 500 years. This has lead to different outcomes as people negotiate their unique circumstances, which has included to varying degrees: the effects of disease, congregación or reducíon, the frequency with which Spanish religious personnel were able to visit various communities, and the kinds of religious institution they belonged to, the proximity of the community to infrastructure that ties it into the larger State apparatus, in addition to every individual person who made and who continues to make decisions within these contexts on how best to live within what they understand their circumstances to be.

The 16th century was a time of great upheaval for European Catholicism with conflict and disruption from multiple sources. In the New World, the conquest of Mexico began in the 1520s and

spread with different levels of success throughout Central and South America during the rest of the century, while back home in Europe Catholicism was facing a period of strife. Martin Luther posted his 95 theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg Germany October 31st 1517 and was excommunicated at the Diet of Worms in 1521 evidence the time was fraught with religious tensions and competing views. To formulate how the Church would respond to what is now referred to as the Protestant critique, the church convened the Council of Trent between the years 1545 and 1563 under three different popes. It took over twenty years after Luther's excommunication to convene the council due to continuous political and religious disputes between the various leaders of Europe, both secular and religious, leading to multiple military engagements. When it finally convened its main focus was to condemn the heresies of the Protestants and issue decrees on important areas of Church doctrine called into question by Luther and his followers. This meant dealing with the issues of: corruption in the church hierarchy, greed in the form of monetary compensation (indulgences, bishop's pay, funding convents), the biblical cannon, the Eucharist, settling the Catholic position on the issue of works and faith with regard to salvation, and reaffirming the veneration of the saints and the virgin and the doctrine surrounding purgatory (Rutherford 1980:53)

For all that the Council of Trent brought in serious reforms, the church fathers also needed to be seen as standing firm against what they perceived as heresy by strongly reaffirming those areas seen as the foundation of their beliefs. The results of the Council of Trent demonstrate no significant changes were made to the ideology of death and the afterlife during the time period under question, but the milieu in which the Council was convened suggests the friars traveling to the New World may have held more strongly to doctrine, may have been more attuned to potential heresy, and may have increased the friar's adherence to dogma and their zeal to stamp out any signs of heresy or idolatry. For all their fervor manifested in events like the Auto de fé burning in Maní, Yucatan, the friars were not good and recognizing when outward forms did not mirror inward conviction or belief.

Among Christians it is s usually assumed that everyone, except for unbaptized babies and suicides, has lived a proper Christian life and has repented before death. We should not, therefore, expect to see difference in afterlife fate reflected in burial pattern and would expect the majority of people to be buried with the same rites as everyone else. To see if practice mirrored doctrine, I follow the work of Keith P. Jacobi (2000) who used documentary and archaeological sources to reconstruct the beliefs and actions of the Spanish during the colonial period. His work on this topic came from his excavation of a colonial period cemetery in Belize and a review of the results of excavations of Catholic cemeteries of the colonial period both in Europe and the New World. He used documents to help elucidate the ideas behind the actions whose remains were observed in the archaeological record. While may goal is not the same as Jacobi's, his research paints a picture of the Catholic burial practice and belief from the 14th through 16th centuries illustrating the mental frameworks the Spanish friars would have brought with them to the New World and would have tried to teach as part of the conversion process.

Jacobi lays our six important elements of Catholic belief about burial practices (2000: 26-30). The first is a concern with both the condition of body and the soul after death. It is the soul that would be immediately released to heaven, but the belief in bodily resurrection, where the body would rise to join the soul in heaven demanded the dead be buried whole and undamaged (Rutherford 1980: 20). This means no burning or curating of body parts, which are both practices for which there is evidence among the indigenous communities of Mesoamerica. Secondly, the body must be treated in specific ways in order for it to be ready to rise to heaven after judgment day. These included washing the body, adding certain herbs, and dressing the body in a shroud, preferably white for purity and often with previously used altar cloths or other cloths used in Mass (Rutherford 1980: 19, 25). The third issue is there was a very limited assemblage of objects were placed with the bodies, the most appropriate being crosses or other Christian symbols, while the placement of animal remains were specifically considered to be non-Christian practice (Muller-Wille 1993: 21, 25).

The fourth, fifth and sixth topics discuss proper location for burial, which was considered to be in consecrated ground with a preference for direct association in or around a church, which insured the dead were close to god, outside of the influence of the devil, and allowed the relatives to easily pray for the souls of the dead in church an action that benefited both the dead and the living (Puckle 1926; Muller-Willie 199:10). The Christians also wanted to be careful to avoid the building of either mounds or circular ditches since those practices had non-Christian associations in Europe (Muller-Wille 1993). The fifth continues to discuss the issue of burial location by noting that while everyone wanted to be associated with the church the closer one could get to the center of the church near the altar the better. These special places were for those with high status on earth. The sixth deals with body orientations which was preferentially head to the west and feet to the east in order that the dead be facing the east ready for judgment and resurrection both which were to come from that direction (Muller-Wille 1993; Punckle 1926; Jacobi 2000: 30) also mentions that unbaptized babies were supposed to be treated differently than others, either buried in unconsecrated ground without regular ceremonies or even burned or thrown away, since they would not go to either heaven or hell, but were instead condemned to wander in limbo (van Gennep 1960:15)

To study how Catholic people were buried in actual practice, we can turn to archaeological excavations of European and Colonial cemeteries from the time in question. We know to look for cemeteries, since beginning in Roman times Christians believed bodies were impure and needed to be separated from areas of the living (Jacobi 2000). Altogether, we are left with the creation of burial contexts which reflect Christian beliefs on the soul's initial journey to heaven and the later resurrection of the body. Since heaven is not a physical place, but instead the place where the soul comes to fully know god, there is no need for the grave to contain items to be used in the afterlife, as they will not be needed. All of the location concerns reflect the desire to be close to god and the body treatment is all in aid of its purification in order it be ready to join the soul in heaven. Looking at the burial contexts of Catholicism

in the 16th and 17th centuries shows the religious ideology driving their creation and because the nature of that ideology calls for the erasure of much of the individual's identity, the investigator interested in the identities and lives people of the time is left little to study.

It is interesting to see, however, for all of the doctrinal evidence against the importance of one's status on earth affecting one's fate after death, this appears not to be consistently adhered to. Status and wealth of individuals and families appear to be salient enough factors within the community that they are allowed to be made visible in cemeteries by location positioning and by the higher quality of those items that make up acceptable burial furniture. This becomes clear, not only because people with higher status tended to be buried in more favorable positions, but because there was disturbance of what tended to be a very orderly burial pattern to properly situate high status individuals once the cemetery became crowded. Any other individual markers of identity, however, such as personal items of clothing, adornment, work implements or favorite objects did not tend to be included, indicating the power of status in these communities overrides individual identity.

Table 2.1 Catholicism

Burial location	In/on	Garb	Body position and direction	Grave goods
Cemetery or below church floor	Coffin	Shroud	Supine, extended, Face east-west	Few grave goods, those present tend to be religious: crosses, rosaries
Burial placement	Afterlife locations	Afterlife fate	Relationship between living and dead	Is afterlife permanent
Burial placement based in status: close to altars/church	Go to heaven or hell or purgatory when you die	Based on works and faith, living good christian life, repent before death	Limited to prayers for the soul's entrance into heaven	Day of judgment when body rises to join soul

2.1.2 The process of conversion

In addition to understanding the Catholic ideology because it is the worldview the friars would have brought with them to their conversion project, it is also important to understand for the process by

which the friars attempted to teach the indigenous people of the New World about Christianity. Since bringing people into Christianity was about saving souls, the first order of business was to get the new converts baptized. Without baptism a soul could not enter Heaven and was lost, making baptism the first essential step along the path to salvation. According to Charles Polzer, unless a person was a child or dangerously ill, baptism could not be undertaken without the convert first having some basic instruction in the Catholic faith (1976:42, 47). While the four main prayers were seen as an essential and taught by rote (the Credo, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and the Salve Regina), the rest of the Catechism was introduced in a version for the Indians that was very similar to the one in use in Spain.

Problems with language differences, the foreignness of what was taught, and the friar's haste to see positive progress in their efforts meant that in the first decades more emphasis was put on teaching ritual action and behavior rather than understanding of doctrine (Clendinnen 2003:47). The missionaries saw people were dying in the communities where they worked and were frantic to increase their baptism numbers. It also lead them to see the enthusiasm with which the indigenous people participated in the rituals of Catholicism as an indication of true conversion and the embracing of Catholic religious practice (Merrill 1993:143-144). Many thought doctrinal accuracy would come later once this spiritual conversion, exemplified by participation in ritual activity and a certain zeal for the saints, had taken root. As time passed, however, certain friars began to be concerned. According to Dennis Tedlock:

> Around 1700, observations were made by the Dominican friar Francisco Ximenez, who had served in several highland Guatemalan communities. He complained, for example, that “the Indians attend church more on day that they celebrate” than according to the church calendar, and that although public parts of their rituals may appear to have Christian content, “there in secret they commemorate their paganism well enough” (1985: 235-236).

The Guatemalan highlands was not the only place where the Spanish friars found evidence that cast doubt on the idea that the performance of behaviors that looked Catholic on the surface meant an understanding of Catholic doctrine had been achieved. In the mid-eighteenth century Jesuit missionaries complained that

members of a Tarahumara community had abandoned the mission and the priests, but continued to perform Masses, baptisms, and hear confession away from the direction of the church (Merrill 1993: 143-144). It was also in a Tarahumara mission where Merrill cites a 1683 report by Ratkay, explaining that the enthusiastic participation of the community in Easter and Christmas ceremonies belies the complete inability of the Tarahumara to understand "the idea of God, concealed in the Host" meaning they should not be receiving Eucharist (1993:145).

What becomes clear from reading the complaints of the friars is that for all the people of the New World were performing the new rituals they had been taught with passion and energy, the rote teaching of the catechism and the small amount of further instruction provided did not suffice to teach the Catholic ideology behind the rituals. An environment such as this would have been ripe for the maintenance of Precolumbian ideas easily adapted to Catholic ritual forms, and over time, the blending together of these two religions in the ways that made most sense to the practitioners. It is, therefore, unsurprising that in the 20th and 21st centuries clear evidence can be seen for strains of both these religions in the beliefs and rituals of Maya communities.

2.2 Ethnohistoric Sources

2.2.1 Mexica-Aztec Ethnohistory

The Spanish were not the only foreign empire to come into the lands inhabited by the Maya between the end of the Classic period and the beginning of the Colonial period. According to Mexica-Aztec records, their empire had extended its reach into Maya speaking regions. It is clear from various toponyms throughout Mexico and parts of Central America, along with Nahuatl words that entered the Maya languages, that the Mexica-Aztec, if not also some of their predecessors from Central Mexico, had significantly influenced many Maya speaking communities. While the goals of the Mexica-Aztec empire were different than that of the Spanish, the Mexica-Aztec appear to have been far more interested in

collecting tribute rather than religious conversion or outright military control, their presence absolutely influenced the communities they brought under the umbrella of the empire. The question then becomes to what extent did the Mexica-Aztec influence the ideas of Maya communities about issues of ritual and religion, and specifically for the ideas about death and the afterlife. Much in the way that the first section of this chapter looks at Catholicism in order to tease out its influence of Maya thought, this next section reviews the ethnohistoric material on Mexica-Aztec views about death and the afterlife to allow us to recognize them when they appear in both Maya ethnohistory and modern Maya ethnographies.

The desire to be able to recognize Mexica-Aztec ideas is not the only reason to review Mexica-Aztec ideas on death and the afterlife. They are also one of the Maya region's closest neighbors and part of the reason Mesoamerica has been regarded as a single culture area is the deep connections between the various communities and language groups who have lived there. These connections lead to genuinely shared ideas and overlaps in worldview that can allow the richer ethnohistoric data collected about the Mexica-Aztec be a source of ideas for our interpretation of Maya ideas. This is particularly important when trying to study the complex polities and rulers and other elites of the Classic period, since neither the Maya who provided information for the ethnohistoric records nor modern ethnographers informers live in a political system where such things exist. This is especially relevant for projects like this one where we are interested in the funeral contexts of the rulers of the capital city of a Maya polity. The records collected of the funerals of Mexica-Aztec rulers can suggest hypotheses to be tested with Maya data to see if they can help shed light on the practices of Maya rulers during the Classic period.

2.2.1.1 The Florentine Codex

The *Florentine Codex (FC)* is a 12 volume work compiled by Frey Bernardino de Sahagún in an encyclopedia format from the work of his numerous informants. It was completed in 1569 in Nahuatl, but this version has never been found. A bilingual Nahuatl and Spanish version with illustrations was

completed in 1580 managed to make its way to Florence and is the version on which later copies and translations were made. Sahagún was assisted in the collection, compilation, and writing of the volume by his students at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Tlateloco, who were trilingual, and community elders, from Tepepulco, Tlateloco, and Mexico City, who remembered and still possessed books from the pre-conquest times. David Carrasco (2000) reminds us that though the volume is in the form of an encyclopedia the goals of its production were to inform Christian priests of the nature and character of religious practices and encourage young Indians not only to embrace Christianity, but to also reject what Sahagún saw as the corrupt lifestyle of many conquistadors. The format itself was a strict imposition of European thought on native ideas and most likely had a profound impact on the nature of the material it contains. It is known that much of the information was collected via the use of questionnaires, but the content was not preserved, though research has been done on the document to try to recreate what questions would have elicited the answer received to help understand what is missing and what might have been misunderstood (Leon Portilla 2002: 181; Lopez Austin 1976).

From Book III of the Florentine Codex comes information about two major parts of the set of beliefs about death and the afterlife. The first is about the funerary ritual itself and the second about where people go when they die. It says that funerary ritual is different depending on where the deceased will spend the afterlife rather than earthly status, at least with regard to Mictlan and Tlalocan, as the funeral ritual for ward dead is not discussed. The differences include everything from whether the deceased is buried or burned to the specific type of costume worn. Unlike most Maya sources, all of the examples of burial clothing described in Book III are special, rather than clothes that belonged to the deceased. Those going to Mictlan are sent with all of their belongings, while there is no mention of such for either Tlalocan or the "House of the Sun." Information from other sources explored bellow suggest the warriors were burned and also accompanied by their belongings, which will necessitate a full discussion of the relationship between Mictlan and the "House of the Sun" in that section.

Secondly, the chapters lay out three main afterlife locations and give some description of what such places are like. The detailed description is of Tlalocan as a verdant paradise, while the "House of the Sun" is described with a more desert-like environment. Both are places of ease and comfort where food is plentiful. Strangely, Mictlan itself is given no description, though there is discussion of the journey to reach it. Based on the sacrifice of slaves to serve their masters in the same way they served them on earth, the section does give a suggestion of Mictlan as similar to that on earth where there is a continuation of the roles performed and the food eaten, though it lasts forever without a suggestion of rebirth or transition to some other place

Table 2.2 The Florentine Codex (FC)

Funerals	Burial location	In/on	Garb	Grave goods
Mictlan (FC)	Burnt bones buried in houses, ashes buried in pit in the ground	Bones placed in a ceramic vessel	Special paper clothing. Lords get additional features as well: feathers	Jar of water with body. Lords swallow jade, commoners greenstone
Tlalocan (FC)	Buried rather than burnt	No info	Face decorated with rubber and fish amaranth paste, blue paint. Paper cape, wood poles in hands	No info
House of Sun (FC)	No info	No info	No info	No info
Afterlife	Afterlife locations	Afterlife fate	Relationship between living and dead	Is afterlife permanent
Mictlan (FC)	Journey lasts 4 years, obstacles passed due to burnt possessions	Die of sickness including Lords, though they are served by slaves in afterlife	Offerings made to the dead for at least 4 years after death	People stay forever in Mictlan
Tlalocan (FC)	Great wealth, no suffering, bounty of good things to eat, place of eternal spring, paradise	Die in specific ways: lightening, drowned, 'divine sickness,' various skin diseases, gout, dropsy	No info	No info, but no mention of anyone ever leaving
House of Sun (FC)	Cactus, agave, maguey, mesquite, warmth	Die by war or sacrifice	Offerings do reach the House of the Sun	Butterflies and bees in 4 years

2.2.1.2 Primeros Memoriales

Sahagún also published on the Mexica-Aztec views of the afterlife in a volume called *Primeros*

Memoriales (PM) (Sahagún 1997). While the details are not as complete as a scholar might hope, they do contain information beyond what can be found in the *Florentine Codex* and are therefore worth reviewing. In Paragraph 6 [fol. 84r col. A] is a description of Mictlan in a section that purports to be about what things were consumed there, but gives information beyond that as well. There is also a very short section mentioning Xochatlalpan in Paragraph 6. Via an unnumbered paragraph in fol. 84r col. B and fol. 84v col. B comes a story about a woman who was partially killed by a family member and who then travels to the various afterlife locations, which gives brief descriptions of what appears to be Mictlan, Tlalocan and Xochatlalpan. Paragraph 7 [fol. 84V col. A] contains a short overview of the funerary ritual for a ruler. All of these sections help to build a more complex picture of the Aztec view of the afterlife, as some parts do not seem fit harmoniously with others. As with the *Florentine Codex* there are also clear reminders that while all Sahagún 's work was in collaboration with native people, it was also inexorably colored by his own background as a Franciscan friar. This bias is most obvious in some of the sections in which he uses words such as devil, but it is important to remember it was also present every step of the information gathering, winnowing, and transmitting process.

Primeros Memoriales contains information on both afterlife locations and burial practices, though neither are as full fleshed as could be wished. The description of Mictlan is the most detailed, though its description is not coherent among its two mentions in the volume. Quetzalpetlatl's story, like most other descriptions, confines itself almost entirely to a description of the obstacles on the path to Mictlan rather than Mictlan itself. The one possible exception is the weaving women she glimpses right before she leaves, which is not present in other accounts. The description from paragraph 6 is the only place where we find what purports to be a description of what life is like in Mictlan. While the obstacles on the path to Mictlan are not pleasant and are potentially dangerous, paragraph 6 describes Mictlan as a horrible place where the food is gross or people are hungry, everyone must do backbreaking labor, and the environment is cold and all the plants are cacti. One wonders why you would even want to successfully pass the

obstacles on the path to Mictlan, if this is what was waiting for you. Neither of these sources discuss who goes to Mictlan, though paragraph 6 does say babies go elsewhere.

The place babies went is named in *Primeros Memoriales* as Xochatlalpan, which means “place of the abundance of water flower,” a name that evokes a verdant location. Here is where a tree grows with breasts always full of milk to feed the babies. There is no mention of whether the babies ever leave Xochatlalpan in that section, though if the section from Quetzalpetlatl's story about her nephew takes place there, then *Primeros Memoriales* does follow the other sources by including the very limited form in which rebirth is present within Meixca ideology. There is no clear statement of where Xochatlalpan is located, though the access to it from Tlalocan in Quetzalpetlatl's story and its very name do suggest how easily it has become conflated with other wet, misty, and verdant places like Tlalocan and Tamoanchan.

Paragraph 6 does not contain any mention of other afterlife locations beyond Mictlan and Xochatlalpan, it is only in Quetzalpetlatl's story where we are afforded a brief glimpse of Tlalocan and given the somewhat perplexing information of a place where the rulers live together. The Tlalocan as described is generally consistent with the other depictions we see. The mention of frogs and invocation of spring evoke a watery place. That it is populated by the drowned and lightening struck and ruled by Tlaloc is likewise known from the common story of Tlalocan. Based on familiarity with other Mexica-Aztec sources it would be unsurprising if the final place Quetzalpetlatl visited was the “House of the Sun.” Its description of plains and houseless grasslands might be an acceptable setting for a place associated with the sun, except that it is almost exactly the same words Quetzalpetlatl used to describe part of her journey to Mictlan. She describes it as the place where the ruler's live and makes no mention those who die in war, the quintessential inhabitants of the “House of the Sun.”

Primeros Memoriales contains even less information on funerary practice than it does on afterlife landscapes. The description of the funeral of rulers is just a short summary of the much longer accounts we find in other sources and entirely consistent with them. It mentions that rulers are cremated, that the

first four days are significant for the ritual, and that they include the giving of offerings to the Lord of the Dead and the dressing of the body and wooden images, which are all burned each day. While we know the body and then wooden images are dressed, the section does not include information on what kind of costume was used. The ritual is repeated every year for four years. An analysis of Quetzalpetlatl's ritual is hampered by the information that there was a debate about what form it should take, though supposedly everyone agreed she "must not be cremated." This is the only time we have seen when burial is suggested for someone who is not destined for Tlalocan and maybe an example of the fate for the murdered, which had not yet been discussed. For all that she is given a special treatment, the story says she is adorned with paper and bound with capes in a flexed position, which is basic Mexica-Aztec funerary custom. There is no mention of grave goods, but the section is so small it is hard to know whether any discussion is omitted because they weren't present or because it was not important to the story.

Table 2.3 ***Primeros Memoriales (PM)***

Funerals	Burial location	In/on	Garb	Body position	Body direction
Mictlan	No info	No info	No info	No info	No info
Xochatlalpan	No info	No info	No info	No info	No info
Tlalocan	No info	No info	No info	No info	No info
Lord's funeral	Burned	No info	No info	n/a	n/a
Quetzalpetlatl	Buried	Grave, filled with earth large stones	dressed in special papers and capes	flexed, capes all around	No info
Afterlife	Grave goods	Afterlife locations	Afterlife fate	Interaction of living with dead	Is afterlife permanent
Mictlan	No info	Cold,cacti, gross food hunger, hard work. Journey: plains, houseless grasslands, lizards, stones. Weavers	No info	No info	failure to pass obstacles results in "he was no more see in Mictlan"
Xochatlalpan	No info	Wet-nurse tree	infants	No info	rebirth of boys
Tlalocan	No info	frogs, mist, springtime	lightning, drown	No info	rebirth of boys
Lord's funeral	Food, flowers, tobacco, capes, wood images	No info	Rulers, noble women	Offerings burned for four years.	No info
Quetzalpetlatl	No info	Journey to Mictlan, visits other afterlife locations, not dead	unknown	n/a	n/a

2.2.1.3 Diego Duran *The History of the Indies of New Spain*

According to Doris Heyden, the translator and annotator of the 1994 English version of Diego Duran's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-Espana y Islas de Tierra Firme*, he was a Dominican friar born in Seville, Span sometime around 1537, but who spent his childhood and adulthood in Mexico (1994:xxv). He spoke Nahuatl and spent a significant time talking with native people of all ages, going into communities to ask questions and observe their practices, and trying to track down pictorial documents, all of which went into his detailed manuscripts (Heyden 1994: xxvi-xxvii). While the aims of the project were missionary in nature, the Dominicans like the Franciscans, believed in order to be successful it was necessary to understand the community, customs, and region of those they were trying to convert. This resulted in an almost ethnographic type of work as seen previously with Sahagún (Heyden 1994: xxviii).

In Diego Duran's T*he History of the Indies of New Spain*, the content associated with death focuses specifically on the funerals of those who died in war and those who were kings or other high nobles (Table 2.5) These are the rituals for very restricted classes of people, but useful in comparison with other accounts to explore how the funerary ritual was tied into both the identity of the individual and his or her final destination. In most ways the funerals for those who died in battle were very similar to those described for the kings. It is clear there was an assumption that rulers should be active warriors, but whether the would get the same funeral treatment if they had died in sickness rather than in war or sacrifice it not fully discussed.

One of the major aspects in the funerals of all of the Meixca-Aztec rulers discussed were the presence of lords and rulers who are both allies and enemies. Their role seems to be to bring gifts an morn for the loss of the great Mexica-Aztec-Aztec king. The gifts brought by foreign rulers and noblemen are clearly stated to accompany the king into the afterlife, there to be used by the slaves to make sure the king wants for nothing. With the offerings being items of dress, jewelry, bows and arrows, food, chocolate, tobacco, and pulque the king will spend the afterlife much like he spent his time on earth. He has lost

none of his earthly status, and perhaps can even be said to have gained more, since either he or his image (his stand-in) was dressed in the clothing of 4 gods before being burnt.

Table 2.4 ***The History of the Indies of New Spain***

Afterlife	Burial location	Garb	Grave goods	Afterlife locations	Afterlife fate	Relationship between living and dead	Is afterlife permanent
House of the Sun	Burned	clothes and jewelry, special paper with feathers. Rulers dressed as 4 gods	Special food and drink, flowers, tobacco. Rulers have offerings brought by everyone: slaves, jewelry, feathers, sets of clothes, wood.	Slaves to serve in the afterlife, rulers enjoy all of the offerings of food and clothing etc in afterlife	Die in war	Offerings given over days and years.	No mention of rebirth. Remain with your ancestors

As the process of putting on the clothing of gods was thought to actually transform the person into that god, it seems the king has been sent into the afterlife as a god. His funeral clearly set up as a ritual of apotheosis. From the words of the allied rulers who spoke at the beginning of the ritual, we learn that the king is thought to be going "to the place where you will meet your fathers, relatives, and noble ancestors" (Durán 1994: 292) and that "there you lie, there you rest in the shade of the dark fields, of the nine mouths of death, of the glittery house of fire of the sun, together with you ancestors" (Durán 1994: 292). This is a very positive view of what the afterlife holds for the king. It is, however, not entirely clearly where this wonderful existence will be. There is a reference to the "house of the sun", which we know is the afterlife of all those who die in war, which may have applied to rulers who died in warfare, since all rulers were expected to be war leaders. The "the shade of the dark fields, of the nine mouths of death" on the other hand does not sound like the hot and bright "house of the sun," but rather more like Mictlan, which has been described as having nine parts or levels

Table 2.5 Mexica-Aztec Comparison

Source	Burial location	Garb	Grave goods	Body Position and Body Orientation
Mictlan (FC)	Burned. Burnt bones buried in houses, ashes in pit in the ground	Special paper clothing. Lords also get feathers	Jar of water with body. Lords swallow jade, commoners greenstone	No info
Tlalocan (FC)	Buried	Face: rubber, fish amaranth paste, blue paint. Paper cape, wood poles in hands	No info	No info
House of Sun (FC)	No info	No info	No info	No info
Mictlan (PM)	No info	No info	No info	No info
Xochatlalpan (PM)	No info	No info	No info	No info
Tlalocan (PM)	No info	No info	No info	No info
Lord's Funeral (PM)	Burned	No info	Food, flowers, tobacco, capes, sandals, arrayed wooden images	No info
Quetzalpetlatl (PM)	Buried, grave filled with earth and large stones	Flexed, dressed in special papers, wrapped in capes	No info	No info
House of the Sun (D)	Burned	Clothes, jewelry, special paper with feathers. Dressed as 4 gods	Offerings: special food, drink, flowers, tobacco. slaves, jewelry, feathers, sets of clothes, wood.	No info
Source	Afterlife locations	Afterlife Fate	Relationship between living and dead	Is afterlife permanent
Mictlan (FC)	Journey is 4 years, obstacles passed due to burnt possessions	Die of sickness including Lords who are served by slaves in afterlife	Offerings made to the dead for least four years	People stay forever in Mictlan
Tlalocan (FC)	Great wealth, no suffering, bounty of things to eat, place of eternal spring, a paradise	Die in specific ways: lightening, drown, 'divine sickness,' various skin diseases, gout, dropsy	No info	No info, but no mention of anyone ever leaving
House of Sun (FC)	Cactus, agave, maguey, mesquite, warmth	All who die in war, sacrifices, live together	Offerings made by living reach House of the sun	Butterflies and bees after 4 yrs
Mictlan (PM)	Cold, cacti, gross food or hunger, hard work. Journey: plains, houseless grasslands, lizards, stones. Weavers	No info	No info	Possibility of failing to pass obstacles
Xochatlalpan (PM)	Wet-nurse tree	Infants	No info	Boys reborn?
Tlalocan (PM)	Frogs, mist, springtime	Lightning, drowning	No info	Boys reborn?
Lord's Funeral (PM)	No info	Rulers, noble women	Burn offerings for 4 yrs	No info
Quetzalpetlatl (PM)	Visits afterlife locations, but is only partially dead	Unknown	N/A	N/A
House of the Sun (D)	Slaves serve in the afterlife, rulers enjoy the offerings of food and clothing etc in afterlife	Die in war	Offerings burned over days and years.	No mention of rebirth. Remain with your ancestors

2.2.2 Maya Ethnohistory

2.2.2.1 Diego De Landa *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan*

Much of the history of Frey Diego de Landa and the creation of his *Relacion de las Cosas de* Yucatan has been discussed in detail elsewhere, since the events that precipitated the writing significantly affect its content (Tozzer 1941). The accusations of over zealousness in his performance of auto da fes, his treatment of the indigenous people of Mexico and his subsequent chastisement are all well known. For our purposes they are important to acknowledge because they create grounds for suspecting him of an agenda different from that of other chroniclers such as Sahagún and Duran. This was a project meant to provide reasons for his behavior and convince the reader of his righteousness. It is thought that Landa wrote his original version of the Relación in 1566 in Spain and then brought it with him on his return to Yucatan, as it spent time in Mérida after his death in 1579 (Tozzer 1941: vii). The extant version currently held in Madrid considered to be only part of the original document, but no full copies survive (Tozzer 1941: vii-viii). The document is based both on information from native sources, Landa's own observations, and previously written materials by people such as Oviedo, Gomara, Las Casas, and perhaps Cervantes de Salazar as well. The depth of Landa's debt to these other chroniclers is embodied by the quote Tozzer selects from Genet (1934) which calls Landa "... one of the greatest plagiarists of his period" (1941: vii). Landa's account is still essential, however, due to the breadth of subjects he covered in the lives of the inhabitants of Yucatan. It gives us a chance to look at a specific topic, such as funerary rituals and afterlife beliefs, not as isolated things, but rather as part of Yucatec life.

The document shows Landa as someone not interested in studying all topics in exhaustive detail, but who let his own interests dictate his account leading to a rambling narrative containing some sections with considerably more detail than others; this is certainly true of the sections discussing death. He begins this section with a claim that "[t]his people [of Yucatan] had a great and excessive fear of death", that upon the event of someone dying there was much sorrow, weeping, and they made "abstinences and fasts

for the dead" and said it was the "devil" who was the cause, since Landa explains the people believed him to be the bringer of all 'evil' (Tozzer 1941:129). The inclusion of the devil and Landa's interpretation of mourning rituals as evidence of "excessive fear of death" are clear warnings of how Landa misunderstands what he is seeing and being told, which reminds us to be cautious with how much credence we give to his interpretation of actions. The next section contains a short description of funerals including the information that the dead person is put into a "shroud," their mouths filled with ground maize and "the stones which they use for money," and buried either inside or in back of their houses (Tozzer 1941: 129-130). Nothing is included about the graves beyond their location and the information that "some of their idols" were placed into the graves, while priests were buried with their books and sorcerers with their "stones for witchcraft and instruments of his profession" (Tozzer 1941: 130).

Trying to leave aside the problematic interpretations and instead concentrate on the concrete actions, Landa's account provides examples of at least partial observances for the dead including "abstinences and fasts," wrapping the body in cloth, and food and jade of some variety placed into the mouth. The food, he explicitly says, was in order that the deceased "should not be without something to eat in the other life" (Tozzer 1941: 130) and the placement of jade is seen throughout the region and over hundreds of years (Ruz Lhuillier 1991; Welsh 1988). Landa refers to it as money and groups it together with the maize as that which guarantees food in the afterlife. The location of the burial either within or behind the house is, like the jade in the mouth, a practice known in many areas and over many years (Ruz Lhuillier 1991; Welsh 1988). Landa's assertion that this practices makes them abandon the house is not consistent with archaeological evidence from earlier times, which has often demonstrated multiple burials over years in a single house or plaza. The section ends with a very brief discussion of grave goods suggesting that many people people had "idols" placed into their graves, while at least some, priests and sorcerers, had the tools of their trade buried with them.

While the previous section never explicitly stated it described the funerary rituals for commoners,

the next part specifically discusses the treatment of "nobles and person of high esteem" who Landa says were burned and whose ashes were buried in ceramic vessels over which temples were built, which he says was the practice "in old times" (Tozzer 1941: 130). The section goes on to discuss what seems to be a practice of retaining as relics some parts, either bone or ashes, of those who had "very high rank" with the rest of the body being treated as normal. These relics were kept "with their idols" and were given food offerings at festivals (Tozzer 1941: 131).

It is unsurprising to find different burial treatment based on rank, though the burning of those of highest rank is clearly a departure from the practice of the Classic Period Maya, where we find very rich burials of kings and nobles, who have not been reduced to ash, at practically every site burials have been excavated (Welsh 1988). It is tempting to see this as a practice brought to the Yucatan via the influence of the Mexica-Aztec empire or other similar group, since the burning of kings and warriors, as well as much of the rest of society, is so clearly documented. The practice likely did not begin with the Mexica-Aztec, however, since the Classic period central Mexican site of Teotihuacan, thus far lacks burials for that site's rulers. All of the examples of burials found associated with the major buildings of Teotihuacan appear to be sacrifices suggesting that the rulers of the site may have been burned just as we known happened in Mexica-Aztec times (Sugiyama 2005; Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2007). There is also evidence in the Maya Highlands for cremation in the form of large urns from the Late and Terminal Classic periods, from which information automatically follows the questions exactly when and why did it begin there? The information that the relics of the noble dead were given food offerings "so that food should not fail them in the other life, where they thought that their souls reposed, and where their gifts were of use to them" can be seen as part of the same ideology that leads to placing maize and jade in the mouths of the commoner dead (Tozzer 1941: 131). And both actions suggest an afterlife in which the food of this world was necessary and appreciated and that the actions of those on earth can effect the existence of those in the afterlife.

Landa does not include a discussion of the clothing any of the deceased wore, though he does mention a “shroud” for at least the commoners. Looking at the ethnohistorical data from Central Mexico, the ethnographic record, and multiple archaeological projects with preserved textiles, it is likely that Landa left the clothes out of his account rather than the deceased of Yucatan were being buried naked. Perhaps it is because the Catholic practice of the time was to bury people in only white shrouds that Landa misses the possible significance of the clothes in which people were dressed. Landa also does not mention the most common thing found archaeologically in burials, ceramic vessels, nor any other general grave goods, which may also be due to the influence of Christianity in which there is no need for goods from this world to accompany people into the next.

The final section of Landa's account pertinent to the topic is his discussion of the fate of the soul in Yucatec ideology. It is, however, rife with ideas with clear Christian parallels making it difficult not to be very skeptical about the accuracy of their presentation. Landa begins with the assertion that they believed in the “immortality of the soul” and “that there was another and better life, which the soul enjoyed when it separated from the body” (Tozzer 1941: 131). He then goes on to say there isn't just “a better life,” but rather the afterlife is divided into two places, one good and one bad, with placement in each location dependent upon whether a person “lived well according to their manner of living” (Tozzer 1941: 131). Landa says that the good place is full of rest and no labor, it is without pain, there is always plenty of good food and drink, and where the ceiba tree always spreads its shade giving branches over the people (Tozzer 1941: 131). The bad place he says is called *Metnal* and it is full of pain and suffering and “extremities of hunger, cold, fatigue and grief” (Tozzer 1941: 132). In addition, he mentions that one's soul stays in these places forever, since the soul is immortal and that they have no idea of “bodily resurrection” (Tozzer 1941: 132).

As Tozzer points out in his commentary on this section, not only does the separation of the afterlife into good and bad places based on one's conduct during life sound very Christian in nature, the

word Landa gives us for “hell” is *Metnal*, which Tozzer points out is very similar to *mictlan* the Nahuatl word used by the Mexica-Aztec. All of this indicates ideology from Central Mexico is likely spread to the Yucatan prior to the conquest and was then filtered through a Christian lens (Tozzer 1941: note 615, 617). It is clear from Landa's words, he uses the word “memory,” that he is looking for connections between the beliefs of Yucatecos and Christians with the premise that at one time Yucatecos had held Judeo-Christian beliefs, but have since forgotten much of them (Tozzer 1941:132). Tozzer (1941: note 617) points to Thompson's work to suggest in pre-conquest times people believed one ends up in the good or bad place due to one's status or rank on earth rather than the more Christian notion of whether one had led a good life. Thompson likewise suggests existence in the bad place did not doom one to torture, but instead was full of gloom, boredom, and intermittent cold (Gann and Thompson 1931: 129-130). Landa also mentions a third place as a paradise to which people go who hang themselves, which Thompson suggests to be a Tlalocan like place ruled over by Chacs, the Maya name for the rain god, which in Nahuatl is Tlaloc (Gann and Thompson 1931: 129-10). Thus even Thompson's work seems very Central Mexican in origin, from the descriptions of *Metnal* very reminiscent of the journey to Mictlan and to the gruesome version of Mictlan itself found in *Primeros Memoriales to* a separate paradise of the rain god, which finds no known corollary among the Maya.

Landa writes of seeing many ‘idols’ in the houses and temples of the Maya of Yucatan. These idols, of which there are both males and females, are thought to have been part of the practice of ancestor worship at this time. Welsh and others (1988:196) have shown that these idols likely contained actual human remains either cremated or fragmented as the focus of that worship. According to Landa, not all deceased were venerated as ancestors, but instead it was the powerful or the heads of lineages who were treated so after death. (Tozzer 1941:131). Various offerings were given to the ‘idols’ in order to propitiate them, especially blood of both human and animal and incense (Tozzer 1941:114), indicating the belief that the deified ancestors and gods had the power to affect the fortunes of the living. Cooked food and

drink were also given to the idols "so that food should not fail them in the other life, where they thought that their souls reposed, and where their gifts were of use to them" (Tozzer 1941:131). Two points jump out from this statement of Landa's. The first is the reciprocal nature of the relationship between ancestors and dependents. Not only does the living give offerings to propitiate, but they also give food which is necessary to the well-being of their dead ancestors. There is an interdependence that characterizes the relationship so that the living humans are not merely the pawns of their gods and deified ancestors, but must in fact help them as they are helped by them. The second point is an glimpse into the Colonial era Yucatecan beliefs about the afterlife. This passage implies that souls do in fact live on after death, that they there are in a state of being that requires food as sustenance, but that they cannot necessarily procure that in the afterlife, but instead must receive it from the living.

Table 2.6 ***Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan***

Source	Burial location	In/on	Grave goods	Relationship between living and dead
Commoners	Inside house or at back of it	No info	Mouths filled with maize and stones used for money for food in next world. Some commoners had idols placed in graves. Priests buried with books, sorcerers with their stones and instruments of profession	No info
Lords	Burned and ashes buried in ceramic vessels over which temples were built	Ceramic vessels	Mouths filled with jade	Given food offerings at festivals

2.2.2.2 *The Popol Vuh*

One of the most well known documents associated with the Maya to deal with the afterlife is the Quiche document called the *Popol Vuh*. The extant copy is the work of a Dominican friar named Francisco Ximenez who was a parish priest in Chichicastenango at the beginning of the 18th century. Sometime between 1701 and 1703 Ximenez acquired a copy written in Quiché using the Roman alphabet,

which he had long enough to copy and translate into Spanish (Tedlock 1996: 27). No other copies are currently known, including the one Ximenez used. The dating of the document is problematic, using information internal to the document Tedlock suggests that it could have been written no earlier than 1554 and no later than 1558 (1996: 56). It is likewise unknown whether the people who created the version Ximenez saw did so by copying an older document, perhaps written in hieroglyphs, or whether it is a written record of their memory of these important stories, which they had most likely heard recounted again and again (Tedlock 1996: 30). There are some indications that the original version once contained pictures based on the content of the copy, but they too are lost (Tedlock 1996: 28). The contents of the *Popol Vuh* is split into 5 sections, which includes the story of the creation of the world and humans and sections discussing the historical actions of the ancestors of the Quiche, but for the purpose of this work I will be focusing on section 3. It is in this section in which is found the story of the journey to the "underworld" by the Hero Twins and their father/s.

The account of the Twins in Xibalba has become one of the most important sources to which modern scholars have turned in order hypothesize about the underworld during the Classic period. It is therefore important to evaluate the document as to both its potential and its limitations in speaking to questions of the Classic period. While there is clearly Christian influence to be dealt with, it is also important to look for the presence of Mexica-Aztec beliefs as well, as the earlier discussion of Landa clearly demonstrates some dispersal of these ideas before the Spanish Conquest. There are places in which the translator, Dennis Tedlock, specifically mentions words that may have derived from Nahuatl or interactions that may have occurred between the Quiche and the Pipil speakers who lived in Guatemala in part of the Motagua Valley (1996: 291). Christenson (2007:17) includes in his brief Quiche history at the beginning of his translation of the *Popol Vuh* that Postclassic Maya ruling lineages were likely multilingual and significantly influenced by the ideas of surrounding groups with whom they were interacting, especially Nahua speakers. Sahagún mentions in Book X of the *Florentine Codex* that though

the traditionally Maya speaking area did not speak Nahua, the current lingua franca, as a first language, many spoke it as a second. Together these scholars show that the Quiche were absolutely participating in larger Mesoamerican networks of ideas and demonstrates how new ideas may have become part of Quiche ideology from outside the community.

While not obviously connected with death, one of the first things to come from the *Popol Vuh* applicable to the issues surrounding the interpretation of burial contexts is an example of the importance of the costumes worn by individuals. In the story, costumes are such strong signals of identity that the mere wearing of specific clothes can complete obscure the previous identity of the wearer. It is present in the Xibalbans' desire for the ball playing costumes of One and Seven Hunahpu, when it is the ball playing costumes of their fathers that start Hunahpu and Xbalanque on their path to vanquish the Lords of Xibalba, when the Lords of Xibalba dress woodcarvings as themselves in order to trick people into addressing the images, and when the Hero Twins dress as vagabonds completely fooling the Xibalban Lords. This demonstrates the significance of costumes worn for containing important information about the specific identity the person is taking on in that context. While the person might hold other identities at other times, what is being worn in the current moment does not erase it, but supersedes it with what is currently being embodied.

In what seems like a close parallel to the Mexica-Aztec stories about the journey to Mictlan, the *Popol Vuh* describes the journey to Xibalba as a series of geographic locations including slopes, canyons, and rivers that take their inspiration from earthly places, but are meant as tests to be overcome by the travelers. While there is a testing and tricking theme throughout the entire narrative of the *Popol Vuh*, the similarity of obstacles along the road to Xibalba to that of the obstacles on the path to Mictlan discussed earlier raises questions about its origin. There are Classic period vessels with depictions of some of the test houses, but none yet identified for the tests on the road to Xibalba. The section describing the limits put on Xibalba after the twin's victory is interesting because they seem so Christian in nature. The idea of

only bad people ending up in Xibalba is not consistent with either Thompson's beliefs on the importance of status nor the Mexica-Aztec ideas on the manner of death as determinative of afterlife location.

There are a couple important things to take away from the episode in which the Xibalban lords are tricked into giving up the names of their companions. The first is that there is a strict hierarchy among the lords mirrors the way courts were organized on earth suggesting much of the afterlife is modeled on life on earth. The names of the Lords, for all that they reflect things that are gory, painful, and deadly are not tortures awaiting souls in the afterlife, but rather afflictions present on earth and are often the cause of death. In fact, there is no real discussion of punishment carried out in Xibalba, for all that the lords are very interested in sacrifice and death. Finally, the lords Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter are described as the ones who "reduce people to bones, right down to the bones and skulls, until they died from emaciation and edema" (Tedlock 1996:92). In his commentary Dennis Tedlock (1996: 252) helpfully points out that edema used to be called dropsy. While not a connection he makes, as his gaze is firmly fixed on the Maya case, dropsy is one of those conditions the Mexica-Aztec place squarely under the purview of Tlaloc and it earns the sufferer a trip to Tlalocan after death. Here it is found belonging to one of the Lords of Xibalba and while there is some indication within the story of another afterlife location in the sky, there is nothing suggesting a watery paradise like Tlalocan.

The tests the Twins undergo after they reach Xibalba give additional information about the place beyond the machinations of One and Seven Death and they all point to an earthlike setting. The five houses they sleep in suggest there are buildings in Xibalba, places people sleep. And while the Dark House and the Rattling House are very uncomfortable environments, their existence implies that the rest of Xibalba is not necessarily dark, nor particularly cold. Jaguars and bats may be fearsome, but they are certainly animals that have earthly equivalents. Also in Xibalba, known because they play roles in the story, are other animals such as falcons, owls, rabbits, and ants that all act in similar ways to the versions seen on earth, though they may be more powerful and loquacious than their earthly brethren. Clearly also

there are trees, the calabash that sprouts upon the addition of One Hunahpu's head and flowers, cut by the ants from the Xibalban's own gardens. The identity of Blood Moon tells us there are families in Xibalba and the crowds to which the vagabonds perform demonstrate inhabitants beyond the lords so much of the story is concerned with, while the pit the twins are to jump over is evidence alcohol was made and consumed. When taken all together, the picture of Xibalba is not one of unending fright, pain, darkness, or cold, but rather something very similar to life on earth.

Bringing together all of the information in the text on the subject of the afterlife and what it might contain shows a deep concern with agricultural cycles, especially that of corn, as metaphors for life, death, and a kind of rebirth that occurs in the process of having children. This can be seen in the corn the Twins plant from their grandmother, One Hunahpu's calabash tree head impregnating Blood Moon, Blood Moon's comments about One and Seven Hunahpu being alive in the children she carried, the germination in the water of Xibalba assisting in the reincarnation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. The entirety of the story shows us two full examples of the cycle with One and Seven Hunahpu being born and living on earth, going down underground and being dead, but being reborn through their birth of their sons who leave the underworld, via Blood Moon's escape, to sprout and grow on earth. The sons then go down into the ground and die and end by being reborn out of the ground and into the sky. It appears from the episode with Seven Hunahpu at the end of the story that he will remain in the underworld, since he cannot speak all the parts he is missing, perhaps this means he cannot regrow the flesh necessary to be on earth again, but he will be accessible to his descendants on earth as someone to whom they will pray and “their first resort” (Tedlock 1996: 141), while the twins and the 400 boys journey into the sky to become the major celestial bodies. This suggests he is a model of ancestor worship in which people on earth can pray to and petition the help of their fore-bearers.

Table 2.7 *Popol Vuh*

Source	Afterlife locations	Afterlife fate	Interaction of living and dead	Is afterlife permanent
Popol Vuh	Obstacles to reach: canyons, scorpions, blood and pus rivers, birds, crossroads. Tests inside. Court-like social structure. House tests: jaguars, bats, cold, hail, blades, and dark. Outside of houses: flowers, ants, rabbits, gourds, trees, catfish, clean river, alcohol, inhabitants	Only the worthless, violent, wretched, afflicted, when blame is clear	Yes, One Hunahpu is supposed to be prayed to by his descendants	Some leave for the sky (hero twins) some remain (their father), but his rebirth was lineal through his sons

Table 2.8 Maya Comparison

Source	Burial location	Garb	Burial orientation	Grave goods
Commoners (Landa)	Inside house or at back of it	Shroud	No info	Mouths filled with maize and stones used for money for food in next world. Some commoners had idols placed in graves. Priests buried with books, sorcerers with their stones and instruments of profession
Lords (Landa)	Burned ashes buried in ceramic vessels temples built over	No info	No info	Mouths filled with jade
Xibalba (Popol Vuh)	No info	No info	No Info	No info
Source	Afterlife locations	Afterlife fate	Relationship between living and dead	Is afterlife permanent
Commoners (Landa)	No info	No info	No info	no info
Lords (Landa)	No info	No info	Given food offerings at festivals	No info
Xibalba (Popol Vuh)	Obstacles to reach: canyons, scorpions, blood and pus rivers, birds, crossroads. Tests inside. Court-like social structure. Present: jaguars, bats, cold, hail, blades, and dark in house tests. Outside of houses: flowers, ants, rabbits, gourds, trees, catfish, clean river, alcohol, inhabitants	Only the worthless, violent, wretched, afflicted, when blame is clear	One Hunahpu is supposed to be prayed to by his descendants	Some leave for the sky (hero twins) others remain (their father), but his rebirth was through the birth of his sons

CHAPTER 3: ETHNOGRAPHY

Religions are never static. Neither are they simple nor composed of neat and tidy ideas whose symbols, actions, and understandings all flow together perfectly reflecting the religion. They are an amalgamation of the thoughts and actions of many people, over many years, in many different situations, all of whom influence what a religion is by the way they choose to live their lives. This means at any one time there will be people with various versions of a religious ideology as each persons chooses which aspects to emphasize in their own practice. In order for the religion to survive there must be enough points of connection between the various versions for their practitioners to recognize their beliefs as part of those held by their community. Rituals, especially public rituals, help to provide a framework into which people can fit their own experiences into the worldview of their community. As Benjamin and Lore Colby (1981) point out in their book on the life of an Ixil daykeeper, it is easier to recognize how a religion can lack consistency, but maintain coherence, if we think about our own religions traditions. The Bible many of us are familiar with is full of internal contradictions; some people have dealt with this by wrestling with the inconsistencies searching for meaning or explanation, while others have just accepted them, and others have ignored them. All of these different philosophical approaches to religions result in actions, or practice, that flow from both the ideas held by the community and the meanings individuals have made of these ideas.

The majority of an archaeologist's data is the physical remains of those actions, and is the information we must use to try to discern the ideas that spawned them. The discussion of the complexity of the endeavor is not to discourage the undertaking or be an apologetic for conclusions reached without solid supporting evidence, but is instead to remind us not to look for simple answers or a single data point that will pull everything together, for that will assuredly be the wrong path. Instead, we must search for the constellations of ideas, even if contradictory, that people once shared and that spurred them into the actions that left us remains to study. We would expect to be able to see how various parts fit together,

even if inconsistent.

In order to analyze the ideas present in the creation of an Early Classic tomb context, this chapter will look at the many concepts the modern Maya employ to form their understanding of what happens when someone dies. This includes ideas about the afterlife and other non-earthly locations, souls, as well as ancestors and their connections with gods or other powerful entities. All of these strands of thought are part of the framework people use to conceptualize death and the afterlife, and it is the reflection of these ideas in the actions that surround the funeral that will help to suggest interpretations for the tomb contexts we excavate as archaeologists. The majority of what is presented here are the conclusions and summary tables of this exploration. Full details can be found in Appendix C.

3.1 Souls

Many ethnographic sources on modern Maya communities report a belief in the idea that part of each person continues to exist after the death of the body, which ethnographers often call souls. In some communities the description includes multiple "souls" in one person and/or "souls" with multiple parts, which is significantly different from the single innate soul of Christian ideology and suggests an origin for this belief outside of Christianity. In most communities, the ideas to which the term "soul" refers are more complex and cover more territories of meaning than is encompassed by the Christian concept of soul. The ethnographic literature on this topic is large and demonstrates the complexity of the idea; I will therefore focus on what the Maya concept of the 'soul' can tell us about a Maya view of the afterlife as a comprehensive exploration of the concept of soul in Maya belief is beyond the scope of this project.

The fate of the *c'ulel* among the Tzeltal, the Tzotzil, and the Quiche, the *aanma* of the Mam, and the *pixan* among the Lacondon of Najá demonstrate something leaves this world at death and "lives" in another place (Guiteres-Holmes 1961; Gossen 1975; McGee 1990; Vogt 1969; Watanabe 1992). The continuing life of the soul, however, appears to be be different among different communities. In Chamula

the soul goes to the 'underworld' and that it stays there forever, except for its return to earth for Day of the Dead festivities (Gossen 1975:450). For the Zinacantantecos a soul remains attached to the grave for the same number of years it lived on earth and then is available to be placed into a new embryo. Souls are thought to stay within a patriline with young people seen as 'replacements' of those who have already died (Vogt 1969:370-373, 1993:19). Watanabe (1992:87) says that among those who are orthodox Christian, it is the *aanma* that goes to heaven or hell, though in the past it would have gone to work for the *witz* and today the can also wander the earth as ghosts. Among the Lacandon the soul goes down to the underworld where it is judged and either ascends to one of the heavens or continues to reside in underworld (Perera and Bruce 1982: 107). Those who have done wrong are punished by Kisin and the souls are turned into animals "Sukunkyum said, 'You see how your souls will emerge from the fire. Kisin pulls out horses, he makes dogs of your souls. Cattle will emerge... Now no people are created from your souls," while those who are judged to have been good stay with Mensabak until they are destroyed when the creator god decides to destroy the world again (McGee 1990: 111).

A soul in many modern Maya communities are the part of an individual thought to make that person unique and the part the survives after the death of the body; in many places they are described as indestructible. After death, the soul travels away from earth to another place. Often this place is thought of as an underworld, and while in some communities this is a final destination for eternity (Chamula) in others it is a first stop after which they soul might stay in the underworld or might travel elsewhere (Najá, Zinacantan, Chenhaló). In many communities the soul does not stay in the afterlife forever, but is thought to be reborn on earth by being placed into an embryo or new infant often in from the same family or patriline. The soul that travels to afterlife is often not the only soul people are thought to have, but it is its specific association with life and death and the uniqueness of the individual that makes it the one that needs to be study for this project.

Table 3.1 Souls

	Chamula	Zinacantan	Chenhalo
Soul	C'ulel: soul placed into child at birth.	C'ulel: soul placed into child at birth. Makes the person unique and is indestructible	C'ulel: soul placed into child when an embryo.
Soul after death	C'ulel: departs a few days after death. travels to to underworld, lives forever, returning yearly to see family at day of the dead.	C'ulel: departs a few days after death, is attached to grave for same number of years as person was alive, then becomes available for placement in new embryo within patriline	C'ulel: departs a few days after death
Soul loss	Canul: is soul subject to loss. It is a separate animal soul under protection of St. Jerome who lives in the sky with the Sun/Our Father.	C'ulel: can suffer loss causing sickness or death. Loss caused by the ancestral gods punishing improper action, evil witches selling it to Earth Lord as a servant, or intense fright.	C'ulel: can suffer loss causing sickness or death. Loss caused by the ancestral gods punishing improper action, evil witches selling it to Earth Lord as a servant, intense fright
Animal souls, "spirit doubles"	Canul: is separate animal soul whose well being is tied to their human	C'ulel: ties people to their animal spirit companion who is under protection of ancestral deities	Wayhel: is someone's "animal spirit" and harm to the animal is harm to the human.
	Chimaltenango	Naha	Chichicastenango
Soul	Aanma: associated with the breath. Makes a person unique, is indestructible	Pixan	
Soul after death	Aanma: in modern times goes to heaven or hell or can wander earth as a ghost. In the past it might have gone to work for the *witz*	Pixan: goes to underworld where it is judged. Either ascends to one of the heavens or continues to reside in the underworld. If a person has done wrong soul is put into animals rather than human as punishment	
Soul loss	Aanma: can suffer loss causing sickness or death. Loss caused only by fright, but price of curing may be time spent as a servant to the *witz* after death.		
Animal souls, "spirit doubles"	Kleel: was "spirit double" who shares fate and is either an animal or natural phenomena. Word currently used to describe saints or guardian angels.	Pixan: is connected to a spider monkey double living in the underworld and harm to the monkey is harm to the human.	Nagual: is "destiny animal" and harm to it is harm to the human

3.2 Afterlife Landscapes

Descriptions of the world by modern Maya communities generally fit into a framework envisioned as 3-leveled consisting of the sky, the earth, and the underworld. This is true of the Tzeltal of Chamula (Gossen 1975), the Tzotzil of Chenhaló and Zinacantan (Guiteres-Holmes 1961; Vogt 1969), the

Lacandon of Najá (McGee 1990; Bruce and Perera 1982), the Yucatec of Chan Kom (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1936), Tzutzujil of Lake Atitlán (Chinchilla 2006), Quiche of Chichicastenango (Bunzel 1952), and the Ixil (Colby 1976) among others, though the Ixil appear emphasize the earth and sky as located over the underworld resulting in a somewhat more bipartite organization (Colby 1976). The Ixil configuration is odd when compared to other contemporary Maya communities and may be the result of a formerly tripartite arrangement meeting the schema introduced by Catholicism where the earth all but disappears when discussing Heaven and Hell due to the strong sense of a division between this world (earth) and the next (Heaven and Hell), rather than viewing them as three parts of a whole. The division of the world into three levels must have pre-contact origins because it is essential for the Maya conceptualize of a cosmic reality in which the rising and setting of the sun is envisioned as the sun traveling through the sky during the day and through the underworld at night (McGee 1990:109).

The Maya world is almost always described as having three main levels: upperworld, earth, and an underworld and while on the surface this may seem uncomfortably similar to the Christian schema of Earth, Heaven and Hell, and in some cases like in Chan Kom seem to basically function just like their Christian counterparts, in many other communities the details of these landscapes contain ideas that would never be acceptable to a strict Christian. In Chamula, while an upperworld exists for celestial phenomena and some sacred figures, there seems to be no idea that human souls would have ever resided there and it lacks any characteristics, beyond the presence of God, to make it a Heaven. In other communities the souls of the dead might go to an upperworld, thought to be a celestial world available to certain good people in Lake Atitlán and among the Chorti, but in Najá, and Chenhaló there is very little description of the nature of the place, though there are suggestions that it is likely considered positive, since it is inhabited by the "valiant" (Najá) and people who very specific manners of death cause them to be separated from the rest of the community (Najá and Chenhaló).

The lack of time spent describing these upperworlds, is obvious when compared to the

significantly more energy spent discussing the underworlds in some of these places. Zinacantan is one of the few places where the upperworld (Vinahel) is well fleshed out, but it is considered to be a place similar to earth, where certain people are punished, but most people live a life very similar to that of their lives on earth. This is very similar to the description of Katinbak for the people of Chenhaló. Katin-bak is an underworld location, but after everyone is punished they go on to live a life that is considered to be generally good and earth-like. This is also the case for the underworld in Chamula and Najá, both of which punish people for a couple of reasons, but for the vast majority and for most of the time being in the underworld is thought to be very similar to life on earth. There are a couple of very nasty and painful afterlife fates for the murderers and suicides of Chamula, for the thieves, liars, and murderers of Najá, and for those who mistreated maize, were loose women, or committed incest or murder in Zinacantan. How many of these ideas of punishment were present before the introduction of Christianity is hard to say, but what is clear is that for most members of a Maya community the afterlife is a place much like the one from which they have just come and they can expect to have the same sort of roles and tasks to perform in a generally similar environment, though there does seem to be a strong belief that the food will be not be as good as it is was on earth, which will provide methods by which descendants can interact with their ancestors.

Table 3.2 The Upperworld

	Chamula	Zinacantan	Chenhalo
upperworld	Multiple levels, is place of celestial phenomena, home of Sun/St. Jerome/Our Father and Moon/Virgin Mary/Our Mother, no place for humans	Vinahel: Sun/Our Holy Father lives in uppermost level, stars in middle level, and moon in lowest layer. Life is similar to earth people live with their relatives in square houses and plant crops. Some minor punishments for those who didn't work hard during life, who did not participate in fiestas, and who were 'fussy' about their water	Winahel: in the sky, sometimes referred to as heaven, may be paradisaical, no human has visited and returned
Who goes to the upperworld	No Humans	Based on choosing the correct path after crossing river with help of black dog, and reaching a "place of judgment' Correct choice based on correct items having been buried with the dead during funeral	Dependent on manner of death: women in childbirth, struck by lightning, drowned, murdered
	Naja	Chichicastenango	Chan Kom
upperworld	Two levels above the celestial world the first is home of the creator gods and the second is cold and dark.	Lip service paid to Christian ideas of heaven and reward. Main focus of ideas about death center on continued role of ancestors in the lives of the living. Ancestors must be food and drink, candles, tortillas, aguardiente.	Location of stars and clouds beyond which is the "gates of heaven" guarded by St. Peter. Inside is the Gloria where the souls of the "saved" reside. It is a paradise.
Who goes to the upperworld	The "valiant." Afterlife location based on the kind of person the deceased was and the manner of death		Only those who lived properly: sex only with spouse, good to animals, obey parents, no swearing, no thinking evil of another, no wanting the possessions of another, learn prayers every Saturday and Sunday, say prayers and making the sign of the cross before sleep, no beating wife

Table 3.3 The Underworld

	Chamula	Zinacantan	Chenhalo
underworld	Where all dead live. Only murders and suicides punished, for everyone else life is very similar, but day is night, and in the underworld eat burnt tortillas and flies, no sex	Katin-bak: hot from burning bones and populated by demons. Place of punishment	Katinbak: place of punishment for everyone, since no one is perfect. Is entered by crossing a river with the help of a black dog. After punishment people live happily with their relatives among fertile valleys and trees growing younger until soul is reborn on earth
who goes to the underworld	Everyone	for: those who mistreated the "long-suffering maize," loose women, the incestuous, murderers.	Afterlife location dependent on manner of death
	Naha	Chichicastenango	Chan Kom
underworld	Metla'an: soul must pass obstacles. All souls judged by Lord of the Underworld.	Lip service paid to Christian ideas of hell and punishment	Metnal: place of the "damned", hell, home of the demons
who goes to the underworld	Those who stole, lied, or murdered go to the god of death and stay in Metlan, while the "reasonably good" go to House of the god of rain, which is nice, but people only eat beans and tortillas.		the very bad go to Metnal including sorcerers, suicides, makers of love potions, those who can turn into animals, who possess "uncanny" ability

3.3 Ancestors

Beyond an exploration of the ideas of immortal souls and afterlife landscapes a community's beliefs about their ancestors are another window into the question of what happens when someone dies. Whether ancestors are regarded merely as progenitors or if the dead continue to be involved with the living significantly impact how a community views the death of its members and therefore the burial context that is created. People have written quite a lot about ancestor worship among the Maya, it is therefore also important to look at whether anyone can become ancestors or if only special or specific individuals fulfill this role. Ethnographers of Mesoamerican communities again and again mention the celebration of "The Day of the Dead." In modern times the ritual coincides with the traditional Catholic observances of All Souls and All Saints day at the beginning of November. The celebration is often

referred to as a 'fiesta' or 'party' given by the living for the dead and attended by both. For all that Day of the Dead celebrations are now deeply intertwined with Catholic practices of All Soul's, Ruth Bunzel (1952) describes the stark difference between the sorrow of All Soul's Day and the joy of the Day of the Dead. She believes the differences to be evidence of a Precolumbian observance that has melded with a Catholic one:

> In the Catholic ritual, All Souls' day is a day of grief and penance. As on Good Friday, black vestments are used; the only Masses are Requiem Masses, at all the *Dies Irae* is sung; it is the only day of the year on which Communion is not give; the celebration of the Eucharist is not in keeping with the sorrowful character of the day. The day is a reminder of the Day of Judgment; the dead are mourned anew, and the living do penance for their sins, and offer candles and prayers on behalf of the souls in purgatory, to shorten their sufferings. A coffin draped in black is set in the aisle of the church to remind all men of the vanity of the flesh. In Latin countries morbid imagination devises gruesome displays. Nothing could be more different from the happy family reunion of the Indians (Bunzel 1952:273)

3.3.1 Chamula

Funerals and The Day of the Dead are both celebrated in Chamula with prayers for the dead. According to Gossen, the prayers are said to "enlist the help of deities in establishing communication with the dead" (1974:197). Deities are necessary intermediaries to communicate with the dead because "[t]he dead are strange beings, for they are neither human nor animal nor divine. They belong to an intermediate category…" (Gossen 1974:198). Gossen describes an important distinction between honored ancestors and other dead relatives in Day of the Dead ceremonies. He says: "To receive a place at the table for the dead usually implies that the ancestor so honored gave or sold to living members of the household significant pieces of property, usually land" (1974:198). Once the food has been served and the candles lit other relatives are called to come to the living world. This clearly demonstrates a hierarchy of dead relatives where only some are given the role of 'honored ancestor' (Gossen 1974: 198, 201). The distinction is not one of emotional or personal connection with the dead, but is instead tied to inheritance. For the Tzotzil of Chenhaló the most important ancestor invited to Day of the Dead festivities is the father

or male relative from whom their land has been inherited, and the mother because she was the protector of the soul of her son, since the opposite sex parent cares for the soul of the child while it is still vulnerable.

3.3.2 Chichicastenango

Among the Quiché of Chichicastengo that the relationship between one's ancestors and the land is even more tightly bound. The Quiche ancestors are the landowners, while their descendants are renters.

> Land is conceived of as belonging to the ancestors; one lives upon it by their grace. One does not own land, it is merely loaned to one as a lodging (Sp. *Posada*) in the world, and for it one must continually make payment in the form of candles, incense and roses to the ancestors, who are the real owners (Bunzel 1952:18).

The differentiation of some deceased family members may help to explain the archaeological data that has been recorded throughout the Maya area that appear reflect status differences among contemporaneous members of the same house or patio group (McAnany 1994). This has often been explained either by the idea that lineage heads are accorded more status in burial or that multiple lineages with different statuses lived together. Based on the ethnographic data I might suggest that those who fall under the heading of "honored ancestors" were accorded higher status in funeral rituals, since they are clearly singled out for special treatment after death in the context of the Day of the Dead festivities.

For the Quiché of Chichicastenango, ancestors are important as their status and continuing relationship with the land, house, and idols give them great power over their descendants (Bunzel 1952:269). In this example, the ancestors are a force for continuity of community ideals and the maintenance of tradition, but in a different way than the loving chastisement we will see described in Chenhaló or the powerful archetypal ancestral gods of Zinacantan. As Bunzel (1952:268) points out, rather than protecting their descendants from outside evils, the ancestors seem to be more concerned with protecting the house and lands from harm caused by the poor comportment of the current inhabitants. This policing of proper behavior means the presence of the ancestors is consistently felt in the lives of the living. "The Lords of Justice and the Souls of the ancestors are the guardians of tradition and the terrible

avengers of all kinds of wrongdoing. They give no gifts; the best one can hope from one's ancestors is to be left alone and to have one's enemies punished" (Bunzel 1952:268). As discussed earlier, the ancestors hold trials in the afterlife evaluating the conduct of the living and they are just as involved in the outcomes and as susceptible to human emotion as they were when living. They are far from impartial or invested. This speaks to a view of a life after death that is at least a partial extension of the living world and where at least some of the dead become ancestors who continue to interact with the living world and can be called upon by the descendants.

Ancestors judge harshly the actions of their descendants, especially as regards peace within the family and the house. A person is very afraid of the punishment of the ancestors for infractions that threaten the harmony of the house and spends much time praying to the ancestors in order not to be harmed by them. If, however, the ancestors are harsh on sins committed by one descendent against another or the 'family' or the 'house and land,' they are also fiercely protective of their descendents from damage by people from outside the family who would harm them. This is how the courts of the afterlife are put to use. If someone has a grievance against a neighbor the wisest thing to do is to pray to his ancestors for help. The ancestors can then take the case to the otherworldly authorities where a trial is held to decide who is to blame. An ancestor of the accused is his representative before the court where it is decided whether the accused is guilty. If deemed guilty, the accused may be called to stand before the judges to answer for his crimes. As these judges are located in the afterlife, it effectively kills the accused freeing the accuser from whatever harm was being caused by the accused (Bunzel 1952:270). This is how the ancestors as enforce the rules of society, which they do not only to their descendants, but also on their descendants behalf.

3.3.3 Chenhaló

In her study of the Tzotzil of Chenhaló Calixta Guiteres-Holmes is told the dead spend the same

amount of time that they lived on earth in the “Hereafter” (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:144, 146). During the time a person remains in the Hereafter communication is possible with the living world through dreams in which the dead can speak to the living to: counsel, scold, and ask to be loved and remembered (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:144). Guiteres-Homles is told a story about her informant's great-uncle speaking to his son through “the santito in the gourd” showing the communication between living and dead takes place in venues beyond dreaming. The message the son heard from his father was a warning not be so quick to anger because that will lead to punishment in the Katinbak (1961:167).The dead are seen as having intercessory ability as well. During the Day of the Dead those still living ask the dead to convince the gods to grant them another year of life. They entice the Dead into performing this service by promising them another grand feast for the following year's Day of the Dead fiesta (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:146).

Many scholars have explained the role of dead ancestors as forces employed to maintain community norms and that is certainly one of the roles of the Quiche ancestors in Chichicastenango (Vogt 1969, etc.). As described, this Tzotzil account explains the intercession of the dead in the life of the living as the caring of a father for his son who wants to spare him pain and hardship. In Chenhaló the ancestors are not some generalized group of powerful forebears, but are actually thought to retain the feelings of the people they were. The analysis of the role the ancestors as norm enforcers is not incorrect, but this case shows how important it is not to let the analysis of the instrumental ways ancestors act within a community system obscure the emotional reality of the people involved and how they explain their world to themselves.

3.3.4 Zinacantán

Evon Vogt’s work in Tzotzil speaking Zinacantán shows a relationship between what he refers to as “the ancestral gods” and the living to be an essential part of the smooth running of Zinacanteco society. Here the emphasis is less on an emotional connection between ancestors and their descendants and more

on the idea that it is the ancestors who carry the knowledge of how to properly act and behave as a Zincanteco and how to move through life successfully (Vogt 1969:300, 1993: 1). As with Guitieres-Holmes, it is a story told to Vogt that clearly shows how the ancestral gods were regarded. Instead of a story about the instruction from a deceased family member who was known both to the main character and to the narrator while living, the story told is one of the community's founding. It is similar to mythologies in other communities, where culture heroes, who often have capabilities beyond contemporary people, do great deeds and serve as an explanation for the way the community is today. These ancestors are not dead family members, for all they are described as resembling elderly Zinacantecos who live in houses in the mountains, but as a group powerful god-like community leaders who lack a direct link with the living and whose care comes less from love and more from duty to maintain the Zinacantán way of life. The community in turn maintains the ancestral gods through gifts of black chickens, white candles, incense, and rum (Vogt 1969:299). It seems clear that these ancestors described by the Zinacantecos are not the model they envision for themselves when they die, but Vogt does not have any lengthy discussions of how these ancestral gods are like or not like deceased family members of Zinacantán and we must rely on what we can tease out.

3.3.5 Ixil Area

Benjamin Colby relates that “the Ixil pray not only to their immediate lineal forebears but also to the departed souls of town leaders, native town priests, calendar priests, curers, and possibly other individuals not directly related to the praying individual” (Colby 1976:75). That Ixil society contains multiple types of ancestors demonstrates a diversity in the category of ancestor, which may help to reconcile some of the apparent disjunctions. There appears to be distinctions made between people who can be considered ancestors because they are deceased family members and those who are considered ancestors because of their roles as important or powerful community members. The passage also shows

these multiple kinds of ancestors are worthy of prayer. Everyone prays individually to their own direct ancestors, but they also pray to a collective of ancestors belonging to the entire community. This results in the collective group of ancestors receiving more prayers because they are prayed to by the community and allows them to play a cohesive role with regard to the community. The people who are prayed to by the community attain this status because of the power they held in life, which they apparently maintain after death. This may be how some ancestors become god-like; those whose worship is maintained over time through the strength of community prayer reinforces the power they held while living with new powers they possess after death.

Table 3.4 Ancestors

	Chamula	Chichicastenango	Chenhaló	Zinacantán	Ixil Area
Ancestors	The dead are strange beings and deities are needed as intermediaries	Similar to humans, but more powerful. Hold trials in the afterlife evaluating conduct of living are harsh on sins within the family or home, but are loyal to their family against outsiders.	Speak to living while in hearafter: counsel, scold, ask to be loved and remembered. Can intercede for their descendants with the gods.	Ancestral gods were powerful people who are seen as community ancestors rather than direct antecedents. They carry the knowledge of how to act properly in all situations and guide the living	There are one's lineal ancestors, town leaders, priests, curers, and even other non-related souls all who have their own space in the town church for prayers and offerings.
	Chamula	Chichicastenango	Chenhaló	Zinacantán	Ixil Area
Offerings to Ancestors	Honored ancestors receive place at day of the dead table as someone who gave significant property, usually land. Once candles lit and food served other relatives called to fiesta	Ancestors still own the land, living are renters, this gives ancestors power over the descendants. They police proper behavior. They don't give gifts, best that can be hoped is they punish enemies	Entice the dead to Day of the Dead fiesta with huge feast and then ask for intercessions, which they will pay for with another feast next year.	Main the ancestral gods with gifts of black chickens, white candles, incense, and rum. Go to cross shrines with these offerings to communicate with ancestral gods. Small crosses are placed on graves to function as similar communication devices with recent dead.	All ancestors receive prayers, candles, food, and drink. Lineal ancestors only receive prayers from their descendants, while important community members receive prayers and offerings from all community members.

3.4 Rebirth

The version of rebirth present among most contemporary Maya communities is a form in which the souls of the dead are placed into the newly born (or while in utero). This does not happen immediately after death, but rather once the soul has spent a certain amount of time in the afterlife. In Chan Kom, Yucatan those children who are born with lots of hair or particularly clear eyes are thought to have received souls of people the deceased (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:199). Likewise Laughlin (1976:5) tells us that the souls of the deceased Tzotzil of Zinacantan return to be born into opposite sex babies usually of the same patriline. This form of rebirth is part of the idea that children are "replacements" for previous generations or that previously deceased family members are reborn in children. For the Tzotzil of Chenhaló this idea manifests itself in the naming of children after a member of the family or some other 'good person.' At least one of the boys will be named after its father to be his "replacement," while a girl is traditionally named not after her mother, but her grandmother to become her "replacement" (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:111). Among the Tzutzujil of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala, Carleson and Prechtel (1994) observed similar naming practices and suggested they reflect an idea of reincarnation or rebirth that mirrors the cycle of maize growth, a kind of reincarnation available to everyone no matter how poor or humble.

Again and again it can be seen that the cycle of maize and its relationship to humans is one of the guiding metaphors ethnographers and archaeologists have seen at the basis of many Maya beliefs and values. In this case maize provides the key to understanding generational reincarnation because that is how corn is cultivated with the seeds from last year's cobs being buried in the ground and becoming the basis of this year's new crop. In the modern communities where there appears to be both a belief in an afterlife and in this kind of reincarnation these apparently incompatible ideas are reconciled with the concept that souls only spend as much time in the afterlife as they were alive on the earth. The afterlife in this case is not forever, but is instead only a small slice of time, a moment of germination, before the soul

is reborn on earth to continue the cycle. Perhaps this is articulated with the idea of ancestors by being another method by which some ancestors are separated out for more intense veneration. Not everyone can become an important and long remembered ancestor, so perhaps most people are only prayed to for their years in the afterlife, until their soul is reborn, but some special people may become powerful ancestors prayed to by entire communities.

The exploration of the place of ancestors within the community among ethnographies of the Maya show a consistent belief in their continuing relevance to the lives of the living. They are not just models and guardians of proper behavior, but resources for descendants to call upon in need. They are intimately connected to ideas of land and property and care of them is intertwined through many of the discussions. Any deceased person can function as a kind of ancestor for a limited time, but are likely only to be remembered by their immediate family. It is probably those people who had wider ranging impact during their lives, due to the roles they performed, who survive as ancestors for longer and who are prayed to by more people. From the Ixil we can see the kind of people who might be candidates for an ancestorhood beyond their own immediate families, and could suggest among the strict social hierarchies of the Classic Period that community leaders, especially rulers and founders, would be likely to be these ancestors.

Table 3.5 Rebirth on earth

	Chan Kom	Zinacantan	Chenhalo	Lake Atitlan
Rebirth on earth	Being born with lots of hair or clear eyes thought to indicate the infant received a soul from someone who had previously lived	Souls of the deceased are born into babies of the opposite sex, but in the same patriline. They are replacements	Children are replacements of previous generation, which is reflected in naming and souls don't change sex	Children are replacements of their grandparents

3.5 Funerary Ritual

The rituals surrounding death serve to sever ties between the deceased and the community as they

had been constituted and prepare for the deceased's entry into afterlife. In most Maya communities the funeral consists of ritual actions in two contexts. The first is at the house where the body is laid out for varying amounts of time, while the second occurs once the deceased reaches the burial location. Both are important parts of the funeral, but my discussion will focus on the ritual at the grave site, since that is what creates the archaeological burial context, but I will make reference to other parts of the ritual when important for understanding the ideology driving the creation of the grave context.

3.5.1 Chenhaló

Similar to many communities, the rites surrounding death in Chenhaló are followed very carefully, as it could be dangerous to the fate of the soul and the community were any important steps neglected. The body is dressed in clean new clothes, which must be made quickly, if they do not already exist. If it is necessary to make new clothes, however, a hole must be burnt into them to make them "worn" and "belonging to the person who died," which is essential for them to be acceptable in the "afterworld." The dead person's other garments are folded and placed as a pillow for the head or layered on the body beneath the clean set of clothes. The body is placed on a board covered with a palmleaf mat with the head oriented to the west so the person "looks toward the rising sun" (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:141). All a person's personal objects must be buried with the body, except for things made of wool or leather. For a woman these include her comb, a needle and thread, her spindle, a napkin, two half-gourds for drinking and eating and a three-quarter gourd in which to keep tortillas. A man is buried with the same objects save the weaving implements. Nail parings and hair cuttings must also be included, since a person must go "whole" to the grave. Food is made to be placed in the grave and money is added to pay the Earth for the space the body will occupy and to allow the ch'ulel to purchase what it wants. The money is augmented by the contributions of family and friends if the deceased is poor (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:141). When it is time to move the corpse from the house to the gravesite, the body is covered with

another palmleaf mat. A lit candle is put into the hand if the deceased was married, in order that the surviving spouse will be able to find their partner when he or she dies. Once the body and its accompanying material has been placed into the grave and the grave has been filled, the tools used to dig the grave and anything that has been in contact with the corpse is broken and left over the top of the grave mound (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:143). During the night of the ritual a rooster is killed and eaten by the family. The rooster is necessary because it "calls to the soul in the afterworld". (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:141).

Guiteres-Holmes's account of the practices surrounding death in Chenhaló during the first half of the 20th century contain embedded within them the community's beliefs about death and a partial view of the afterlife via the enactment of specific rituals assisting the transition of the deceased into the afterlife. The objects included in the burial are present for specific reasons meaning their presence encodes certain kinds of information. The inclusion of all articles of clothing belonging to the dead suggests the afterlife similar to the earth both in terms of the environment and community composition with the maintenance of an individual's identity and status. Likewise the inclusion of the individual's tools of work, vessels with which to eat and drink and food demonstrate a strong continuity between the two worlds. The inclusion of money is interesting also because it shows family and friends helping to make up any crucial deficiencies in burial goods, but for only those things that are not considered to be personal objects. The candle to enable the surviving spouse to find a partner who pre-deceased them shows the afterlife to be a place where things of earthly importance, perhaps even earthly emotion, retain their significance. The context also demonstrates that the majority of the objects are ones that belonged to the deceased, which means they are going to be things that reflect the person's identity and role within the community.

The inclusion of palmleaf mats, from the one laid over the board below the body to the one placed over the body before it is brought out to the grave site raise, are given no explanation, but Guiteres-Holmes depicts them as standard in all funerals. People who study the Classic period have often

viewed he inclusion of woven reed mats in tombs as markers of royal status based on ideas about the symbol of the mat during that time period. It clearly does not have the same significance for the Tzotzil of Chenhaló, which leads to the question of whether the meaning of mat has changed over time or if archaeologists are either not finding or not questioning the appearance of mats in non-royal tombs.

3.5.2 Zinacantán

Much like the previous example of Tzotzil speaking Chenhaló, the funerary rituals in Tzotzil speaking Zinacantán include many of the same or very similar elements including placing a *petate* beneath the body, the covering of the body with a textile (a blanket in Zinacantán and a *petate* in Chenhaló), dressing the individual in his or her own clothing, inclusion of food items and money, the placement of the individual's personal items in the grave, and the head placed toward the west (Vogt 1969:218-220, 1993:23) Interestingly many of the actions are either given a different explanation or a slightly different twist from the what takes place in Chenhaló. Both the *petate* below the body and the blanket above are specifically described as being laid out upside down, which is not mentioned in Chenhaló. In Zinacantán, however, it seems likely to be part of the suite of actions taken to slightly change various items going into the grave. Finally, while both communities bury the deceased with the head to the west and relate it to the passage of the sun, the Zinacantecos say it is done to point the head toward the setting son, rather than to make the head look toward the rising sun (Vogt 1969:219-220). The importance of connecting the body position in burial with the movement of the sun is likely due to the desire to creation a connection between the deceased's journey into the afterlife and the journey of the sun from the sky during the day through the underworld at night, which has been part of Maya worldview for centuries.

The importance of the ability of ethnographic work to ask community members to explain the process of the ritual is made abundantly clear in the Zinacantán example. It is what allows making clear

divisions between items that might otherwise be conflated in an archaeological context. A small dish containing chicken broth and a rooster head are placed with tortillas at the head of the deceased, but these are not described as being for use in the afterlife like the charred tortillas, vessels of water, and bags of money that also go into the grave (Vogt 1969: 219-220). Instead the first group appear to be for use in specific moments during the journey before the deceased reaches the afterlife and they are spatially segregated from the other items in the tomb by being place together at the head. This shows that objects in the tomb are not just items owned by the deceased, but are also directly related to the afterlife and what will be found there. In addition, this suggests the grouping of objects may be a significant act driven by a perceived relatedness among the objects, which in this case would be their use to pass the obstacles in the journey to the afterlife.

The charred tortillas lead back to the earlier mention of items that are changed in some way before they are included in the grave. In an apparently similar act, all of the personal items are burnt, cut, or broken to be made ready for the grave. Vogt says this is done because they contain part of the owner's soul and must be damaged in order not to hurt those who remain on earth. That the souls of the dead are dangerous to the living, if they are not properly sent onto the afterlife seems to be an idea present in both Tzotzil speaking communities. The damaging of items to be included in the burial seem to speak to an idea of a transformation that occurs to properly separate the soul from the living community and anchor it firmly in the afterlife. The transformation changes the soul into something whose needs, while similar to those of the living, are met by things the living could not use. The grave once filled it is covered by pine needles and a small cross decorated with geraniums is placed above making a small copy of the large cross shrines that are used to communicate with the ancestral gods. Two white candles, which are the dead's tortillas, and one tallow candle, the dead's meat, are set up and burnt in front of the cross (Vogt 1969:220).

The summary above describes the funerary rituals for most members of society. There are,

however, some people who are treated differently in death either. One group were unbaptized babies, who were buried facing opposite (east) direction from everyone else, as they become demons when they die because their souls had never been fixed. A cargoholder is buried in his induction clothes, someone who dies violently is not given any grave goods and is buried immediately without a day of rest before the funeral, while an unmarried person is buried with ribbons over the chest instead of a rosary (Vogt 1969:220,222). These examples show variation in funerary ritual and grave contents can be due to specific cultural beliefs and not merely variation among individual. Certain community expectations are made clear by this list in that it marks those who deviate from them by changing something significant about the burial ritual. The "normal" Zinacanteco will have his or her soul fixed to the body by ritual, will get married, and will not die from violence. The last category also indicates that being buried without grave goods is not always a reflection of the poverty of the deceased, but shows cultural beliefs can easily override patterns observed by outsiders. It is also important to look at the case of the one category of burial treatment where something is added rather than subtracted as happened for those just mentioned, which is the cargoholder who is dressed in the clothes of office rather than his own clothes, as is done for the rest of the community. This seems to indicate his identity formed by holding this position supersedes that of any other one and that the clothing of the dead reflects something the community deems important about his life.

3.5.3 Chan Kom

The moment of death in Chan Kom is seen as a struggle between the good forces of Heaven and the evil forces of Metnal for the soul of the dead. It is necessary for a *maestro cantor* to says prayers over the dying to successfully separate the soul from the body allowing it to escape through a hole made in the thatch roof above the dying person's hammock, as this will prohibit the demons, who wait at the doorway of the house, from grabbing it (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:199). Once dead, the deceased is wrapped

in a shroud made from a sheet. If it is a child, a paper cape with wings to associate the deceased with the angels is added over the shoulders, along with a crown of paper flowers on the head and a small stick with colored papers in the hands. An adult is not dressed with the paper garments, but instead has cord of candle-wick with fifty knots placed around the waist. The fifty knots is for the number of *Ave Marias* in the rosary and it will be used to whip the soul for the sins it committed once it has reached the presence of God (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:200). When it is time for the burial the deceased's final set of worn clothing, a rosary, and the last gourd last drank from are placed on the bier. Flowers are added in the event the deceased is a child and sometimes a needle and thread for women. All of the items on the bier are then placed into a coffin, which is carried to the cemetery. At the cemetery prayers for the dead are said again and the coffin is lowered into the grave without a specific ceremony. The prayers said on the third day are thought to bring the soul back to the house, where it remains until specific prayers are said on the seventh day. It is necessary for the soul to return to the house because it is there it must collect the sins it committed on earth, which remain in the "dirt of the dead man's body, and in the clothes, and in the hammock," in order for the deceased to bring those sins to "Judgment" (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:201). While Christianity is evident in much of Chan Kom's ideas and rituals surrounding death, the inclusion of the worn clothes, the drinking gourd, the woman's instruments of work, and the soul that stays around the home for days after death and must be properly separated from the body are all ideas that cannot be clearly connected to Christianity and are common in Maya communities suggesting a pre-conquest origin based in Maya ideology.

3.5.4 Najá

When someone is killed by the gods among the Lacandon of Najá, which is the only cause of death, the person must be carefully prepared to facilitate the *pixan's* (soul's) journey to the underworld (McGee 1990:108). Various actions are taken to assist the soul with its journey to the underworld and the

tests it undergoes there. The body is wrapped in clothes and its hammock. Corn is placed into a hand to give to the chickens that will be encountered on the path, while the lock of hair cut from the head is placed into the other hand with a bone for the lice and dogs that will likewise need to be passed in order to reach journey's end. The palmleaf image of a dog also placed with the body is to represent the dog that will help the soul cross the large river. Into the lap of the deceased are placed candles for light and wood shavings with which to start fires and tortillas and a drink made of water and corn dough to sustain the soul on the way, since the underworld is thought to be dark and cold and the journey difficult (McGee 1990:112, 115-116; Perera and Bruce 1982: 107; Tozzer 1903:41). The food in the lap is specifically for the journey into the underworld to the place where the soul is judged. Food is left separately for the journey from the underworld to the final resting placed most likely in the House of Mensabak (McGee 1990: 117). The deceased belongings are also brought out to the grave, especially those things thought to be directly associated with who the person was and the roles the person performed. McGee gives the example of a woman for whom was brought "her skillet, her favorite chair, her shoes, a kerosene lantern, and a plastic bag full of corn dough" and notes that different objects were brought for different people (1990:119).

3.5.5 Conclusions

Funerary practice among the Maya has integrated major Christian practices, such as cemetery burial and in many cases the use of coffins, but many of the other actions, even when apparently Christian, can be traced to non-Christian origins. In modern communities everyone is buried, while this might not have been the case in the past and may be due to Christian influence, it is clear from archaeological work that burial was always one of the funerary treatments present in Maya communities. What remains unknown in the study of the Ancient Maya, is whether all of the skeletons we are missing have not been found due to preservation problems, sampling issues, or a form of treatment that does not

leave much trace in the archaeological record.

There is a consist practice of burying people in a direction that is affiliated with the path of the sun, though in some places this ends up meaning head to the east and in others it is to the west. In almost every instance where funerals are described the deceased are dressed in their own clothing, while this is now often the case in Christian funerals, it has not always been the practice and is not a requirement in the same way it is in Maya ones. In addition to one's own clothing, all people are described as being wrapped or covered in textile, either *petate*, cloth, or a hammock. The Chan Kom case is interesting blending of the two traditions, since the body is wrapped, though in a sheet much more reminiscent of the Christian practice of covering the body with a white shroud, but the personal set of clothing is still included with the body in the coffin. The inclusion of one's belongings, especially items of clothing, work related objects, and other items an individual used frequently is common and suggests funerary contexts will contain objects with direct connections to the identity of the dead and the role he or she played in life. There are also many examples where items buried are specifically included because of the use the person will make of them in the place they are going. These items, if they can be separated from the purely personal belongings, are important hints to the nature of the afterlife envisioned and the context in which they will be used. It appears from descriptions that often these different categories of items are placed in different places within the grave, which implies artifact groupings may reflect whether they were belongings from this world or items to be used in the next. The final commonality is the inclusion of food and often money in the tomb. Whether this is food placed in the mouth or in vessels, it is described as food to be eaten in the afterlife. Since food is the most common difference cited between this world and the afterlife and it is an often stated responsibility of the living to keep feeding the dead, the inclusion of food in the grave is to be completely expected.

Table 3.6 Funerary Ritual

	Chenhaló	Zinacantan
Dress	Dressed in new clean clothes. Must be made, if they don't exist, but then must be burned in order for them to be “worn” and “belonging to the person who died”	Dressed in own clothing. A cargoholder is buried in the induction clothes, unmarried people have ribbons on the chest rather than a rosary
In or On	Placed on a board covered in a palmleaf mat. Body is covered in another mat.	Petate beneath body and textile above. Both up-side-down
Orientation	Head oriented to the west so the person “looks toward the rising sun”	Head toward the west so it points toward setting sun.
Personal items	All personal objects buried with the body, but not wool or leather. Women: comb, needle, thread, spindle, napkin, two half-gourds for drinking and eating, three-quarter gourd for tortillas. Man: all the same objects save the weaving stuff. Additional garments placed as a pillow or layered on the body beneath the clean set of clothes. Nail and hair cuttings	All personal items included and are burnt, cut, or broken to be ready for the grave, since they contain part of the soul. The damage keeps them from hurting the living.
Food and other offerings	Food placed into grave. Money added to pay the earth for the burial spot and for the soul to purchase things. Money may be augmented by gifts from family and friends when the dead is poor. Candle placed into the hand to help reconnect spouses in the afterlife.	Small dish with chicken broth and a rooster's head is placed with tortillas at the head of the deceased to help pass obstacles. Charred tortillas, vessels of water, and money for personal use in the afterlife.
Funeral properly performed	Souls are dangerous, if not properly dispatched to afterlife	Souls are dangerous, if not properly dispatched to afterlife
	Chan Kom	Naja
Dress	Wrapped in a shroud of a sheet. Kids dressed in a paper cape with wings like an angel. Adult has cord of candle wick with fifty knots around the waist for Ave Marias and to whip the soul for its sins.	Wrapped in own clothes and hammock
In or On	Coffin	Wrapped in hammock and buried
Orientation	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Personal items	Final set of worn clothing, rosary, last gourd drank from all added to the coffin. Children get flowers, and needle and thread added for women.	Deceased's belongings, those items directly associated with the person, so different for different people. Example for a specific woman: her skillet, her favorite chair, her shoes, kerosene lantern, bag full of corn dough.
Food and other offerings	Not mentioned	Corn, lock of hair and bone placed in hands, and palmleaf dog all to help pass obstacles. Candles, tortillas and drink of water and corn dough placed in lap to sustain deceased
Funeral properly performed	Prayers must be said to properly separate the soul from the body and allow it avoid the demons who wait.	Person must be carefully prepared to make sure it is able to pass the obstacles on the way to the afterlife

CHAPTER 4: EPIGRAPHY AND ICONOGRAPHY

This chapter analyzes non-archaeological sources from the Classic period on the questions surrounding death and the afterlife. It begins with a review of the epigraphy directly related to the topic based on the work of James Fitzsimmons (2002, 2009) and Markus Eberl (2005) who have both worked on surveying and analyzing the hieroglyphic corpus to extract information on what the Classic Maya wrote about when they made references to death: what phrases did they use, what were the circumstances of that use, and can this tell us anything important about how death was understood by the Maya. The epigraphic record is biased toward the Late Classic period because that is the time period from which the vast majority of texts come that have been preserved to the current moment. So, while the texts are closer in time to the contexts being studied in this project, they are still hundreds of years later in some cases. The second half of the chapter is focused on iconographic depictions of images connected with death and the afterlife. While by no means exhaustive, it does give a general idea of the issues involved and questions that remain within this corpus.

4.1 Epigraphic sources

The most common terms known from the epigraphic record associated with death are the ones mentioned in the introductory chapter: *cham-i* '[he/she] died or [he/she] fell mortally ill', *k'a'ay u ? sak ik'aal* "it finishes, his ? white/pure breath", *ochb'ih* and *och ha'* commonly translated as meaning respectively "road-entering" and "water-entering," and the word *mukhaj* meaning "he/she was buried". In the following section, I will briefly summarize what we know about each of these terms and how they were used, but as an in depth study is beyond the scope of this project, I will leave the intricacies of the words, their decipherment, and their varied significances to the experts. I follow closely the work of a couple of epigraphers and encourage those with an interested in a more detailed view to read James Fitzsimmons (2009)and Markus Eberel's (2005) work on this subject.

4.1.1 Cham-i

In the Classic period inscriptions one of the most basic words for death was *cham* "[he/she] died," which was written as a skull, the syllable **-mi**, and the symbol for death infixed. The symbol for death looks very similar to our percent sign (%). The % symbol is present in many contexts, especially during the Late Classic period, though there are some examples during the Early Classic, including the earliest example currently known, a circular altar at Tonina (Fitzsimmons 2009:26). Marc Zender has pointed out that in addition to being used to say that someone has died, it is also used to describe a grave or mortal illness, such as perhaps a high fever, coma, or unconsciousness (personal communication 2012). The word *cham* can be seen used throughout the entire Classic period including the Early Classic occurrence on Stela 31 of Tikal, to which we will return later in this project, and the Terminal Classic Stela Randel (Eberl 2005: 42). In some examples the skull is shown with the glyph *ik'* coming out of its nostrils emphasizing a connection between the word translated as wind, but often thought to symbolize breath when speaking of living people or the world, and what is thought to be the representation of spirit or soul escaping the dead body (Fitzsimmons 2009:26).

4.1.2 ik, k'a'ay u sak ? *ik'aal,*

The phrase that begins *k'a'ay u sak* is generally agreed upon by epigraphers to refer in some way to the death of the soul (Eberl 2005; Fitzsimmons 2009; Houston et al. 2006), but there is not complete agreement to either its decipherment or its exact translation. The phrase was first recognized as a death phrase by Tatiana Proskouriakoff in the 1960s. Progress on deciphering the phrase was made by Barbara McLeod who found a phonetic spelling of the first part **k'a-a-yi** on Copán's Hieroglyphic Stairway. David Stuart then made the connection between k'a'ay in the Classic inscriptions with a colonial Tzotzil phrase *ch'ay ik*, which had the meaning of "extinguished breath" (Fitzsimmons 2009:28). Fitzsimmons gives the version *k'a'ay u sak* 'flower' *ik* or *ik'il* and translates it as "it ends, his white ? breath." (2009:14). He

leaves the question mark undeciphered and untranslated at this point. Eberl gives the phrase as *k'a'ay 'u sak nich nahl,* but translates it more loosely as “expira su 'alma'” and more specifically as “expira su blanca-flor-conciencia” (2005:43). Marcus Eberl, translated the question mark as 'flower', which is a translation for what had formerly been read as **NIK**, though that is no longer thought to be the case. Marc Zender has suggested to me that instead of meaning 'flower', the currently undeciphered element means 'seed' and notes that the work *sak* modifies *ik'aal* 'breath/spirit' rather than seed or whatever the T533 sign is meant to communicate (personal communication 2012). For Eberl, the part of the phrase he translated as “blanca-flor-conciencia” refers to an inalienable part of a person, which is why he uses the term alma to translate the phrase (see Eberl 2005:43-47 for his rationale for his decipherment and translation). From the review of the ethnographic record one of the consistent events surrounding death reported by ethnographers is the exit of the soul from the body (Chapter 3). The soul leaving is central to the death of the body and the transition of the deceased into the afterlife and there is general agreement that it is to those concerns to which this phrase speaks.

James Fitzsimmons's and others suggest this loss of soul or spirit is described in the textual record as the word *ik'* or really *ik'aal* (he uses *ik'il*), as the root *ik'* means 'wind', while *ik'aal* means: breath, life, and spirit and which Eberl (2005:53-55) agrees is close to our western idea of a soul (2009; Houston et al. 2006). When the word is used in the context of death it is found on both pottery and monuments in the phrase: *k'a'ay u* '?' *sak ik'aal*. He points out that while there is no phrase or association in modern Ch'orti' of the words *sak ik*, it does appear in Colonial Yucatec translated as “a wind coming from the west.” The west is often associated with the Underworld as it is the location from which the sun leaves the sky and enters the underworld in its daily travels (Fitzsimmons 2009: 14). The phrase, therefore, seems to have embedded within it the idea of the soul leaving the body and traveling into the underworld. Whether the Classic Maya had more than one soul or a divisible soul, as we have seen in the ethnographic record is not clear from the phrase, though Fitzsimmons (2009) believes it likely to be one of multiple souls that were

present in the body. Discussion of the argument that the word *ik'* should be associated with the soul or spirit will be reviewed in the section of the chapter on iconography, as it has iconographic refferents

4.1.3 Ochb'ih and *ochha'*

Two phrases with similar constructions that are both associated with death are *ochb'ih* and *ochha',* which have been translated as "road-entering" and "water-entering." The *ochb'ih* phrase was first identified by David Stuart (in Schele 1999). Both ethnohistoric and ethnographic information (Chapters 2 and 3) that describe the soul making a journey after death. That the exit of the soul from the body is described as "road-entering" suggests a degree of long-term continuity in the idea that the soul makes a journey after death. Indeed, Eberl explicitly translates *ochb'ih* as "el entra en el camino (de la muerte)" (2005:47). Somewhat confusingly then, is the fact that there does not exist any clear examples of roads in all of the iconography currently known concerned with death and its consequences (Fitzsimmons 2009:33). Perhaps, then, it is more in the nature of a metaphor referring to the beginning of a journey than travel to the afterlife happened on an actual road or path or as Marc Zender has suggested referring to a set of post-death body preparation (personal communication 2012).

Fitzsimmons work cataloging the occurrence of the terms surrounding death date have shown that *ochb'ih* can be used days or weeks after the actual recorded death (*cham-i*) in multiple cases. He explains this apparent discrepancy by suggesting that *ochb'ih* is not a synonym for *cham-i*, but instead records a different event that is part of the rituals that surround death. If we take into account Zender's suggestion that *cham-i* can refer to a grave illness, then he agrees with Fitzsimmons that the phrases do not refer to the same moment in the events surrounding death, but they interpret them as different moments. Zender gives the time elapsed between the onset of a final major illness and the activities surrounding burial as the explanation of the gap in time between the two different statements rather than the difference between the death of the body and the death of the soul. The texts describing the death and funerary events of

Ruler 2 of Piedras Negras particularly stand out because his death is the one currently known case where all three phrases for death are used: *cham-i*, and then a day later *k'a'ay u sak'* '?' *ik'il,* then the passage of six days and the record of the *ochb'ih*.

Simon Martin and Nikolai Grube (2000:145) take a similar approach to Marc Zender's and explain the days that elapse between *cham* and *ochb'ih* as the difference between the moment of death and the funeral rituals. Their interpretation supports the identification of the phrase *ochb'ih* as describing part of the burial process and/or the rituals surrounding it. The colonial and modern meanings of the word *b'ih* not only reference roads and traveling, but also openings and clefts, which Fitzsimmons (2009: 34) suggests may refer to the tomb or the process of burial underground bringing him closer to Martin, Grube, and Zender's understanding of how the phrase is used. While there are no other cases of all three phrases, his catalog shows there are multiple other examples for the use of two. From this we learn that *ochb'ih* often takes place a day or even a week after the event the other death phrase describes. The question of what occurs during this interim period is unknown, though it would be unsurprising if it had to do with tomb construction, preparation, ritual practice, the wait for an auspicious day, issues to be resolved with succession, perhaps even the attendance of other royal or elite figures from other locations, as was done at the death of Mexica Aztec ruler (Chapter 2). Since the amount of time between the two events appears not to be standardized, we are left with many hypotheses and as of yet no real way to test them.

Fitzsimmons points out, that it would be strange if *ochb'ih* was simply a statement describing the act of burial, since there is an already known phrase for this: *muhkaj*, “he/she is buried” (2009:34; Eberl 2005:88). Instead of having two phrases for the same concept, he suggests the Maya were discriminating between different ideas having to do with the process of death and burial. He points to a monument at the site of Quirigua where Zoomorph G gives an example of the use of *ochb'ih* that is later followed by *muhkaj*, which suggests they describe two different events or actions rather than one standing in for the other, as might happen if one were a metaphor or euphemism. This idea is supported by an example on

Quirigua Zoomorph 7 (G?) where *ochb'ih* is combined with *k'a'ay u sak* 'flower' *ik'il* making the phrase *ocb'ihiiy u sak* 'flower' *ik'*, "[the] road was entered [by] his white 'flower' breath" (Eberl 2005:48; Fitzsimmons 2009:34). Fitzsimmons takes this to mean that the breath is not completely ended, but is going on a journey and suggests what is being distinguished is the death of the body, which does end, and the death of the soul/spirit, which then travels on to the afterlife. Eberl, on the other hand, focuses on the next section of text just after our two familiar phrases, which is "*ti 'ahkul tuunil*" and he translates the whole phrase as "su 'alma' tomó el camino hacia la cueva [es decir, al inframundo]" (2005:48). For Eberl what is particularly interesting about this phrase is the reference to a cave being part of the road the dead soul is entering, which he connects to the idea that caves were entrances to the Underworld. This phrase would then be then a longer more complete version of the familiar *och b'ih* giving a glimpse at its full meaning. If, on the other hand, the phrase *ochb'ih* is about the proper preparation of the body for its placement into the tomb, then what is being distinguished isn't the death of the body and the death of the soul, nor is it about 'taking the road to the underworld', but instead is discussing both the event of death and the preparation of the body and soul for burial in order for the soul to be able to leave the body and travel into the afterlife.

Less frequent than *och'bih* is the similar phrase *och ha "*water-entering," though the contexts in which it appears suggest it also is a phrase concerned with death and its consequences. Eberl's (2005:47) work suggests that *ochha* is a phrase used more commonly in the Early Classic after which it tapers off, explaining why there are so few examples. For all that it appears less frequently in text sources than *ochb'ih*, the iconographic support for the underworld being watery and needing to enter and pass through water to reach it are much more extensive (Coe 1978; Robicsek and Hales; 1981; Schele and Miller 1986; Hellmuth 1987; Reents-Budet 1994; Quenon and Le Fort 1997). One of the most obvious examples of this genre of iconography is the bones the from Tikal Burial 116, the tomb of Jasaw Chan K'awil who died in 734 CE, as they depict the dead Maize God being ferried underwater in a canoe propelled by the

two Paddler Gods (Eberl 2005:70). Fitzsimmons 2009:35; Miller and O'Neil (2010:35-36).

On Stela 31 of Tikal, Fitzsimmons draws our attention to a monument on which both of these terms are used, though they are used to describe the deaths of two different people. He explains the situation as one where there is a substitution of one phrase for the other, each possibly having slightly difference valences, such as whether the death was violent, since it is known that one of the men, Chak Tok Ich'aak, was killed (Fitzsimmons 2009:35). There is no direct evidence that the difference being marked was violence, but his suggestion that the different phrases are meaningful is an interesting idea with which to speculate. Could it not also be referring to the differing afterlife places each might travel to, or differing circumstances around who they were, how they died, or a choice to emphasize a certain part of the burial process over another?

4.1.4 Souls

A better understanding of Classic Maya ideas about the soul can also be gained through looking at the language itself. Houston and others point to a word found in hieroglyphic texts that reads *k'uhul* and has the meaning of "holy, sacred," from *k'uh* meaning "god," and its attendant iconographic associations with "fluids, or beaded shapes gushing from the hands of lords" (2006:34-35; D. Stuart 1985, 1988). Connecting this with all of the images that exist of lords doing auto-blood sacrifice and a picture emerges of the blood carrying some kind of powerful element belonging to the individual. These words are recognizably similar to the word with which we are already familiar from Tzotzil: *ch'ulel*. In modern times it refers to the unique and indestructible soul that makes every person an individual and journeys to the afterlife. This soul is partially transferable, as it attaches itself to people's personal belongings, the tools of their professions, and the things they interact with daily. The imagery of the Classic period mentioned above of objects flowing from the hands of lords also seems to suggest that part of an individual's spirit or self is transferred out of the body to other things. One of the problems, though, is

k'uhul seems to only belong to those of the highest rank during the Classic period, very different from the *ch'ulel* that belongs to every Tzotzil person (Houston et al. 2006:35). Instead of *k'uhul* for the Classic Period word naming the indestructible, yet divisible soul, the authors suggest the constellation of meanings embedded in the word *ik* may more likely be the Classic period's concept most similar to what is found among modern communities.

While *ik'* is most often translated as 'wind,' Houston et al (2006) believe it also is used to describe what they term the "breath soul" in the form *ik'aal* (see also Eberl 2005: 53-55). Among the modern Mam speaking Maya of Santiago Chimaltenango, Guatemala, they also speak of the animating soul, *aanma*, as associated with the breath (Watanabe 1992:87). Houston and colleagues, see the breath soul as depicted by the drawings of jade beads, flowers, and even snakes that are placed in front of the noses of figures throughout the Maya iconographic corpus and interpret the images to signify the breath is thought of as precious and sweet smelling (Houston et al. 2006; Taube 2004:72). The connection between breath and flowers leads back to the death statement discussed above, *k'a'ay u sak* 'flower' *ikil*, which not only brings together the flower image with the word *ik'*, but seems to be describing the cessation of the breath soul. In depth discussions of these conclusions and how they were reached can be found in Houston el al. 2006; Houston and Taube 2000.

In the Classic Period, the breath soul is something that belongs to everyone, even gods and anthropomorphized buildings, and is its departure from the body that is implicated in death similar to the way the individual and indestructible soul of many modern Maya communities (Chapter 3). It has been suggested that the association of the "breath soul" with jade may be at least a partial reason for the common practice of placing jade in the mouths of the deceased, and its association with flowers is why iconographic images of flowers are so common in tombs (Houston et al. 2006:147). The flowers we see in tombs may also be evoking the ideas and landscape first elucidated by Carleson and Prechtel's (1991) description of "Flowering Mountain Earth, which Taube (2004, 2006) has called "Flower Mountain" and

believes to be, at least in part during the Classic period, a paradisaical afterlife for some deceased Maya. The evidence for real flowers in tombs may play both with this symbolic meaning, while also helping to overcome the rot, stink, and filth of death (Houston et al. 2006:147).

4.2 Iconography

4.2.1 Rebirth

The growing cycle of corn was a central religious metaphor in Classic Maya life (Martin 2006). Not only did the Maya believe themselves to be made out of corn originally, but also the cycle of its life: the growth of the corn plant followed by its death, the placement of dry seeds from last year's corn into the ground to germinate and re-grow the next year served as a model for the birth, death, burial, and rebirth of humans. In this metaphor life grows from death, which is an idea for which evidence can be found in both modern and ancient Maya communities (Carleson and Prechtel 1991:26). This cycle can be seen in the many Classic period iconographic vignettes depicting the complex mythological story that contains the events of the life, death, and rebirth of the Maize God (Coe 1989; Fitzsimmons 2009; Martin 2006; Quenon and La Fort 1997).

As Simon Martin (2006) points out these ideas can be clearly seen on an Early Classic vessel held at the Musem fur Volkerkunde in Berlin and often referred to as the Berlin Vase, which is one of the few Classic period iconographic depictions of events surrounding the death of an important person (Figure 4.1). The cylinder tripod vase is decorated with two different, yet apparently related scenes. On one side, it illustrates a dead lord who has been laid out on a burial platform extended on his back. He is wrapped in a bundle that covers him from neck to knee. He is surrounded by mourners who all raise one hand to the forehead in what Houston and colleagues have suggested to be a specific gesture of grief or morning (Houston et al. 2006). Above him hovers a disc with solar and lunar attributes. The other side of the vessel shows him growing into a maize tree flanked by a male tree on one side and a female tree on the other in

front of a pyramid, which are most likely his parents emphasizing the generational or lineal nature of vegetal rebirth. Instead of the wrapped corpse, the base of the scene is anchored by skeleton, as if it were the bones from which the trees grow, while the reference to celestial rebirth is associated with the funeral and the wrapped corpse from which the soul has recently departed (Chinchilla Mazariegos 2006:54).

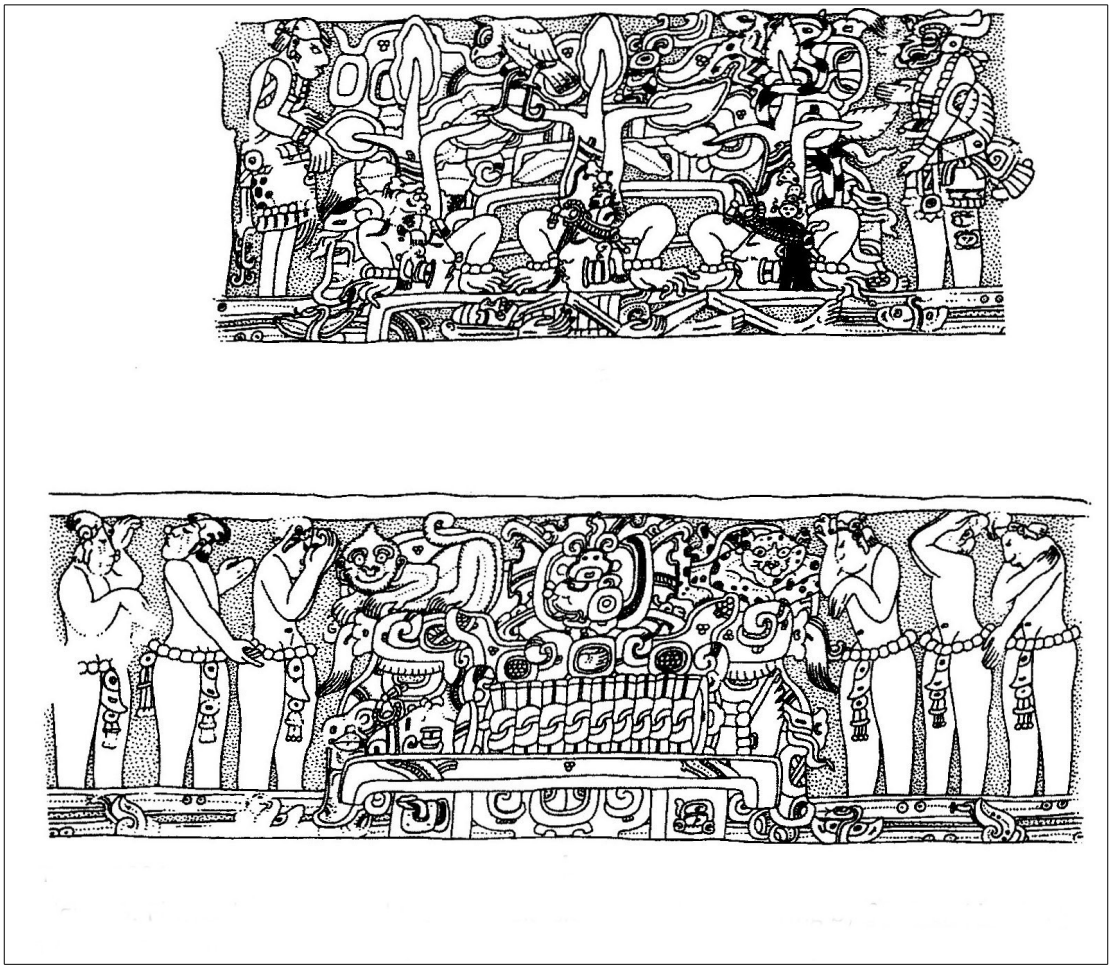


Figure 4.1 The Berlin Vase. (Drawn by Stephen Houston in Taube 2004:fig. 9)

Karl Taube (2004, 2006) interprets both of the scenes as taking place in a mountain replete with edible plants and animals, while at the same time, as we can see clearly in the second image, it is also the stepped pyramid where his tomb is located. The conflation of the idea of mountain and pyramid was

noted many years ago by Evon Vogt (1969). His observation has been substantiated by many years of work, especially the developments in epigraphy that have allowed us to see pyramids labeled with the name/title of a mountain (Vogt and Stuart 2005). In their work, Vogt and David Stuart (2005:157) describe a scene at El Peru-Waka in Guatemala where sculptures depicting animated mountains (*witz)* are shown associated with rulers whose parents (ancestors) are depicted in the eyes of the *witz*, as if the eyes were windows providing a view inside the mountain. Since it is known from ethnographic sources that favored ancestors can sometimes be found living in mountains (Chapter 3), and archaeologically grand tombs are found placed inside pyramids, there appears to be a cultural landscape that relates mountains and the abode of ancestors to pyramids and the tombs of one's forebears (Vogt 1969).

According to Taube (2004), it is these depictions of mountains of abundance "sustenance mountains" that are examples of the paradise that awaits some in the afterlife. Taube (2004) and Martin (2006) also suggest that this mountain and its paradise are related to the ideas of celestial rebirth or an Upperworld. The amplification of the role of "Flower Mountain," draws from the Carleson and Prechtel's understanding of "Flowering Mountain Earth" as "a unifying concept, inextricably linking vegetation, the human life cycle, kinship, modes of production, religious and political hierarchy, conceptions of time and even celestial movement" (1991:27). It also allows the cycle of maize and vegetal or earthly rebirth to function as a mechanism of celestial rebirth as well, which brings together what at times appears to be two different cycles or ideas about rebirth, which will be discussed in detail throughout the chapter. The evidence for a multi-valent "Flower Mountain" among Classic period communities will be discussed later in the chapter in the section on the geography and landscape of the afterlife.

The same transformation of a dead lord and his family into fruit trees is also depicted on the sarcophagus of Pakal the Great of Palenque, Mexico. Here Pakal can be seen associated the world tree on the lid of his own sarcophagus, while his parents and other forbears grow up its sides as different kinds of fruit trees (Figure 4.2). It is about this depiction that Linda Schele and David Freidel used the term

"orchard of the ancestral dead" (1990:221). To Martin this 'orchard of ancestors' is connected to the idea of "generational rebirth," where immortality or rebirth is less about an afterlife spent in a paradisaical local and more about being born again in one's grandchildren (2006:161; Carlesen and Prechtel 1991). This is amply demonstrated among the modern Maya of Santiago Atitlán, where it is traditional to name a child with the same name as its grandparent and the child is then referred to as that grandparent's "replacement" (Carlesen and Prechtel 1991:29). The scene on the front of the sarcophagus showing Pakal and the world tree has often been interpreted as an invocation of the idea of celestial rebirth (Figure 4.3). While Pakal might journey into the underworld, he will at some point leave there to join the celestial realm. The skyband, star signs, and precious and floral objects that surround him all help to emphasize his eventual afterlife destination.

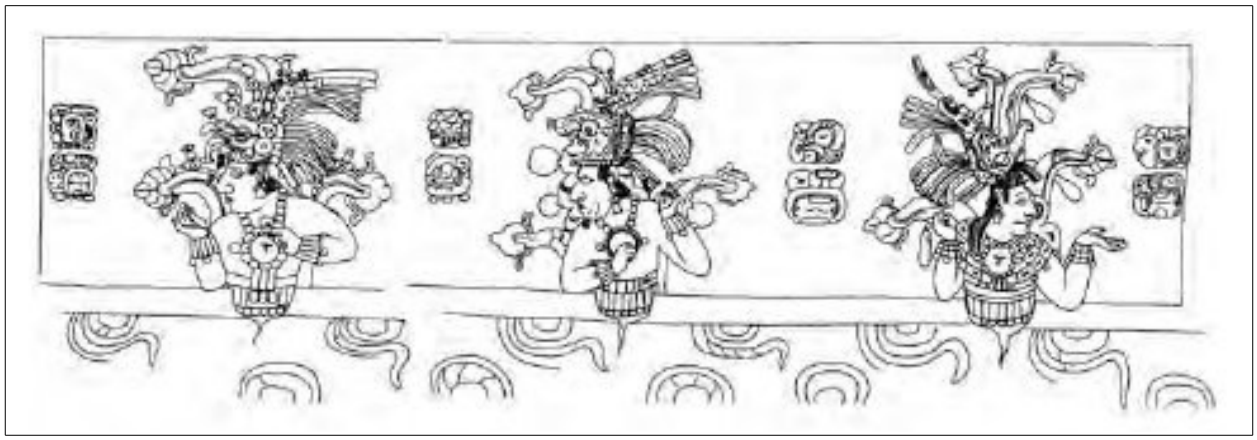


Figure 4.2 Side of Pakal's Sarcophagus at Palenque. (Schele and Miller 1986: plate 111e)

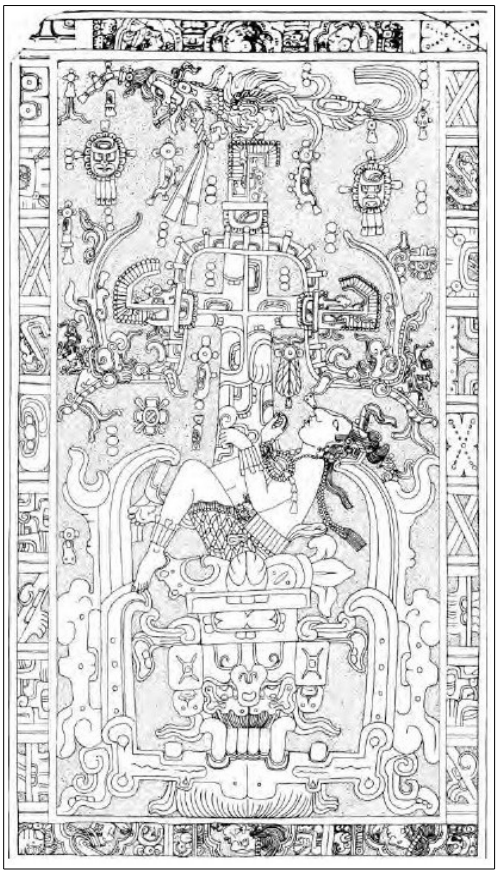


Figure 4.3 Pakal's Sarcophagus Lid at Palenque. (Drawn by Merle Greene Robertson. Robertson 1983: fig. 99)

The sarcophagus indicates that Pakal's rebirth is actually a form of birth, as it shows him in the pose of a baby leaving the underworld and rising up the world tree. This is not the only instance of birth in a burial context, as Marc Zender brought my attention to a birth statement that was included inside Tomb 1 at Rio Azul (personal communication 2012). It is from instances like these that the title of this dissertation springs. It appears that the ability to transition from one world to the next was always seen as a birth, hence also the description of the birth of the gods at Palenque bringing them into this world, and my thought that ancestors are born not made.

Pakal's tomb, therefore, already starts us on the path of representing two different forms of rebirth with the 'orchard of ancestors on its sides' and the more celestial referents of the skybands

surrounding his rise out of the underworld. In the view of many people, the rebirth of the Maize God is rebirth into the celestial realm, rebirth as an ancestor, not rebirth as one's own lineal descendent (Coe 1989; Taube 1985). Carleson and Prechtel's work on modern connections between maize and lineal rebirth, along with images like those of the Berlin Vase and Pakal's sarcophagus, however, emphasize the cycle of maize, and thus the mythic cycle of the Maize God, as a cycle between the earth and the underworld rather than the underworld and the celestial world. The *Popol Vuh,* however, suggests the Hero Twins are their father (the Maize God) reborn on earth, as would be expected from the maize plant metaphor, though this familial relationship is assumed for the Classic period rather than currently attested. In the *Popol Vuh*, they are the ones who undergo celestial rebirth, while their father remains in the Underworld (Chapter 2), though again it is important to remember that the Classic period does not currently contain evidence of the Hero Twins becoming celestial bodies, though plenty of kings and queens appear to do so after death, as will be discussed below.

Perhaps some of this confusion could be explained by an idea where the Maize God, who Karl Taube (2004:80-81) believes the protagonist on the Berlin Vessel, is reborn in multiple ways through his bones and his soul or perhaps his multiple souls. Or, perhaps what we are looking at are interlocking or complimentary metaphors employed at different moments to serve different purposes. More confusingly, if the Maize God metaphor allows people to be born into "Flower Mountain," which Taube suggests to be the celestial world, as well as on earth, then his life cycle could be the basic metaphor for the human life cycle. Of course, this does not explain how dead kings and queens, ancestors, come to be seen as celestial bodies. To better explore the complexities, what follows is a summary of the Maize God resurrection cycle.

4.2.2 Maize God Life Cycle

The mythology surrounding the Maize God's life cycle is found is found both in the colonial

period *Popol Vuh* and on various items during the Classic period, though ceramic media dominate possibly due to preservation bias. There are variations between the Classic and Postclassic versions, as well as between some of the depictions of the Classic period. Many of the scenes are show individually without any indication as to the order in which they fall or if they are even part of the same story, but a few vessels, such as K3033, have more than one scene giving a general outline of the events. One such vessel is a Late Classic drinking vessel from the Holmul region, but with the Tikal emblem glyph in its text. Similar to one at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, it is thought to have been deposited in a tomb as that is the usual provenience of such objects, since it was not excavated by archaeologists. There is evidence it was been mended at the rim, indicating the vessel was not made for inclusion in the tomb, but had a full use-life prior to its final deposition (Schwartz in Finamore and Houston 2010: plate 60), unlike many of the vessels from Burial 116 at Tikal, which appear to have been made just prior to their deposition in that tomb (personal communication Alexandre Tokovinine 2011). While most of the known scenes from the Maize God cycle are from the Classic period, they appear to have their origin even earlier. According to William Saturno, there is a section of the Late Formative period murals of San Bartolo, Guatemala with an obvious reference to the mythic cycle. In it there is a turtle shown flanked by a baby Maize God who is held in the arms of another god walking through water. On the other side of the turtle, the dead Maize God is wrapped in a serpent and together they are diving down into the water (Saturno 2009:126-127). Taube also mentions a scene at San Bartolo where the Maize God is dancing inside the turtle prior to breaking through out onto the earth, whose carapace is shaped in a quatrefoil form indicating it is cave-like. He is accompanied by Chahks who bring the water necessary for germination and then growth to occur (in Finamore and Houston 2010:plate 83).

In the more elaborated versions found on various media during the Classic period, the Maize god is sacrificed at harvest-time by underworld deities and buried in a cave in a mountain (Martin 2006:178). At this point, according to Martin, some part of him ascends to the heavens, while his body remains

behind to germinate and cause trees to grow that bear edible fruits (2006:178). From various sources, including the bones from Tikal Burial 116, is the depiction of the Maize God ferried beneath the water by the Paddler Gods where he remains in what we expect is the Underworld for some unknown length of time (Freidel et. al 1993; Looper 2009; Quenon and Le Fort 1997). (Figure 4.4).

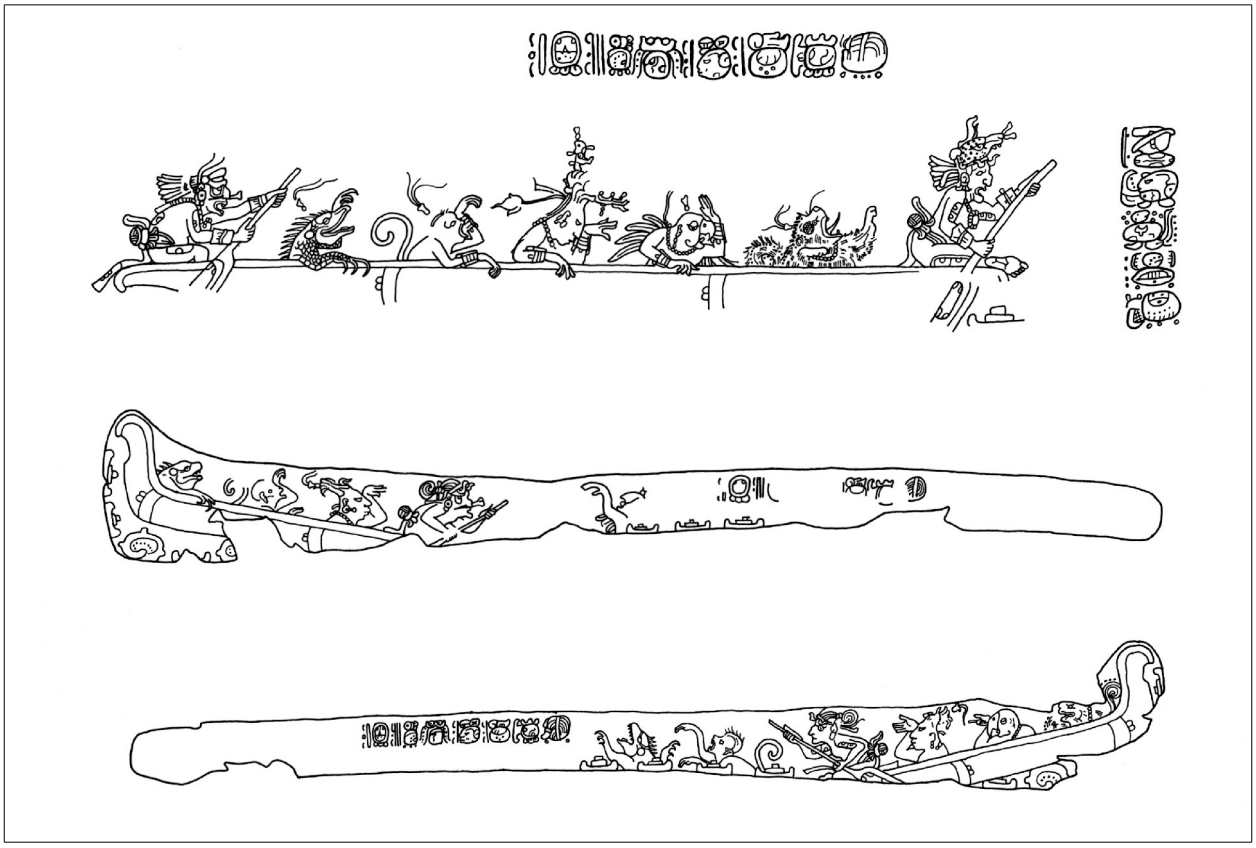


Figure 4.4 Carved bone from Tikal Burial 116. (Drawings by Linda Schele courtesy of FAMSI Schele #2014)

There are no clear images of the time he spent under the water, though there are images of him dancing amongst the fish, it is unclear where in the cycle the fall, if they belong to it at all. We, therefore, do not have a good idea how long he stayed, who he interacted with and what the environment looked like during his time in the Underworld. After time passes he is expelled from a "fish-serpent," which

Fitzsimmons interprets a rebirth in the underworld (2009:18; Quenon and La Fort 1997). The "fish-serpent" is one of a group of serpentine looking entities that various supernaturals are expelled from. Exiting the "fish-serpent" he is naked, perhaps because people are always "born" naked. Matthew Looper (2009:115) specifically refers to him as a newborn at this point in the narrative. He is dressed by multiple females and put back into the canoe where he stands ready to dance out of the underworld with two individuals who have been thought to be the Hero Twins posed on either side of him (Schwartz in Finamore and Houston 2010: plate 61). The next scene we have of the cycle is the Maize God growing out of a turtle carapace with the aid of two people, who are likely Classic period equivalents of the Hero Twins, whether they were also his sons in the Classic period remains open to question, but is currently assumed to be true. In multiple depictions they split the turtle shell with lightning or water him to help him emerge back onto the surface of the earth (Fitzsimmons 2009: 18-19; Freidel et al. 1993; Quenon and Le Fort 1997). Why the Hero Twins would be shown helping the Maize God in both the Underworld and on Earth is unknown, but perhaps it is due to some as yet unknown facet of their character in the Classic period that allows them this freedom of movement between realms.

As Fitzsimmons relates the story of the Maize God, the germination and growth of the Maize God onto earth is based in the idea that the soul travels to the watery underworld where the germination occurs, which is the prerequisite necessary for rebirth onto earth, while for Martin it is the body lying in a cave below "sustenance mountain" that is the site of the germination and regrowth, which happens after some part of him ascends to the heavens (Fitzsimmons 2009:18-19; Martin 2006:178). As caves in Mesoamerica are often thought to be entrances to the underworld and tombs can be thought of as artificial caves, the cave as a site of germination and the underworld as the site, may not actually be conflicting elements of the cycle. In fact, on Vessel K2796 there is a depiction of the court of God L, who is considered to be an underworld deity and ruler, located within a cave which is indicated by stacked *witz* heads (Boot 2008: 15), demonstrating a connection between underworld figures and cave interiors. While

the water bands found decorating the walls of a tomb at Rio Azul, suggest the tomb was supposed to be considered to be beneath the surface of the water (Hellmuth 1987:211).

Likely one reason the cycle of the maize, which is mirrored in the resurrection story of the Maize God, has been so easily used as a metaphor for human death is that humans were thought to originally be made of maize, while there are also multiple depictions of living rulers wearing the costume of the Maize God (Fitzsimmons 2009:22). We might, therefore, expect depictions of royal ancestors to be shown dressed as maize gods, but according to Fitzsimmons they are not. Instead they are depicted "as human-god hybrids, as celestial bodies, or more abstract forms" (2009:25). It seems depiction of the Maize God and reference to earthly resurrection are appropriate for some royal tomb contexts, but not for the depiction of royal ancestors on monuments. This is perhaps because they have already stepped out of the cycle and are at the point of being ancestors, an identity no longer associated with the Maize God story or because the Maize God metaphor is more associated with lineal reincarnation on earth rather than the transformation into celestial ancestors.

It is easy to see many parallels between the Maize God cycle and that of the *Popol Vuh* story. In the *Popol Vuh*, it is descent of the Hero Twins into the underworld and their victory over the forces of death, which allows them to escape and ascend into the celestial world. Many scholars see the father of Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xblalanque, as the Maize God, since his descent into the underworld is caused by his sacrificial death (Coe 1978:181, 1989:170; Miller and Martin 2004:57), and he is reborn through his sons on earth, much the same as the maize plant, but we are still looking for proof of this relationship in the Classic period and the *Popol Vuh* makes no mention of the father of the Hero Twins as the Maize God. In the *Popol Vuh,* the Hero Twin's father remains in the underworld to be remembered and prayed to by his descendants, while his sons who make the same journey into the afterlife and but succeed, rise up into the celestial realm to become the Sun and the Moon or perhaps Venus.

During the Classic period, however, it seems that the Maize God himself sprouts and is reborn on

earth, since his sons can be seen aiding the process, as can bee seen on a beautifully painted tripod plate from the area around Nanak, Guatemala (Miller and Martin 2004:fig. 16; Looper 2009:117) (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5 Rebirth of the Maize God (Photo by Justin Kerr #K1892)

On other ceramic vessels of the Classic Period the Hero Twins and the Maize God can be seen tricking God L in the lowlands and God N in the highlands, as they did One and Seven Death in the *Popol Vuh* (Kerr and Kerr 2005). The scenes of tricks played on the underworld lords are sometimes recognizable from the *Popol Vuh*, such as the one in which the masked Twins perform sacrifices for the entertainment of the lords, but there is also a sequence with no known parallel in which the Maize God manages to strip and kick God L and 2 other underworld lords with the assistance of the Moon Goddess's rabbit and perhaps the goddess herself. God L is reduced to pleading before the Sun God for the return of his clothes and his tribute, which he claims the rabbit has stolen. Many interpret this as a scene in which

the underworld, or at least God L, is forced to submit to the authority of the Sun God and the upperworld (Miller and Martin 2004:61), but this tale is not to be found anywhere in the *Popol Vuh* and we likewise lack the ascent of the Hero Twins into the celestial world on any Classic period iconography. Together the scenes present on ceramic vessels demonstrate how deeply embedded parts of the *Popol Vuh* were in Maya history, but the absences of elements of the story from each source also show an unsurprising amount of change in the intervening hundreds of years.

4.2.3 Geography of the World

As discussed with regard to the Maya in both the modern and colonial periods (Chapters 2 and 3), the Maya of the Classic period also believed their world to have three levels: the sky, the earth, and the underworld. While the humans ruled on earth, both the sky and the underworld were ruled by various gods (Miller 1974). The sky appears to have been ruled by the Sun and Itzamna, while the underworld by Gods L and N and perhaps the figure called the Jaguar God of the Underworld (JGU). Most of the other gods inhabit either the celestial or the underworld realms, though at least some like K'awiil, and GI, travel both places, as there are various scenes depicting them in both realms (Miller and Martin 2004). It is not only certain gods that can move from one world to the next, but Taube (2004:207) notes a certain preoccupation the Maya had with animals that could do the same: diving birds, crocodiles, jaguars, otters. We might also add snakes to the list, as he considers supernatural serpents to be "dynamic conduits linking the watery underworld, earth, and sky, serving as vehicles or roads for the rain and sun gods as well as other deities..."(Taube 2010:215) and Schele and Matthews contend they "symbolized the transition between one state and another or one world and another."(1998:48)

The upperworld and underworld were not just thought of as above and below the earth, but also to the east and north and to west and south (Thompson 1970; Miller 1974), integrating the tripartite leveled world with the quadripartite divided world. Saturno suggests these connections were present at least from

the Late Formative period based on scenes from the San Bartolo murals. He bases his conclusions on the series of sacrifices carried out in specific directions where specific locations are associated with specific items. Flowers are given to the east in a location evoking a "floral paradise," a turkey is given to the air, deer to the ground, and fish to the west in a watery place, which is likely associated with the underworld. He does not specify which of the north and south directions are associated with either the turkey-air or the deer-ground and what the association of images are meant to evoke (Saturno 2009:124).

To complicate the matter further, Schele and Freidel suggest instead of thinking of a strictly separated upperworld and underworld, there was an otherworld that had an "invisible, pervasive, ambient presence" (1993:425). To support their idea they point to the celestial themes within the *Popol Vuh* and Tozzer's (1941:132) comment that the Maya of Yucatan thought the place of the gods and ancestors "traversed" through all three worlds (Schele and Freidel 1993:425), almost as if it followed the path of the sun. The next section will explore the iconography of the Underworld and Upperworld and consider whether they were separate, connected, or part of the same whole.

4.2.3.1 Underworld

Much of the current understanding of the Classic Maya underworld comes from scenes on ceramic vessels and connections made with the text of the colonial period Quiche document *Popol Vuh*. The ceramic vessels thought to depict the Underworld show a place inhabited by: anthropomorphs, zoomorphs, animals, and skeletal entities, while the rulers are often shown as old or sick often with attributes depicting the sicknesses or causes of death for which they are named (Coe 1979; Grube and Nahm 1994). The naming of the underworld leaders after causes of death does resonate with what we know of the *Popol Vuh*, whose leaders are named in the same way (Chapter 2). With the way Mesoamerican people are known to wear their names and identities on clothing or in headdresses (Chapters 6 and 7), it is almost unsurprising that the leaders of the underworld should be shown with their

bodies demonstrating their names. It certainly gives them a gruesome visual aspect, thought they should be more scary to those in the living who are susceptible disease and death rather than the dead and underworld inhabitants who would not be affected by the afflictions they bring.

The fact that there is at least one Underworld court with lords of the underworld who rule it, such as Gods N and L, and subordinate entities in underworld scenes that take place in palaces, figures engaged in recognizable actions such as sitting on thrones, pouring chocolate, watching beheadings, and chasing after women provide a vision of the underworld very similar to that of the world of the living (Coe 1978:33, 35, 36, 38; Miller and Martin 2004:58-59). Miller and Martin on the other hand, emphasize an opposition between the upperworld and the underworld and describe the underworld gods as "arrogant" and "greedy" contrasted to that which was "perfect and admirable" (2004:58).The Underworld deity God L, often depicted as old, toothless and with jaguar elements, is also connected to living merchants being the god of trade and tribute. He is often depicted as wealthy (Coe 1978:36; Miller and Martin 2004:58-59) and his connection with trade complicates or makes ambiguous the role of the underworld in the living world. While greed and arrogance might be negative personal attributes imputed to those who accumulate great wealth, trade was an essential part of Mesoamerican life for thousands of years and the wealth and power of the rulers in their ability to control their subjects does not seem free of arrogance. The difference between the experience of existence in the Underworld for the common dead, subject to the Underworld Lords, and life as a subject to lords on earth is not known, but might not be all that large.

The idea that the underworld is a watery place during the Classic period is found throughout the literature discussing the underworld in this period (Coe 1978:38; Finamore and Houston 2010; Freidel and Schele 1993). The underworld as watery is likely related to the idea that the earth is a large crocodilian monster or turtle floating on the water, which means anything underneath it would be below the water's surface and places like cenotes, caves, lakes and streams would be apertures to it (Taube

2010:204). Hellmuth's (1987) work on the "Underwater World" has been invaluable as his investigation of this location brought together a catalog of iconography in which there is a connection between death and water. These include watery places, water bands, things swimming, entities underwater, and creatures and objects inextricably linked to water. He observes that during the Early Classic an iconographic group often seen in funerary art include references to multiple types of watery environments suggesting they were seen as interconnected rather than separate landscapes:

> . . . undulating band decorated with encircled curls and double yokes. The presence of fish, water plants, herons or cormorants, turtles and frogs suggest that the serpentine layer is water. Water lilies indicate that the water is clear and slow moving, since water lilies do not grow in muddy, fast flowing streams such as the Rio Usumacinta or in the deeper parts of lakes. Anemone-like plants and exotic fish add a sea water aspect. (Hellmuth1987:101)

Naturalistic plants and animals are not the only creatures Hellmuth (1987:103) encountered during his study of the Underwaterworld and its inhabitants. There were also composite creatures made of mix-and-match physical elements, various monsters wearing different headdresses, and strange humanoids. Adding to our understanding of the watery nature of the Underworld, Fitzsimmons(2009:50) emphasizes the elements of the Maize God Resurrection Cycle that take place under water from his canoe trips, his exit from the fish-serpent, and his dressing prior to his emergence back on earth. Hellmuth (1987) connects the idea of the watery underworld to the tomb environment by suggesting that tombs are not thought to be in the underworld themselves, but that they, and especially their floors, are what he calls "the surface of the underwater world." This would mean that tombs are the point or the moment of transition containing attributes of both worlds. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find items evoking the water in tombs to symbolize the transition of the dead into the watery underworld, while also seeing elements of earthly life and identity.

In their beautiful exhibition catalog for the 2010 exhibit *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mythic Sea,* Finamore and Houston gather together a significant number of objects to convey how the Maya

thought about and depicted water in both the real and imaginative landscape. Unsurprisingly, this resulted in a number of pieces interpreted as resulting from the Maya's ideological view on the relationship between water and death. One of the most essential elements of this relationship are *Spondylus* or spiny oyster shells, which archaeologically are often found as part of offerings caches and in tombs (Chapter 7; Bell 2007). Some scholars have emphasized a connection between *Spondylus* shells and an idea of rebirth in the east out of the underworld because *Spondylus* can be found in the Caribbean Sea and was specifically associated with it (Taube 2004, 2006). While such a symbolic connection might have existed, there are two major *Spondylus* species, calcifer and princepts, present in tombs and offerings that live west of Mesoamerica in the Pacific Ocean. This distribution indicates a shell like the conch, *Strombus gigus*, found only in the Caribbean Sea may be a better candidate for such a symbol. In scenes on ceramic vessels, such as the Fenton Vase from a tomb at Nebaj, Guatemala, *Spondylus* are shown to be one of the essential items of tribute given to rulers emphasizing their role as a symbol of wealth and trade. In his catalog entry discussing *Spondylus* shells, George Schwartz specifically links them to blood and the embodiment of ancestors (in Finamore and Houston 2010:plates 2 and 3). The connection with blood is based on the deep pink/orange color displayed by the interior of the shell after scraping away the white coating, often augmented by the inclusion of red pigment and sometimes by a jade bead, and their prevalence in contexts associated with sacrifice. *Spondylus* shells are imbued with ideas of water, blood, sacrifice, wealth, long-distance trad, and perhaps ancestors and rebirth as well making them an almost perfect object to place in tombs and offerings to the ancestors.

Ceramics with decoration referencing a watery environment, and therefore perhaps the underworld, have been found in burials throughout the Maya area, though for some reason they do not seem to be the focus of decorated burial ceramics at Copán, though the turtle handled vessel from the Hunal Tomb (Chapter 6: Hunal Vessel 2) and the repeating c-shaped motifs, suggested to be waves, on many of the plates from the Chorcha Tomb may be examples of such a practice (Chapter 6). According to

James Doyle (in Finamore and Houston 2010:plate 4), in Tikal, a beautiful lidded bowl was found in an Early Classic burial in the Mundo Perdido complex depicting water not only by a horizontal band with shell like elements, but also the earth as a turtle floating on it, and the sky at the top via a bird (a limpkin), familiar to wetland areas of the Maya region, with its wings spread. Monkeys, macaws, and reptiles were the subjects of other bowls from the same tomb, while burials in the same complex demonstrated an interest in birds showing: raptors, shore-birds, herons, and turkeys (Doyle in Finamore and Houtson 2010:plate 4). This collection of ceramic vessels demonstrates an interest in animals associated with multiple realms: the limpkin, shore-birds, herons, and reptiles, which seems fitting for a tomb context concerned with the transition of the dead person out of the living world and into that of the dead. There are also animals associated with specific realms: monkeys, macaws, turkeys, and raptors demonstrating an apparent preference for sky creatures followed by the earthbound monkey, and completely leaving out fish or other water-bound animals. This is not always the case, as Hellmuth's (1987) work has shown, but does demonstrate that at certain sites or in certain time periods people choose to emphasize specific themes in their burial components.

More examples of water iconography found in burial contexts were displayed in the same exhibit including a beautiful blackware vessel elaborately decorated with a duck head, possibly a Muscovy duck, from a funerary cache, which also contained other examples of ceramics decorated with watery motifs from Temple IX at Becan (Mesik in Finamore and Houston: plate 6). While two shell carvings of frogs from burials at Topoxte in Lake Yaxha and Tayasal near Lake Peten Itza, give yet another example of animals that are clearly associated with water, they are also boundary crossers (Doyle in Finamore and Houston 2010: plates 17, 18). Frogs and toads are not like other animals the traverse multiple realms throughout their lives, but instead almost more like humans, as they cross boundaries at specific points in their life-cycle after undergoing profound physical transformations. The use of a water band to delineate landscape is seen on a tripod dish from Early Classic Uaxactun, Guatemala. Excavated from a royal tomb,

Burial A20, it shows the "roiling waters" style of water-band and some kind of aquatic serpent, a shark, and a fish-serpent also are shown on the vessel (Carter in Finamore and Houtson 2010: plate 22)

The idea that the underworld is watery has long been an essential part of its description, but not all scenes of the underworld show elements of water. There are also scenes with underworld inhabitants showing a dark place surrounded not by waterbands or shown below earthbands, but serpents with rope attributes surround the scene (Fitzsimmons 2009: 50). One of the most famous of these is a Vessel in which God L is seated on a jaguar skin with six gods arrayed before him in positions of subordination. The background of the vessel is done completely in black, but the date 4 Ahaau 8 Cumku is familiar as the date that beings this world. Coe suggests that the scene is from when the underworld was created (1978:36). That the underworld is sometimes, but not always, shown as dark is easily explained by the movement of the sun, which spends part time lighting the world leaving the underworld dark during those times. The sun is so often associated with the surface of the earth that depicting the underworld as dark is an easy shorthand with which to distinguish the two, even if the sun should spend roughly equal time in each.

For Taube, one of the defining characteristics of the Underworld is its darkness, so that the centipede is a perfect symbol of the underworld because of its preference for dark and damp places like caves (Taube 2003:411). He sees the centipede as the opposite of the snake, who is associated with the sky and bright sun rather than the underworld and darkness (2003:16). He explains the iconographic association of centipedes with the sun, which he identifies on multiple solar disks and the examples when the sun wears a centipede headdress, as reference to the nightly journey of the sun through the underworld to emerge renewed in the morning (Taube 2003:fig. 4). Centipedes are also often associated with artisans in iconographic depictions, especially scribes, which he connects to the idea that they are able to read the texts of the ancestors, an actions that brings the ancestors back to the world in that moment to speak (Taube 2003: 414). For Taube the jaws of the centipede, like the ones on the House of the Bacabs and

Structure 11 at Copán, are the entrance to the Underworld and the buildings on which they stand, may be a White-Bone House Centipede mentioned in texts (2003:fig 6).

4.2.3.2 Upperworld

Iconographic explorations of the Upperworld among the Classic Maya have made use of ceramic vessels that depict events above the skyband. Much like the palace scenes in the Underworld presided over by Gods L and N, are vessels that show an Upperworld Court populated by rulers, other court inhabitants or functionaries, and people who are supplicants to the court or defeated enemies waiting to be sacrificed. (Boot 2008; Chinchilla 2005). Oswaldo Chinchilla believes that one of the best ways to identify entities affiliated with the sky court are those marked in some way, often on their bodies, by celestial symbols: sun, moon, and stars. While it may not be possible to have more than one sun and moon in any specific context, there are thousands of stars and hundreds of constellations that could be embodied by various celestial personages. Among those who are shown associated with skybands or emblazoned with celestial symbols, are recognizable gods and a large number of figures with human and animal attributes in varying amounts suggesting mythological entities whose stories we do not yet understand (Chinchilla 2005:107, 114).

Erik Boot (2008) analyzes a Late Classic ceramic vessel with such a court scene. It shows God D (Itzamna) as the most important figure in a court scene and placed above a skyband with an avian figure behind him. Boot identifies the bird as “God D's avian manifestation” and suggests it is specifically a Harpy Eagle (2008:12-14), which is also the Principal Bird Deity. Sitting in front of him a step below, but still above the skyband, are three divine entities, the first of which is possibly GI of the Palenque Triad, a second God whose associated hieroglyphic text combines the names of two previously known gods: Uhuk Chapat Tz'kin K'inch Ajaw a version of the Sun God related to warfare, and Balun Yokte' K'uh who is associated with transitions, including those of power through a connection to warfare (Boot 2008:6). He

notes that Balun Yokte' K'uh is also shown in scenes of God L's palace evidence that he is another divine entity that can move between realms. The third god's name is undeciphered, but it begins with the number 4 and his headdresses has the sign for *kab* "earth" (Boot 2008:7-8). Below God D are three anthropomorphic animals: a dog, an opossum, and a vulture. In the hand of the opossum is a book or a stack of book pages, while the vulture holds a single page with a series of numbers. According to Boot (2008:16) this is not the only example of these three animals having an association with God D in court scenes. Below the four gods and the skyband are for other entities, which Boot describes as supernatural scribes and artisans based on their monkey-like visages, their headdresses, and the tools of their trade. One of them holds a cup in his hands, which Boot interprets as a symbol that they are performing a drinking ceremony (2008:8). The presence of the monkey scribes and artisans in the scene suggest they are associated with, but kept separate from God D and his company, though their placement below the skyband raises the question of whether they are in the celestial realm at all.

Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos (2005:114) also adds to our understanding of who spends time in the Upperworld with the analysis of the 12 entities a ceramic vessel he refers to as "The Vase of the Stars". It shows a court scene with a throne room and antechamber with red-painted floor, steps, and bench. Only three of the figures lack the marking of the stars, the sign *ek'* adorning their bodies, though one of the ones who are missing the sign is clearly marked instead by the moon. In order to understand who all of these people are, he tries to connect their iconography with known celestial bodies from places like the Paris codex, the Monhas frieze at Chichen Itza, the murals of Bonampak. While not all of the iconography is accessible on the vase, he is able to identify many of the figures, though some are not usually known from sky scenes. The ruler sitting on the throne in this scene is in his view the Tonsured Maize God, who is not marked with star signs, but is recognizable by his headdress and hairstyle (Chinchilla Mazariegos 2005:122-123). He notes the attributes on one entity that suggest a relationship with the scorpion constellation and suggests God N might be the embodiment of the turtle constellation

(Chinchilla Mazariegos 2005: 117-118). He identifies the attributes of the Jaguar God on another figure, who likewise displays the *ek′* sign, indicating the Jaguar God has a celestial identity in addition to the more frequently discussed Underworld associations (Chinchilla Mazariegos 2005:119). AS very recognizable deer, and a reptile that might be a crocodile are both present in the scene. Neither of these creatures are usually thought to be part of the celestial court, but here they are both marked with stars (Chinchilla 2005: 119, 121). One of the final entities is a young man suggested to be Hunahpu with his recognizable spots, his traveling hat, and blow gun, who Chinchilla suggests is an embodiment of Venus (2005:123).

The Vase of Stars appears to give us a view into a celestial court populated by stars, planets, constellations, and other celestial bodies, which is not only important for trying to understand the elements that make up the Upperworld, but provides an important cautionary note in how we interpret the ideological significance of various entities. Both the turtle and the crocodiles have in other contexts been associated with the earth, especially the earth floating on the primordial waters that cover the afterlife, while deers and scorpions are usually considered earthbound creatures. The dog, opossum, and vulture in the scene discussed by Eric Boot, also suggest access to the celestial world by animals whose natural characteristic might be thought to make it impossible. What we are likely seeing is the result of mythological stories to which we do not have complete access and can therefore not fully evaluate. This suggests that at least some animals have multi-valent associations, but without knowing their stories, it can be difficult to understand how the Maya would have thought they were operating.

Another view of the relationship between the celestial world above the skyband and that which is below comes from surviving murals at Bonampak and San Bartolo. Contrasting the murals of Late Classic period Bonampak with those of the much earlier Formative period San Bartolo, Saturno (2009) points out the different locations in which the events are taking place. At Bonampak the historical events are painted beneath the skyband, and above are certain deities and constellations, while at San Bartolo all

the events happen above the skyband. He says this is true even of the depiction of the accession of an historical king, which uses this style of visual rhetoric to drawn a close connection between the king and the gods (Saturno 2009:129). Along with the various scenes on ceramic vessels that show the courtly events at God D's palace in the sky, the murals of Bonampak and San Bartolo show the world above the skyband as a place reserved for deities and celestial bodies. The San Bartolo composition raises the question of whether kings were enough like gods they too had access to the celestial realm or if this mural was composed as legitimizing argument of king. It might also foreshadow the idea that after death kings become almost semi-divine or celestial ancestors whose proper place is in the celestial world.

Returning to the murals of Bonampak, Matthew Looper interprets the paintings in room 3 of the murals as reinforcing the idea of a 3 layered world, though in this case it is being delineated by the dancing figures represented on different levels of the painting and marked on the architecture not by the standard skybands, but rather by employing solar disks and disembodied eyeballs. He does not seem to be suggesting that the dances are taking place in these locations necessarily, but that the dance has been choreographed at least to evoke those other worlds and perhaps as another method of bridging the space in-between them (Looper 2009:76). It emphasizes that for some purposes the different realms were thought of as significantly different locations and that the Underworld and Upperworld are distinct from each other, even if they were both a part of some "otherworld" or if there were ways to bridge the space between them.

Taube (2004, 2006) argues scholars have been focusing too much on the idea of Xibalba, as a dark and scary underworld location when telling stories about the afterlife, and have not spent time looking at what he sees as a long standing and far reaching Mesoamerican tradition of a paradisaical place associated with mountains, flowers, birds, and the sun. Drawing on the work of Jane Hill (1992) he traces it to ideas of a Flower World present within the Uto-Aztecan speaking people, which include the Aztec and the Hopi. He connects this to the idea of "Flower Mountain Earth" described by Carlesen and

Prechtel (1991) as an essential "unifying concept" and *axis-mundi* for the modern Tz'utujil Maya of Santiago, Guatemala where it is associated with ancestors, the human life cycle, kinship, hierarchy, and the maize plant (Taube 2006:145). Taube sees these concepts as similar to Classic Period views on death and rebirth, which are thought to be centered in mythology surrounding the Maize God and the Sun God with their continual cycles of rebirth. For Taube, the Maya version of "Flower World" is a mountainous floral paradise that functions as conduit by which it is possible to reach the celestial realm, and which he also believes is a paradise, and in addition it is the home of both gods and ancestors (Taube 2004:69).

The ideas of Flower Mountain for Taube are most clearly laid out on the ceramic vessel from the previously mentioned Early Classic period Berlin Vase (Taube 2004, 2006:145-157). He interprets the two images on this vessel as two depictions of Flower Mountain: the first showing the sun shining above the bundled remains of the Maize God and the second showing the Maize God growing as a cacao tree from the rotting corpse. Tying the two sides together is a band at the base depicting water and symbolizing the underworld. His reading of the vessel:

> On the solar side of the vessel, Flower Mountain appears as two profile heads behind the dead maize god. Prominent blossoms on the brows identify it as a specific mountain, and there are many depictions of this realm in Classic Maya art. The supporting bench is marked with the death verb *och b'ih*, a reference to the dead taking the celestial road of the sun into the heavens (Taube 2006:145)

He also finds support for a Flower Mountain as the manner by which royalty can ascend out of the underworld and into the celestial world in funerary art. He points to Early Classic Tomb 1 at Rio Azul and describes the painting on its eastern wall as a the head of the sun god on top of the earth crocodile and Flower Mountain, which is marked thusly by a flower on the "brow" of the mountain. He also finds Flower Mountain on the stucco masks of Structure 5D-33-2nd at Tikal, which is the structure containing Early Classic Burial 48, thought to be the tomb of Siyaj Chan K'awiil who died in 456 CE. Here Flower Mountain is indicated by the large flowers that "cover the brows of the mountains" (Taube 2006:146). He connects this to the painting on the tomb chamber of Burial 48 itself that shows a "precious rain of floral

jewels," which he contends represent the "celestial paradise of the deceased king... the realm of the gods and ancestors" (Taube 2004:78-79, 2006:146-147) and which Martin and Grube explain as "glyph-like symbols that define it [the burial] as lying in the flowery ether of divine space" (2008:35-36).

In addition, Taube points out two potentially earlier images of Flower mountain during the Late Formative period. One at Abaj Takalik, Guatemala, and the other at San Bartolo. At Abaj Takalik, the context is Stela 4 showing "two inwardly facing, zoomorphic mountains with trefoil blossoms on their brow. Their open mouths form a pool of water from which emerges a serpent carrying the sun disk in its coils" (Taube 2006:156). While Taube does not elaborate on the elements of this scene or their interpretation, it may be a moment when the sun is being brought out of the watery underworld after it has spent the night carried by the world traveling serpent as it rises into the sky for another day. The San Bartolo example shows:

> a series of figures atop a plumed serpent exhaled from a zoomorphic mountain covered with flowers (fig. 2). Yellow breath blossoms hover before the snout and atop the back of the feathered serpent, denoting it as a creature of breath and wind. In the scene, the maize god and his assistants take a basket of tamales and a water gourd out of the cave maw of Flower Mountain. (Taube 2006:156)

Taube explains the scene as likely one in which four primordial couples emerge out of Flower Mountain with food and water, giving Flower Mountain a role beyond that of a conduit between the underworld and upperworld by positioning it the origin place of food and water and the place from where it originally enters the world. It is then the ultimate place of both origin and return, as it is also the home of the ancestors and the gods (Taube 2004:69).

4.2.4 Ancestors

There are depictions of ancestors interacting with their descendants at many sites throughout the Maya world, so I will only mentioned a few here in order to take a closer look at this phenomenon. Ruler 1 of Copán, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', in human form hands an object to his decendent whose ascension to

power as Ruler 16 is being celebrated on Altar Q. Likewise, rulers at both Palenque and Yaxchilan interact with their ancestors in depictions of the rituals surrounding royal succession. They are most often shown handing an object, that stands for the power and authority of the ruler, to the new individual to inhabit this role (McAnany 1995:40). Scenes of this nature can be seen multiple times at Palenque, especially in the temples of the Cross, the Foliated Cross, and the Sun with the most famous being the Oval Palace Tablet in which the Lady Sak K'uk' hands a crown to her son K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great (Guenter 2007:19-20; McAnany 1995:45; Robertson 1991). All of these examples speak to the idea that ancestors of royalty were specific people with specific relationships remembered and invoked, rather than a concept of generalized powerful ancestor who is thought to be ancestral to the whole community.

Fitzsimmons's (2009) survey of the iconographic depiction of ancestors concludes that on stone monuments royal ancestors are more often depicted as either celestial bodies, such as the sun and moon, or gods, but not the Maize God. This is particularly interesting when we consider all of the previous information indicating the life of the Maize God forms a model for human rebirth or resurrection. He points to Tikal and Copán where images of the important rulers Yax Nuun Ayiin and K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' are shown as associated with solar imagery and dressed as the sun god when they are depicted as ancestors (Taube 2004:79). While the deceased rulers of Palenque are shown as the Jaguar God of the Underworld or Chak Xib Chaak and sometimes also depicted with solar imagery (Fitzsimmons 2009:53). Even Pakal, who has been described as wearing the skirt of the Maize God in his tomb, is depicted as GII of the Palneque Triad on the exterior of the Temple of the Inscriptions and Guenter (2007:5) believes he is actually the infant Unen Kawiil on the sarcophagus as well.

Likewise, Pakal's sarcophagus shows a number of individuals as stars in celestial cartouches making up part of the skyband along its edge. This helps to remind us the sun and the moon are not the only celestial bodies in the sky and suggests that some of the dead become important stars and planets or perhaps constellations (Chinchilla Mazariegos 2006). At Yaxchilan there is a series of 4-lobed cartouches

containing ancestors that are decorated with centipede, solar, or lunar images in the upper sections of stelae (McAnany 1995:43; Miller and O'Neil 2010; Taube 1992, 2004:79). Miller and O'Neil suggest the location of these cartouches above the living figures on stela indicate the ancestors are depicted in the celestial realm (2010:31). This makes a lot of sense for the cartouches embellished with sun and moon symbols, but Taube (2003) has demonstrated that centipedes are underworld creatures making the settings of these ancestors more complex than a straight forward journey to the sky. Mary Miller and Megan O'Neil see the cartouches as little openings or portals to other realms making a place where the "living and divine come together" and suggesting a certain permeability of the boundaries that separates the worlds (2010:31). The emphasis on celestial symbols also recall the fact that the sun, the moon, and important stars like Venus were thought to follow a path that took them into the underworld before rising again in the east to ascend to the sky (Miller 1974), which may explain the inclusion of Underworld imagery on ancestor depictions who had followed the same path. These representations suggest that some form of deification happens as part of their transformation into ancestors.

An early example of the a representation of an ancestor is on Stela 29 of Tikal, which begins a trend of placing ancestors at the top of scenes and depicting them either solely as heads or with incomplete bodies (Doyle in Finamore and Houston 2010: plate 45; Marcus 1976; McAnany 1995:40; Schele and Freidel 1990; Taube in Finamore and Houston 2010: plate 42). Much like Stela 31 in which a solar ancestor hovers over the scene taking place on earth, Stela 29 also has a hovering ancestor, but this one is shown as a human head with no solar attributes or other indications of deification (Fitzsimmons 2009:note 132, p. 215; McAnany 1995:40; Taube 2004:79). Another possible entry into the genre of iconography that pairs ancestors with celestial bodies is the common representation of ancestors with clouds such as on stelae at Ucanal and Jimbal (McAnany 1995:44-45). What better way to connect the watery underworld and the celestial sky than by clouds, which are made from one and rise into the other. There is also evidence the Maya believed clouds to sometimes come from caves, which have their own

connection to the Underworld (Ishihara 2009).

In the Classic period, it is common to see ancestors depicted in the upper registers of compositions, and when they have recognizable human faces their orientation is most often downwards, as if they are looking upon the scene from above. Taube describes another example of this kind of ancestor depiction on a conch trumpet in which the ancestor wears a headdress evoking the Rain God, Chahk. He suggests based on accompanying glyphs that Chahk was likely part of the ancestor's name. Cloud scrolls can be seen just below the ancestor's face, "placing him firmly in the sky" (Taube in Finamore and Houston 2010: plate 42). The Sun God and the Rain God were not the only divine entities who were associated with ancestors. An Early Classic heirloom shell pendant found in Late Classic Burial 162 at Tikal, shows the head of a floating and downward facing ancestor wearing a headdress showing the Principal Bird Deity, a human head and a vulture at the top of the headdress and a backward-facing shark's head is over the earflare (Doyle in Finamore and Houston 2010: plate 45). In this example not only do we have the addition of the Principal Bird Deity, but it illustrates clearly Fitzsimmons's (2009) point about the depiction of ancestors as composite and semi-divine entities rather than straightforward gods.

In addition to the representation of ancestors either as semi-deified or human, but located in some kind of celestial environment, there are also depictions of ancestors associated with the earth and possibly below the earth's surface. The most famous examples are the ancestors of Pakal of Palenque from the sides of his Sarcophagus and the personages on the Berlin Funeral vessel. On Pakal's sarcophagus some of his named ancestors are shown growing up from the ground as fruiting trees or maize. As Fitzsimmons (2009) notes these ancestors look human rather than divine, though Pakal himself wears the skirt often associated with the Maize God on the top of the sarcophagus. The second is the three growing figures on the Berlin vase, the middle of which is the person wrapped in a bundle on the other side of the vessel where a solar cartouche rises above the scene, while the flanking figures are likely his parents. Both the

pieces demonstrate the for rulers there were multiple ways of depicting one's ancestors likely depending on which aspect of the relationship is being emphasized. It is likely that rulers, and probably other non-royal nobles or high elites were also considered to join the celestial rebirth, as well as undergo a more earthly reincarnation, but this may not have been the case for most of the common people.

Fitzsimmons mentions Copán's K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' is another example of a single ancestor who can be portrayed in multiple ways in different depictions: on Rosalila he is apotheosized and on Altar Q he is human. Fitzsimmons acknowledges this could be a change in understanding over time as Rosalila and Altar Q are separated by approximately 200 years, but as there is a depiction of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' on the exterior of Temple 16 that is contemporary with Altar Q that shows him in a solar ancestor cartouche it appears he was easily understood as both human and godly at the same time. Likewise, the examples of the stucco and sarcophagus portrayals of Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal of Palenque, (great-?)grandmother to K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great are roughly contemporaneous and show her both as human-terrestrial/vegetal and deified- celestial. Both clearly demonstrates an acceptance of both modes of depiction during the same era. In the case of the Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal the deified and celestial version of her in stucco emphasizes the solar rebirth and apotheosis mythology that appears to be present in the Classic Period for the most important people, while the depiction of her on the side of Pakal's sarcophagus as a growing tree seems to be a direct reference to the mythology surrounding the rebirth of the Maize God and the importance of lineal decent through the generations.

4.3 Conclusions

It seems, then, that what we are dealing with are two different stories that sometimes have become conflated due to their similarities. These are the cycle of the sun and the cycle of the Maize God. The sun's journey is a model for celestial rebirth that follows a time spend in the Underworld. The Maize God's cycle, on the other hand, is the story of earthly rebirth where time spent germinating underground is

followed by regrowth on the surface of the earth. The predominance of royal ancestors represented with with celestial imagery and Carleson and Prechtel's (1991) statement that vegetal rebirth in one's own children is a type of immortality or rebirth available to even the poorest of people, suggest a class based difference in afterlife fates or the difference between those who are considered powerful and those who are not.

On the other hand, the few examples we do have where a single individual is shown inhabiting the results of both stories, such as Palenque's Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal, argue that this is not the case, or at least not the whole case. In fact, they sometimes seem to be referring to two different ideas not necessarily in conflict with each other. The vegetal one in which generational cycles are emphasized and the connection between children and their parents, so clearly important in Mesoamerica, are the focus of the ideas and symbols. Everyone can see themselves in their children and this intrinsic connection is important at every level of society, especially a society in which property and often power are transferred along hereditary lines. This does not mean, however, that some part of people do not remain in the afterlife. Perhaps some part of them lived on in the Underworld and Upperworld either forever, as is the case in some modern communities, or as in other communities, they reside there until a certain amount of time had passed and these soul was ready to be reborn back into one's family, which brings the two stories together. Fitzsimmons suggests that the reconciling of these two different conceptions of rebirth present among the royalty, and likely the high elite, may have to do with the multiple souls each Maya is thought to possess. If an individual has multiple souls, perhaps these souls have multiple fates (2009:58-59). One soul, therefore, joins other ancestors as gods in the celestial realm via the path of the sun, while the other is reborn on earth like the maize to sprout and grow again.

The main reason for laying out these ideas, beyond a clarification of the concepts as they appear during the Classic period, was to provide a foundation from which to recognize elements of these ideas when they appear in burial contexts. Since one of the main purposes of funerary rituals is to transition the

deceased out of a living role and identity and into the community of the dead, it would be unsurprising to find material remains of those elements of the ritual in burials themselves. The ideas of transition may be represented by animals who naturally cross-boundaries or undergo physical transitions. Since it appears that everyone, no matter who they were, likely spent some amount of time in a watery underworld as a first step in the post-death transformation, we would expect to find both artifacts and iconography reflecting such an environment. There is also good evidence that some people, especially royal people, would have become ancestors, at least some of whom may have left the underworld for a celestial existence perhaps via "Flower Mountain," while everyone would have had the potential to be reincarnated on earth through their children. While it might be difficult to separate out vegetal rebirth on earth from a "Flower Mountain" assisted celestial rebirth, looking for materials, artifacts, or iconography that emphasizes the sky and the celestial realm such as references to the sun, moon, stars, planets, constellations, and clouds may help to evaluate whether evidence for the celestial rebirth of ancestors can be found in burial contexts.

CHAPTER 5: THE OROPÉNDOLA TOMB

Tomb 08-01, the Oropéndola tomb, is located beneath Structure 10L-16 on Copán's Acropolis, which completely human-made section of the civic-ceremonial center located to the south of the Great Plaza. 10L-16 sits at the center of the Acropolis and rises 20m above the West Court and 30m above the East Court with a footprint of more than 40m on each side (Figure 5.1).

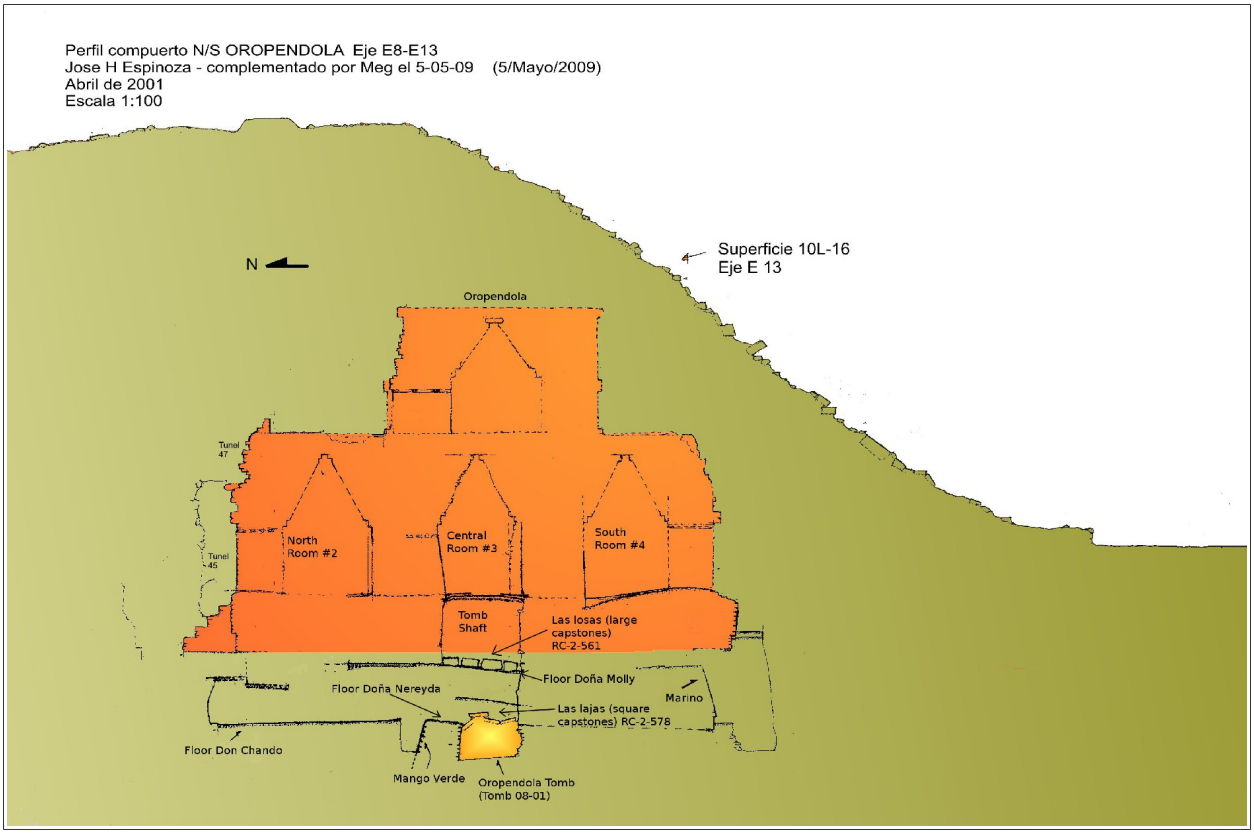


Figure 5.1 Section drawing of Structure 10L-16 showing the location of the Oropéndola Tomb (Drawing by Jose Espinoza)

This makes it the tallest building on the Acropolis and its final phase is the last construction on the Acropolis and was built by Ruler 16, Yax Pasaaj Chan Yopaat, the final ruler of the city. Based on the ceramics in the fill of the final phase and its close relationship to Altar Q, dedicated in 776 CE, 10L-16-final appears to have built in the second half of the 8th century. Below the final phase are a series of earlier

buildings and plazas the earliest of which appear to date at least to the beginning of the 5th century CE and the founding of the Copán dynasty. To investigate these earlier structures without taking down or significantly damaging the later ones, the many projects that have worked on Copán's Acropolis use small tunnels to penetrate the interior.

At the site of Copán a distinction is made between platforms and buildings. The platform is the solidly constructed base on which a building with rooms, either permanent or temporary, could be supported. Much of any pyramid structure is the platform, while the building is the temple, palace or other rooms located at the very top. In the field we typically distinguish between the two by giving platforms the names of colors and buildings the names of birds. An example would be the building Oropéndola (*Psarocolius* sp.), which sits on the platform Oro (gold). Plaster floors are also given nicknames in the field, which are named after archaeologists. The two major floors discussed are named after the archaeologists who found them Doña Molly (Molly Fierer-Donaldson) and Doña Nereyda (Isaura Nereyda Alonso).

5.1 The Oropéndola Tomb (Tomb 08-01)

Tomb 08-01 is located inside the platform called Mango Verde. The shaft of the tomb was dug through a platform called Marino that encompassed Mango Verde. Marino originally supported a permanent multi-room structure called Tz'unun, whose exterior was plastered and painted red. Only a tiny bit of Tz'unun still exists, as the majority of the structure was destroyed to build the platform Oro and its superstructure Oropéndola. Amazingly, a full 60% of Oropéndola is still standing including most of its first and second floors. The only building more intact is its westerly neighbor on the same plaza, Rosalila. To build Tomb 08-01, the construction crew cut through the floor of Mango Verde, called Doña Nereyda, and dug out a space. The tomb shaft cuts through the fill of Marino for 1.7m. The uniformity of the shaft and tomb cut argues for a single episode in which both were created (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2 Oropéndola Tomb Shaft

To seal the tomb the shaft was refilled and covered with a stucco floor (Doña Molly) to seal the hole. There was no evidence of any cutting or re-plastering of Doña Molly that would have indicated a section of the floor was removed when the shaft was built, though the shaft was clearly dug through an intact platform. When time came to build Oropéndola five large capstones (RC-2-561) were placed on top of the floor spanning the void below to help distribute the weight of the large structure above (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3 Las losas (Feature RC-2-561) The large capstones found by PDRVC

Feature RC-2-561 was uncovered as part of a project called Proyecto de Desarrollo Regional en el Valle Copán (PDRVC) directed Ricardo Agurcia Fasquelle whose focus was on conservation and consolidation work in Structure 10L-16. Found at the end of a project whose purpose was not excavation, Ricardo Agurcia decided to begin a new project to properly investigate Feature RC-2-561 and what was possibly an associated tomb. It was at this point that I was asked to join the project to replace field director, Juan Carlos Pérez Calderón, who had previous commitments that did not permit him to remain in Copán for the duration of a tomb excavation. My previous experience excavating in the tunnels within Structure 10L-26 under the direction of Dr. William Fash along with the work I had done on skeletal material from Copán with Dr. Rebecca Storey and from the Cenote Sagrado at Chichen Itza with Dr. Michele Morgan suggested to Ricardo Agurcia that I would be a good candidate to replace the outgoing field director. It was also at this point, that the name for the project was born, Proyecto Oropéndola, to reflect the new exploration beneath the structure whose nickname is Oropéndola.

At the beginning of Project Oropéndola it was assumed the tomb would be located just below the large capstones (RC-2-561). As it was already obvious from above that the capstones were damaged, the idea of removing one of them to access the space below seemed fraught with potential danger. Instead, a plan was made to access the tomb through one of the end walls rather than above.

Based on the location of tunnels previously excavated during earlier projects by Ricardo Agurcia and his team, plus an extrapolation of the tomb's location based on the placement of the capstones, it was decided the entry would be easiest through the north wall of the tomb. Even a northern entry necessitated further tunnel excavation. It began with the enlargement of an already existent tunnel (Tunnel 83) and continued with the excavation of a new one (Tunnel 90). Tunnel 90 opens off Tunnel 83 at N1.10 on the project grid. The plan map of Oropéndola showed 7m of Tunnel 90 needed to be dug before reaching S6.0, which was the location projected for the north wall of the tomb. The excavation of this and other

tunnels by Proyecto Oropéndola was done by Oscar Lopez Canan, Plácido Domingo Avelos, and Manuel Antonio Guerra.

The excavation of Tunnel 90 revealed the north edge of capstone #5 (losa #5) of RC-2-561 at S5.80 (Figure 5.4). It sits on top of the floor Doña Molly with a thin layer of *argamasa* (5-10cm) in between the stone and floor. We exposed the northern edge of Capstone #5, confirmed it was the northernmost of the capstones, and based on its location projected where the northern tomb wall should be located. Excavation directly underneath Capstone #5, however, revealed not a tomb chamber, but instead a burned and broken floor (Doña Molly) and a considerable amount of dirt. Instead covered a tomb, Las losas (RC-2-561) covered a tomb shaft.



Figure 5.4 The northern edge of Losa #5 (RC-2-561)

The excavation of the shaft began with the removal of the dirt that had fallen through the approximately 10cm cracks between the capstones. This exposed the broken and fallen floor Doña Molly on which the stones original sat. It was clear from the fallen sections of Doña Molly a burning event had taken place over the floor before the capstones of RC-2-561 had been laid down. Every piece of the fallen

floor was covered in a dark purplish-black material and fragments of carbon could be seen. This is in stark contrast to the section of Doña Molly exposed in Tunnel 90 to the north of capstone #5 of RC-2-561, which showed no sign of burning at all.

Once the fragments of Doña Molly had been removed the excavation of the dirt filling the shaft began. Since the other large tombs excavated at Copán had been accompanied by offerings outside the tomb chamber, we were surprised to find very little evidence for offering behavior in the shaft itself. The first object we encountered was a heavy green stone with red, yellow, and black paint (Figure 5.5), which appears to have fallen into the shaft through the spaces between the capstones rather than being intentionally placed in the tomb shaft. Perhaps it was part of whatever ceremony accompanied the placement of the large capstones.



Figure 5.5 Heavy green cobble with red, yellow, and black pigment

The only other artifacts of note were: a very large square cut tuff stone 1.85m long approximately 30cm thick and 30cm wide, a broken, but almost complete Usulután type mamiform tripod vessel with a basal flange, and seven pieces of what appear to be popcorn jade. This was the only Usulután vessel found associated with this tomb, none of the vessels from inside were of this type or shape. The intentionally placed offerings of the other royal tombs of Copán, such as the Margarita and Sub-Jaguar

Tombs, are quite significant and obvious offerings (Bell 2007), it was, therefore, surprising not to find something more formally placed. The limitations of the excavation environment precluded excavating more of the Mango Verde platform and its context beyond the tomb and its shaft. Consequently, any offerings not placed over the capstones or in the shaft were missed.

About 0.2m below the large cut stone, a series of 10 square cut stone blocks (las lajas, RC-2-578) were uncovered. They are all approximately 60 cm wide by 60cm long by 10cm thick. Originally, they would have been laid out covering the entire area of the shaft. Unlike the majority of cut stone on the site, these blocks were not all made of green tuff, instead the group included pieces of pink tuff and white limestone as well. All laid out it must have once looked like a 3 colored checkerboard. David Freidel has suggested this layer of stones was to create an effigy counting or divining board above the tomb (personal communication 2012). Unfortunately, by the time we reached them they had begun to shift and collapse and some were broken (Figure. 5.6). While they had once covered the entire shaft, individually none were long enough to span the entire width of the shaft and at approximately10cm thick neither would they have been able to hold up the large amount of fill above making them very poor capstones.



Figure 5.6 Las Lajas (RC-2-578). The square-cut stones that covered the tomb

Once the lajas of RC-2-578 were removed, it was possible to see that the lajas were jumbled because that which had been sustaining them from below had collapsed. Instead of a vaulted tomb, like the Early Classic royal tombs at Copán, Hunal and Margarita, the Oropéndola Tomb was sealed by flat top or lintel-style roof, like the Early Classic sub-Jaguar and Late Classic Chorcha tombs. Below the lajas were a group of approximately 40 roughly square cut blocks of tuff (RC-2-582) used as an *emplanteado* to help create a flat and stable surface for the lajas (RC-2-578) (Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.7 *Emplanteado* (RC-2-582). Small stones on east side of the tomb

Below the *emplanteado* were a series of five long rectangular cut blocks of tuff of sufficient length to span the width of the shaft (RC-2-580). Of the five, three were reused canal stones, likely from drains, and two were flat cut. Only one had survived the collapse without breaking, though its western end had fallen off the sidewall and into the tomb. The other four had all broken in half near the center and fallen inward. The interior of the shaft, where not filled with rocks, was filled with dirt. It was now possible to see why the fill below floor Doña Molly had ceased to support that floor, since it appeared the dirt from the shaft had fallen and filled the tomb chamber when the canal stones and lajas had failed.

While the tomb walls were not yet clearly visible, the extent of the roof collapse led us to expect they would be damaged as well.

The lajas (RC-2-578) were easily removed and the broken ones refit and put back together by one of the project members with experience in stone conservation, Plácido Avalos. The *emplanteado* stones (RC-2-582) were also easily collected and removed from the tomb. The canal stones (RC-2-580), however, took a bit more work to remove, since all but one had collapsed almost vertically into the center of the tomb when they buckled. It was necessary to remove a considerable amount of dirt before it was possible remove those large, heavy stones (Figure.5.8). With the removal of the dirt that had filled the chamber, the walls began to be exposed.



Figure 5.8 Los canales (RC-2-580). Large capstones most made from reused drain stones

The first wall to be significantly visible was the east wall; the majority of which appeared to be intact. As more dirt and stones were removed, the north, south, and west walls were revealed to be present, but each was missing varying amounts of blocks, especially from the upper courses. All of these missing blocks had fallen into the tomb. The fallen wall pieces were collected and the blocks from each wall kept separately. Once all of the walls were revealed, it was obvious that the west wall had suffered

the most. All of the walls are made of small, thin, and irregularly carved blocks of green tuff placed in courses. Unlike the masonry skill demonstrated in later periods of the site, the height of each of these courses changed throughout the length of the wall and different sized blocks were employed to fill the spaces. The thinness of the wall stones was also surprising, as the buildings of the Acropolis and the two royal tombs found that were constructed before the Oropéndola Tomb clearly demonstrate the Maya knew thick strong walls were important to hold up any significant amount of weight. That the wall stones were more of a façade or veneer over a mix of *aragamasa* and river cobble, was likely a significant factor in the collapse of this tomb. The removal of the last canal stones and their associated dirt revealed the first evidence for material that could be unequivocally assigned to have come from the inside of the tomb rather than associated with the shaft fill. This evidence was in the form of a bright red powdered pigment, most likely cinnabar, first exposed in the southern area of the tomb.

In order to maintain good spatial control over the excavation, the tomb was given its own internal grid of 20×20 cm squares. The grid began in the southeast corner and ran from A-G along the east-west axis and from 1-10 along the south-north axis. All of the depth measurements were taken by a datum fixed into the northwestern corner of the tomb. The collapse of the tomb severely condensed tomb contents making any fine stratigraphic relationships difficult to observe, Consequently, levels were only used to refer to general strata with level 1 assigned to all of the material above, including the *petate* (reed mat) that lay over the individual, while level two was below the *petate* to the wooden platform on which the skeleton lay, while level three was all of the items bellow the *petate* and above the *cascajo* floor.

5.2 The Skeleton

With her permission, the following is a summary of the conclusions of the project bioarchaeologist Katherine A. Miller. The references, formula, and full discussion of how those conclusions were reached can be found in her final report (K. Miller 2010).

The skeleton was laid out extended and supine with its head to the south, like the individuals in the Hunal and Margarita tombs (Bell 2007). The arms were at the sides with the palms up based on the disposition of the radii and ulnas (Figure 5.9). As the hand bones did not preserve well, it is difficult to determine if anything had been placed in the hands at burial. The legs were slightly apart with both feet twisted laterally, with the outside of the ankles facing down and the inside of the ankles facing up and the toes pointing out. As with the other fragile and organic materials in the tomb the collapse of the roof and the in rushing of the shaft fill was not kind to the skeleton. All of the bones were broken and flattened from the weight of the fill and capstones. The damage to the skeleton, however, was not solely due to pressure from above. When lifting the bones, it was found that the cortex and part of the trabecular bone from the dorsal side of every bone was missing, apparently rotted away. The trabecular bone remaining was a light olive green color, which turned to powder at the touch of a bamboo skewer. The most completely preserved bones of the skeleton are the leg and foot bones, but even these are fragmentary. The majority of the ribs, vertebra, pelvis were not recoverable, while only fragments of the cranium and arms were preserved.

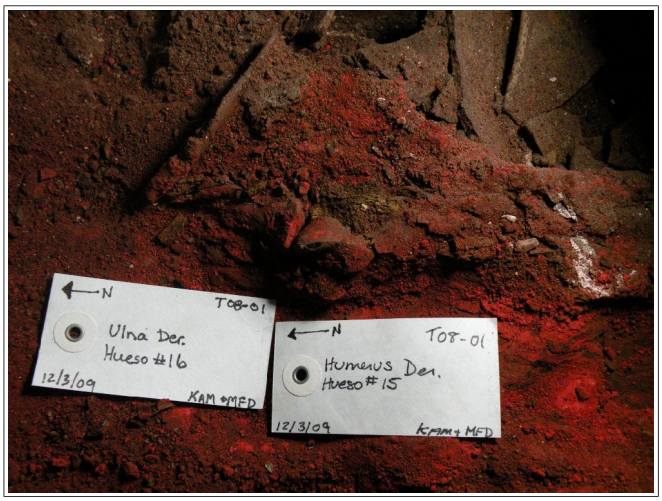


Figure 5.9 Right Ulna and Humerus

During her cleaning and analysis of the bones in the laboratory, Ms. Miller noted a thin black organic material located between the bones and the cinnabar on which the body rested. It turned to powder when touched, but she observed it to have internal structure when first encountered. She suggests this material might be the reason for the loss of the dorsal side of the bones. If the material was naturally acidic or treated with an acidic compound, it could have accounted for the damage observed.

5.2.1 Sex

The individual in the tomb was particularly hard to sex because the damage to the skeleton meant very few of the traditional boney sex markers were present. The sexing of skeletons can be challenging in the best of circumstances because most criteria for sex determination are based around the fact that men tend to be larger and more robust than women. While this is demonstrably true across human populations, there is always a degree of overlap between men and women, which is different within each population. A characteristic that maybe a very good indication of sex in one population may have a large area of overlap in a second population. This means not only is a reliable comparison population and a good understanding of its internal dynamics is essential for this work, but the most reliable sex determinations come from contexts in which as many of the skeletal sex indicators as possible are scored and a composite diagnosis is made.

The first bone usually examined when undertaking a determination of sex is the pelvis. Unfortunately, none of the markers from the pelvis survived to be scored, leaving us without the most reliable bone for sex identification. Of the five major criteria from the cranium used for sex assessment, only part of one, 1.5cm of the lateral portion of the right supraorbital margin, was present. The scoring for this one indicator was 3/4 on a scale of 5, where 5 indicates the feature is the most male-like (robust) and 1 the most female-like (gracile). A score of 3/4, therefore, implies a possible male. The diameter of the femoral head has been shown to be a reliable indicator of sex in the ancient population of Copán. While,

neither of the femoral heads from the individual in T 08-01 was complete, the right one was 80% present, from which an estimate of sex was obtained. The conclusion from the estimate of the femoral head diameter also suggests a possible male.

Without the normal skeletal indicators of sex present, Ms. Miller was forced to look for less conventional methods of sexing the skeleton. The best preserved bones in the body were the foot bones, so Ms. Miller conducted a literature search to ascertain whether anyone had developed a reliable methodology for sexing individuals based on measuring the feet. She was able to find studies within modern forensic contexts on using hand and food bone measurements to sex individuals, and while not ideal, gave a way to utilize the most intact, and therefore most reliable, bones from the skeleton. In comparison to all of the modern forensics populations, 8 of the feet measurements look male, while 6 of the measurements look female aligning with the other skeletal indicators showing a possible male skeleton. Looking at the foot tarsal and phalange measurements in comparison specifically with the Hawikuh (Native North American) population data, the individual looks even more male. As no work on this topic has been done in the context of the Ancient Maya, the results of the studies on Native North Americans are likely the closest references rather than the modern forensic populations whose focus tends to be on modern Caucasian and African-American populations.

Ms. Miller was able to take rough *in situ* measurements of length for both the right and left femurs and the right tibia. Together these point to a stature of approximately 153.84 to 166.67 cm (5' to 5'5") in height. In comparison with the work of Tiesler-Bos (1999) on stature in Ancient Copán and Danforth (1999) on stature at Copán during the Early Classic period, the stature estimates of the individual from the Oropéndola Tomb indicate the individual is most likely a male, though not a very large male, which is consistent with all of the other indicators pointing to someone who was only slightly larger and more robust. When everything is put together the individual buried in the Oropéndola Tomb is classified as a possible male.

5.2.2 Age

Current research in bioarchaeology calls for the traditional aging techniques, based around cranial suture closure and tooth wear patterns, to be evaluated together with the more precise diagnostic criteria available from the evaluation of the auricular surfaces, the pubic symphysis, and the use of transition analysis among others techniques. The damage to the skeleton of Tomb 08-01, especially to the pelvis, leaves only some parts of the more traditional techniques on which to base an estimate of age. The closure of all of the epiphyses of the long bones and the slight wear on the 3rd molars, indicates the individual was a full adult. The evaluation of the few cranial sutures present and of the wear on the teeth both point to middle adult individual from 35-45 years of age. The lack of extreme wear on the teeth would normally tend to point to a younger individual, but as it is thought elite Maya populations had access to softer and more processed foods than the rest of the Maya population, they would be expected to suffer from less tooth wear than the commoner population. This means teeth wear would tend to underestimate the age of the elite individual.

5.2.3 Pathologies

All of the teeth were present, which means complete measurements and pathological evaluation of the teeth could be undertaken (Figure 5.10). Ms. Miller noted only small caries present on the biting surfaces of the molars, which arise from the consumption of sugary foods such as maize. She notes that Cucina and Tiesler (2003) have argued that few caries are seen among high status males because of access to a diet with more protein and less maize. All of the teeth showed signs of calculus. Ms. Miller attributes the buildup of calculus, which is dental tartar, to a diet of soft already processed foods and proteins, since a less processed grittier diet would have removed the calculus build up while the individual was still alive. Access to a diet higher in protein and prepared foods, suggest the individual was of high elite status and more likely to be male than female.



Figure 5.10 The teeth

The only intentional tooth modification was on both the upper right and left canines, which consisted of a diagonal notch starting in the lower corner farther away from the center of the mouth and heading towards the center of the tooth. This type of modification is classed as B5. Ms. Miller notes in her report that research has shown types B4 and B5 to be the most common types of dental modification at Copán during the Classic period. Research by Tiesler Blos (2001) shows that overall dental modification is more common in males than females, though Ms. Miller notes that in her observations of the skeletal collection at Copán type B5 is more common in females than males.

The damage to the cranium means any evaluation of potential cranial modification is speculative at best. Ms. Miller observed some flattening at lambda (ie. the back of the head), which, she says, could be consistent with Lambdoid, Occipital, Tabular Erect, or Tabular Oblique styles of cranial modification. She warns, however, that without the ability to look at the frontal bone (forehead) there is no way to discriminate among them and the extreme damage to the entire cranium makes it impossible to conclude intentionality to the flattening observed. Ms. Miller goes on to say cranial modification was common throughout all time periods, genders, and areas of the site of Copán.

There were no indications of trauma or disease found among the bones that could be analyzed. All of the pathologies noted fall under the category of what are called non-specific stress markers (NSM), age related changes, and activity markers. NSMs are bony reactions to events or illnesses in life, but whose manifestations are not significant or special enough to give a clear idea of their cause. Evidence for NSMs were found on the cranial vault (porotic hyperostosis) and the upper interior portion of the right eye orbit (cribra orbitalis). There were also NSMs on some of the long bones (periosteal reaction), which do not seem to be related to trauma, but whose origin cannot be pinpointed any farther. The linear enamel hypoplastic defects on the front teeth are also considered to be NSMs, though their location implies they occurred around the age 3-4, which may indicate they simply show the stress of weaning. While the origins of the NSMs maybe unknowable, Ms. Miller points out they are not necessarily indicative of ill-health, since the person would have had to survive the events that caused the NSMs long enough for them to be incorporated into the bones making them instead indicators of the robust immune system of someone who survived these events.

The age related changes were minimal and were limited to a very small amount of lipping found on the articular facets of bones throughout the body. While not enough to demonstrate full-blown osteoarthritis, Ms. Miller suggests this may be the precursor to the development of such a condition the individual would have suffered at a later age. All of the pathologies are consistent with a generally healthy individual of middle age and none of them suggest cause of death.

Three molars were sent to the Archaeological Chemistry Laboratory in the Center for Bioarchaeological Research in the School of Human Evolution and Social Change at Arizona State University under the direction of Dr. Kelly Knudson. Dr. Knudson and Ms. Miller carried out strontium isotope analysis on a first molar, a second molar, and a third molar. The results indicate that the individual in the Oropéndola Tomb was born and spent his childhood in the Copán area.

5.2.4 Use of Cinnabar

As with the Hunal, Margarita, and sub-Jaguar tombs at Copán, the skeleton in the Oropéndola Tomb was associated with cinnabar (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004) from at least two different episodes. Below the skeleton, but on top of the *petate* and the possible hide lying on the bier, was a thick crusted layer of cinnabar. It appeared to be made of a paint or slurry intentionally and thoroughly applied to the material below the body. The slurry cinnabar preserved the impression of a fine textile in numerous areas suggesting the individual was either wearing clothes made of this material or was wrapped or lying on top of such a cloth. On the top of the bones, a coating of powdered cinnabar was found (Figure 5.11).

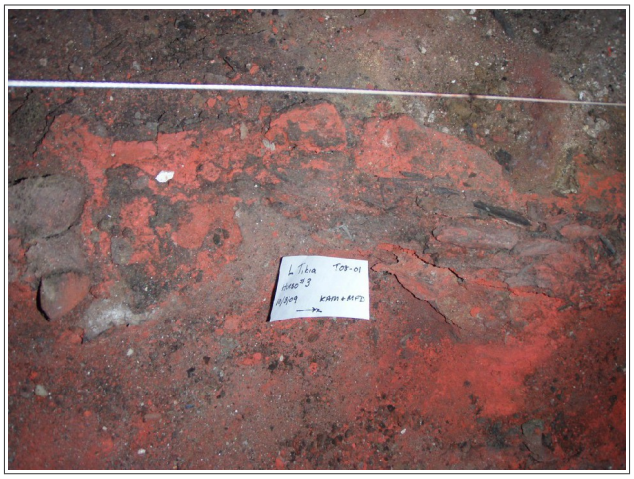


Figure 5.11 Left Tibia showing cinnabar application to the bone and surrounding area

These applications of cinnabar were clearly an important part of the funerary ritual, but archaeologists are unsure exactly what the ritual would have entailed. It is known from both archaeological and epigraphic work that the Ancient Maya had funeral ceremonies that would stretch out over days and tombs could be re-entered or re-visited at later dates for the performance of additional rituals, but it is unknown exactly how long these processes took (Fitzsimmons 2002, 2009). One piece of evidence that could help to solve these questions is to know whether or not the body still had flesh on it when the red pigment was added. In a context like the Oropéndola Tomb, if the people performing the

ritual waited until the flesh, tendons, and ligaments had rotted away to apply the cinnabar, rather than apply it to the body soon after death, there will be indications on the bones. Those indications would be the presence of red pigment on joint articulation surfaces tightly bound by ligaments during life, which implies the ligaments had decayed enough to expose the articulations to the air to receive the red pigment powder.

Whether this would mean the body was fleshed during the time of application is unknown. Ligaments often preserve longer than flesh, there is some amount of time when most of the flesh would be gone, but ligaments might still be in place binding bones together. Since it has been asserted that red pigment applied while the flesh is still present will end up on the bones once it has decayed (Fitzsimmons 2009), the presence of red pigment on the bones does not necessarily mean it was the surface onto which the pigment was added. From the perspective of the skeleton it can only be said whether the red pigment was applied before the ligaments had decayed or after, but not whether flesh was still present.

In the case of the individual in the Oropéndola Tomb, the only tightly bound joints preserved well enough to examine were the ankle bones. Ms. Miller reports she saw no evidence of red pigment on the joint surface between the talus and calcaneous of either the right or left foot, which implies the joints were still bound together when the red pigment was added. Since this just confirms the presence of these ligaments, this might still mean the flesh was gone, but the ligaments remained. Another piece of evidence that the body had not yet decayed before the ritual, however, was the imprint and dark stain in the cinnabar covering the bier that was wider than the bones, but in the general outline of a human, which may be the stain from the decayed flesh.

5.2.5 Burning or Smoking of the Body

Another type of funerary treatment of the body sometimes seen at Copán and other Maya sites is the smoking of the body. Both the Margarita tomb and the Motmot tomb show evidence of the body being

smoked after the flesh had rotted away. Though the damaged condition of the bones make the assessment of smoking very difficult, Ms. Miller believes the currently unknown taphonomic process that created the gray staining she observed on the bones did not appear to be due to smoking. The Oropéndola Tomb lacks any evidence that burning ever took place on its walls or on any objects inside the tomb. The organic remains from the floor are still being tested for any signs that they had been burnt or that any burning might have taken place on the floor of the tomb. From the absence of any evidence of burning inside the tomb and the characteristics of the gray stain, other possible processes that might have created the staining observed are being considered. Comparison to other bones with similar staining shows commonalities to bones affected by water immersion, though the tomb lacks any other evidence for that as well. Another possibility might be transference from degenerated organic materials, such as textiles, that would have been in contact with the body in the tomb.

5.3 Ceramics

Tomb 08-01 contained twenty ceramic vessels and four ceramic ring bases. According to Cynthia Conides, there is a trend at Teotihuacan to place twinned vessels inside tombs (2001: 38). The pairing of vessels, especially tripod vessels, has also been noted for the tombs in mounds A and B of Kaminaljuyu (Braswell 2003:126). In the Oropéndola Tomb something similar can be observed. Most of the vessels appear to break down into groups of two or multiples of two. There are two stucco and painted tripod vessels, which do not carry the exact same iconography, but are very similar in composition. The four plano-relief vessels are decorated with identical iconography with the only differences being minor variations among the foot motifs. The four large brown cylindrical tripods are all of similar shape and appear to to have contained the same material when placed into the tomb, though there were some small differences in decoration. The tomb also contained four local brown ring based bowls with a red stripe at the edge and four local brown ring based bowls without the red stripe. The final two vessels of the tomb

were each unique and both were likely imported vessels. One is likely a faux Thin-Orange ring based bowl and the other is a bright orange bowl without a ring base. For all that two seems to be an important number in vessels types, there are two interesting cases where the number three seems to be important in vessel location. This refers to the three ring based bowls without red stripes placed together on the bier, while the fourth one of this group was placed on the floor, and the three brown cylinder tripods placed next to each other on the floor of the south end of the tomb, while the fourth was located at the north end.

According to Dr. Rene Viel (2009), the ceramic vessels from the tomb, especially the rims of the Melano ring based bowls, place the ceramics in the Early Acbi I phase, which corresponds to a date earlier than 500CE, but is likely after 450CE. He also looked at ceramics from the excavation of Tunnel 90, which is the access tunnel to the tomb. Tunnel 90 was dug through the fill of Tz'unun/Marino, which is the same fill the tomb shaft was dug through. He looked at material from between grid coordinates S1 to S5 in Tunnel 90 and said the sherds are almost pure Bijac phase ceramics, which is the phase immediately before early Acbi. Since the fill into which the tomb was dug should date before the tomb itself, the Bijac date for the ceramics from Marino's fill supports an Early Acbi date for the tomb. He also said the ring based bowls, and probably the tripod vessels, all appear to be locally made. He notes that large dark tripods are part of a local tradition, while the plano-relief and stuccoed and painted tripods come from traditions outside of the area, but are likely to be locally made copies of styles whose origins are elsewhere.

Samples of all of the ceramic vessels from the tomb were taken for Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) by Dr. Ron Bishop and Dr. Dorie Reents-Budet (Bishop and Reents-Budet 2009). INAA seeks to use the chemical profiles of vessel pastes to ascertain the locations in which the materials used in production of the ceramic was sourced, thereby giving an idea of the place in which they were made. A full description of the methodology behind this work can be found in please see the report of Drs. Bishop and Reents-Budet (2009). While the INAA results of each vessel for which analysis has

been completed will be included below in the descriptions of each individual vessel, it is important to mention at the beginning that the results for many of the vessels in the tomb were unexpected, though most are thought to have been locally made based on their stylistic and typological similarities to other locally made vessels. As Reents-Budet explains it when discussing an individual vessel (Artifact #09-103, MSC403), "as with most samples from the tomb, the chemical profiles are relatively unique. This may reflect idiosyncratic workshop behavior that perhaps pertains to resource procurement zone and/or paste recipes on the part of a Copán potter/workshop" (Bishop and Reents-Budet 2010a, b).

5.3.1 Cylindrical tripods

5.3.1.1 Melano Cylindrical slab-foot tripods

Four large cylindrical slab foot tripod vessels with a dark brown slip of the local Melano type were all encountered sitting on the tomb floor (Artifacts #09-30/MO-31, 09-31/MO-32, 09-95/MO-42, 09-105/MO-48). Two of the four were decorated with a 2cm wide band at their base of incised circles with dots in the middle (Artifacts #09-30, 09-31). One was decorated with a 2cm wide band at the base of incised geometric design (Artifact #09-105),while the fourth lacked any decoration (Artifact #09-95). All four were found full of a very heavy granular, sand-like material. The material was a mixture of bright yellow, dark red, and lavender/gray with little pieces of silver sparkle mixed in. The material is currently unknown, but the weight of the material has lead people to speculate that it may be some kind of mineral. It appears likely that the yellow color was the remains of pyrite, since two of the four vessels show significant damage to the integrity of ceramic material itself consistent with the effects of the degeneration of pyrite into sulfuric acid; it has turned them brittle, friable, and yellow (Artifacts #09-31 and #09-105). In the case of Artifact #09-105 the damage was so significant many of the pieces no longer resemble ceramics and it will never be able to be reconstructed.

Three of the four tripods were found on the south side of the tomb (Artifacts #09-30, 09-31, 09-95), while the fourth was at the north side (Artifact #09-105). The vessel without incised decoration was located on the floor against the south wall of the tomb below the location of the cranium. One of the vessels with circles at its base was located immediately to its north below the chest area (Artifact #09-30), this vessel had one of the Melano ring base bowls with a red stripe stacked on top of it (Artifact #09-99). The second tripod with the circular decoration was found immediately west of the first vessel with the circles (Artifact #09-31). The tripod with the geometric band at the base was found on the floor in the area beneath the calves of the individual (Artifact #09-105). Artifact #09-105 is the only member of the group to have had its paste analyzed by INAA. The results indicate that it was likely locally made, though does show the idiosyncrasies noted above (Reents-Budet 2010a, b) No significance in the placement of these four vessels has yet been deciphered, though the similarity in their shape and their contents implies they were most likely thought of as a group when placed into the tomb.



Figure 5.12 Melano cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel. Artifact #09-30/Main Object #31



Figure 5.13 Melano cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel. Artifact #09-31/Main Object #32



Figure 5.14 Melano cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel. Artifact #09-95/Main Object 42



Figure 5.15 Melano cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel (heavily damaged). Artifact #09-105/Main Object #48

5.3.1.2 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessels

The group of four slab-foot cylindrical tripod vessels, referred to as Plano-relief at Kaminaljuyu and Teotihuacan, are Luisiana Incised in the Copán ceramic typology (Bill 1997), are all decorated with what appears to be identical incised designs on their bodies (Artifact #08-12/MO #2, 08-13/MO #3, 09-102/MO #46, 09-107/MO #50). They bodies are a burnished dark brown/black in color that have been smeared or covered with red pigment on the exterior. The application of red pigment makes the decoration stand out more as the pigment collects in the incisions. This type of vessel is well-known from Teotihuacan, where there are some examples also coated with red pigment (Conides 2001: 38). It is often considered to be a decorative technique with origins in highland Mexico, though it was clearly copied in various places throughout Mesoamerica. Plano-relief vessels are also present at Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu (Kidder et al 1946) and present in at Early Classic Tikal (Coggins 1975; Culbert 1993).

The decorative scheme on the plano-relief vessels from Oropéndola Tomb are considered to be Teotihuacano in theme, but based on their style and ceramic type are likely local interpretations of the central Mexican style and motifs (Bill 1997; Viel personal communication to Ricardo Agurcia 2009).

Instrumental Neutron Activation data on all four vessels suggest they were made locally with Artifacts #08-12 and 08-13 similar to each other and a sherd found at Quirigua, while Artifacts #09-102 and 09-107 were chemically similar to each other (Reents-Budet 2010). The iconography on all of them are repeating medallions representing the "feathery eye motif" from Teotihuacan (Karl Taube personal communication to Ricardo Agurcia 2009). The vessel is also bordered at top and bottom with bands depicting a geometric design of diamonds laying with their long axis horizontal and triangles that come down from the top and up from the bottom of the register between the diamonds, which may be evoking the diamond patterns on the back of some species of snakes. All of the feet are decorated differently. The four vessels were found loosely in groups of two. One pair located near each other and beneath the left leg of the individual (Artifacts #08-12 and 08-13), while the other pair were located near each other with one below the pelvis and the second below the right leg (Artifacts #09-102 and 09-107).



Figure 5.16 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #08-12/Main Object #2



Figure 5.17 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #08-13/Main Object #3



Figure 5.18 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #09-102/Main Object #4



Figure 5.19 Plano-relief cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact #09-107/Main Object #50

5.3.1.3 Stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessels

Artifact #09-106/Main Object #33 (Figure 5.20) is one of two stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab foot tripod vessels found in the tomb. This style of vessel is often thought to trace its origin to the central Mexican city of Teotihuacan, though there are also examples of this type at both the tombs of Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu and Burial 10 of Tikal suggesting them to be an appropriate ceramic type for tombs of the Maya region in the Early Classic period (Coggins 1975; Culbert 1993; Kidder et al. 1946). Both this and the other stuccoed and painted vessel are two of the most chemically idiosyncratic vessels from the tomb. In the end Reents-Budet (2010a, b) suggests they were likely made locally, but have irregular chemical signatures from either where the clay was procured or the techniques and recipes made to create the paste.



Figure 5.20 Stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel. Artifact #09-62/Main Object #33

The vessel was made by applying a layer of stucco placed on a highly burnished dark brown vessel. The stucco was then painted in a polychrome palette. The highly burnished nature of the vessel's slip means the stucco did not adhere well to the vessel and has come off the sherds in some places. Unfortunately, the vessel was so poorly fired that the moisture of the tomb in conjunction with the weight from the collapse of the tomb's roof deformed sections of this vessel to the point it could not be completely reconstructed. This might be thought to indicate the vessel would have been unable to be used prior to its deposition in the tomb and was therefore made specifically for the tomb, but the conservator Lynn Grant detected a possible lower level of stucco beneath the visible one, perhaps indicating it was only the outer stucco layer that was newly made for the tomb (Grant 2009).

This vessel was located on the floor of the tomb below the eastern edge of the wooden bier onto which the deceased had been placed. It was located between vessels #08-24 (Melano ring based bowl) to the south and #09-107 (plano-relief tripod) to the north. The base body color of the design is a dark red/pink. Flowers, which maybe water lilies, are placed along both the upper and lower border of the

vessel. The body of the vessel is decorated with medallions containing a circular motif that looks a little like a round lifesaver from a boat, but may instead be a mirror (Taube 1992). From the four corners of this medallion radiating diagonally are bands of yellow that reach the edges of the vessels and connect the repeating medallion motifs together creating diamond shapes across the body.

Artifact #09-62/Main Object #49 (Figure 5.21) is the second stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab foot tripod vessel. It showed similar INAA results, though with some strange variation, to the stuccoed and painted cylinder tripod just discussed (Artifact #09-106) (Reents-Budet 2010a,b). The vessel was made in the same way as the first and also suffered some stucco loss, though it did not have the significant deformation of the body experienced by Artifact #09-106. Artifact #09-62 was located on the floor of the tomb below the eastern edge of the wooden bier onto which the deceased had been placed. It was located between artifact #09-93 (shells and jade) to its south and artifact #08-24 (Melano ring based bowl) to its north, which places it near the area below the right shoulder of the occupant. It is difficult to determine what the original colors of the vessel would have been, but I will describe the way the colors looked when originally encountered in the tomb. The base color on the body is a white or cream. There are three petaled yellow flowers with bright pink bases where they are attached to purple stems placed along both the upper and lower border of the vessel separated from the rest of the body by a thin band. The central band of the vessel is decorated with medallions containing a yellow four lobed motif with five white dots inside arranged with dots at the four cardinal directions (up, down, left, right) and the center. It has been suggested that it may represent a four petaled flower. From either side of this medallion radiating diagonally are bands of what currently appears purple that connect the medallions together in diamond shapes. Behind the medallions the body of the vessel is light pink with bright pink dots placed covering the middle section of the vessel. For all that the motifs of both of these vessels appear Teotihuacano, I have not seen similar examples from that site.



Figure 5.21 Stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab-foot tripod. Artifact # 09-106/Main Object #49

5.3.2 Ring Based Bowls

There were four Melano ring based bowls with brown slip and a red stripe at the lip all located on the floor of the tomb (Artifacts #08-14, 08-19, 08-24, 09-99). They appear to be similar locally made Melano vessels, which is supported by the INAA data that finds them to be chemically similar to each other and to a red stuccoed tripod vessel from Margarita's upper chamber (MSC364) (Reents-Budet 2010a,b). Artifact #08-14/Main Object #4 (Figure 5.22) was against the eastern wall just south of vessel #09-07 (a Melano ring based bowl without a red stripe) and northeast of vessel #08-24 (Melano ring based bowl with a stripe). Artifact #08-19/Main Object #6 (Figure 5.23) was located against the southern wall of the tomb immediately east of Melano tripod vessel #09-95.



Figure 5.22 Melano ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact #08-14/Main Object #4

Artifact #08-24/Main Object #9 (Figure 5.24) was located below the eastern edge of the burial platform, immediately west of both one of the other Melano ring-based bowl with a stripe (Artifact #08-14) and the faux Thin Orange ring-based bowl (Artifact #08-21). Artifact #09-99/Main Object #44 (Figure 5.25) was the bowl found stacked on top of Melano tripod vessel #09-30.



Figure 5.23 Melano ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact #08-19/Main Object #6



Figure 5.24 Melano Ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact #08-24/Main Object #9



Figure 5.25 Melano Ring-foot bowl with red stripe at rim. Artifact 09-99/Main Object #44

According to the work of Dr. Cameron McNeil, Artifact #08-19/Main Object #6 was identified as once having contained theobromine, a major diagnostic component of chocolate (McNeil 2010). In iconographic representations, chocolate is most often depicted a beverage that was drunk out of cylindrical cups, that it was found in a bowl suggests that it was either mixed in as an ingredient with a food item or ring-based bowls were used to hold liquids, and perhaps acted as drinking vessels in this context. It is currently unknown if any of the cylindrical tripod vases or any of the other bowls show

evidence of once containing chocolate, but as the Hunal, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar Tomb chambers contained evidence of a bowl with theobromine and fish bones, as well as small and large tripod vessels, *apastes,* and a large dish (McNeil 2009), it is clear that food and/or drink items containing theobromine could be served in a variety of vessels.

The next group of Melano ring based bowls are brown in color, but without the red stripe of the first group (Artifacts #08-27, #09-07, #09-91, and #09-92). Of this group only Artifact #08-27 currently has INAA results and they indicate it was locally made (Reents-Budet 2010a,b), but the type and shape of all the vessels in the group suggest a similar origin for all four. The group can perhaps be further broken down based on size and location into a group of three (Artifacts #08-27, 09-91, and 09-92) and the different fourth one (Artifact #09-07).

Artifact #08-27/Main Object #11 (Figure 5.26) was encountered smashed, like the other vessels of the tomb, but the sherds were found on top of Artifact #09-93. The sherds of the ring-foot bowl called Artifact #08-27 were intermixed with those of Artifact #09-91, which is also a small Melano ring-foot bowl (Figure 5.27). While the two bowls are clearly different, the fact they are both small thin-walled Melano ring based bowls without red stripes at the rim means they were identified in the field as one object. Artifact #08-27 is decorated on its interior with a series of red lines and squiggles in a regular pattern, while the faint red decoration on Artifact #09-91 appears to be geometric or zoomorphic. It is unknown if the vessels were stacked or were next to each other when broken. Original drawings and photographs of this area appear to indicate the vessels were located next to each rather than stacked, but it cannot be stated definitively. These vessels were located above the complex group of shell and jade objects known as Artifact #09-93, rather than on the floor. It would make very little sense to have a group of ceramic vessels sitting on the set of materials that make up Artifact #09-93, not in the least because they would not have been resting on a flat surface. This suggests they may have originally been located

on the bier itself just to the right/east of the head. Based on the location it was found, artifact #09-92 was the likely third member of this group of vessels.



Figure 5.26 Melano Ring-foot bowl. Artifact #08-27/Main Object #11



Figure 5.27 Melano ring-foot bowl. Artifact #09-91/Main Object #39

The third member of the group is Artifact #09-92/Main Object #40 (Figure 5.28) a Melano ring base bowl with a dark brown slip. When it was encountered it was found almost complete, but partially on its side, above Artifact #09-93, just south of the intermixed sherds of Artifacts #08-27 and #09-91. Due to its location and size, it was likely placed on the burial platform with Artifacts #09-91 and #08-27.



Figure 5.28 Melano ring-foot bowl. Artifact # 09-92/Main Object #40

The fourth Melano ring-based bowl without red decoration is Artifact #09-07/Main Object #27 (Figure 5.29), which has a light brown slip rather than the darker brown of the other three bowls in this group. This vessel was located on the floor of the tomb against the eastern wall north of vessel #08-14 and south of the pyrite mirror stack (Main Object #29). During Dr. McNeil's excavation of the interior of this vessel, she found what appears to be a coiled basket (McNeil 2010). The coils are dark brown in color, but very clear and they filled up almost half of the bowl. This suggests that the ceramic bowl was not originally filled with a food offering or with a liquid, unless the basket was placed on top of such an item. Stacking dishes with food items is not completely without precedent, as a stack of three vessels from Margarita Chamber 2 were each found containing the remains of fish or shrimp.



Figure 5.29 Melano ring-foot bowl. Artifact #09-07/Main Object #27

5.3.3 Unique Vessels

There are two ceramic vessels in the tomb that are unlike the others and unlike each other. They are both orange bowls, but that is where any similarity ends. Artifact #08-21/ Main Object #8 (Figure 5.30) is a ring based bowl. It is thin walled and light orange in color and has been suggested to be Thin-Orange or imitation Thin-Orange vessel. Real thin orange vessels are made in the highlands of Mexico and their production is centered in the current state of Puebla. Large amounts of the vessels are found in the great highland Mexican city of Teotihuacan. The question of under whose auspices these ceramic vessels are traveling and whether they are traveling with the other major highland Mexico export of the time, Pachuca green obsidian, is still being studied. The question of how much control Teotihuacan had over their distribution is still another open question that scholars are exploring. They have traditionally been seen to be a marker of contact between Teotihuacan and the site where the vessels are found, though whether by the mechanism of long-distance trade relationships or more intense ties is likewise unknown (Braswell 2003).



Figure 5.30 Faux thin-orange vessel. Artifact #08-21/Main Object #8

Thin Orange vessels appear to have been so popular enough in their time that they spawn local imitations throughout Mesoamerica. These vessels often look superficially like Thin Orange, but lack the tell-tail lightness that characterizes the vessels made in the highlands. Though we are waiting on the INAA for more supporting data, it appears the vessel in the Oropéndola tomb was most likely locally made rather than an import from the highlands (Bill personal communication 2009; Viel personal communication 2009). It is the only vessel of this type in the tomb and was located against the east wall of the tomb southeast of one of the Melano ring-based bowls (Artifact #08-24). During Dr. Cameron McNeil's excavation of the dirt inside the vessel to collect samples for pollen and residue testing, she found a clear example of the light gray organic material with a coiled in shape inside the vessel. Our current hypothesis is this is a basket originally stacked with vessel #08-21, which creates the same question present with Artifact #09-07 on whether a basket would have been stacked with a ceramic vessel holding food or liquid items.

Artifact #09-25/Main Object #30 (Figure 5.31) is a bowl decorated with a vibrant and highly burnished orange-red slip. This vessel was found just east of Artifact #09-01/#09-08 (stone double cups) and Artifact #08-12 (plano-relief tripod). It was stacked on top of the light gray material we are currently suggesting to be basketry and rectangular cut sheets of mica that, when encountered, had molded to the

exterior of the vessel. It is a unique vessel in the tomb as the only bowl without a ring base and one, according to Dr. Rene Viel, looks absolutely foreign to the Copán area based on its shape, decoration, and paste (personal communication 2009). When shown to Dr. Cassandra Bill, she concurred with Dr. Viel's diagnosis of its foreignness to the rest of the Copán collection (personal communication 2009). Its association with sheets of mica is likewise unknown at Copán, where large amounts of Mica are rare. The one other example I know of stacking mica with ceramic vessels is from Tomb A-IV at Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu (Kidder et al. 1946). Interestingly, for all of Dr. Viel's confidence of the absence of this vessel from the known corpus of the Copán area, Drs. Reents-Budet and Bishop report that it is "chemically similar to 3 other Copán samples and a few others from the Sula Plain," though again they caution on drawing conclusions because it too returning idiosyncratic chemical signatures (Reents-Budet 2010a,b)



(a) (b)

Figure 5.31 (a, b) Highly burnished red-orange bowl. Artifact #09-25/Main Object #30

5.3.4 Pot Stands

There are four ceramic objects that look like squat spools with widely flaring bases and tops found in pairs in the tomb (Artifacts #09-96, 09-97/Main Object #43 and 09-100, 09-101/Main Object #45). They are called pot stands and other examples have been found at Copán and they are also found beyond Copán at sites like Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu. INAA results suggest they were all locally made (Reents-Budet 2010). There were two pairs of pot stands found in this tomb, but neither pair appeared to be the support for any vessels from the tomb. This suggests the possible presence of organic vessels in the tomb, which is unsurprising from the current indications of the presence multiple baskets and gourds. Strangely, in both pairs, the stands were placed so closely together as to have made it impossible to place anything but the narrowest and most straight sided of vessels on top. Both pairs of stands were light brown in color and without any other decoration. The pair that are Main Object #43 (Figure 5.32) was placed against the south wall of the tomb just west of vessel #09-95 and south of vessel #09-31, while the pair that are Main Object #45 (Figure 5.32) was placed immediately to the north and between vessels #09-30 and #09-31.



Figure 5.32 Pot Stands. Artifacts #09-96, 09-97/Main Object #43 and Artifacts 09-100, 09-101/Main Object #45

5.4 Greenstone/Jadeite/Jade

What to properly call the very hard green stone that is so frequently found among the tombs and offerings of the Maya region is always a challenge. While jade is really only found in China, the word has been used for decades in the Maya region and the distinctions between the different kinds of hard green stones can only be reliably confirmed by a series of tests that are often not performed. In order to be consistent with the literature of the field and because the tests were not conducted on any of the items made of hard green stones from the Oropéndola Tomb, I use the word jade throughout this dissertation as a generic term and in recognition that royal tombs often contain the highest quality materials. Jade has always been considered one of, if not the, preeminent wealth item in Maya culture (Bell 2007; Kidder et al. 1946; Prosouriakoff 1974). The main Mesoamerican source for jade is the Motagua River valley in Guatemala not far away from Copán, and even closer to Copán's dependent site throughout much of its history, Quirigua.

5.4.1 Earflares

In total, the Oropéndola Tomb contained 6 pairs of earplugs/earrings found in the tomb all of which were at least partially made of jade. Only the members of one pair of jade mosaic earflares were located on either side of the head indicating they were likely part of the adornment worn by the deceased at the time of internment, while the other five were found in pairs throughout the tomb. It is extremely unlikely that a human would have been able to wear at least two of the pairs of jade earflares. This is due both to the weight from such a large solid piece of jade and to the large size of the earflare neck, which is the section that would have gone through a hole in the earlobe. These were likely either effigy earflares, created to evoke the symbols associated with such objects, but never meant to be worn, or perhaps they were created for the large headdresses seen so often on stela. The other three pairs were small and light enough to have been worn and may, therefore, have been extra pairs belonging to the tomb's occupant.

The first pair of earflares we found, Artifacts #08-30 and #08-55/Main Object #12 (Figure 5.33), are made of jade mosaic pieces with a very thin slate backing. One, Artifact #08-30, was found to the left of the cranium in square E2, while the second, Artifact #08-55, was found to the right of the cranium in square C2. Unfortunately, whatever glue originally held the earflares together and the mosaic pieces in place had disappeared long before excavation. As neither of the earflares were found with their pieces in situ, it appears the collapse and/or the original position of the earflares must caused them to fall apart once the glue was no longer present. We can see based on the better preserved right earflare, however, that both were based around a circular pattern likely with additional details.

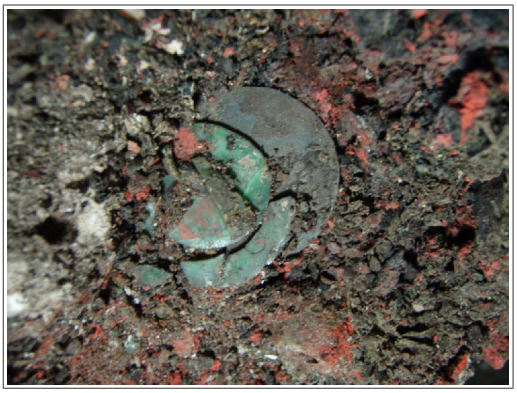


Figure 5.33 Jade mosaic earflares (right side). Artifact #08-55/Main Object #12

The second pair of earflares, Artifacts #09-02 and #09-03/Main Object #23 (Figure 5.34), were found laid out with their flares up and their necks down next to each other. They appear to be part of a group of artifacts intentionally placed together including the string of jade beads with face pendant (Artifact #09-05) and two *Spondylus* valves (Artifact #09-04). Artifact #09-02 was found in square B6 and Artifact #09-03 in square C6. They are one of the two pairs in which each is made of a single large piece of solid jade, which would have made them extremely heavy to wear. The earflares and the rest of the group of artifacts were placed them over the thighs of the interred individual.



(a) **(b)**

Figure 5.34 Solid jade earflares. (a) Artifacts #09-02 and (b) #09-03/Main Object #23

Main Object #28 (Figure 5.35) is a set of earflares very similar in to Artifacts #09-02 and #09-03, but a bit bigger and were found on the floor of the tomb in the southwest corner. These are Artifact #09-10 and Artifact #09-11 located in squares F/G1. They were placed together with Artifact #09-11 leaning on edge against cylinder tripod vessel (Artifact #09-31), while Artifact #09-10 was leaning against Artifact #09-11. There were two jade beads between the earflares (Artifact #09-13), one jade bead resting against Artifact #09-10 (Artifact #09-12- 01), and a line of four jade beads 10cm south of the earflares (Artifacts #09-12-03 to 06). Between the group of four beads and the south wall of the tomb were two extra beads that may have rolled from their original location (Artifacts #09-12-02 and #09-12-07).



Figure 5.35 Solid jade earflares. Artifacts #09-10 and #09/11/Main Object #28

Artifacts #09-103 and #09-104/Main Object #47 (Figure 5.36) are a small pair of jade earflares found on the tomb floor about 10 cm apart in squares E5 and D5 respectively. They are fashioned out of a much thinner jade than #09-02/#09-03 and #09-10/09-11, which means they might have been light enough to be worn, but it also caused them to be crushed and broken by the tomb collapse. Artifact #09-103 was severely damage as a result of the tomb collapse and was found in such small fragments we were dependent on Artifact #09-104 to have a sense of the general shape, which appears to be that of flowers or irregular circles with smaller circles inside.

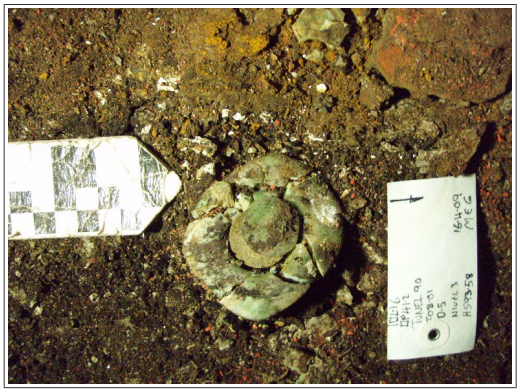


Figure 5.36 Jade earflare. Artifact #09-104/Main Object #47

Artifacts #09-109-01 and #09-109-02/Main Object #53 (Figure 5.37) are a pair of jade mosaic earflares with the flare and neck made out of resin and seated on the valve of a shell. They were found in square C3 at the level of the floor. They are artifacts #09-109-1 and #09-109-2. When we originally encountered the earflares #09-109-01 was already heavily damaged, but #09-102-02 still held some of its original shape. Unfortunately, the one that originally appeared in better shape fell to pieces once the resin dried.. The jade mosaic pieces originally covered the inside the flare, were present along its exterior, and decorated the shell base. The full pattern of the pieces is no longer discernible, but the jade pieces are finely made with beveled edges, which give hope they may be able to be fit back together again.



Figure 5.37 Jade mosaic earflares, Artifacts #09-109-01 and #09-109-02/Main Object #53

Artifacts #09-108 and #09-111/Main Object #51 (Figure 5.38) are the final set of earplugs. From the way they were placed in the tomb it is possible they originally were in the form of pendant earrings, as the jade piece that looks like a flare is very small and only a fraction of the entire assemblage. The original pattern of the earrings was disrupted by the collapse of the tomb. At one end was a small round jade circle, then a section of jade mosaic, a shell in the shape of a tube and carved in a spiral, and another section of jade mosaic. They were found in B5/6 and C5/6 respectively with each one located on either side of the red bodied stuccoed and painted cylinder slab foot tripod vessel (Artifact #09-62).



Figure 5.38 Jade, shell, and mosaic jade earring. Artifacts #09-108/Main Object #51

5.4.2 Jade Beads

There were over 200 jade beads in the Oropéndola Tomb. This includes beads of various sizes and shapes, and some polished smooth, while others were carved and incised. Main Object #1 (Figure 5.39) is a necklace that contains twenty-three jade beads, as well at least 38 *Spondylus* shell beads. The jade beads are on average spherical in shape with some variety to their size throughout the necklace. The vast majority of the beads were smooth and polished, while two of the beads, Artifacts #08-86 and #08-90, were incised and/or decorated. The jade beads of the necklace were found strung together sitting over the chest of the individual as if still strung, while the shell beads were in a row along the sides and behind the neck. The finding of shell beads behind vertebra C1 and C2 during excavation demonstrates he was actually wearing this necklace at the time of death rather than just having been laid on top of the body. There appear to have been some natural pearls found in association with this necklace, but their innate fragility means they were heavily damaged by the collapse of the tomb and we cannot tell if they were strung on a separate string lying next to this necklace or if they originally were incorporated into the design of this necklace somehow.



Figure 5.39 Globular jade and shell bead necklace. Main Object # 1

Artifact #09-05 (Figure 5.40) isforty spherical beads and one pendant (Artifact #09-05-21). The beads were located in squares B/C6-7 and look like they were left in the tomb strung together though the ends were not connected. There were twenty beads on one side of the pendant and twenty beads on the other side of the pendant. Half of the beads were carved into the shape of a four lobed flower, while the other half were smooth and polished. There was no discernible pattern of flowers and smooth beads and both were present on either side of the pendant. The shape of the pendant bead is a rounded triangle with the main point forming the chin. The eyes are small round circles, while the nose and mouth are angular. There are round circles on the cheeks, which may represent earflares. The string of beads, which looks very much like a necklace, was found lying over the thighs of the interred individual, but below the *petate* covering the body. The necklace was found in association with the earflares, Artifacts #09-02 and #09-03, and the *Spondylus* shells, Artifacts#09-04. With the earflares next to each other, the shells to the north in the middle, and the necklace all around except where the ends were separated to the south, it looked like a grinning face with two eyes a nose and a mouth. Perhaps it was an assemblage that was part of a loin cloth or belt or maybe it was intentionally laid out over the thighs at burial.

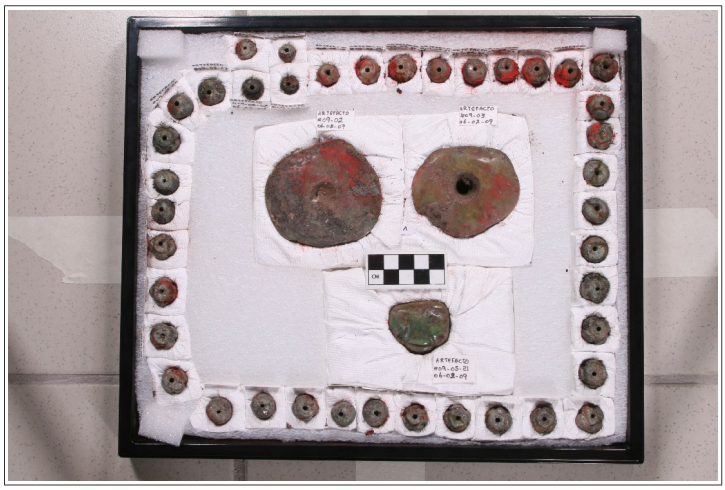


Figure 5.40 Jade bead necklace with face pendant. Artifact #09-05/Main Object #23. Also present the pair of associated earflares (Artifacts #09-02 and #09-03/Main Object #23)

Main Object #13 (Figure 5.41) is one of the most impressive pieces from the entire tomb. It is a jade necklace made entirely from beads carved to form the heads of macaws. There are twenty-six beads in the necklace While all the beads are recognizably macaw heads, they are done in a number of different styles, as if they were done by different carvers. The beads were found on the chest of the interred individual and below the *petate* covering the body. Their original placement was heavily affected by the collapse of the tomb. We are unable to say with certainty whether this necklace was worn by the individual, whether it been laid across his chest, or whether it was one strand of a multi-strand necklace along with Main Object #1 (jade and shell necklace) and the natural pearls.



Figure 5.41 Jade bead necklace. Main Object #13

Main Object #14 is the group of jade beads found in the vicinity of the pelvis (Figure 5.42). While all 16 of them were located beneath the *petate* that covered the body, the destruction of the pelvis and their location with respect to each other does not allow for a determination whether they were once part of the same artifact, such as a belt or loin cloth decoration, or if a variety of artifacts were all placed at the pelvis together. They seem to be unrelated to the possible belt or loincloth uncovered over the thighs (MO#5). The variety of beads themselves does raise questions as to whether they were meant to be placed

together. Two of the beads, Artifacts #08-43 and #08-44 (Figure 5.42a,b), are the largest and finest of the macaw head beads found in the tomb and the only macaw head beads not found on the chest. Artifact #08-43 is a deep apple green jade and polished to a high luster, while Artifact #08-44 is of a darker olive green. They are two of the most beautiful and finely carved pieces of jade in the tomb. The other beads found near the pelvis are all smaller, not carved, of irregular shape, and of a much lower quality jade. Ellen Bell has suggested that in some cases it was the material that was important (i.e. that all the beads were made of jade) rather than the quality of the jade, its carving, or its shape (Bell personal communication 2009), which maybe true of this group or there may be multiple objects being conflated together because of their proximity upon discovery.



(a) (b) (c)

Figure 5.42 Beads from the pelvis. Main Object #14 (a) Artifacts #08-41, #08-42, #08-45, #08-46, #08-47, #08-48, #08-50, #08-51, #09-76, #09-77, #09-78, #09-79, #09-80 (b) Artifact #08-43 and (c) Artifact #08-44

Main Object #34 (Figure 5.43) is a group of eleven beads found over and near where the right tibia connects with the right ankle below the *petate* covering the body. The location may indicate the beads were once part of an anklet. On the other hand, no beads were found underneath the bone here, which may mean these beads were merely placed over the ankle rather than around it. Three of the beads

were carved into the shape of tubes and then decorated by incising them with the features of centipedes, which are the only examples of a representation of this kind of animal in the tomb (Artifacts #09-63, #09-68, #09-69). There were also two tubular beads found without carving (Artifacts #09-66, #09-71), though one had two holes next to each other on one side (Artifact #09-66). Two other beads were the same slightly hooked shape (Artifacts #09-65 and #09-75). Artifact #09-67 a strange shaped bead reminding me a bit of the shape of a guitar. The final three beads are all variations on the same slightly elongated shape with one end rounded and one end slightly pointed. The hole goes through the more rounded end. Artifacts #09-64 and #09-70 are approximately the same size, while Artifact #09-74 is larger.

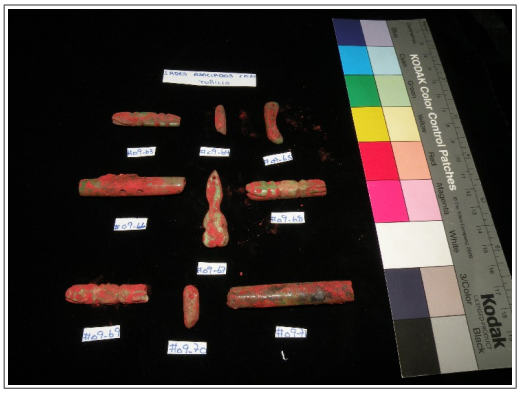


Figure 5.43 The jade beads found in association with the right ankle. Main Object #34

Main Object #36 (Figure 5.44) is a jade bead that was not found associated with any other artifacts. It was uncovered in square C/D4, placing it near the stomach of the individual, except that it appears to have been located on the floor of the tomb. There are almost no other surviving objects near it, though there was a lot of organic material nearby with which it might once have been associated. It is a rectangular jade bead with one side highly polished and half rounded and half rectangular. The very care which went into is shape and polishing seem almost odd with how plain the object is. The only hole goes through the rounded end to allowing it to be suspended. It is a unique object in the tomb.



Figure 5.44 Jade Pendant. Main Object #36

Main Object # 17 (Figure 5.45) is the carved jade bead found in the mouth of the deceased individual. The carving depicts a face with some of the attributes of the Maya Sun God, but with the glyph for AK'AB (darkness) in its headdress and no KIN sign (sun/day). It is recognizable by the squinting eyes, buck teeth, and turned down mouth often found in depictions of Maya gods. It has been suggested that the AK'AB points to the direction west making this head a depiction of the Lord of the West, which is likely an evocation of the underworld (Tokovinine personal communication 2010; Zender personal communication 2010). Its decoration and location make it one of the most interesting and impressive objects in the tomb. Though it was not found as part of a necklace, it does have holes that would have allowed it to be strung. There is also a hole below the chin, which may indicate something once was suspended from it. Whether it was ever suspended or strung during its use life, is unknown. Its use in the tomb, however, was as the traditional jade bead placed in the mouth of the dead discussed in the chapters (chapters 2 and 3). Among archaeologists, the interpretation of the action of placing a jade bead in the mouth of the dead has been seen as representative of the soul/breath of the deceased person or as sacred maize for food in the afterlife (Taube 2005).



Figure 5.45 Jade mouth bead. Main Object # 17

Artifact #08-81(Figure 5.46) is one of the largest jade beads in the tomb and is rectangular with rounded corners. It was found in square B2 covered in cinnabar and inside a *Spondylus* shell (Artifact #08-80). The placement of a jade bead inside a *Spondylus* shell is well known from across the Maya world, though the grouping is more often found as part of offerings to the ancestors rather than inside a tomb (Bell 2007). The assemblage of a whole *Spondylus* shell with a jade bead inside is unique in the tomb. This piece was found very near the group of artifacts numbered #09-93, which contain the only other example of shells with jade beads inside, though these were *Nodipecten* shells rather than *Spondylus* according to project shell analyst Dr. Linville (2009).



(a) (b)

Figure 5.46 Large rectangular jade bead. (a,b) Artifacts #08-80 and #08-81/Main Object #20

The largest spherical jade bead from the tomb is artifact #08-82 (Figure 5.47). It was found not as part of a necklace, but instead was found in square C2 placed inside a *Spondylus* valve carved in the shape of a hand (#09-93-06). Along with artifact #08-82, the hand also held a few natural pearls and a few pearls worked into beads and powdered cinnabar, which covered both the shell hand and all of the objects inside it. While the matching hand in the Hunal Tomb was found inside the deer effigy ceramic vessel along with evidence of cacao and cinnabar, and therefore hypothesized as having been used as a scoop, the very different context for the discovery of the one in the Oropéndola Tomb indicates it was used for different purposes.



Figure 5.47 Large spherical jade bead. Artifact #08-82

Artifact #08-20/Main Object #7 (Figure 5.48) is a tubular bead and is largest jade bead in the entire tomb. It was found in square D2 above and south of the mandible and above the cranium near the shell spangles associated with the head. The bead was completely encrusted with cinnabar, but underneath the light green color and high polish can be seen. While the tube was located near other objects and may, in fact, have been part of the headdress, the lack of organic preservation makes it difficult to know whether it was once part of the assemblage made from shell spangles or if it was placed on top of the headdress at a later date.



Figure 5.48 Large tubular jade bead. Artifact #08-20/Main Object #7

Artifact #08-49/Main Object #15 (Figure 5.49) is one of the largest jade beads in the tomb. This tubular jade bead was found just inside the middle section of the left arm in square E4. It was unfortunately not found in association with anything else, which may indicate that it was not encountered in its original location.



Figure 5.49 Tubular jade bead. Artifact #08-49/Main Object #15

Artifact #08-79/Main Object #19 (Figure 5.50) was found in squares B/C3 associated with the body in the area of the right side of the chest, right shoulder/upper arm. There were so many artifacts in this section of both shell and jade it is hard to say to which this tube originally belonged. It may have been another necklace or part of the pectoral or clothing along with at least some of the other jades and shells of this area. It is tempting to place this tubular jade bead with the one just discussed (artifact #08-49), since they were found on opposite sides of the body without clear associations with any other artifacts. Or, like is also possible for artifact #08-49, it maybe that artifact #08-79 is not in its original location.



Figure 5.50 Tubular jade bead. Artifact #08-79/Main Object #19

Artifact #09-06/Main Object #26 and #09-115/Main Object #55 (Figure 5.51) are the two examples in the tomb where small jade beads appear to have been sewn or glued on a backing rather than used as a necklace because all of the beads were found arranged in patterns with their holes facing up and down. Artifact #09-06 was found on the floor in square B7 and consists of at least 50 beads placed in two circles, one inside of the other, on a background of bright red cinnabar. The cinnabar appears to have been painted on some kind of organic material, since it did not preserve. If the object was cloth or some other textile, the beads might have originally been sewn onto the material or they might have been glued on like a mosaic.

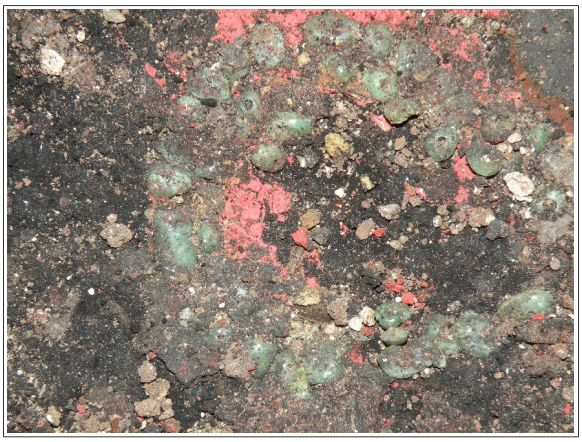


Figure 5.51 Concentric circles of small jade beads. Artifact #09-06/Main Object #26

One the floor of square C7 we found artifact #09-115, which is a group of thirty-four small round jade beads. They were found in the shape of a rectangle also with their holes all facing up. They are close enough to #09-06, the only other artifact of this kind, to hypothesize they originally were part of the same object or related objects. Unfortunately, nothing that might have connected the two groups together survived and neither did any associated organics, which might have confirmed their similarity in workmanship. The discovery of these two artifacts with mosaic or sequin jade beads suggests this was a technique known to the Maya for decoration and supports a similar use for the very small obsidian beads (Main Object #54) found in the tomb and discussed in more detail in the section on obsidian.

5.5 Pyrite Mirrors/Plaques

Main Object #29 (Figure 5.52) is the stack of at least five, but possible seven objects including three pyrite mirrors, one jade mosaic decorated stone object, and one jade and shell "collar". There was likely an additional object made of shell on the top of the stack because there were pieces of shell found whose shell type and carving style are very different from those that clearly make up the shell and jade "collar" (Artifact #09-24). There also may have been a second jade and shell item, since there are more mosaic pieces and shell fragments than fit in the space available in the "collar," unless it was originally

decorated on both sides and these pieces actually belong to the other side. The stack was located on the floor of the tomb against the east wall in square B8. The uppermost object was the shell and jade "collar" (Artifact #09-24). Below it was the first pyrite and slate plaque/mirror (Artifact #09-137), the next object appears to have also had pyrite, but its base was a hard, round, redish stone rather than slate (Artifact #09-138). The next object down is a jade mosaic (Artifact #09-139) that decorates another stone object (Artifact #09-140). The final item, the one laying on the floor, is clearly another slate and pyrite mirror/plaque (Artifact #09-141).



Figure 5.52 Stack of iron-ore mirrors and shell and jade mosaic objects. Main Object #29

Pyrite and stone objects have been referred to both as pyrite mirrors and pyrite encrusted plaques. When the pyrite is fresh it is dark, shiny, and reflective. It is these reflective qualities that made people first start to describe these circular objects as mirrors. The pyrite in most cases, where the objects are preserved well enough to evaluate, was placed to cover the center of the object. The pieces of pyrite were cut into geometric shapes that were tessellated together to create a flat surface. It was noted, however by Taube (1992), that the use of the tessellated pieces would not have reflected one image, but as many

images as there were pieces, which would not have made a very effective mirror, in the modern concept of mirrors. Understanding how these objects were used is complicated by the very different iconographic contexts in which they have been identified (Chapters 6 and 7).

Artifact #09-24 (Figure 5.53) is a composite object of multiple species of shell, jade, and hematite. The object has been compared to the shell and jade "collar" or "horse collar" discussed in Kidder, Jennings, and Shook's 1946 Kaminaljuyu report. Two "horse collars," were found in other Early Classic tombs at Copán, but those are both made of inlaid mosaic with bird iconography on a limpet shell base making them oval in shape with a hole in the middle like the ones from Kaminaljuyu. Ellen Bell connects these jade and shell collars to the sites of Kaminaljuyu and Teotihuacan during the Early Classic period, but mentions they become more widespread in later periods (Bell et al. 2004:134). The object from the Oropéndola Tomb, on the other hand, is round, made on a base of a nacreous shell, with mosaic details provided by other types of shell and jade showing a pattern of almond shaped eyes and feathered eyebrows, which was glued onto the base shell. A number of hematite tesserae were found in the center of the ring, suggesting they had once filled the hole making this object less of a collar and more of a mirror.



Figure 5.53 Shell and jade mosaic ring with hematite. Artifact #09-24

Once Artifact #09-24 had been lifted out of the tomb and off the pyrite mirror stack, we could see that the collar is made on a base of mother of pearl or some other kind of nacreous shell cut into the form of a ring. It was decorated with jade and shell mosaic on both sides. We currently have no idea what was used as the adhesive for the detail pieces, but it was likely organic from how significantly it has disappeared during its time in the tomb. Interestingly, we do see a fine line black drawing of the design on the nacreous shell in places where the detail pieces slide off. This seems to imply that at least some of the design was laid out first via a drawing and then filled in with the pieces of jade and shell as it was being made. The presence of pieces of mosaic hematite in the center of the piece may explain its placement with these the other objects in the stack. Most of the objects show evidence of having been covered with pyrite, which would have given them of a reflective surface, as the hematite would have done for the jade and shell mosaic.

The majority of the jade and shell pattern is of disembodied oval shaped eyes. The whites of the eyes are made of mother of pearl or some other nacreous material, while the center pieces were circles made of some material that has started to disintegrate, but currently looks black. The eyes are outlined in a pink shell and the eyebrows are made of jade. The inner edge of the ring is lined by a bright pink shell and it appears to also have been used in a twined or mat-like pattern in between some of the eyes. There is a small section filled with jade volutes with detail incised on the jade pieces. When shown to iconographic experts like Karl Taube and Dorie Reents-Budet, they saw connections between these eyes and the disembodied eyes decorating art from the site of Teotihuacan in the Basin of Mexico (personal communication to Ricardo Agurcia 2009). David Freidel saw them as the plucked out eyeballs often shown draped almost as a shawl in circles around the necks of individuals, which were necessary to see in the dark (personal communication 2012). There is also an example of an iron pyrite mirror from Tomb B-V at Kaminialjuyu whose back was ringed with a decoration of disembodied eyes surrounding a front facing figure in Teotihuacan style costume, headdress, and wearing goggles (Kidder et al. 1946).

Artifact #09-137 (Figure 5.54) is object directly below the jade and shell ring. It was made with a slate base and found encrusted in pyrite. The pyrite had turned from its original state into a crumbly and crusted bright yellow color, which is what occurs to pyrite when it begins to degenerate. The slate had begun laminating into layers and breaking into pieces before we began excavation making recovery challenging even for the project conservator, Lynn Grant, who did the preliminary consolidation and lifting of this object. It appears artifact #09-137 was placed into the tomb with its back up, since we could still see remnants of the red paint that once decorated the back of the slate.



Figure 5.54 Uppermost pyrite backed iron-ore mirror. Artifact #09-137

Artifact #09-138 (Figure 5.55) was located just below Artifact #09-137. The base of this object was not made of slate, but instead was made of a harder pink-red colored stone causing it to be far better preserved. It is thought, though unknown, that pyrite was part of its original composition. It may be the pyrite staining the surface is from the surrounding objects, since pyrite tends to melt everywhere when it degenerates and Artifact #09-138 was in direct contact both above and below with pyrite encrusted items making it hard to tell if all the objects in the stack had pyrite or only some.



Figure 5.55 Iron ore mirror with stone back. Artifact #09-138

Artifact #09-139 (Figure 5.56) is a jade mosaic. The pieces of jade are unlike others found in the tomb. While we have hundreds of fragments flat, thin, beveled edged jade mosaic pieces similar to these, none of the others are of the same very light blue-green color consistent throughout the these pieces. The mosaic appears to have originally been attached to Artifact #09-140, but the disintegration of of the pyrite from multiple objects in the stack caused them to adhere to Artifact #09-138 when the stack was separated rather than the piece to which they were originally attached. It is likely the original glue holding the mosaics in their place was organic based and had long ago disappeared as it had in the case of the other mosaics in the tomb.



Figure 5.56 Jade mosaic decoration originally from stone animal. Artifact #09-139

Artifact #09-140 (Figure 5.57) is made of stone and is in the shape of an animal. It may have been decorated with pyrite, though this is also hard to tell because both object directly below it, Artifact #09-141, and the object above it, Artifact #09-138, are stained with pyrite. This means the pyrite we now observe on Artifact #09-140 might have originally been from Artifacts #09-138 and #09-141. The jade mosaic pieces from artifact #09-139 are the decorative details on the animal. They are its eye, tail, snout, as well as decoration along its back. The identification of the animal is currently thought to be an armadillo, especially because the jade mosaic fragments on its back seem to evoke an armadillo's armor and the shape of the ears seem consistent with both how armadillo ears look in real life and how the Maya tend to draw them. The eye, however, appears to be done in a much larger scale than that of a real armadillo. While significance of the inclusion of this object is currently unknown, there are no other similar object in any of the royal tombs of Copán, but armadillos are often associated with the underworld due to their tendency to dig and ability to cross water, which might explain its presence. There was

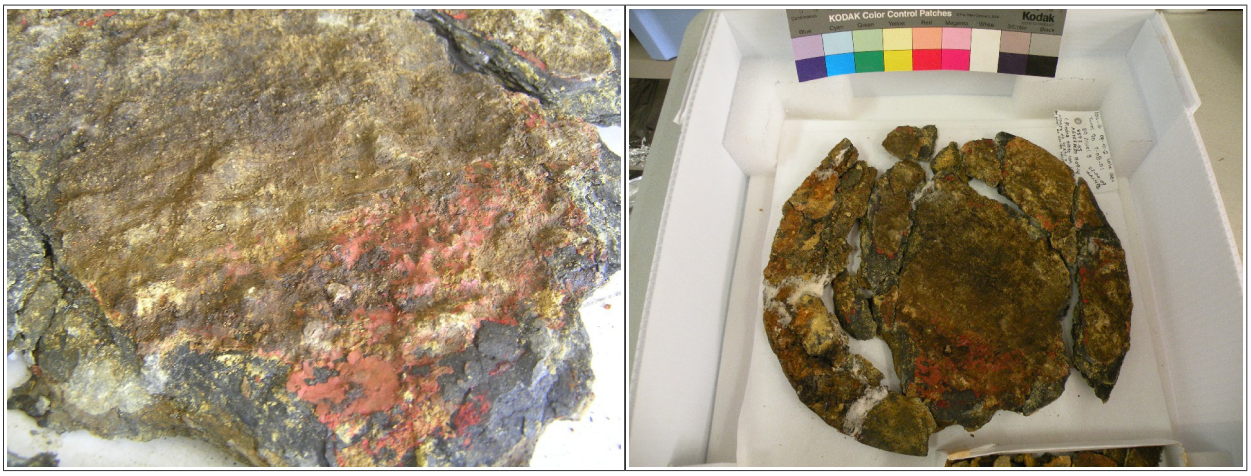
evidence of the scutes from a real armadillo in the Hunal Tomb, which were suggested to have been made into a bag (Bell 2007), but beyond this there are no other known armadillos in the royal tombs of Copán.



Figure 5.57 Stone animal (armadillo?) with jade mosaic decoration. Artifact #09-140

Artifact #09-141 (Figure 5.58a) was another slate and pyrite object. It also appears to have been the largest one. As with artifact #09-137, the slate is laminating and breaking and the pyrite is crusty and yellow. The damage is significant enough to make it impossible to tell if its back was decorated in any way, though areas of remnant red paint suggest, like the upper slate back iron-ore mirror, there was at least some red paint originally decorating the mirror. On the side that was touching the floor of the tomb, can be seen an impression of a *petate* (Figure 5.58b). This means the stack was at least sitting on a *petate,* if not completely wrapped in one. There was some evidence of organic remains on top of the stack, when we were first excavating it, but they were not well enough preserved to be definitively identified as *petate*

or not. This is not surprising, since pyrite can turn into sulfuric acid when it degenerates in the presence of water, and could easily have destroyed an organic wrapping.



(a) (b)

Figure 5.58 Bottommost iron-ore mirror with slate back. Artifact #09-141
(a) close-up of the *petate* impression on the bottom of iron-ore mirror
(b) iron-ore mirror

5.6 Obsidian

While obsidian is a common material type found at Maya sites both in household and ceremonial contexts, the obsidian found in the Oropéndola Tomb was made into objects never before seen in Copán. Instead of the usual obsidian blades, tools, and flakes that are ubiquitous at the site and present in other tombs at Copán, the only obsidian objects from the tomb are a group of over 1600 tiny obsidian beads or sequins (Main Object 54) (Figure 5.59). They are covered in cinnabar, but when cleaned appear to be translucent yellow/green in color. Dr. William McFarlane (2009) reports that upon visual analysis they appear to be made from Pachuca obsidian from Central Mexico. They are disc shaped, though irregular, with a hole in the middle like beads. They were found on the floor of the tomb next to, underneath, and stuck to the broken western side of Artifact #08-24 (a Melano ring based bowl). They appear to be similar

to the 61 found in tombs A-II and A-IV at Kaminaljuyu. I follow Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946) in suggesting they were used as sequins rather than beads, since stringing these tiny rings of obsidian in a necklace would obscure their beauty, but sewing them onto a cloth like sequins would allow them to shine and flicker when hit by the light.



(a) **(b)**

Figure 5.59 Obsidian sequins. Artifact #09-112/Main Object #54 (a) 2 sequins (b)1600+ sequins

5.7 "Alabaster" Double Cups

Main Object #22 (Figure 5.60) is unique to this tomb at Copán. It is a set of what Kidder et al 1946 refer to as "alabaster double cups." They appear to be made from marble rather than alabaster according to project conservator, Lynn Grant (personal communication 2009). They are composed of two small identical cups carved from one block of stone on a rectangular base with small feet at each end. They were on the tomb floor west of the bier in squares E/F7. Two pairs were found among the tombs of Kaminaljuyu, though neither seems to be as finely carved as the Copán example and there is no evidence they were ever decorated (Kidder et al. 1946:fig. 154). There is an unprovenienced pair of double cups from Teotihuacan with no trace of stucco each with their own stone lid (Berin and Pazstory 1993:fig. 23).



Figure 5.60 Stuccoed and painted "alabaster" double cups. Main Object #22

The dirt that filled the tomb after the roof collapse cause significant damage to the preservation of the stucco on the cups, since the stucco does not adhere well to smooth surface of the stone. Lynn Grant, carefully cleaned and stabilized the stucco that remained. The cleaning process revealed a pair of eyes and the beak of a bird, perhaps an owl, along with a band of a repeating chevron pattern all of which is likely associated with a large headdress. Below the headdress can be seen a human hand, with a globular jade bead bracelet around the wrist holding an object made of matting held. A rectangular shield decorated with a Teotihuacan style starfish is in the other hand. A three petaled pendant flower is visible hanging from the upper border of the vessel. Unfortunately, the major areas of stucco loss are just where the face of the figure should be and consequently were are missing all facial features or adornment that might help to associate the figure with other iconographic examples. The style of the drawing is reminiscent of Teotihuacan style decoration of stuccoed and painted ceramics with the emphasis on a large forward facing head and the hands of the figure holding things, rather than on the body. The figure is in a canoe-like object with a flat bottom with raised and slightly flared sides like a dish.

5. 8 Mica

Mica is a mineral that naturally occurs in very thin layered sheets, tends to be gold in color, and is highly reflective. The Kaminaljuyu report records finding mica in the tombs there, but lacks a detailed description (Kidder et al. 1946). There are a few examples of mica at Copán outside the Oropéndola Tomb, but they are in quite small quantities (Bell personal communication 2010; Fash 1983; Viel and Cheek 1983:576-577, 604). Teotihucan is well-know for it use of mica as elements of wall decorations and William Fash brought my attention its use as such at "the Viking group" and at the Xalla compound (personal communication 2012).

Main Object #57 (Figure 5.61) is composed of multiple sheets of mica layered together below or around a small burnished red-orange bowl (Artifact #09-25). It was located in square E7 and also seems to be associated with a gray organic material, which we currently interpret as basketry. The mica was found sticking to the ceramic vessel in places, but it also had the gray organic material stuck to it in other places suggesting a stack of objects. The mica's thinness allowed it to conform to the shape of the vessel, but we do not know if this was intentional or if it was due to the weight and compression of the collapse. Tomb A-IV from Kaminaljuyu lists a set of bowls stacked together with Mica, but does not explore the phenomena in detail nor are their photos or drawings to allow comparison to the example found here.



Figure 5.61 Sheets of mica. Main Object #57

One of the most enigmatic artifacts in the tomb is Main Object #56. It was found on the floor of the tomb in square E6 and was not clearly associated with any other artifacts. It contains rectangular strips of mica attached together to form a circular or square shape. There was some indication that at least parts of the mica had been stuccoed and painted, but no clear evidence of what this object was. Currently it appears to empty in the center, but as there were other organic materials associated with it. These organic remains include a number of pieces of shell that were cut in the shape of bars and whose function is completely unknown and a powdery yellow/orange material that may be degenerated wood. It has been suggested to be possibly be a shield or backrack.

Main Object #53 (Figure 5.62) is two circles of mica found on the floor of the tomb in square A7. Though not found together, the fact they the same size may indicate they were originally layers of the same object separated over time. Conversely, they may have been part of an original assemblage that called for two symmetrical mica circles. The cleaning of the shell and jade ring (Artifact #09-24/Main Object #29) did not reveal any place for mica circles, though they were found near it. They were also near the jade bead sequin objects (Artifact #09-06/Main Object #26 and #09-115/Main Object #55) and the shell rings/goggles (Artifacts #09-94 and #09-142 together Main Object #41), but cannot be definitively associated with any of them.



Figure 5.62 Mica circle. Artifact #09-110/ Main Object # 53

Artifact #09-158 (Figure 5.63) is two very small mica ovals were found by Dr. McNeil during the excavation of vessel #09-99. They appear to be the exact same shape, which may mean they were originally together. They were located above the cinnabar/hide/textile layer, which was the material on which the body was laid out. It may be that they were part of the costume or wrap the individual was buried in, though it seems unusual to have found so few, if they were really a design element.



Figure 5.63 Small mica ovals. Artifact #09-158

5. 9 Shell and Pearls

The shell complement of the Oropéndola Tomb included over 200 shell platelets, over 200 shell beads, about a 100 *Spondylus* valves, over 20 whole natural pearls, 4 whole *Nodipecten* bivalves, 3 beautifully carved *Spondylus* valves, and 1 whole *Spondylus* bivalve. The species identifications for the shell are based on the preliminary report of Dr. Marlene Linville (2009). The main species represented in the Oropéndola Tomb are: *Spondylus princepts*, *Spondylus calcifer*, *Nodipecten subnodosus*, mother of pearl, natural pearls, and seed pearls. According to Dr. Linville, all of the shells from Tomb 08-01 currently appear to be from the Pacific Ocean, which in raw distance is farther from Copán than the Caribbean Sea. Since there is no way to tell precisely where in the Pacific Ocean any of the shell comes from, we cannot know the trade routes the shell followed to reach Copán. Even the shortest route to the

ocean, however, would have been the travel of multiple days suggesting the shell was brought to the city not to eat the marine animal, but was instead imported specially for the shell.

5.9.1 Spondylus Shell

Spondylus princepts and *calcifer* are both tropical dwelling mollusks with a range confined to the area between the Baja Peninsula in the north and Guayaquil, Ecuador in the south. Almost all of the whole *Spondylus* valves in the Tomb 08-01 were added to into the tomb in two groups. One group, Main Object #37, is a group of seventy-four *Spondylus princepts* valves located against the north wall of the tomb in squares B-D9-10. The second group, Main Object #38, is a group of twenty-one valves the majority of which twenty are the variety *Spondylus calcifer.* They are located in squares E/F9-10. There was a clear space between the two groups indicating the Maya saw them differently, if not by species differences, then at least by size differences as the *calcifers* are generally larger than the *princepts.* The mounded shape to each group along with the organic remains found associated with the shells suggest they may have been put into the tomb in nets or baskets. All of the valves had been scraped on their interior side exposing the pink-orange color below. No other modification was done to the shells. Examples of both upper and lower valves were present meaning they were most likely the result of shell diving rather than opportunistic collection when the upper valves washed up on the shore. The lower valves cement themselves to rocks three fathoms deep and would not wash onto beaches under normal conditions.

5.9.1.1 *Spondylus* Shell rings or goggles

Artifact #09-94 and Artifact #09-142 both Main Object #41 (Figure 5.64) were found sitting on the *cascajo* against the eastern wall of the tomb in squares A6/7/8. They are rings made out of *Spondylus* shell. Another pair of rings of the same size were found, Artifacts #09-152-01 and #09-152-02, just

adjacent to the first two along with a number of *Spondylus* shell fragments. When project conservator Lynn Grant was working on these objects, she was able to find sufficient pieces to demonstrate there had been a fifth larger ring and enough small fragments to indicate it likely was one of a pair. Unfortunately, the placement of these objects against the east wall of the tomb meant they were broken and crushed by stones from above, as well as the weight of the collapsed fill, and it is likely there will never be enough evidence to confirm a sixth ring. All of the five rings that she was able to clean, reconstruct, and restore have holes near their edges and an incised circle around the central hole. There was at least one small jade beads associated with each of the rings. These shell rings are similar to the shell 'goggles' found in other tombs at Copán and at Kaminaljuyu. They will be discussed at length in chapters 6 and 7.



Figure 5.64 Shell rings/goggles. Artifact #09-94/Main Object # 41

5.9.1.2 *Spondylus* Shell Beads

There were two sets of white beads made from *Spondylus* shell found in the tomb. One was found as part of Main Object #1, the shell and jade bead necklace, and was discussed above. The other was a group solely made of shell beads of varying sizes (Main Object #58) (Figure 5.65). The beads were found together against the tomb's eastern wall in squares A5-7 placing slightly south of the shell rings/goggles.

There were approximately 203 beads, though the broken condition of some beads confuses the count. The beads are somewhat more varied in shape and size than the ones that are part of the jade and shell bead necklace. The location of the necklace against the east wall, below the overhanging section of the wall, and on the floor means we were never able to get a clear idea of what the beads looked like in situ. There are a few examples where two beads are actually stuck together with their holes lined up suggesting they were all once strung as part of a necklace.



Figure 5.65 Shell bead necklace. Artifact #09-153/Main Object #58

5.9.1.3 *Spondylus* Shell Spangles

Main Object #5 (Figure 5.66) The so-called "shell spangles" found in Tomb 08-01 get their name from the Kaminaljuyu site report where they were first described by Kidder, Jennings, and Shook in 1946. According to Dr. Linville, they are made from *Spondylus* shells whose insides were scraped to reveal their internal color and whose exteriors were scraped to remove their spines. Each spangle was perforated at least one time in the center, though there are some with more than one perforation, which likely allowed

the spangle to be joined with the other spangles, perhaps sewn onto a piece of textile or hide. In sections where the spangles were still associated with one another they were placed in overlapping pattern like fish scales or roof tiles with their colorful interior sides face up. There is also indication that the edges of at least some of the spangles were painted with a red/pink pigment, as this found still adhering to some spangles.

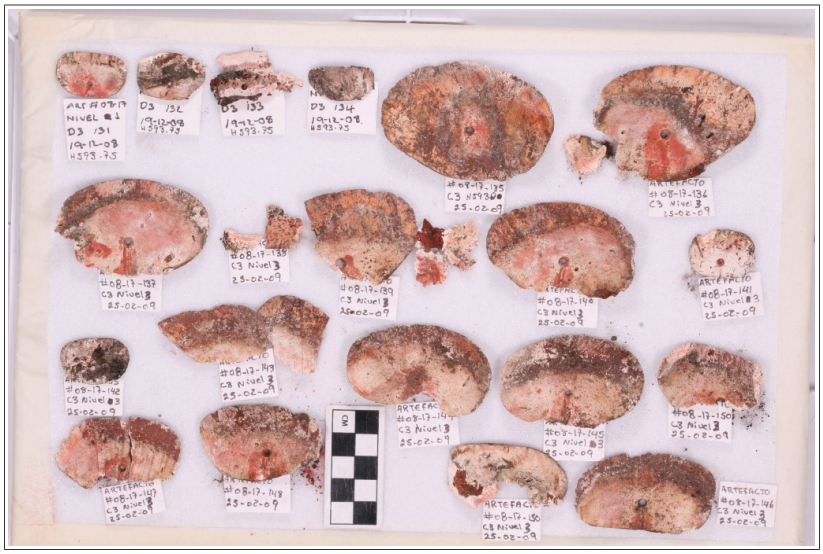


Figure 5.66 Shell platelets/spangles. Main Object #5

The spangles in Tomb 08-01 were not confined merely to the head region, but were also encountered in a section of the upper chest that appeared to stretch from shoulder to shoulder. It is unknown if this an extension of the headdress or if the individual was wearing matching headdress and pectoral decorations. Jade and shell necklaces were found beneath the section of spangles over the upper chest, which does imply the spangled object was not the layer of adornment closest to the body. We were able to expose and lift 185 generally whole shell spangles often still in association with each other, and hundreds more in fragments that were broken and spread throughout the southern area of the tomb near the head and chest. An interpretation of the headdress and its significance will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

5.9.1.4 Worked Shell

The majority of the worked shell in the Oropéndola Tomb is *Spondylus* shell. Artifacts #09-93-06, #09-93-10, 09-12/Main Object #21 are the highly elaborated shells found together in a group that also included whole shells, jades and pearls. The simplest of the three elaborated shells from Main Object #21 is Artifact #09-93-06 (Figure 5.67). It is a modified *Spondylus* shell whose interior was scraped to expose its bright orange color, while the spines were scraped off the exterior and that surface was smoothed. The shell broke apart in the tomb collapse, which made its shape hard to discern. Dr. Linville was able to temporarily put the shell back together revealing it to be carved into the shape of a hand. Subsequently, project conservator Lynn Grant was able to stabilize and refit the pieces. Artifact #09-93-06 was found in the artifact group #09-93 consisting of the other two elaborated shells and the four whole *Nodipecten* shells, the three larger of which had jade beads inside. All of artifact group #09-93 appeared to have been laid out in an intentional manner. #09-93-06 was the westernmost part of the assemblage and was found with its interior facing up holding not only cinnabar, but Artifact #08-82 which is the largest spherical jade bead from the tomb, as well as pieces of un-worked natural pearl, and pieces of pearl worked into beads. The two holes near the hinge in the area of the wrist appear to have been added in order to haft the hand into a scoop.



Figure 5.67 *Spondylus* shell in the shape of a hand. Artifact #09-93-06/Main Object #21

Artifact #09-93-12 (Figure 5.68) was located at the southern edge of the group and is a *Spondylus* shell carved into the form of an anthropomorphic figure with incising on the dorsal side of the shell to fill in the details. It depicts a front facing anthropomorphic figure from head to toe holding something in its arms off to its right side. The face is angular with an open mouth, which Dr. Linville first suggested was inlaid and project conservator Lynn Grant was able to confirm once she had cleaned the piece. The eyes also appear to have been inlaid, but all that remains is what appears to be the remnants of the glue or mastic used to seat the inlays. The figure appears to be wearing earspools, striped pants and a hat. The left arm crosses the body over the stomach to grasp an as yet unidentified object, while the right arm goes from around the backside of the object to the front to hold it in place. No similar piece has been found with which to make comparisons. There are nine holes that go all the way through the shell, as they do not appear to be part of the details of the figure they are likely suspensory holes. There were two very small seed pearls associated with this worked shell as well, though no obvious place for them in the motif, they may instead be part of however this piece was suspended or attached to the other items of the group.



Figure 5.68 Anthropomorphic *Spondylus* shell. Artifact #09-9-12/Main Object #21

The third elaborated shell object is artifact #09-93-10 (Figure 5.69). It was located at the northernmost edge of group artifacts #09-93, which puts it symmetrically equivalent to artifacts #09-93-12. It too is an incised shell object carved from a *Spondylus* shell. Unfortunately, artifacts #09-93-10 is not in as good shape as #09-93-12 and we are unable to make out what this carving depicted. Artifacts #09-93-10 was also accompanied by three very small seed pearls.



Figure 5.69 Highly elaborated *Spondylus* shell. Artifact #09-93-10/Main Object #21

5.9.2 Nodipecten Shell

Main Object #21 (Figure 5.70b) contained four *Nodipecten* shells in the tomb were placed in what appears to be part of a tableau or intentional grouping in square C2. One of the most common places to see this type of shell in iconographic representations as as part of a large necklace or chest decoration. This suggests that these shells, and perhaps the two highly elaborated shells that flanked them, were all part of one adornment item. Of the four *Nodipecten*, three are of the same approximate size, while one is significantly smaller. All four of them were covered in powdered cinnabar and had cinnabar inside. The three of the same size each also contained a jade bead inside, while the smallest did not. The shells were placed in a triangle shape with two next each other one to the north and the other south, while the third

was placed to the east. The smallest was placed over the northernmost shell. To the south of the *Nodipecten* triangle was one of the highly elaborated shells (Artifact #09-93-12), while to the north bracketing the group was the other highly elaborated shell (Artifact #09-93-10). To the west was the elaborated shell (Artifact #09-93-06) in the shape of a hand (Artifact #09-93-07)



(a) (b)

Figure 5.70 (a) *Nodipectin shell* Artifact #09-93-04, (b) Main Object #21 *in situ*

5.9.3 Pearls

Main Object #18 (Figure 5.71).The most numerous type of pearls in the tomb were the unmodified natural pearls. These are irregular and very fragile in fact, many of them were already in pieces from the weight of the fill above, but were generally oval shaped. Most of the pearls, at least 19, were found on the chest of the individual in squares D2-3. The location in which some of the pearls were recovered implies they actually may have formed a second strand of the jade and shell necklace (Main Object #1). Like the white shell beads that made up one section of Main Object #1, Ms. Miller also found some of the pearls in association with the cervical vertebra when she was lifting the bones, which is an

indication they originally were part of a necklace. The damage to the pearls makes it hard to say for sure, but Dr. Linville does not believe these pearls were ever drilled for stringing, which means if they were part of the jade and shell necklace, they would have had to have been attached by some technique such as macramé.



Figure 5.71 Natural Pearls Main Object #18

5.10 Wood

The skeleton in tomb 08-01 was placed on an organic burial platform or bier. By the time of our excavation, it like so many of the other organic objects in the tomb had disintegrated into almost nothing. The skeleton was found lying on top of the ceramic vessels sitting on the floor of the tomb having fallen once there was no longer anything to hold it up. While we always suspected it was made of wood, it wasn't until the skeleton was removed and most of the thick cinnabar slurry scraped off the black material below it that we could see that a corrugated pattern had impressed itself into the material. The shape of the corrugations suggests the platform had not been made of wood planned flat, but was instead made of a

number of poles tied together to create a surface. Whether it was made intentionally to be his burial platform or had once been something portable like a palanquin, we cannot say, but it did in the end serve as the bier on which the body was laid out.

5.11 Textile

Maya art and iconography show individuals arrayed in a variety of beautifully made garments. It is one of the tragedies of preservation that the remarkable textile abilities of the Classic Maya disappear in the hot and humid environment of the tropics. The poor preservation of all of the organics in Tomb 08-01 held true for the textiles as well. Only very small fragments and impressions survived. Small fragments of textile were found by Katherine Miller (2009) during her work cleaning the pelvis bones in the laboratory (Figure 5.72). It is made of three to four layers of fine textile, textile, and a layer of another material such as animal hide. Its location suggest that these textiles were part of the cloth adorning the body of the deceased individual either as clothing or as body wrapping.



Figure 5.72 Layered textile fragment. Organic Sample #09-522

The second small fragment of textile found by Dr. Cameron McNeil (2009) during her work sampling the interiors of two stacked ceramic vessels, Artifacts #09-99 and #09-30 (Figure 5.73), for pollen and residue analysis. Artifact #09-99 is a ring-foot bowl found stacked on top of Artifact #09-30, which was

one of the Melano slab foot tripod vessels The textile is of a very fine weave and a section is stained with red pigment.



Figure 5.73 Textile fragment found associated with Artifact #09-30

Dr. McNeil (2009) also found a third fragment of finely woven textile stuck to one of the stuccoed and painted tripod vessel (Artifact #09-106). Vessel #09-106 was located near the right shoulder of the interred individual, which may mean this textile was part of either the costume of the individual. Dr. McNeil (2009) found a fourth textile fragment adhering to the outside of the cylindrical tripod vessel, Artifact #09-30. This vessel was located below the chest and shoulder region of the individual. The location of this vessel suggests the fragment of textile might have been from a garment worn around the top portion of the body or from a textile that may have wrapped the body for burial. A few pieces of very fine textile were found impressed into the thick and hardened layer of cinnabar below the body. This may be evidence of the clothing worn by the interred individual or it may be all that is left of a layer of fine textile placed beneath the body.

5.12 Matting

Remnants of a *petate* were found over the entire body in Tomb 08-01. The *petate* was identified by a gray-blue and white pattern of weaving present from square B to E and 1 to 9 (Figure 5.74). The pressure and weight from the collapse of the fill and the roof of the tomb served to compress all of the

tomb material, making it hard to tell if it was one or more layers of *petate* that covered the body. Careful excavation of the *petate* and examination of the skeleton suggests the body was not wrapped, but was covered by the upper *petate*, while a different *peteate* was placed on the burial platform.



Figure 5.74 *Petate* placed over the body of the tomb occupant

The second *petate* from the tomb is a large *petate* found as the final layer in the series of materials placed under the body and on top of the burial platform (Figure 5.75). Like the *petate* above the body, this one is clearly identified by its gray and white weave. Its location as the bottommost member of the stack of materials would mean it was the one actually lying on the burial platform. As with the *petate* above the body, the compression of the materials of the tomb make it difficult to evaluate whether there was only one *petate* below the body or multiple. It also means we are not sure exactly how many layers were present in the stack, we could see a dark black organic material that may be hide, while the uppermost layer was a thick and caked cap of red pigment.

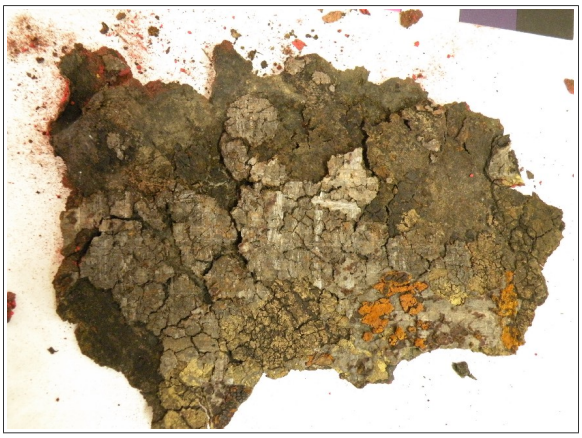


Figure 5.75 *Petate* placed on top of the burial platform

The final example of *petate* in the tomb is evidence that it was placed on the floor of the tomb in at least a couple of places. Evidence for the placement of *petate* on the floor was found preserved in an impression into the side resting on the floor of the lowest mirror in the iron-ore mirror stack, as was mentioned in the earlier section on the mirror stack. It was also found on some pieces of *cascajo* below a plano-relief cylindrical tripod vessel, Artifact #08-12 (Figure 5.76). It is unknown if *petates* were only placed on the tomb floor in specific areas or if we only found clear evidence of them in some places because of differential preservation.



Figure 5.76 *Petate* pressed onto the *cascajo* floor below cylindrical tripod vessel. Artifact #08-12

5.13 Basketry

Ceramic vessels were not the Maya's only option for holding materials. Though Basketry does not tend to preserve well in the Maya area, there are some examples of basketry fragments that have preserved in specific situations, as well as example of ceramic vessels decorated to resemble basketry (Reents-Budet 1994:fig. 1.11). Dr. McNeil (2009) was able to identify a small piece inside vessel #09-99, Organic Sample #09-518 (Figure 5.77). The piece appears as a thin ring, 1-2cm wide, that encircles the dirt that filled in the bowl.



Figure 5.77 Basketry inside of a ring-foot bowl (Artifact #09-99). Organic Sample #09-518

It has also been suggested that the light gray organic material that found stuck to both the inside and outside of almost all the ceramic vessels in the tomb might be the remnants of baskets that were once stacked with the ceramic vessels and/or the remnants of all that is left of basketry lids (Figure 5.78), based on unmagnified comparison with two confirmed examples of basketry from Margarita, showing similarities in the coil patter, texture, and color of what little remains. In addition, the one well preserved example from inside a ring-foot bowl, Artifact #09-07) clearly shows a coiled shape like a basket inside that ceramic vessel (Figure 5.79).



Figure 5.78 Basketry on exterior of the burnished red-orange bowl (Artifact #09-25)



Figure 5.79 Basketry from inside a ring-foot bowl (Artifact #09-07)

5.14 Hide

Immediately below the body was a thick layer of cinnabar, which appears to have been placed into the tomb as a slurry or paint (Figure 5.80). This cinnabar slurry was placed on top of a material that currently looks flat, dense, and black. This black material covered the entire area below the body on which the cinnabar had been placed. We were able to scrape much the caked and hardened cinnabar slurry from of it off the black material because the black material created a relatively hard surface. We knew, however, that the material must not always have been hard, since we could see corrugations in it that

appear to be impressions of an object made of poles that had originally been below it. The black material did not look at all like a textile, as no weave was observable, but was instead dense, black, and possibly laminate, we started thinking that it might have been an animal hide. Maya iconography often shows rulers sitting on jaguar hides on their thrones with and without mats, both of which are thought to be symbols of rulership (Reents-Budet 1994:fig.6.23).



Figure 5.80 Underside of the material placed on burial platform. Grey is *petate*, while the dark black may be hide

5.15 Black Organic Material Over the Floor

When we cleaned down to the *cascajo* (gravel) that makes up the floor of the tomb, we encountered a layer of dense black organic material that was soft and fluffy in texture (Figure 5.81) layer was thicker in some portions of the tomb than others, it was present everywhere. It was located below the ceramic vessels sitting on the floor, which lets us know that it was added to the tomb before it was filled with the majority of the objects. As we began to clean off the *cascajo* throughout the tomb, however, we noticed a couple of places where the *cascajo* was covered with impressions/stains of *petate* and fragile pieces of fine textile, which put the *petate* below the level of the black organic material. Whether this mans the black material is degenerated *petate* or from textiles, hide, flowers, or pine needles, we are sure

something organic once carved the entire floor of the tomb. It is interesting to note that pieces of carbon were found throughout the samples collected of the black organic material.



Figure 5.81 Black organic material covering *cascajo* at tomb's eastern side wall

5.16 Stuccoed and Painted Objects

There were are at least eight stuccoed and painted organic objects found in Tomb 08-01. The preservation of this type of artifact was never very good due to the organic structure of these objects, but in some cases at Copán general forms were sometimes recoverable. In the case of Tomb 08-01, however, the problems were greater. In addition to the natural disintegration of organic objects over time, the organic stuccoed and painted objects of Tomb 08-01 also had to contend with the weight of the collapse above, which would have been heavy enough to smash most organic objects as it did the ceramic ones. We know from other tombs that there were different kinds of stuccoed and painted objects from gourds, which may have had similar functions to ceramic vessels of similar shapes, to what have been called trays because of their flat shape. In Tomb 08-01 none of the possible painted and stuccoed organic objects survived to the extent that we have any idea of their original shape. Instead, what we encountered in numerous places was very small fragments of what appears to be painted stucco, mostly red, but

sometimes also with green, white and/or yellow, concentrated in squished layers in certain places in the tomb.

5.17 Animal Bone

Almost no animal bone was recovered in the excavation of Tomb 08-01. This is unsurprising if we take into account the poor organic preservation throughout the rest of the tomb and the extremely fragmentary and damaged condition of the human bones. The only bone objects found during the excavation inside the tomb are artifacts #09-29, #09-90, #09-128 (Figure 5.82). These are three broken needles found during the screening of the dirt in the tomb. They were not encountered in clear association with each other or anything else, which leads us to question whether they were intentionally placed in the tomb as part of the burial goods, or if they entered the tomb as part of the fill. On the other hand, all of the other royal tombs have items that could be used as blood letting implements and these needles are the best option for such tools in the Oropéndola Tomb, unless some of the obsidian flakes found in similar unassociated fill contexts as the needles were used for this purpose. Artifact #09-29 is the point of a needle and was found in square D3, while the other two artifacts, Artifact #09-90 in square B9 and Artifact #09-128 in square C5, are both the broken dull ends of a needle. They appear to be made of worked bone, but we are unable to currently identify from what animal they were derived. Are best guess at this point is that they were never intended to be part of the grave assemblage from Tomb 08-01 and most likely entered the context from the shaft fill. This is especially likely because almost all tomb artifacts show some trace of red pigment due to the liberal way it was distributed throughout the space, but none of the needle fragments are stained in anyway with red pigment.



(a) (b) (c)

Figure 5.82 Bone needle fragments. Artifacts (a) #09-29, (b) #09-90, and (c) #09-128

One of the first questions asked about the Oropéndola Tomb in order to understand its place at the site of Copán was whether it was a royal tomb, and if so, who was inside of it. Four tombs previously excavated by archeologists, as well as two whose materials were removed prior to the advent of professional archaeology at Copán, are considered by most scholars to be the tombs of members of Copán's royalty. If the Oropéndola Tomb, was also belonged to royalty, then it would not only significantly increase the data on such contexts, but would allow for an in depth comparative analysis of the tombs across the history of the Copán dynasty. Based on the location of the Oropéndola Tomb, its construction, the treatment and layout of the occupant, and the quality, quantity, and disposition of the tomb offerings, it does indeed appear to belong to Copán royalty, and likely one of the rulers of the site itself. The following chapter, chapter 6, takes up the question of how we identify a royal Maya tomb in the archaeological record, and specifically at the site of Copán, by looking at previous research on the topic, discussing burials at Copán that have been suggested to be royal at different times, and finally by doing a detailed comparison of the five tombs from the Acropolis believed to be royal.

CHAPTER 6: A COMPARISON OF THE ROYAL TOMBS OF COPÁN

6.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is a comparison of the royal tombs of Copán in order to explore the Oropéndola Tomb context to others of its kind in the same kingdom. Such a comparison will reveal how royal funerary ritual changed over time at Copán and begin the project of analyzing the ways in which tomb contexts reflect their occupants, the political realities of the times in which they were created, and the ideas about the final fates of these individuals. I will also make reference to some elite non-royal tombs of Copán and royal tombs from other contemporary polities to help throw into relief the ways the tombs of Copán's royalty partook of larger traditions with its own community and the Maya world, as well as the ways the specific history of the Copán polity created the environment for their own interpretations of the world and the rituals they enacted to keep that world going. Before a comparison of royal tombs can begin, however, the methods by which royal tombs can be recognized must be identified. I begin with a discussion of the general criteria used by scholars to diagnose royal tombs throughout the Maya lowlands. That is followed by a discussion of the application of these criteria to the tombs accepted as royal at Copán. I then briefly review some of the burials that have been suggested to be royal and evaluate their standing based on the previously discussed methodology. And, finally present the conclusions of a more detailed comparison of the royal tombs of Copán.

6.2 How to recognize a Classic Maya royal tomb

To begin with, any project that is interested in comparing the royal tombs of Copán needs a methodology by which to recognize those tombs. While archaeologists at other sites might be lucky enough to know who the occupants of their major tombs by the inclusion of objects name tagged as belonging to known individuals, the tombs of Copán are conspicuously devoid of glyphic material of almost any nature. Even those tombs that do contain items labeled as belonging to a specific individual

must be carefully evaluated, as the established practice of elite gift giving may result in the inclusion of objects that once belonged to someone else. There are, however, some instances at Copán where the exterior decoration and/or texts on a structure appears to make reference to the identity of the person buried within. In some cases, such as the tombs of Rulers 12 and 16, the interpretation is obvious, while in others the associations may be more tentative, currently undecipherable, or completely absent. Thus, we are left with needing other criteria by which to judge whether or not a tomb contains a royal inhabitant.

As Copán is not the only place where the identification of a royal tomb has been ambiguous, scholars have investigated whether there are any specific attributes that can be identified as unique to royal tombs. This identification was to be checked for accuracy via those tombs where texts and stratigraphy align to provide a secure assessment of the occupant's identity, which would allow the attributes to be generalized to other contemporary Maya sites. Neither Bruce Walsh's 1988 study comparing burials throughout the Classic period, nor Estella Krejci and Patrick Culbert's 1995 study that focused on delineating various classes during the Preclassic and Early Classic periods, were able to point to any specific items found only in royal tombs. They evaluated body treatments, grave furniture, burial locations, and building techniques and could not find any whose inclusion was an indication of royalty or whose exclusion was an indication of lower status. Instead, these studies indicate that rather than there being specific burial items, materials, locations, or techniques denoting membership in a royal family, it is the entire set of factors together that do so. As four out of the five main tombs considered in this chapter are from the Early Classic, I will focus more on Krejci and Culbert's work comparative work during that time period to evaluate why some tombs are identified as royal and others were not. Walsh's conclusions do not contradict those found by Krejci and Culbert, but his later focus means his work is less directly applicable to these data.

Krejci and Culbert's (1995:103-104) survey analyzed 219 burials from the Preclassic period and

146 burials form the Earl Classic period creating a total sample of 365 burials. The focus was on the Southern Maya Lowlands including northeastern Petén, Belize, and the Pasión area, with the consequence that no burials from the site of Copán were used in their sample. Not only did it not contain burials from the site with which we are concerned, their sample was biased 2:1 in favor of male burials and three-quarters were adults. The questions of how much these ratios, which do not reflect expected population distributions, are the result of preservation bias (more likely for the age discrepancy), identification uncertainties (more likely for the sex discrepancy), or a difference in burial practice reflected by our excavation strategies is still under discussion (Krejci and Culbert 1995: 104-105; Storey 1992a; 1992b). The burials identified as royal at Copán, however, are overwhelmingly male and adult fitting in very well with Krejci and Culbert's sample. The textual record of the site focuses on a dynasty of 16 male kings and makes very little mention of family members including parents, wives, and children, which seems to be reflected, for the most part, in the royal burial record. The lack of textual references to a ruler's family members is different from site to site, but is especially noticeable at Copán.

The variables under evaluation by Krejci and Culbert were divided into the categories of: body treatment during life, grave type and location, and grave goods. Body treatment included the presence of tooth decoration such as filed and inlaid teeth and the presence of cranial shaping, but it did not consider the type of head shape. For grave type they followed Welsh's (1988) classification of: simple, cist, crypt, and tomb, while for grave location they merely determined whether the burial was in association with small or large structures. They explain in their report that small structures were, for the most part, house platforms, but do not make explicit the criteria for determining at which point a structure was to be deemed “large”. The grave goods included in the study were unsurprisingly the more durable artifacts, as they are not only more likely to be preserved, but their absence can be explained as intentional rather than the result of poor preservation.

Other limitations of their study include the focus on quantity as one of the most important factors

with a concept of quality undefined and not universally implied. The ceramic analysis focused on the number of vessels in a burial context, but lacked any discussion of types, forms, or decoration. The consideration of jade took into account the number of jade pieces and did include a minimal consideration of form and decorative treatment of the jade, but only at the level where any kind of carving was considered higher in quality to no carving. Shell is treated very similarly to jade where number and form are considered, but beyond a mention of *Spondylus* as a particularly valued species, no account is taken of the kind of shell in the tomb or type of modification. The analysis of obsidian is based both on number and form, but not on source. This keeps the obsidian consistent with the other categories of material in which there is no consideration of access to the materials beyond an assumption that elites have more of everything than people of lower status. As access may have been different from site to site based on location and trade arrangements, this important issue was obscured in their study and likely fell victim to what they acknowledge was a sample not suited to discovering regional or site-to-site variation (Krejci and Culbert 1995:108). The final category of analysis was the inclusion of red pigment on either the bones or artifacts in the tomb without regard to where it was placed and whether it went into the tomb at the same time as the other artifacts or was added later as part of another ritual. While there are certainly a lot of possible axes of analysis missing from their work, the simplicity of their study does make it more easily generalizable and does not allow us to get bogged down in debates on how the Classic period Maya would have evaluated so contingent a concept as "quality."

Their study showed that all of the different kinds of grave goods have been found in the burials of people of all classes indicating there is no object yet identified that is only found in royal tombs. What did set apart the burials of high status individuals was the sheer amount of the objects, the specialness of their form or quality, and the presence of all of the types of materials evaluated for the survey rather than just a couple. For example, while jade and shell are two of the most precious items for the Maya, it is not unusual to find a jade bead or two or a piece of worked shell in the modest burial of a commoner. A royal

tomb on the other hand, will have large quantities of jade, which they define as more than four pieces, where the jade objects were often carved or made into special shapes such as earflares, plaques, or mosaics. The royal tomb will also have significant quantities of shell, both whole valves and pieces worked into ornaments, and include very special types like pearls, *Spondylus* valves, and mosaics. In addition there is a tendency toward large compliments of ceramic objects in most royal tombs, where large is defined as more than 13 vessels, while a lower status burials tended to have smaller amounts, usually below 9. Many burials were found to have pieces of obsidian, but certain forms tend to be more highly correlated with the royal burials such as lancets, earflares, and eccentrics. They also found a marked tendency for the use of red pigment on royal skeletons and that royal burials tend to be associated with "large" structures and in tomb chambers. Non-royal burials can also be associated with "large" structures and be placed in tombs much like they might have red pigment or earflares, or more than 4 pieces of jade, but they do not have all of these characteristics. The results of the study show it is necessary to look at the entire context to be able to diagnose the class to which the individual belonged, and while royal burials tend to be marked by the sheer exuberance of materials and their elaboration, examples of these features can be found in non-royal burials as well, just usually not all together.

6.2.1 Identifying royal tombs of Copán

At Copán there are seven burials excavated by archaeologists that have been identified as royal burials, one of which was significantly looted in antiquity, and an other royal tomb that was completely looted. In addition, there is one burial suggested to possibly be a redeposited royal burial, and one whose identification has been changed from a royal burial to a non-royal one (Bell et al 2004; Sharer 2004). The seven royal tombs are all rectangular tombs with cut stone walls found within the major buildings of Copán's Acropolis, which makes them associated with large structures at the heart of the site core. The possibly redeposited burial, Burial 92-3, was found in a pit intruded into the side of the building, while

the reassigned burial, the Motmot burial, was found in a round stone lined cist dug into the floor of a major acropolis burial. The many of the tombs were nicknamed in the field after the well known buildings above them, but are not necessarily from the time period of the building's construction. According to their stratigraphic locations they are from earliest to latest: the Hunal tomb, the Margarita tomb, the Oropéndola tomb, the Sub-Jaguar tomb, the Galindo Tomb, the Chorcha tomb, and the tomb within Structure 10L-16. The Galindo Tomb was named not after a building beneath which the tomb was found (Structure 10L-19), but rather after the man who removed all of the material from it, while the tomb beneath Structure 10L-16 was mostly looted in antiquity, though some small fragments of artifacts were recovered by archaeologists of the PAC I team. If Burial 92-3 was a royal burial, it would have fallen soon after the Sub-Jaguar Tomb, while the Motmot burial was from around the same time as the Hunal Tomb. The Hunal, Margarita, Oropéndola, and Sub-Jaguar, and Galindo tombs all date to the Early classic period, while the Chorcha Tomb and the one associated with Structure 10L-18 are from the Late Classic period.

All of the seven tombs mentioned above as royal do fit that category as laid out by Krejci and Culbert (1995), if we take into account tomb construction, location, along with the limited artifact record we do have, then the tombs of Structures 10L-19 and 10L-18 were almost certainly royal. Current understanding is that the Hunal Tomb belongs to Ruler 1 (ca. 437 CE) (Bell et al. 2004), the Margarita Tomb belongs to Ruler 1's wife (ca. 465 CE) (Sharer et al. 2005:176; Bell et al. 2004), the Oropéndola Tomb belongs to one of Rulers 2-5 (second half of the fifth century CE) (Chapter 5), the Sub-Jaguar Tomb belongs one of Rulers 7-9 (mid sixth century CE) (Bell et al. 2004; Traxler 1994), the tomb below 10L-19 belongs perhaps to either Rulers 9 or 10 (second half of the sixth century CE) (Fash 2001:48; Sharer et al. 2005:192), the Chorcha Tomb belongs to Ruler 12 (695 CE) (Fash et al. 2001:111), and the tomb below 10L-18 belongs to Ruler 16 (first quarter of the 9th century CE) (Becker and Cheek 1983).

The current royal tomb sample at Copán, therefore, contains significantly more burials from the

Early Classic period than the Late Classic, which accurately reflects how many more rulers there were during the Early Classic period. The change between periods is generally regarded to be associated with the beginning of the seventh century throughout the Maya region. At Copán it begins with the start Ruler 12's reign in 628 CE and is marked archaeologically by the presence of Copador type ceramics (Bill 1997; Viel 1993). Reducing the possible number of Late Classic royal burials to explore from the maximum of 5, is the looting of the tomb of Ruler 16 and an expected lack of tomb for Ruler 13 (he was killed by the ruler of the nearby site of Quirigua). While tombs for Rulers 14 and 15 may yet be found intact at the site and add to our understanding of Late Classic funerary ritual, the reality of the much longer reigns of the Late Classic rulers has always created the opportunity for the exploration of more tombs among the 11 shorter reigning rulers of the Early Classic period.

6.2.2 The Margarita Tomb

One tomb in this collection of royal tombs stands out from the others, as it is not thought to belong to one of the rulers of Copán. This is the tomb called the Margarita Tomb, and is thought to belong to the wife of Copán's Ruler 1 (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004; Sharer et al. 2005). It is the wealthiest tomb yet excavated at the site in terms of quantity of material, construction technique (it was double chambered), and long term accessibility (it could be reached for decades and was definitely revisited). The fact it belonged to a woman, when no women are known to have ruled at Copán, has made understanding its place in Copán's history extremely important for understanding the story of the beginning of this new dynasty (Bell 2007). The lack of other tombs belonging to royal females suggests her burial was both special both in terms of the needs it met for the community at the time of its creation and the fact that it does not seem to have begun a tradition that continued beyond this individual.

If she indeed was the wife of Ruler 1 and the mother of Ruler 2, we still do not fully understand the role she played within the developing power structure that caused her to be unique among the royal

women of Copán. The ECAP program of the PAAC project excavated her tomb and many of the other Early Classic contexts in Copán's acropolis, have interpreted her as the force that helped to legitimize the newly arrived Maya interlopers by marrying their leader K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', who becomes Ruler 1 of Copán. It is suggested that she was a member of one of the important non-Maya families who had been living for centuries in the area (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004). His foreignness is indicated not only by the retrospective textual accounts describing K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' as arriving from a distance, but his bone strontium suggests he was likely from the area of the Petén or Belize (Price et al. 2009; Martin and Grube 2008; Sharer 2003, 2004; Stuart 2004, 2007). Her identification as an important member of a local ruling family is supported by her bone strontium numbers that suggest she was born and grew up in the Copán area (Price et al. 2009; Bell et al. 2004). Whether she might also have played a role as regent for her son, since K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' is not thought to have lived for many years after he founded the dynasty, or whether it was her special position as a bridge between peoples that caused her unique burial treatment is not known.

6.2.3 The Motmot Tomb

The only other major female burial at Copán was, like the Margarita occupant, once thought to be a king. According to Karla Davis-Salazar and Ellen Bell (1999) who compared the two major female burials at Copán, she was buried in a round cist 90cm in diameter and approximately 1m deep. It was later caped by the large and beautifully carved Motmot marker that contains the period ending date of 9.0.0.0.0 (CE 436), which places the tomb in the early part of the 5th century. Found cut into the Motmot structure, one of the earliest structures below what is now Structure 10L-26 (the Hieroglyphic Stairway), this burial is unique for many reasons, but here we are concerned with it because it was once thought to be the burial location of Ruler 1 of Copán due to the richness of the grave goods and since at the time of its excavation there were no other royal tombs at the site with which it could be compared. The occupant is an adult

woman in her twenties placed in a seated position tailor-fashion on a mat. The chamber shows clear evidence of re-entry, which consisted of at least a significant amount of smoke entering the tomb and staining her bones, and possibly also entailed the addition of some of the artifacts as well. The skeleton itself appears to have been disarranged during the re-entry with the placement of her crossed legs the only evidence of her original position. There are no other tombs of this size and shape in Copán, and only one burial found outside of the Acropolis placed in this position.

The chamber contained 11 ceramic vessels, all appear to be local in origin, none were polychrome, while four are shoe pots and one is a large jar used here as a cache vessel. Outside of the jar were the remains of many animals, some of which are represented by whole animals and some only by parts. These include: five bird skeletons, a deer skull, a large feline and the paws of a smaller feline, fish bones, the vertebrae of a small reptile, and three turtle shells. According to Nawa Sugiyama the large feline was a puma (personal communication 2012). Also outside of the vessels were the crania of three male humans, at least one of which shows cut marks on his cervical vertebra, indicating how the head was removed from the body. While many of the royal tomb discussed in the later sections contain the remains of animals, the deer skull and the bones of the felines (rather than just feline pelts), are unique to this context. The much later Chorcha Tomb is the only other tomb in which extra human remains were found, but in that tomb the extra human remains were the whole bodies of two adolescents, while these were the the skulls of adult males. These unique additions are not the only major difference between this burial and the royal ones, as there are deficiencies as well. The Motmot burial lacks adornment items: earflares, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, waist decorations, headdresses, which are present in every royal tomb at Copán. Their absence points to this being the burial of someone who was not royal.

Inside the cache jar was a large collection of objects that did not have counterparts in the tomb itself. These include: 7 worked jade pieces with suspension holes that can be reconstructed to form the shape of a bird or a serpent with a person coming out of the mouth, 5 pieces of jade mosaic reconstructed

into a bird shape, and 2 pieces of jade mosaic pieces of human figures that Davis-Salazar and Bell (1999) have suggested may have decorated a headdress. There are also: two *Oliva* shells with holes, three *Spondylus* shells, two marine bivalves, two marine snail shells, one *Spondylus* shell bead, one large fragment of coral, two shell mosaic pieces of human figures, and 14 pieces of shell mosaic that make two more birds like the jade ones, all of which have a *yax* sign in their mouths. The final items are: two stingray spines, a deer horn, squash seeds, fragments of wood, pieces of feather, and 10ml of liquid mercury. The items in the cache vessel appear to have been placed inside in intentional layers. The bottom layer consisted of the coral, marine snails, and the mercury, while the middle layer had the jades, the worked shell, the squash seeds, stingray spines, and deer horn, and finally the upper leave contained more shell, a feather, and an earflare. Davis-Salazar and Bell (1999) interpret the arrangement of these items into three levels as making reference to the three layers of the world, which has been seen in other caches at Copán (Bell 2007). They also suggest the predominance of bird iconography may either echo the decoration of the Motmot structure or be reference to the founder's name. Barbara Fash has hypothesized that the large complement of animals, especially the whole feline skeleton references the occupant's animal spirit companion and perhaps mark her as a particularly powerful religious practitioner (in Davis-Salazar and Bell 1999; Bell 2007).

One of the things that made it difficult to determine if the Motmot burial was a royal burial, was whether to consider the items in the cache jar as belonging to the occupant or whether it and its contents, and perhaps her as well, were viewed as offerings. Trying to understand if the Maya would have separated the categories of burial and cache or separated them in multiple ways, has been a question that many people have wrestled with (Becker 1988, 1992, 1993; Bell 2007). When approached from Krejci and Culbert's (1995) model and with the items in the vessel included, the Motmot burial has many of the characteristics that suggest a royal tomb: the location of the burial, the work that went into its preparation including the marker that covered it, the large number (more than 9) of ceramic vessels, the worked

pieces of jade and shell, the whole shells and the accompanying beheaded skulls. If left only with this model, it would be difficult to determine how to regard the burial and the focus would be on trying to decide the status of the objects in the cache jar.

When the Motmot burial is compared to the known royal tombs at the site of Copán, however, the things that are odd about this burial stand out starkly. In comparison to the other royal tombs the Motmot burial is: the wrong shape and size, covered with the elaborate Motmot maker, the position of the body is wrong, lacks a burial platform, the wealth and content of the objects do not approach the exuberance of the royal tombs, she lacks items of personal adornment (unless they are all in the cache vessel), none of the ceramic vessels are highly decorated, they are the wrong forms, and they there are not enough and finally, there is no red pigment associated with the body. When we compare it to the Copán sample there is no need to consider the status of the items in the cache vessel, as it is not like any of the other contemporary 5th century royal burials. The oddities do seem to indicate that the Motmot burial is something very special, not only in its own time period, but for the history of the site, as there has never been found anything else like it, but that something is not a royal tomb.

6.2.4 Burial 92-3, Chirmol Burial

The issue of whether Burial 92-3 is a redeposited royal tomb is an interesting one to consider when evaluating how well the Copán sample fits with what has been observed for the larger lowland Maya burial practices. Robert Sharer describes it as a "disturbed and possibly redeposited interment" (2004:310). He says there is no evidence of tomb architecture, though Bell mentions 5 capstones that covered part of the pit. As capstones are an attribute found in all of the other Copán royal burials, as well as for some elite non-royal burials, they do appear to be a sign of high status (Bell et al. 2004; Fash 1991; Longyear 1952; Sharer 2004). Instead of a formal tomb, Burial 92-3 was placed over a layer of sand in an unlined pit dug into a structure called Chirmol. Chirmol structure is located on the eastern side of the East

Court below the final l phase court level placing it in the second half of the sixth century based on stratigraphy (Bell et al. 2004:147; Sharer 2004). The body is laid out in the same manner as all of the royal tombs, with the same orientation as the skeletons in the Sub-Jaguar and Chorcha Tombs, and there is evidence the body may have been treated with red pigment.

For Sharer, the possible royalty of this person is found in the material that accompanied the burial specifically: "two vessels, residue from a stucco-painted organic vessel, remnants of textiles or other organic materials, two jade and shell mosaic earflares, jade beads (one carved) and thousands of shells" and most tellingly, "a spectacular shell collar inlaid with jade and shell mosaic" (2004:310). Bell and colleagues also mention the presence of three different shell pendants and obsidian blades, identify the limpet shell as a likely pectoral device, describe the thousands of shells as tiny shell beads associated with some kind of textile like a bag or backing, and mention there is some evidence for a mat lining the bottom of the deposit (2004:149; Bell 2007:511-513). It is clearly the burial of someone with access to objects of significant wealth and possibly ritual importance, a high elite person, if not royalty. One thing that does stand out in comparison to the acknowledged royal tombs of Copán, as will become clear in the following discussion, is that for all of the amazing artifacts, the quantity of them and the amount of variety of their material is actually small and not at all in keeping with the identified royal tombs. If the Chirmol burial was indeed that of a ruler, he must have lost a significant amount of his grave goods during the process of his redeposition

6.2.5 Tomb 10J-45

Another burial that has been suggested to have been a reburial of royal tomb is one that was found outside of the Acropolis (Nakamura 2000 personal communication to Robert Sharer in Sharer 2006:310). It is located in area called 10J based on the maps from phase I of Proyecto Arqueológico Copán (1983) and located less than 100 meters south of stelae 6. For Nakamura (2000:17-18), it is the

fact that this tomb has a vaulted roof, a stone lined chamber covered in a mixture of mud and stucco referred to as *mezcla* and painted red, the deceased is laid out extended head to the east on a stone burial platform, and ceramics and jade objects were placed in the tomb that suggest it was a ruler of Copán.

Unlike the Chirmol burial, the tomb found below 10J-45 was placed in a masonry tomb, whose walls were stuccoed and then painted red, covered with capstones measure 1.3 x 3.0 meters, while the chamber itself is 1.1m north-south and 2.35 meters east-west (Nakamura 2000: 9, 16). Nakamura describes the tomb as vaulted (2000:9, 16), though the single picture in the Country Honduras article (2001:6) shows some capstones placed over the tomb lintel-fashion. The structure below which the tomb was found, Structure 10J-45, Nakamura has suggested was a temple venerating the person buried in the tomb for more than 100 years (Country Honduras 2001:7). Certainly the fact that this tomb was masonry makes it more likely to have been that of a royal, since that is one of the minimal qualifications reached by all of the royal tombs of Copán, but royal tombs are not the only masonry tombs, as can be seen by Tombs 1 and 2 from the El Cementerio area (Longyear 1952). Likewise, the fact that the tomb was vaulted neither insures its identity as royal nor rules it out, as both vaulted and lintel tombs are found among the royal tombs of Copán and vaulted tombs are found for non-royal tombs (see below for an in depth discussion of these issues). The burial platform may be a better indication of possibly royalty they were present in all of the royal tombs and all of them were made of stone with the exception of the Oropéndola Tomb. As none of the current sources discuss the presence or lack there of for burial platforms among non-royal tombs, it becomes hard to compare.

The bones were that of an adult male, who is suggested to have died between the ages of 24 and 31, but there are no indications on the bones of the cause of death (Pérez Calderón 2001). He was laid out extended on his back with his head to the east (Nakamura 2000:17). One of the reasons the burial has been suggested to be secondary is what appears to be missing bones, though both Nakamura and Perez Calderon, who did the preliminary osteological analysis, does suggest this could also be due to

preservation problems. The missing bones are: part of the vertebral column, the upper right arm, the lower right leg though the feet are present, part of the mandible, though the presence of mandibular teeth suggest it was present at one time (Pérez Calderón 2001). He does mention some application of red pigment to the bones, including the information that some red pigment was found on the root of one of the teeth, which may support an idea of reburial or at lest re-entry of the tomb to add red pigment once the tooth had come out its original location (Pérez Calderón 2001). The position of the burial laid out extended on his back is typical of the Early Classic period, which is the time period in which this tomb is thought to be from, rather than specifically royalty. The head direction to the east is completely atypical of all of the royal burials, who are buried on a north-south axis rather than an east-west one (see below for a more detailed discussion of this issue). Nakamura does not mention the red pigment in his criteria for evaluating this as the potential burial of a ruler of Copán, but it is one from the studies of Welsh (1988) and Krejci and Culbert (1995), as well as the royal tombs of Copán, that is often highly correlated with royal burials.

It was below the eastern section of the burial platform where the ceramic vessels were concentrated. Nakamura makes no mention in his preliminary report of how many ceramic vessels were present in the tomb nor their forms nor their decorative motifs, though the article in Country Honduras (2001:7) does show photographs of two tall ceramic tripod vessels with lids and a large ceramic dish with a polychrome design. One of the tripod vessels shows a dark brown burnished color with fluting along the majority of its body, while the top and bottom borders have evidence of once being stuccoed and painted, while the second vessels was red bodied and appears to have been stuccoed and painted all over. Its lid knob is an effigy human head. Not enough stucco remains on either of the vessels to make out any decorative motifs. The dish depicts someone sitting on a cushion in profile perhaps with a mask on. The figure wears a headdress and a waist ornament that includes a back bustle with feathers.

Only three artifacts are mentioned in the preliminary report two of which are made of jade and the

other of ceramic. The largest jade piece is a 24cm long tube, which Nakamura refers to as a pectoral, but does not say where it was found in the tomb. It is decorated with an incised anthropomorphic figure done in an Early Classic style, which Barbara Fash suggested depicted a "patron of war" similar to a piece found below the hieroglyphic stairway (Fash 1991: 126, fig. IX in Nakamura 2000:19). Nakamura (2000:19) expands on this to suggest headdress and belt elements suggest the figure to be a ruler dressed as a god who is the "patron of war."

The second jade piece is likewise called a pectoral by Nakamura, but also lacks any description of the location in which it was found. It is a 20cm jade tube, though with a profile that is more square than round, and decorated on almost its whole length by a woven design. The ceramic object was likewise decorated with a woven design, though he describes it as being a very thin ceramic with space inside incised with such fine details to the point of having holes interlaced throughout (Nakamura 2000:20). He unfortunately does not discuss what this object might have been used for nor where it was found. Nakamura's final criteria for evaluating this tomb as belonging to a ruler of Copán is the hardest to evaluate, since he does not give a full accounting of the artifacts present in the tomb. As we have seen, it is the quantity, quality, and variety of materials that distinguishes royal tombs from non-royals ones. Certainly the pieces he mentions and the published photos do show very high quality objects, but examples of such have been found in other burials not considered to be royal. Without a more detailed inventory, we can only say that this is the burial of an important person, likely not a ruler of Copán, though perhaps someone affiliated with the royal family. We unfortunately do not know anything about members of the royal family or collateral lines who were important figures in Copán, but never became kings themselves. It is perhaps to one of these groups this burial rightly belongs.

6.2.6 Tomb of Ruler 16

In considering the Chirmol and 10J-45 burials, we can also look at what was found left behind by

who ever removed the majority of objects from the tomb in Structure 10L-18. The structure and its tomb were written up by Marshall Becker and Charles Cheek and Claude Baudez wrote a summary of the artifacts recovered from the tomb (Becker and Cheek 1983; Baudez 1983). Evidence shows the materials were removed from tomb prior to the collapse of the vault, as the fragments of artifacts that remain were found directly on the floor and above the fall (Baudez 1983:413), which suggests the event happened in antiquity. Whether we are seeing the remains of a what is left behind when a tomb is redeposited or whether the tomb was looted is difficult to diagnose. Some stone blocks from the Structure 10L-18 temple were removed and reused by the Ejar period community near Ball Court B studied by Kam Manahan (2003), but no indications of a redeposited burial that could have come from Structure 10L-18 was found.

We know from when the structure was built and the sculptural decoration on the structure that this tomb belonged to the 16th member of the Copán dyansty, Yax Pasaj Chan Yoaat. The tomb chamber in Structure 10L-18 is comparable in size and shape to the other known Late classic royal tomb, the Chorcha tomb. Very few fragments of bone remains including part of the diaphysis of a femur, fragments of ribs and vertebra, phalanges from the feet, and some teeth, at least three of which appear to have come from someone else because they are deciduous (Baudez 1983:413). The extreme fragmentary nature of the bones can only suggest they belong to an adult with no way of determining sex. The teeth raise the possibility that young children might have also been present in the tomb, though there are other ways for the teeth to have entered. The Chorcha Tomb is the only one in which individuals were interred with the primary burial and those were a pair of young adolescents. There is no mention in the report of whether or not any of the bones had traces of red pigment associated with them (Baudez 1983).

The artifacts that remained in the tomb were all very small and most were fragments of large pieces, which is likely why they remained behind either overlooked or not important enough to remove. There is no way to known if any of them are in their original locations and nothing can be said about whether any of the objects were originally near any of the others. There is evidence for burning on a

number of the objects, as well as in the tomb itself, though whether this was part of a re-entry ritual that took place when the rest of the artifacts were still present or was part of the events surrounding the removal of the burial goods, is unknown (Baudez 1983: 413).

Some of the materials that did remain behind were pieces of stone objects. This included obsidian flakes, tools (a scraper), and prismatic blades (Baudez 1983:413-414). There were also two eccentric flints make of the same black chert material with very irregular borders, and fragments of other objects made form white and black chert (Baudez 1983:414). In addition, there were fragments of polished stone containers including a deep straight bowl with vertical walls made from a very smooth gray-black basalt (Baudez 1984:414), and fragments of at least one but possibly more containers made from a whitish calcite with gray bands incised with a scene between two people holding spears and wearing a decoration around their calves and sandals on their feet (Baudez 1984:415). Baudez views this individuals as similar to one found in Xcalumkin, Campeche as described by Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950; fig. 30: e in Baudez 1983:415) and interprets its presence as evidence for the influence of the northern Maya lowlands on Copán at this time. There are also a couple of fragments with glyphs on them as well that are currently in identified.

Also found were four fragments of an iron-ore mosaic mirror, though Baudez (1983:416) was uncertain if they were pyrite or hematite. They were all rectangular or polygonal plaques with one side highly polished. The only royal tombs at Copán with such items are two Early Classic tombs, the Margarita and Oropéndola Tombs, while the non-royal tomb with a pyrite plaque, Sepultura V-4, was also from the Early Classic period (these objects will be discussed in detail in chapter 7).

Very little jade remained in the tomb, which included two small discoidal jade beads, a fragment of a jade pendant with grooves, a thin rectangular plaque that was likely part of a much larger mosaic, a very small “bifid” jade piece that likely adorned something much larger, and a small piece of jade Baudez is certain is a dental inlay. While jade of all kinds including beads, pendants, and mosaics are found in the

other royal tombs, the only other royal individual with dental inlays was the individual in the very Early Classic Hunal Tomb.

The shell complement was similar to the jade, though larger in number. It contained ten discoidal beads, a tubular bead, three pendants of nacre in tear drop shapes with holes for stringing, a set of small thin plaques of different shapes that were originally part of mosaics, a few perforated objects that were probably sewn onto clothing, and a variety of other very small modified shell fragments (Baudez 1983:417-418). In addition to the shells sewn onto clothing, there were a few *Oliva* shell tinklers present, almost 200 shells of a few different types suggested to be pieces of a collar or necklace, and a set of over 100 flat pieces of nacre that form at least 30 rings when reconstructed that might have been part of a headdress decoration (Baudez 1983: 416-418).

While most of the skeletal material had been removed from the tomb, a number of pieces of worked bone were found among the floor debris by the archaeologists. This includes awls and needles, the distal end of a very well polished tube, meisal sections from other tubes that were likely handles, 32 fragments of engraved bones that he suggests may have been human with geometric and possibly glyphic designs, possible mosaic elements, three canine teeth from a young dog and three unidentified teeth with perforations at the root, and a think rectangular plaque with incised lines a dots forming an inverted 'V', which Baudez compares to examples from Tonina and Uaxactun Tomb A-2. Also present was the middle section of a deer horn engraved with spirals, dots, and glyphs (Baudez 198:418-419)

While the vast majority of the material was removed from the tomb inside Structure 10L-18, it can be seen that there was originally a wide variety of objects including obsidian blades and tools, eccentric flints, multiple engraved stone containers, iron-ore mirror fragments, beads in jade and shell, pendants in jade, shell, and bone, mosaics of jade, shell, and bone, needles and awls, pendant teeth, and engraved bones and deer horn. There is also evidence of possible glyphs on the engraved stone containers, bones, and horn. The only major item missing from this tomb is ceramic vessels, which are easy to

remove when whole. Altogether, the objects are the remains of a rich and varied tomb complement consistent with what we would expect from a royal tomb of Copán.

6.3 A detailed comparison of the royal tombs of Copán

Presented in the following section are the conclusions and summary tables of a detailed comparison of the royal tombs of Copán. The full descriptions of the data from each section can be found in Appendix D.

6.3.1 The elements to be considered for the comparison

This section begins with a comparison of the tomb locations and construction techniques before moving into the tomb itself to discuss burial platforms, burial costume and any other items placed on the burial platform. It then continues with the objects placed on the floor of the tombs both below the burial platforms and along the sides or in niches. This organization generally follows the one laid out by Krejci and Culbert's 1995 work, but also looks at associations or their lack between elements and tries to suggest meaningful ties between and among groups of objects. The focus of the chapter will be the burial chambers, the space in which the deceased was laid out, since those are broadly comparable across the site and with other sites. This means the amazing incensarios in the antechamber of the Chorcha Tomb and many of the items in the upper chamber of the Margarita Tomb will be mentioned, but since it is unknown how many different rituals went into the creations of these contexts, when they were created, and who by, the bulk of the comparison is spent working with the context they all share. Consideration of these other areas will hopefully be a fruitful area of study for subsequent investigations.

6.3.2 Tomb locations

As mentioned above, all of the tombs under discussion were found in the structures of Copán's

Acropolis placing them in the most important royal component of the site. The Hunal tomb, the Margarita tomb, and the Oropéndola tomb are all in structures covered by Ruler 16's addition of the final version of structure 10L-16, though each was placed in a different structure. The Hunal Tomb was placed in the Hunal Structure, which was built in an architectural style like the *talud-tablero* famous from Teotihuacan, but also known from Kaminaljuyu and Tikal in the Early Classic period (Bell 2007; Braswell 2003). Built over the Hunal structure was the Yenal structure followed by the Margarita structure into which the Margarita tomb was placed, though its double chambered nature and length of its open access means it was associated with more than one structure. The decoration on the exterior of the Hunal structure is unknown, but Yehnal was embellished with large sun god masks in modeled and painted stucco. The Margarita structure above was gorgeously emblazoned with masks depicting intertwined quetzal and macaw birds with sun god eyes and *yax* headdresses. Both of these decorative schema have been interpreted as referencing the dynasty founder K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' who has the sun god, k'inich in his name, as well as the new/precious/green-blue *yax*, and both the quetzal and macaw birds. These elements are one strand of the evidence identifying the occupant of the Hunal tomb as Ruler 1.

We have no idea of the name of the woman in the Margarita tomb, women are almost never named or even referenced in texts and iconography at the site of Copán and she is not an exception. Her tomb follows the Copán tradition of lacking texts inside as well. The focus of the building decorations is clearly Ruler 1, the Margarita structure possibly even more so than the Yenal structure, leaving no iconographic material to possible make reference to her identity. The tradition of evoking Ruler 1 in the decoration of the subsequent buildings constructed over his tomb is continued in the decoration of the astounding Rosalila structure, built in the first half of 6th century likely by Ruler 7 or 8, and is even part of the decorative motifs on the exterior of the final phase built by Ruler 16. There is no evidence the inhabitant of the Margarita tomb was ever referenced in this way. Interestingly, it was her tomb that was left accessible for decades after her death with clear evidence rituals were performed there during those

years, while the Hunal tomb was left open for a much shorter length of time. The occupant of the Margarita Tomb was clearly revered, for all that she was left out of the texts and iconography of the site.

The Oropéndola Tomb is also located below the final version of Structure 10L-16, but not in the same sequence of buildings as the Hunal and Margarita tombs. When the Rosalila structure was in use it sat on a patio with 3 other structures. One of those structures is called Oropéndola and it is the structure which caps a sequence of platforms and buildings below which is located Tomb 08-01. Since Ruler 1 was clearly memorialized on multiple buildings above the location of his tomb including the Margarita Structure, the Rosalila Structure and the final phase 10L-16, it was hoped that the decoration on the Oropéndola building would reflect the identity of the occupant of the tomb located a few buildings beneath. The facade was damaged enough, however, that only isolated motifs have been identified: birds, jaguars, and corner *witz* masks. As the names of the rulers who might possibly be located in the tomb have not yet been fully deciphered, there is no way to make connections between the few motifs that are present and specific rulers.

The Sub-Jaguar tomb is so named because of its location beneath the set of stairs on the western side of the Acropolis's East Court decorated with jaguars. It was placed to be in line with the east-west axis of the Ante Structure, which formed the eastern side of the East Court at this time (Bell et al. 2004). The concern with the central axis of buildings is reflected in the placement of the other Early Classic tombs as well. Consideration of the jaguars decorating the steps was taken into account when trying to identify the occupant of the Sub-Jaguar tomb, but neither Ruler 8, whose name we can completely read, nor Ruler 9, whose name is partially undeciphered, have any hints of jaguars. Ruler 7's name is quite long and different sections of it are emphasized in different contexts, but at least one of those sections does contain a jaguar (Martin and Grube 2008:197). His dates (524-536 CE), however, have thus far been considered to be too early based on the tomb's placement with regard to the Acropolis stratigraphy as it is currently understood.

The Chorcha tomb was placed into the structure nicknamed Chorcha, which was covered by the Esmeralda Structure. Esmeralda was built by the 13th ruler and held the original hieroglyphic stairway (Stuart 2000; Fierer-Donaldson 2006), while the final version of the Hieroglyphic Stairway was completed by the 15th ruler and is the final version of Structure 10L-26. It remains unknown, if it was Ruler 15 who also began the final version of the Hieroglyphic Stairway, or if it had been begun by Ruler 14 (personal communication William Fash 2012). All that remains of the decoration on the Esmeralda Structure, which seals the Chorcha tomb, is the rip out scars of the original version stairway. This leaves no way of knowing if the balustrades, altar, or ancestral figures that are part of the final version of the stairway were also present on the first one. The original stairway section does contain the information that they are above the tomb of the Copán Lord (Fash 2001; Stuart 2000), which is another piece of the pattern at Copán where building facades make reference to the people buried beneath them, even if in this case the format is different.

6.3.3 Tomb Chambers

All of the royal tombs are rectangular in shape and built of cut-stone masonry walls. They are laid out with their long axis north-south, mimicking the orientation of the site core, which is longer from north to south. Comparison of the royal tombs shows an interesting progression among where the earliest tombs are vaulted chambers (Hunal and Margarita), the middle tombs are roofed with lintel-style capstones (Oropéndola and Sub-Jaguar), and the later tombs incorporate elements of both by adding vaulted antechambers above (Chorcha and 10L-18). The Margarita tomb is an interesting hybrid with two vaulted chambers, though the upper chamber is offset from the lower. In addition to the variability among the royal tombs that appears to be correlated with time period, the non-royal tombs of Copán also demonstrate mixed building techniques. The only tomb securely dated by Longyear (1952) to the Early Classic, Tomb 12-42, was flat-topped, while Tomb 4, which he suggests is possibly from the Late Classic,

but I think based on his description of the ceramics is likely Early Classic, was vaulted. Similarly, the tombs he surveys from the Late Classic are mixed with examples of both types represented, though more are flat-topped than corbel arches (Longyear 1952:47).

6.3.4 Burial platforms

In the five archaeologically excavated tombs all of the skeletons were laid out on top of a burial platforms. In the Hunal, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar tombs the deceased were laid out on platforms made out of stone slabs and placed on pedestal feet, while in the Oropéndola and Chorcha tombs the deceased rested on platforms made out of organic material such as wood. The wooden platform in the Chorcha Tomb was then placed on top of a stone platform, similar in form to those in the Hunal, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar tombs and leaving the Oropéndola Tomb as the only one without any kind of stone table. There is also evidence the Chorcha platform was double leveled and stuccoed and painted (Chapter 5; Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004; Fash et al. 2001).

6.3.5 Skeletal orientation

All the skeletons in the royal tombs of Copán were laid out extended and supine on their burial platforms with hands at their sides. This posture was typical of all graves during the Early Classic, but seems to be restricted to the royal and highest elite tombs during the Late Classic, since the smaller tombs during this period contained flexed burials, which were typical of the Late Classic period at Copán (Longyear 1952:40). In the Hunal, Margarita, Oropéndola tombs the skeletons were all found with their heads to the south, while in the Sub-Jaguar and Chorcha tombs the heads were facing north. Longyear's (1952:47) survey of found head direction was variable with a preference for the east-west axis during the Early Classic and no clear predominance of either east-west or north-south during the Late Classic. As we have seen in chapters 3 and 4, head direction is often interpreted as in relation to the sun with eastern heads described as facing the rising sun and western heads described as looking east. Clearly among the

royal tombs of Copán some other force is operating more strongly than the expected preference for eastern focused burials. It may have to do with the orientation of the site core which emphasizes a north-south axis or some symbolic meaning as yet undeciphered, but what is clear is that the royal tombs, unlike the other tombs and burials of Copán, are committed to this line even though we see what appears to be an 180 degree shift in orientation some time in the 6th century.

6.3.6 Body treatment

While all of the skeletons were laid out in the same body position, body treatment varied among the royal individuals at the site, though evidence for red pigment was found on the bones in all of the royal tombs (see, chapter 5; Bell et al. 2004; Fash et al. 2001; Magee 1997). While in the earliest tombs, Hunal and Margarita, this was done once the flesh was no longer adhering to the bones, the examples of the Oropéndola and Chorcha tombs suggest it was later added to the body while the flesh was still present, which might have also been the case for the Sub-Jaguar tomb as well. Krejci and Culbert (1995:106) found that only a small percentage of burials have red pigment in them either on the skeleton or other artifacts and that these burials tend to be the wealthiest. The sample at Copán follows the trend demonstrated by Krejci and Culbert with red pigment present in all of the royal burials and in large amounts, while Longyear notes that non-royal tombs only occasionally have small lumps of cinnabar (1952:40) and Burial 92-3 does contain traces of red pigment (Bell et al. 2004:149).

Table 6.1 Comparison of Tomb Construction, Burial Platforms, and Skeletal Treatment

Tomb	Tomb location	Tomb shape	Tomb orientation	Tomb chamber Size	Tomb chamber	Chamber roofs
Hunal	below Structure 10L-16	rectangle	North-south	2.5 x 1.5 x 1.7m	single	vaulted
Margarita	below Structure 10L-16	rectangle	North-south	2.4 x 1.2 x 2.1m	double, sequential	vaulted (both)
Oropéndola	below Structure 10L-16	rectangle	North-south	2.0 x 1.5 x 1.4m	single	lintel
Sub-Jaguar	below Jaguar Stairs	rectangle	North-south	3.0 x 1.2 x 1.5m	single	lintel
Galindo	below Structure 10L-19	rectangle	North-south	3.0 x 1.7 x 1.8m	?	?
Chorcha	below Structure 10L-26	rectangle	North-south	7.0 x 2 x 1.5m	antechamber chamber	vaulted, lintel
10L-18	below Structure 10L-18	rectangle	North-south	?	antechamber chamber	vaulted, lintel
Tomb	Plaster, paint walls, floor	Burial platform	Skeletal direction	Skeletal position	Hand position	Red pigment
Hunal	no	stone	head south	extended supine	at sides	directly placed on bones
Margarita	yes, red	stone	head south	extended supine	at sides	directly placed on bones
Oropéndola	no	organic poles	head south	extended supine	at sides	placed on flesh and burial platform
Sub-Jaguar	yes, red	stone	head north	extended supine	at sides	placed on burial platform
Galindo	?	?	?	?	?	?
Chorcha	yes, pink	double wood levels over stone	head north	extended supine	at sides	placed on flesh and on lower burial platform
10L-18	?	?	?	?	?	?

6.3.7 Personal adornment

6.3.7.1 Mouth beads

It has been known for decades that jade beads were often placed in the mouths of the dead. Frey Diego de Landa mentions it in his *Relación* as a practice alive during the early colonial period and Tozzer's 1941 commentary relates examples of the practice known from archaeological contexts during the Classic period. While by no means ubiquitous, jade beads are often found in burials in locations

suggesting they were originally placed in the mouth. Over the years there have been multiple interpretations of this ritual action. Some, like Diego de Landa, have explained the jade bead as a symbol of maize where its placement in the mouth of the dead is done to insure perpetual sustenance in the afterlife (Tozzer 1941). For others it is part of the ideology around the soul or breath spirit, which is often represented in iconography as a bead, flower, or even serpent illustrated just in front of the nose (Chapter 4). Landa's (1941) description of the practice describes it for both commoners and nobles, but claims a difference in quality of the material. All of the tombs, except for the Chorcha Tomb, have jade beads found near the mouth and interpreted to be mouth beads. In the case of the Chorcha Tomb, it may be that one of the beads found in the chest area had moved from its original place in the mouth. (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004; Fash et al. 2001; Magee 1997; Sharer et al. 2004).

6.3.7.2 Headdresses

Headdresses appear to be an important piece of dress for royal Maya during the Classic period. While the iconographic corpus shows headdress to be extremely varied in style and composition, they often contain recognizable and repeating elements that would have been as obvious to the people viewing them then as they are to us now, if not more so. There is evidence for headdresses in all of the excavated royal male tombs at Copán, while the Margarita Tomb does not have anything that was clearly identified as a headdress, if she had been wearing one of the small versions, such as the diadems illustrated on such monuments as Yaxchilan Lintel 15, it might not have been identified in the field (Chapter 5; Bell 2007:388; Bell et al. 2004:153; Fash et al. 2001:162; Sharer et al. 2004).

6.3.7.3 Necklaces

All of the individuals in the royal tombs at Copán were buried wearing significant pieces of jewelry. It is clear that necklaces were one of the most common items found in the royal tombs, though some items found in the chest area have been referred to as pectorals rather than beads and necklaces.

Items designated as such are often large pieces of jade with holes going through them that are tubular, often referred to as bar pectorals, and sometimes rectangular or square, often called plaques. Round or oval shapes are almost always referred to as beads. In discussing iconographic representations, the word pectoral is used to describe the central piece or pieces of a chest decoration. As they are sometimes composite decorations made of more than one item, which when found in another context might be called something else, the designations can get confusing. It is especially confusing in an archaeological context when we cannot be sure all of the items are in their original locations. The distinction persists, however, since pectorals have been suggested to be items that convey meaning beyond decoration, even when none of the constituent parts contain recognizable symbols (Viel 1999). Necklaces on the other hand, tend to be considered as decoration or as an expression of wealth, though sometimes carved beads or plaques are discussed with regard to symbolic information they may convey. In this section I will focus on discussing the necklaces worn on the chests by the deceased and the next section will continuing the discussion by considering pectorals. Jade necklaces with a variety of bead styles, often mixed with shell, and sometimes made from more shell than jade, are found in all of the royal tombs at Copán, with the possible exception of the Hunal Tomb.

6.3.7.4 Bar pectorals or tubular beads

In their discussion of the burials from the Acropolis during the Early Classic period, Bell et al. 2004 refer to the large tubular jade beads found in various tombs as pectorals or more specifically as 'bar pectorals.' As noted above the flat carved beads from the Margarita tomb were also called pectorals, which should then also be used to describe the plaques in the Chorcha Tomb, and perhaps the macaw heads in the Oropéndola Tomb, though these are smaller in size. The Hunal, Margarita, and Oropéndola Tombs all contained large tubular beads they may have been part of a 'bar' pectoral (Chapter 5; Bell 2007:417-419; Bell et al. 1994:133, 153; Fash 2001; Fash et al. 2001:162).

6.3.7.5 Earflares

The occupant of every royal tomb at Copán wore earflares and some tombs had extra pairs as well (Chapter 5; Bell 2007:214, 236, 401; Bell et al. 2004:133, 140; 153; Fash et al. 2001:162; Shaer et al. 1994; Traxler 1994). According to Longyear (1952:35) earplugs made of clay or jade are one of the most common items found in non-royal tombs after ceramics and beads. While it is tempting to try to look for patterns among the earflare types worn by the royalty of Copán, they were in fact all very different with regard to composition and materials, except that each included at least some jade. The presence of mosaic rather than solid jade flares was clearly not due to lack of access to jade, at least in the case of the Oropéndola Tomb, since it contains three pairs of solid jade earflares. It is possible that the patterns that adorn earflares may be more symbolically significant than mere decoration, much like the pectorals, there has not, to my knowledge, been any attempt to review earflare form and decoration within either the iconographic or archaeological corpus. Unfortunately, such a survey is beyond the scope of this project.

6.3.7.6 Belts/loincloths

There has also been no systematic study of whether waist adornments contain specific symbols for specific costumes, whether there are a suite of symbols that can be drawn from, or whether they are for decoration and without other levels of meaning. Margarita, Oropendola, and Sub-Jaguar all had jade beads and two matched round objects at the pelvis, though in Margarita and Oropéndola they are jade earflares and in Sub-Jaguar they were obsidian discs. Both the Hunal and Chorcha Tombs lacked anything that could be identified as a belt or loincloth. The one thing all the tombs had in common were shells in the pelvic area, though the Hunal shells were of a unique type. In all other tombs the shells were *Spondylus*, and only the Margarita Tomb also had *Oliva* shells at the pelvis (Chapter 5; Bell 2007:210-212, 238, 401-402, 412, 414; Bell et al. 2004:140, 153; Fash et al. 2001:163-164).

6.3.7.7 Bracelets, arm bands, garters, anklets, sandals etc.

Most of the royal tombs had varied amounts of adornment items beyond what has already been discussed. The Margarita Tomb is the only one with direct evidence of sandals, though they were likely also worn by the Sub-Jaguar occupant. The Margarita Tomb had the grandest adornment items, while they were more modest in Hunal, Oropéndola, and Sub-jaguar Tombs they were more modest, and absent in the Chorcha Tomb (Chapter 5; Bell 2007: 210, 236; 400-401; Bell et al. 2004:139-140, 153; Fash et al. 2001).

Table 6.2 Personal Adornment worn by the decease

	Mouth Bead	Headdress	Necklace
Hunal Tomb	Jade tube bead with mat	Shell Platelet	Lg. tubular jade bead "bar pectoral"
Margarita Tomb	Jade tube bead	No evidence. If present was small	Multi-strand jade and shell necklace. Necklace of carved jade plaques. Lg jade tubular bead.
Oropendola Tomb	Jade pectoral carved face with god attributes	Shell Platelet	Jade and shell bead necklace. Necklace of carved jade macaws. Natural Pearls. Lg jade tubular bead
Sub-Jaguar Tomb	Large jade bead	Lg. mostly organic	Multi-strand carved shell necklace carved Other jade and shell beads.
Chorcha Tomb	possible. Globular or tubular bead	Lg. mostly organic with large natural pearls	Strand of carved jade plaques. Spherical and tubular jade beads.
	Earflares	Belt/loincloth	Bracelets/Anklets/Rings
Hunal Tomb	Sold round jade earflares on either side of head	Spiral top shells at pelvis. Shell platelets and jade beads near pelvis, unknown if originally from headdress.	4 jaguar canines and 26 irregular jade beads at left knee. 33 Oliva shell tinklers associated with left arm
Margarita Tomb	Solid round jade earflares on either side of head	globular jade beads, 'flower' shaped earflares, rectangular pyrite objects, hundres of discoidal shell beads, bird heads. Spondylus shell with Oliva shell inside.	Shell platelet sandals. Large jade beads around both lower legs. 2 strands of large jade beads around both arms. 3 rows of small rectangular jade plates with pyrite elements around wrists
Oropendola Tomb	Mosaic jade earflares on slate backings	Carved and uncarved globular jade bead necklace. Solid jade earflares. 2 spondylus valves. Small irregular jade beads, 2 well carved macaws	Jade bead anklet with multiple bead shapes including 3 possible centipedes. Jade tubular beads found near each arm that may have been part of arm bands or bracelets.
Sub-Jaguar Tomb	Mosaic jade and shell earflares	Lg. jade pendant spondylus valve placed on top, 2 obsidian disks.	Evidence for sandals. Bracelets and anklets made of jade, shell beads.
Chorcha Tomb	Solid jade earflares carved into shape flowers	No obvious waist decoration. Spondylus shells found in the pelvis area.	Absent

6.3.8 Objects on burial platform

That certain objects were placed on the burial platform rather than the floor is an important distinction for the process of trying to understand the ideas behind the creation of the deposit. The assumption is often made by archaeologists that objects on the burial platform or objects closer to the individual are more directly associated with the individual, while objects placed on the floor or farther way are often considered to be more 'general offerings' (Bell et al. 2004). The adoption of this kind of distinction makes sense for burials in which there are more than one person interred, but whether such a distinction holds in burials with a single individual or burials in which one person is clearly the primary focus of the interment has not been explicitly explored. This suggests it might be fruitful to look at what items have been found touching the deceased individuals and what items were placed on the burial platforms to see if any patterns could be discerned beyond the identification of the jewelry and clothes the deceased as wearing. Among the tombs from Copán, only one, the Chorcha tomb, was found with multiple individuals, and in that case it was clear who was the focus of the internment and who were they attendants or sacrificed individuals. This means all of the tombs from Copán may be useful in trying to understand this question.

6.3.8.1 Mats/textiles

This kind of matting found in tombs has often been referred to by a word that originally comes from Nahuatl: *petate,* which has been understood to signify rulership when found in iconographic contexts such as Copán's Structure 10L-22a (B. Fash et al. 1992) and the mouth bead from the Hunal Tomb (Bell et al. 2004). These ideas have sometimes been extended to suggest the presence of a mat over the burial slab as similar to the placement of a mat over the throne of a ruler. The presence of matting in all of the royal tombs across the represented history of the site does seem to support the idea of the mat being important royal symbols or symbols of power(Chapter 5; Bell et al. 2004:13; 153; Bell 2007:400;

Fash et al. 2001:161). The mat in the Margarita tomb, however, shows it was not just rulers who were laid out over mats. Indeed, the evidence for mats in such tombs as ECAP's Burial 92-1, shows they were buried with people who were not accorded any other trappings of royal burials. Add to this the ethnographic data showing that in modern Maya communities everyone is buried either lying on or wrapped in a *petate,* it is one of the few elements seen consistently across the modern communities (Chapter 3), and the question of whether a mat symbolizes anything in this context must be asked. I am not suggesting that a mat cannot symbolize the ideas of rulership or authority, but I question whether it does so in the specific context of burial rituals and grave goods.

6.3.8.2 Jaguar skins, leather

Another item that has been suggested to symbolize rulership when it is placed over the burial platform are jaguar skins. There are countless iconographic examples of rulers sitting on thrones covered in jaguar skins throughout the Maya visual corpus and when evidence for such things has been found in tombs, it has been thought to mean the same thing (Reents-Budet 1994). Unlike the discussion of matting, evidence for jaguar skins placed over burial platforms is only secure in one of the tombs at Copán, the Chorcha Tomb where 36 feline phalanges were found suggesting the hide had the claws still attached when placed in the tomb, and suggestive in one other, the Oropéndola Tomb (Chapter 5; Fash et al. 2001:161). None of the other royal tombs report evidence for hides or skins, but as it is a material that suffers greatly due to preservation issues, pelts, hide, or leather may have been present in other tombs as well.

6.3.8.3 Adornment

The disintegration of the wooden platforms in both the Oropéndola and Chorcha Tombs made it difficult to resolve some of the stratigraphic relationships within these two tombs. When the wooden platforms were not longer strong enough to hold up their contents, they collapsed likely causing

movement of some of the items and compressing the stratigraphy with different areas effected in different ways due to the material properties of various objects. In the Hunal and Sub-Jaguar Tombs, objects moved around due to water infiltration and seismic activity, while in the Margarita Tomb the effects of the looting must also be added to evidence for seismic activity to the factors that have disturbed objects from their original locations.

Even with these constraints, both the Hunal and Margarita Tombs had objects that are thought to be extra items of adornment placed on the their burial platforms. For the Hunal Tomb, these may include the shell and jade mosaic "horse collar" decorated with the Principal Bird Deity and an important title, and three 3 animals carved out of shells and inlaid with jade (Bell 2007:213; 237-28). In the Margarita Tomb over 2,000 tubular jade beads and discoid blue beads were found on the right side of the body, while on the left were more than 9,500 tiny discoidal jade beads on top of thick concentration of cinnabar (Bell 2007:400, 407). There is evidence that at least some of the beads on the left side were originally strung together and Bell suggests the beads may have originally been part of a garment, strings of beads or necklaces, or were the raw material for such objects placed into organic bags that did not preserve (Bell 2007:407, 409).

6.3.8.4 Ceramics

Two of the royal tombs contain evidence that a small amount of ceramic vessels were likely placed on the burial platform, rather than on the tomb floors like vast majority of vessels. The earlier of the two tombs is the Oropéndola Tomb and the likely vessels are three small Melano ring-based bowls appear to have originally been placed on the bier above the individual's right shoulder (Chapter 5). The Chorcha Tomb is the other tomb with clear evidence of this behavior. There were two ceramic bowls and a small drinking vessel with feet placed at the end of the stone slab below the skeleton's feet, which William Fash and colleagues suggest once held "a food offering" (2001:164). There are records from

ethnographic accounts of vessels containing certain items that were placed directly in association with the deceased because of the specific way in which they were to be used during the journey and residence in the afterlife, while other vessels were placed around the body (Chapter 3). The separation by location of these vessels from the other vessels in the tomb to reflect this difference in use.

6.3.8.5 Animal bones

In the Hunal Tomb a cluster of five worked bone awls made from the long bones of a large mammal, perhaps a deer, and seven stingray spines were found on the burial platform near the left knee (Bell 2007:209-210). The Chorcha Tomb contained two stingray spines and two obsidian blades mixed with a large variety of marine animal pieces in the general region of the torso (Fash et al. 2001:163-164). Stingray spines have been found in royal tombs outside of Copán associated with the pelvis (D. Chase 1991; Fitzsimmons et al. 2003; Haines et al. 2008:84; Welsh 1988). Their placement in that location is thought to evoke the manner in which they would have been used in life by a male. While stingray spines were not recorded on the burial platforms of either the Margarita or Sub-Jaguar tombs, they were present amongst the Margarita floor deposits and an obsidian blade was found near the left hand of the occupant of Sub-Jaguar Tomb, which emphasizes the importance of letting royal blood (Bell et al. 2004:153).

The deceased individual in the Sub-Jaguar tomb was accompanied on his bier by a unique rectangular arrangement of 27 *Spondylus* valves placed all around the body, at least some of which appeared to have been covering dead birds/animals and the others may original have done so as well. The body was laid out over these shells in such a way that the arms, hands and feet were actually resting on shells (Bell et al. 2004:153). The original field report also notes a group of worked bone objects that were likely in a bag or other container that did not preserve on the burial slab near the body (Sharer et al. 2004). Whole *Spondylus* shells are often interpreted as evoking the watery nature of the underworld, and as the shells are found below the ocean surface, they are absolutely part of the underwater landscape.

6.3.8.6 Other objects on the Burial Platform

The Sub-Jaguar Tomb is the only one to have other objects on the burial platform including: a wooden object found near the right hand of the occupant along with an obsidian blade, thought to be used for bloodletting, and a group of small polished wooden pieces and seeds, which may have been counters, divination pieces, or rattles inside wood object (Bell et al. 2004:153-154).

Table 6.3 Comparison of the Burial Platforms and Associated Object

Tomb	Materials	Matting	Pelts, leather, hide	Adornment
Hunal	Stone	over the stone slab and under the skeleton	No evidence	"Horse collar" 3 shell animals 2 have jade mosaic
Margarita	Stone	over the stone slab and under the skeleton	No evidence	Thousands of beads. Skirt? Raw material?
Oropéndola	Organic poles	Over poles and under the hide, red pigment, artifacts and skeleton	Dark organic layer above matting and below red pigment	Absent
Sub-Jaguar	Stones	Over the painted stone slab and under the artifacts and skeleton	No evidence	Absent
Chorcha	Wood, stone	On stone slab, perhaps on the wooden levels of platform as well	2 skins on burial platform presence of 36 feline phalanges	Absent
Tomb	Ceramics	Shells, Marine Animals	Animal Bones	Other objects
Hunal	Absent	7 stingray spines found together. 2 stingray spines and marine animal pieces found in the torso area	5 worked bone awls found in torso area with marine animals	2 obsidian blades found in torso area with marine animals
Margarita	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
Oropéndola	3 ring based bowls above right shoulder, next to head	Absent	Absent	Absent
Sub-Jaguar	Absent	27 spondylus valves at leas one of which covered the remains of a small bird.	Bird bones beneath *Spondylus* shell. Worked bone objects likely in organic bag	Wood object at right hand, obsidian blade, small polished wood pieces seeds, likely in organic bag
Chorcha	2 ceramic bowls, a small drinking vessel with feet south of the skeleton's feet	Stingray spines near torso, red pigment, sea urchin shell, sea star, brittlestar, sea fan, fish vertebra, tiny pearls, clamshells, sea sponge.	Absent	Absent

6.3.9 Objects on tomb floor

In their discussion of the Sub-Jaguar tomb, Bell and colleagues (2004;153) make a distinction not only between objects placed directly on the burial platform and those placed on the floor, but they also separate the objects placed directly underneath the burial platform, especially those in the center, from objects along the edges of the tomb chamber and at the ends of the platform. To them those objects beneath the burial slab are more likely to be personal objects of the deceased rather than more general offerings. This idea creates a hierarchy of association between the deceased and the objects thought to be reflected by the layout of the tomb contents.

More than just the analytical concerns about the data, the idea of a hierarchy of ownership, personalness or relatedness requires that we think about what these ideas would have meant in the Classic period and for royalty. Ethnographic sources suggest that it was specifically the objects that belonged to and were used by the deceased that went into the tombs. This was not only for their use in the afterlife, but to protect those who still lived from these potentially dangerous objects. There are examples from some communities of instances where new objects had to be included in tombs, but to make them acceptable the living would alter them in ways to make them to belong to the deceased. The only thing the mourners added to tombs were a few instances in which money was buried in the grave, where friends and family could help make up the deficiencies, if the deceased did not possess sufficient funds (Chapter 3). Whether these kind of practices would have been the same with royalty is an interesting question. From ethnohistoric accounts of the burial of Aztec kings, we learn kings were both buried with all of their own possessions to take into the afterlife, but also with gifts from all of the other kings in the region, which were brought to the funeral (Chapter 2).

There are certainly also examples where the placement of objects appears to stem from answers of expediency rather than ideology. In her dissertation, Bell (2007) explains the predominance of the north end of the Margarita Tomb for the deposition of burial objects as the result of the fact that the tomb

entrance is on that end. Rather than suggesting any kind of symbolic meaning, such as the cardinal direction or at the feet of the skeleton, she concludes it has to do with ease of access for the people performing the funerary ritual (2007:425). This adds another dimension to trying to understand what meaning may lay behind the placement of objects in the tomb.

6.3.9.1 Floor Covering

In all of the cases where the tomb floors were discussed, they had been modified in some way, though not all in the same ways. Evidence suggests that at least the Hunal, Margarita, and Oropéndola Tombs all had organic remains covering the floors, while the Hunal, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar Tombs all had stucco floors covering a variety of subfloor materials (Bell 2007:219).
(2007:425). The floor of the Oropéndola and Chorcha Tombs were tuff gravels with no suggesting of stucco.

Table 6.4 Floor material and Floor Covering

Source	Floor material	Floor cover
Hunal Tomb	Stucco over clay and sterile soil	Organic, plant material?
Margarita Tomb	Stucco over tuff gravels	Organic, textile or mat?
Oropéndola Tomb	Tuff gravels	Organic, mat?
Sub-jaguar Tomb	Stucco	Red and black manganite
Chorcha Tomb	Tuff gravels	Absent

6.3.9.2. Items of personal adornment

All of the royal tombs at Copán, other than the Chorcha Tomb, contain items of adornment left on the floor of the tomb rather than worn by the deceased or placed on the burial platform (Chapter 5, Bell 2007:240, 434, 436, 438, 440-443; Bell et al. 2004:149; 154; Fash et al. 2001). Most commonly these take the form of earflares and necklaces, though the Margarita Tomb also has a beautiful complement of finger rings as well. While it would not be possible for an individual to be buried wearing more than one

pair of earflares, it is clear from the data that both multi-strand necklaces and multiple individual necklaces were worn by the deceased. This practice did not, however, result in the deceased wearing all of the necklaces in the tomb, which suggests some items were specifically chosen to adorn the body, while others were intentionally placed on the floor. Perhaps this is a reflection of the specific elements called for by the costume in which the deceased was buried.

The Margarita Tomb, even when compared to the other royal tombs at Copán, is excessively wealthy in terms of both quantity and quality of grave goods, especially in the area of adornment items or the materials to make them, while the Chorcha Tomb contains the least amount of adornment objects. In the Chorcha Tomb of the jade and shell pieces were found associated with the body itself, and when compared to the Hunal, Margarita or Oropéndola Tombs the amount was small, if very beautifully made.

Tables 6.5 Items of Adornment on the Floor of the Tombs

Source	Earflares	Necklace	Pendant	Rings
Hunal Tomb	1 pair	Possible "horse collar" pectoral and shell and jade mosaics.	Absent	Absent
Margarita Tomb	2 pairs	Possible some of the beads were originally necklaces	Absent	Over 20
Oropéndola Tomb	4 pairs	Globular shell bead necklace, possible *Nodipeten* pectoral	1 jade pendant	Absent
Sub-jaguar Tomb	Absent	*Oliva* shell and jaguar claw necklace	Absent	Absent
Chorcha Tomb	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
Source	Sequins	Headdress	Composite	Mirrors
Hunal Tomb	Absent	Absent	1, possibly: necklace, chest ornament, headdress or backrack	Absent
Margarita Tomb	Thousands	Absent	Absent	2 large mirrors, unknown if they were adornment
Oropéndola Tomb	Approx. 1600	3 pairs shell goggles thought to be part of headdresses	1, possibly: backrack, chest ornament, shield, or headdress	2 large mirrors, 2 small mirrors, unknown if any were adornment
Sub-jaguar Tomb	Absent	Shell platelet headdress, 1 pair shell goggles	Absent	Absent
Chorcha Tomb	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent

6.3.9.3 Ceramic vessels

Open bowls of various forms are the most common category in the tombs. Among the 3 earliest tombs the most common form present were bowls making up at least half the vessels in each. While the forms do vary among traditions and across time, there are certain characteristics they share. The Hunal tomb contained 10 bowls, the Margarita tomb had 9 bowls, and the Oropéndola Tomb had 10 bowls. With the Sub-Jaguar tomb can be seen the beginning of what appears to be a preference for large plates over bowls, as it had 7 plates and only 6 bowls. This continued in the Chorcha Tomb, which had a similar number of bowls as the earlier tombs, there were 9 small dishes, but these were dwarfed by the 25 plates in that tomb. To drive home just how much of a change this was, the Hunal Tomb contained only 1 plate, while neither the Margarita nor the Oropéndola Tombs contained any plates at all. Following traditional understandings of these forms, we would expect the bowls to hold individual portion servings, making the consumption of food or drink the focus of the ceramic compliment, while the plates would be used for serving or displaying food rather than individual consumption (Bill 1997).

Also common amongst the tombs are cylinders, which are characterized as having vertical walls and flat bases. The Hunal Tomb had 6 large cylinder vases with tripod feet of which three had matching lids. The Margarita Tomb only contained 2 small cylinders with tripod feet both of which had lids. The Oropéndola Tomb had 10 cylinder vessels of which 8 were large and 2 were small. No ceramic lids were found in the Oropéndola Tomb. In the Sub-Jaguar Tomb were 10 cylinders, of which 2 were large with tripod feet, 3 were small with tripod feet (2 of these had lids), and 5 were very small cups without feet or lids. The Chorcha Tomb had 14 cylinders, 9 were small cylinder tripod vessels and 5 small cylinder vases without feet. Looking at the ceramic complement over time among the royal tombs of Copán demonstrate a clear change over time in both the number and type of vessels provided for the funerary feast of deceased royalty. The emphasis moves away from personal servings of food left for the deceased in small bowls or dishes to the display of food typified by the increase in plate forms and an overall increase in

ceramic vessels. Interestingly, the drinking vessels become smaller in size over time.

Table 6.6 Hunal Tomb Ceramics

Hunal	Form	Decoration	INAA	Contents
Vessel 01	Deer effigy	Reclining deer effigy vessel	Guatemalan Highlands	Cacao powder, cinnabar, spondylus shell hand scoop
Vessel 02	Composite silhouette tripod plate	Black body with Lid 4	Indeterminate	not tested
Vessel 03	Ring-foot bowl	Thin Orange	Highland Mexico	not tested
Vessel 04	Thin walled basin	Post-fire painted stucco decoration decorated with an owl and feathered oval cartouches that may be mirrors	Indeterminate	not tested
Vessel 05	Composite silhouette bowl	Undecorated Melano type	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 06	Cylinder Tripod, mamiform feet	Black body, applique base of circles. Melano type	Copán region	Stacked above Vessel 8
Vessel 07	Ring-foot bowl	Thin Orange	Highland Mexico	
Vessel 08	Ring-foot bowl	Melano type.	Lower Motagua/Quirigua	Stacked below Vessel 6
Vessel 09	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	black body, with oval appliques at base	Indeterminate	No theobromine, caffeine
Vessel 10	Large cuspidor jar and nubbin supports	Starfish near the rim, series of connected scrolls at based, on both sides are two male warrior figures	Highland Mexico	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 11	Basal flange bowl, 3 Mammiform feet	Scalloped basal flange and Usulután resist decoration	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 12	Basal flange bowl, 3 Mammiform feet	Scalloped basal flange and Usulután resist decoration	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 13	Basal flange bowl, 4 Mammiform feet	Scalloped basal flange and Usulután resist decoration	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 14	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Four rattle appliques on body, lid with rattle handle. Lid 1	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 15	Ring-foot bowl	Melano type, red slipped rim	Quirigua?	not tested
Vessel 16	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Black body, oval appliques at base	Indeterminate	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 17	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Four rattle appliques on body. Lid 2	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 18	Ring-foot bowl	Faux Thin Orange	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 19	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Cartouches of “reptile eyes” topped w/ three circles w/ scrolls Lid 3	Petén	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 20	Tecomate on high ringstand	Brownware with incised geometric motifs	Copán region	not tested
Vessel 21	Basal flange bowl, 3 Mammiform feet	Scalloped basal flange and Usulután resist decoration	Copán region	not tested

Table 6.7 The Margarita Tomb Ceramics (Chamber 1)

	Form	Decoration	INAA	Contents
Vessel 1	Ring-foot bowl	Slipped orange interior includes geometric red-on-orange design	Indeterminate	Not tested
Vessel 2	Lg. shallow bowl with wide dimple base	Slipped orange with red band around rim. Resist decoration of pisote bird or monkey at base, sides have geometric and zoomorphic resist decoration	Not tested	No Theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 3	Hemispherical bowl	Orange slipped, three low, horizontal flutes and round, lobed base.	Not tested	Remains of a small quail
Vessel 4	Miniature cup-like vessel	Slipped beige with red geometric designs that include zoomorphic representations of likely a frog or lizard	Honduras	Concentration of cinnabar
Vessel 5	Miniature cup-like vessel	Fugitive, powdery orange post-fire slip and caked with cinnabar	Honduras	Not tested
Vessel 6	Hemispherical bowl	Stuccoed and painted blue-green with a curl that starts at base and spirals around to the rim, it was incised and punctuated and colored red with cinnabar	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 7	Pot stand	Stuccoed and painted and incised red on top and base and blue and green on stem	Indeterminate	Not tested
Vessel 8	High necked cuspidor jar	Thin Orange	Highland Mexico	Not tested
Vessel 9	Sm. basal flange bowl with ring base	Orange slip with red rim and interior decoration. motif has a dancing monkey and curved elements	Honduras	Not tested
Vessel 10	Sm. basal flange bowl with ring base	Orange slip with red rim and interior decoration.	Not tested. Likely local	No Theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 11	Ring-foot bowl	Monochrome orange	Honduras	No Theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 12	Sm. basal flange bowl with ring base	Orange slip with red rim and interior decoration.	Honduras	No Theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 13	Sm. cylinder tripod, slab feet and lid	Black body remnants of orange paint. Associated with Lid 1	Copán Region	Not tested
Vessel 14	Sm. cylinder tripod, slab feet and lid	Black body remnants of orange paint. Associated with Lid 2	Copán Region	No Theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 15	Sm. basal flange bowl with ring base	Orange slip with a red rim and interior decoration.	Not tested, likely local	No Theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 16	Ring-foot bowl	Thin Orange?	Not tested	Theobromine no caffeine, fish

Table 6.8 Oropéndola Tomb Ceramics

	Form	Decoration	INAA	Contents
08-012	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Plano-relief with cinnabar, "feathery eyes," diamond bands at rim, base	Local	pending
08-013	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Plano-relief with cinnabar, "feathery eyes," diamond bands at rim, base	Local	pending
08-014	Ring-foot bowl	Melano, red rim and red interior decoration	Likely local	pending
08-019	Ring-foot bowl	Melano, red rim and red interior decoration	likely local	theobromine
08-021	Ring-foot bowl	Faux Thin Orange	Pending	Pending, basket stacked on top
08-024	Ring-foot bowl	Melano, red rim and red interior decoration	Likely local	pending
08-027	Ring-foot bowl	Melano with no decoration	Likely local	pending
09-007	Ring-foot bowl	Melano, no decoration	Likely local	Pending, basket stacked on top
09-025	Hemispherical bowl	Highly burnished red-orange slip	Pending	pending
09-030	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	dark brown, band of incised circles at base	Likely local	red, yellow, gray granular material
09-031	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	dark brown, band of incised circles at base	Likely local	red, yellow, gray granular material
09-062	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Stuccoed and painted white, flowers at rim and base and possible flower medallions	Pending	pending
09-091	Ring-foot bowl	Melano with no decoration	Likely local	pending
09-092	Ring-foot bowl	Melano with no decoration	Likely local	pending
09-095	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	brown body	Likely local	red, yellow, gray granular material
09-096	vessel stand	brown slipped	Local	not tested
09-097	vessel stand	brown slipped	Local	not tested
09-099	Ring-foot bowl	Melano, red rim, red decoration	Likely local	Pending, stacked on 09-30
09-100	vessel stand	brown body	Likely local	not tested
09-101	vessel stand	brown body	Local	not tested
09-102	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Plano-relief with cinnabar, "feathery eyes," diamond bands at rim, base	Local	pending
09-105	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Dark brown, incised geometric band at base	Likely local	red, yellow, gray granular material
09-106	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Stuccoed and painted red, flowers at rim and base and possible mirror medallions	Pending	pending
09-107	Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Plano-relief with cinnabar, "feathery eyes," diamond bands at rim, base	Local	pending

Table 6. 9 Sub-Jaguar Ceramics

	Form	Decoration	INAA	Contents
Vessel 01	Sm. cylinder cup	Stuccoed and painted with two profile saurians with water curls	Quirigua	Theobromine, caffeine
Vessel 02	Sm. Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet and lid	Stuccoed and painted with Teo style feline. Lid 1	Quirigua	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 03	Sm. cylinder cup	Stuccoed and painted with 2 elaborate glyph blocks on each side	Not tested	Cacao
Vessel 04	Sm. cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Stuccoed and painted with 3 cartouches with Maya style saurians	Quirigua	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 05	Sm. cylinder cup	Stuccoed and painted with 3 columns of 2 Maya hieroglyphs each separated by vertical bands	Weak Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 06	Sm. Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet and lid	Stuccoed and painted with Teo style feline. Lid 2	Quirigua	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 07	Lg. Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Stuccoed and painted with 4 cartouches with profile heads of a different saurian	Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 08	Apaste – basin	Unslipped, lumpy, uneven, fire-clouded, burnishing	Indeterminate	Not tested
Vessel 09	Apaste – basin	Unslipped, lumpy, uneven, fire-clouded, burnishing	Indeterminate	Not tested
Vessel 10	Basal flanged plate no spout	Orange slip with red-and-black-on-orange geometric motifs and a fish in the center	Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 11	Basal flanged plate no spout	Orange slip with red-and-black-on-orange geometric motifs and a fish in the center	Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 12	Ring-foot bowl	Red-on-orange with resist decoration	Copán Region	Not tested
Vessel 13	Apaste – basin	unslipped, lumpy, uneven, fire-clouded, burnishing	Indeterminate	Theobromine, caffeine
Vessel 14	Ring-foot bowl	Red-on-orange with resist decoration	Copán Region	Not tested
Vessel 15	Sm. cylinder cup	Stuccoed and painted with 3 oval cartouches: a k'inich ajaw glyphic icon, two upside down zoomorphic heads	Weak Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 16	Lg. Cylinder tripod vase, slab feet	Stuccoed and painted, Central Mexcian style feather-encircled star(fish?) motif, liquid drops from edge.	Weak Quirigua	No theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 17	Basal flanged plate w/ spout	Orange slip, red-and-black-on-orange geometric motifs	Quirigua	Theobromine, caffeine
Vessel 18	Jar	Monochrome red	Indeterminate	Not tested
Vessel 19	Basal flanged plate, no basal break	Orange slip, red-and-black-on-orange geometric motifs better executed than others of this group	Weak Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 20	Basal flanged plate w/ spout	Orange slip, red-and-black-on-orange geometric motifs	Quirigua	No theobromine, no caffeine

Table 6.9 cont. Sub-Jaguar Ceramics

	Form	Decoration	INAA	Contents
Vessel 21	Ring-foot bowl		Copán Region	no theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 22	Sm. cylinder cup	Stuccoed and painted with 3 columns of 2 hieroglyphs separated by vertical bands	Weak Quirigua	not tested
Vessel 23	Ring-foot bowl	Red-on-orange with resist decoration	Copán Region	no theobromine, no caffeine
Vessel 24	Ring-foot bowl	Red-on-orange with resist decoration	Copán Region	Not tested
Vessel 25	Hemispherical bowl	Stuccoed and painted	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 26	?	?	Indeterminate	Not tested
Vessel 27	Basal flanged plate w/ spout	Orange slip, red-and-black-on-orange geometric motifs	Quirigua	Not tested
Vessel 28	Lg. Tripod plate	Stuccoed and painted, appliqued human effigy faces, also has Maya-style saurian head and feathered wing in profile along with water symbols	Quirigua	No theobromine, no caffeine

Table 6.10 Chorcha Tomb Ceramics

	Form	Decoration	INAA	Content
Vessel 01	Sm cylinder tripod	Red stripe at rim and base	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 02	Sm cylinder tripod	red stripe at rim	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 03	VOID	VOID	VOID	VOID
Vessel 04	Cylinder vase	White body, blue painted petals at base, 3 incised seated figures on body, meaningless glyphs at rim	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 05	Sm cylinder tripod	red stripe at rim	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 06	VOID	VOID	VOID	VOID
Vessel 07	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	Cinnabar
Vessel 08	Double-spouted jar	Highly burnished dark gray to black, Surlo	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 09	Cylinder vase	Monochrome. Surlo	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 10	Sm cylinder tripod	red stripe at rim	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 11	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome, c-shaped wave decoration, red circle on center of floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 12	Apaste- basin	crudely made, red slip on exterior	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 13	Small dish with steep walls	Bichrome on exterior, painted red, incised with vertebrae and with fish-serpent-monster heads in cartouches, Copador interior, maize foliage motifs	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 14	Sm cylinder tripod	Red stripe at rim and base. 3 large circles with arcs above them along body	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 15	Cylinder vase	Monochrome. Surlo	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 16	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration. Walls have abstract shapes, “c” with a dot in the middle. Rim has solid black arcs with curve facing the exterior, floor is decorated in large red knot motif.	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 17	Sm dish with steep walls	Polychrome decoration wave -like scrolls on upper register, central incised band of vertebrae	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 18	Sm dish with steep walls	Polychrome decoration pseudeoglyphs on upper register, central incised band of vertebrae. Star with hole in center on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 19	Small dish with steep walls	Bichrome painted red, incised with vertebrae and with fish-serpent-monster heads in cartouches.	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 20	Small dish with steep walls	Bichrome, painted red, incised with vertebrae and with fish-serpent-monster heads in cartouches	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 21	Small dish with steep walls	Polychrome decoration pseudoglyphs on upper register, central incised band of vertebrae. Profile scribe's head	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 22	Cylinder vase	Monochrome. Surlo, buff ware	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 23	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	N/A	cinnabar
Vessel 24	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	N/A	cinnabar
Vessel 25	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	N/A	cinnabar
Vessel 26	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	N/A	cinnabar
Vessel 27	Large tripod dish	Polychrome decoration of red c-shaped wave motifs around rim, black circle with 4 radiating lines with circles at ends on floor. Lip has solid black semi-circles.	Not tested	Not tested

Table 6.10 cont. Chorcha Ceramics

Chorcha	Form	Decoration	INAA	Content
Vessel 28	Apaste- basin	Crudely made, smoke damage on exterior	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 29	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration of red c-shaped wave motifs around rim, red circle with emanating elements on floor. Lip has series of solid red semi-circles.	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 30	VOID	VOID	VOID	VOID
Vessel 31	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 32	VOID	VOID	VOID	VOID
Vessel 33	Sm cylinder tripod vase	Red stripe at rim	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 34	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration of black c-shaped wave motif, sold red half circles around rim, black circle in the middle ringed by 4 red circles on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 35	Apaste- basin	Heavy smoke damage on interior, some damage on exterior. Roughly made with red slip	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 36	Sm cylinder tripod vase	Red slipped rim and red band at base. Double red vertical lines above the three supports.	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 37	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, red c-shaped elements around interior, solid black semi-circles around rim, red circle with 4 radiating red lines each ending in a red circle on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 38	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 39	Sm dish with steep walls	Polychrome decoration pseudoglyphs on upper register, central c-shaped band likely stylized vertebrae, interior floor has yellow knot motif, walls?	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 40	VOID	VOID	VOID	VOID
Vessel 41	Sm cylinder tripod vase	red stripe at rim, orange slip on body	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 42	Lg tripod dish	Bichrome decoration of red c-shaped elements around interior, solid red semi circles at rim, and abstract element on floor, perhaps a bird?	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 43	Sm dish with steep walls	Bichrome, painted red, incised with stylized c-shaped vertebrae (like the c's on Vessel 37?) and with fish-serpent-monster heads in cartouches	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 44	Sm dish with steep walls	Copador, pseudoglyphs at rim, carved band of vertebrae and two cartouches with faces, star with hole in center on floor	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 45	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration with scrolls at rim and black triangles in between, floor is abstract black curving lines	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 46	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 47	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 48	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar

Table 6.10 cont. Chorcha Ceramics

Chorcha	Form	Decoration	INAA	Content
Vessel 49	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 50	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 51	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 52	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 53	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 54	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 55	Apaste- basin	Thick, roughly made, brown body with reddish slip on exterior	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 56	Lg tripod dish	Bichrome decoration red c-shaped elements around interior, solid red semi circles at rim, and abstract element on floor	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 57	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 58	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 59	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 60	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 61	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 62	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	cinnabar
Vessel 63	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	Cinnabar
Vessel 64	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	Cinnabar
Vessel 65	Paint pot	Buff, thick walled, roughly made	Not tested	Cinnabar
Vessel 66	Apaste- basin	Thick, roughly made, brown body exterior has reddish slip	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 67	Apaste- basin	Thick, roughly made, brown body exterior has reddish slip	N/A	pending
Vessel 68	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim decorated with black arches each separated by three black dots in a triangle, black interlocking knot motif on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 69	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim decorated with black arches each separated by three black lines point toward interior, red and orange interlocking knot motif on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 70	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim slipped with some black decoration, geometric red and black forms on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 71	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim slipped red with black geometric elements, geometric design in red and black on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 72	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration. Lifted with contents for residue analysis.	Not tested	Not tested

Table 6.10 cont. Chorcha Tomb Ceramics

Chorcha	Form	Decoration	INAA	Content
Vessel 73	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, black triangles touching each other at widest points and pointing toward rim decorate the walls, rim is red slipped, anthropo or zoomorphic form on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 74	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim decorated with black arches each separated by three black lines point toward interior, red and red-wash interlocking knot motif outlined in black on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 75	Lg tripod dish	Painting style different from other plates with lines thicker and shapes more squared. Walls are decorated in what may be a wave pattern done with unbroken black line, rim decorated with black arches separated by three black lines that point toward interior. Two curved elements in red and black each with a black circle on exterior side on floor.	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 76	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim decorated with black arches each separated by three black lines point toward interior, red and black interlocking knot motif on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 77	Sm cylinder tripod vase	Red stripe at rim	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 78	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration. Was lifted with contents for residue analysis.	N/A	Pending
Vessel 79	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, black triangles touching each other at their widest points and pointing toward rim decorate the walls, rim is red slipped, form decoration on floor not visible	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 80	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls decorated with two registers of same design—a red band topped by a buff band with black lines and circular elements. Rim is red slipped, geometric or perhaps zoomorphic decoration on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 81	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, black triangles touching each other at their widest points and pointing toward rim decorate the walls, rim is red slipped, geometric form on floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 82	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, walls have band of pseudoglyphs, rim decorated with black arches each separated by three black lines point toward interior, red and black design on floor currently not visible	Not tested	Not tested

Table 6.10 cont. Chorcha Tomb Ceramics

Chorcha	Form	Decoration	INAA	Content
Vessel 83	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, interior not visible, walls may have pseudoglyphs, rim is red slipped with black arches	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 84	VOID	VOID	VOID	VOID
Vessel 85	Lg tripod dish	Polychrome decoration, wall decorated with interlocking rope motif in red and black, rim lined with black arches separated form one another by three black lines point toward interior, geometric design in red and black on the floor	Not tested	Not tested
Vessel 86	Jar?	Rim highly flared, Exterior roughly red slipped.	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 87	Apaste- basin	Thick, roughly made, brown body exterior has reddish slip	Not tested	not tested
Vessel 88	Cylinder vase	Highly burnished dark ceramic with reddish interior	Not tested	not tested

6.3.9.4 Animal bones and shells

The Hunal Tomb had the most variety of animal bones both worked and unworked of any of the tombs for various purposes, while most of the bones in the Margarita Tomb were worked to into sewing and weaving tools, though there were also stingray spines present. The Oropéndola Tomb had no animal bones preserved, unless the three needle fragments were intentionally included in the tomb, but was the recipient of the most shell of any of the tombs The only item in this category mentioned in the published material on the Sub-Jaguar Tomb is an organic container or bundle with nine small stingray spines reinforcing the identification between rulers and bloodletting. In the Chorcha Tomb 8 *Spondylus* shells, 1 marine shell, 1 stingray spine, 1 bone artifact were all found on floor Unique to the Chorcha tomb was a southern bench on which a grouping of stingray spines were found in the southeastern corner of the tomb (Chapter 5, Emery 2000 in Bell 2007:232, 239, 244, 246, 249, 252, 433, 440-444; Bell et al 2004:154; Fash et al. 2001:164; Henderson 2001:67)

Table 6.11 Animal Bone and Shell from the Tomb Floors

Source	Worked bone	Unmodified bone	Worked shell	Unmodified shell
Hunal Tomb	Deer bone tube, deer bone awl	Bird bones, armadillo scutes	*Oliva* tinklers, 1 *Spondylus* shell hand	2 conch shells, 1 large bivalve
Margarita Tomb	Bone needles, awls, spatulas, weaving picks	Stingray spines	Absent	Absent
Oropéndola Tomb	Absent	Absent	1 *Spondylus* shell hand, 2 spondylus shell figures	95 *Spondylus* valves, 1 large *Spondylus* shell with jade bead inside, 4 *Nodipecten* shells with jade bead inside
Sub-Jaguar Tomb	Absent	9 stingray spines	Absent	Absent
Chorcha Tomb	1 bone artifact	1 stingray spine	Absent	8 *Spondylus* shells, 1 marine shell

6.3.9.5 Stone tools

The Hunal Tomb has the most obsidian blades of any of the royal tombs. The tomb is unique in its inclusion of eccentric chert points found on the floor (Bell 2007:232). The Margarita Tomb, like Oropéndola and Sub-Jaguar does not have obsidian blades meaning the lack of obsidian knives or points occurs in the tombs of both genders during the middle section of our tomb sequence. Both Oropéndola and Sub-Jaguar have obsidian in the tombs, but in both cases the obsidian has been shaped for adornment (the sequins in the Oropéndola Tomb and the two round discs at the waist in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb) rather than as blades, points, or other tools (Chapter 5; Bell et al. 2004: 153). The only obsidian in the Chorcha tomb was two blades found with two stingray spines associated with the body and suggesting their use as bloodletting devices. Unlike any of the other royal tombs at Copán, the Margarita Tomb does have three groundstone objects. One is a small grinding handstone made of jade, while the other two are a hexagonal grinding stone and its associated hand stone (Bell 2007:435).

Table 6.12 Flake Stone and Ground Stone Tools from Tomb Floors

Source	Flaked Obsidian	Flaked Chert	Ground Stone
Hunal Tomb	24 non-prismatic blades	eccentric chert points	absent
Margarita Tomb	Absent	Absent	Small jade handstone, one hexagonal grinding stone and associated handstone
Oropendola Tomb	Over 1600 obsidian sequins	Absent	Absent
Sub-Jaguar Tomb	Absent (only flaked stone in the tomb were one blade at right hand and the two obsidian discs that were part of waist decoration)	Absent	Absent
Chorcha Tomb	Absent (only flaked stone are 2 obsidian blades associated with stingray spines at	Absent	Absent

6.3.9.6 Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous category is for those items that either do not fit into one of the above categories or that cannot at this time be identified well enough to be placed into one. All of the tombs had evidence of organic containers that did not preserve well enough to be fully analyzed or described. Evidence suggests these included containers made of: gourds, wood, and basketry. The Margarita Tomb included two slate-backed pyrite mirrors with decorated backs inspired by Teotihuacan themes found in a stack on the floor of the tomb (Bell 2007:445-447). Whether these mirrors were made to reference the mirrors worn by warriors, and should therefore be included in the adornment section, or if they are the mirrors used in court scenes and often depicted on ceramic vessels is unknown. The Margarita Tomb is not the only tomb to contain a female associated with pyrite mirrors, as Tomb AII at Kaminaljuyu does as well (Kidder et al. 1946).

The Oropéndola Tomb also contained a stack of iron-ore mirrors (Chapter 5). In addition, to two backed with slate, there was also pyrite mirror backed with a different stone, and a stone carved into the shape of an animal, likely an armadillo, and decorated with jade mosaics (Chapter 5). The final piece on the stack, or it might be pieces, is a ring made of jade and shell mosaic on a base of a nacreous shell with

hematite in the center. This is the piece that has been compared to the shell "horse collars" from the Hunal Tomb, Burial 92-2, and the Kaminaljuyu tombs, though many of their elements and construction techniques are different. Another uncategorized object in the Oropéndola Tomb is a pair of small stone cups on a base cut from the same block. They are similar in shape and style to the two sets found at Kaminaljuyu and referred to there as "alabaster double cups" (Kidder et al 1946:fig. 154), but those do not mention any decoration, the ones from the Oropéndola Tomb were stuccoed and painted in a polychrome fine line style very reminiscent of Teotihuacan (Chapter 5).

The Chorcha Tomb has only one item that falls into the miscellaneous category, which is a group of crystalline stones. No other royal tomb at Copán contains such stones, though they are present in some non-royal tombs, and the worked bone, wood, and seed group from the Sub-Jaguar Tomb has also been suggested as having served a similar purpose. Fash and colleagues have suggested they are used for divination rituals and point to the collections of stones and other items used my modern Maya daykeepers as part of the performance of their duties (Bell et al. 2004; Fash 1991:92; Fash et al. 2001:164).

Table 6.13 Miscellaneous Objects on the Floor

Source	Slate backed pyrite mirrors	Other mirrors	Other containers	Misc.
Hunal Tomb	Absent	Absent	Organic containers	Absent
Margarita Tomb	2 slate backed pyrite mirrors	Absent	Organic containers full of red pigment	Absent
Oropéndola Tomb	2 slate backed pyrite mirrors	1 pyrite mirror with hard stone backing, at least 1 jade, shell, and hematite mirror.	1 pair of stone double cups, organic containers	1 stone armadillo with jade mosaic decoration,
Sub-Jaguar Tomb	Absent	Absent	Organic containers	Absent
Chorcha Tomb	Absent	Absent	Organic containers	Group of crystalline stones

6.4 Conclusion

The seven royal tombs of Copán, as might be expected, show a degree of wealth likely unobtainable for all but the smallest fraction of Classic Maya society. Again and again, the comparison showed that the quantity, quality, and variety of objects placed inside these tombs set them apart from other burial contexts. Among the tombs certain patterns could be discerned that were likely caused by changes in the funerary ritual over the course of the dynasty. The change in tomb construction, its general increase in size, the decrease in the placement of jade and shell into the tombs and the increase in ceramic objects all appear to be correlated with shifts that took place from the Early to Late Classic periods. Similarly, the decrease in prevalence of items stylistically influenced by Teotihuacan can also be seen over time, though this likely has more to do with the change in the nature of the relationship between Copán and the rest of the Maya region with the city itself, rather than anything specifically to do with changes in mortuary ritual. Though the general patterns mention above and detailed within the chapter are likely due to larger changes in the community's ideas about proper funerary ritual, there are also examples within each of items unique to that tomb, which leaves room for the individual identities of the occupants and the will of the organizers to be expressed. Chapter 7 will explore some such items in more detail.

CHAPTER 7: THE "TEOTIHUACAN WARRIOR COSTUME" AT COPÁN

7.1 Introduction

Items that can be worn, and whether or not they are worn in the context under evaluation, are symbolically charged in specific ways within both the larger Mesoamerican and the specifically Maya contexts. As Marc Zender demonstrates in his work on a specific type of Maya costume, within Mesoamerican contexts there is evidence that costume can in certain cases indicate: rank and status, gender identity, cultural and ethnic affiliations, and occupation. In some periods, such as the Late Postclassic and Early colonial periods some of these distinctions were not merely traditional, but enforced by sumptuary law (2004:99). In the Classic period there is also clear evidence that among the Maya one's name was sometimes worn on the body or in the headdress (Grube 2001; Houston and Stuart 1998; Zender 2004).This chapter examines a specific subset of related items in the Oropéndola Tomb and seeks to understand their meaning and presence in the tomb by investigating the other contexts in which the items have been identified. This includes both iconography and other tomb contexts at the site of Copán and beyond. The items are part of what has been called the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume," which means they are a specific type of mortuary furniture.

In addition to these issues of identity, Fitzsimmons notes the aspect of dress or changing dress that is involved with the idea of rebirth. From the depictions of the resurrection of the Maize God being dressed before leaving the watery place, to the adornment of Palenque kings K'inich Kan B'alam II and K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II, to the *Popol Vuh* where the Hero Twins are hide unidentified as ragged beggars just prior to becoming celestial beings, this theme is depicted as transformative (2009: 53). This makes sense with what we know about Maya ideas about dress and nakedness, the way in which kings dress to impersonate gods, and even the tombs and ethnographic descriptions of deaths which emphasize the dressing of the dead in specific types of clothing as part of the ritual. There is something important being signaled about the identity and role of an individual through what is being worn. This is an idea

often discussed for the Classic period with regard to headdresses, as often someone is shown wearing their name in their hat, but it also appears to be important in the rest of an individual's costume as well. Not only does dress have the power to convey information to the onlooker, but it imbues the person with certain attributes or power via their dress. In the Aztec time those who put on the God's regalia, *ixiptlas*, were literally treated as the god they were impersonating.

There are two non-royal burials from the Early Classic Period at Copán whose occupants have been described as being interred with elements of "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume"(Bell et al. 2004, Fash and Fash 2000). At other Maya sites similarly accompanied individuals have been called such things as warriors, servitors, or guardians (Kidder et al. 1946). The name of the complex implies an origin in the city of Teotihuacan, and it is perhaps unsurprising that we would find such individuals at a site like Copán, whose history of interactions with that great Central Mexican city is evident from the earliest part of its dynastic history and is present again towards the end of the sequence (B. Fash 1992; Fash and Fash 2000, Sharer 1997; Sharer and Martin 2005). While the nature of the interaction between Copán and Teotihuacan appears to change through time, the persistence of Teotihuacan imagery, especially warrior imagery, during both the Early and Late Classic indicates a continuing preoccupation with the symbols of that site, especially those tied to war (B. Fash 1992; Sharer and Martin 2005). In this chapter, I will discuss the elements included in the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume," review the two non-royal Early Classic burials containing elements of the costume, Sepultura V-4 excavated in 1979 by the PAC I project and Burial 95-1 excavated in 1995 by the ECAP project, evaluate other contexts at Copán in which portions of "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" have been found, and review some examples of this suite of material at other sites with special attention to Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala and Teotihuacan, Mexico, in both the iconographic and archaeological records.

7.2 Teotihuacan Symbols and Materials in the Maya Area

When trying to identify the time and place Teotihuacan symbols begin to be visible in Maya communities, scholars point to the site of Tikal and the areas of the site referred to as Group 6C-XVI (Laporte 1989), the Lost World complex, and the East Plaza (Jones 1996) where a mix of Maya and Teotihucano elements can been seen beginning in the fourth century CE. There are buildings constructed in the *talud-tablero* style, as well as a "composite stela" that is formed exactly like one found in the apartment complex La Ventilla at Teotihuacan. The one from the Lost World, however, is also decorated with Mayan hieroglyphs demonstrating a hybridity of style rather than a replacement of one with the other or two parallel styles side by side not impinging on each other. In addition Teotihuacan style ceramics were also found at the Lost World (Laporte and Fialko 1995; Fash and Fash 2000). The Lost World complex was built a century earlier than the "arrival" of Teotihuacanos to Tikal with "Smoking Frog,", which appears to mark a significant change in Tikal's relationship with that site. For more information on the issue of the Entrada see Braswell 2003; Demarest and Foias 1993; Estrada-Belli et al. 2009; Grube and Martin 2000; Stuart 1998, 2000, 2005; Proskouriakoff 1993). The Lost World material shows Maya groups were already selectively adopting certain elements of Teotihuacan iconography prior to the possible intrusion of Teotihuacanos. Kaminaljuyu sees the beginning of their *talud-tablero* buildings and Teotihuacan influenced material beginning in 450CE (Fash and Fash 2000). As Barbara Fash (1992) demonstrates, though the city of Teotihuacan itself declines around 550CE (Lopez Lujan et al. 2006), the presence of Teotihuacan inspired motifs on architectural sculpture continues into the Late Classic Period.

At Copán *talud-tablero*- like architecture, and other materials from Teotihuacan such as Thin Orange pottery and Pachuca green obsidian, enter the site with the "arrival" of the dynasty founder K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' around 426CE, examples of both of these materials are found in the Hunal Tomb, which is thought to belong to him (Fash and Fash 2000:442; Chapter 6). Ruler 16, the final ruler of

Copán's dynasty, erects Altar Q and the façade of Temple 16, which together clearly invoke Teotihuacan imagery and iconography, but he is not the one who rediscovers the symbols, but is instead following the lead of Ruler 15, whose Hieroglyphic Stairway is decorated with figures wearing pieces of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" and whose balustrade and temple are covered in Teotihucan motifs. While Ruler 14 does not appear to have focused his energies on building construction, as only one structure can currently be attributed to him, Structure 22A, (B. Fash 1992:94; B. Fash 2011). Ruler 13's main construction focus appears to have been erection of the stelae from the Great Plaza, but he was also the original builder of the Hieroglyphic Stairway on the Esmerelda Structure, which was then covered over by the final phase of Structure 10L-16. Whether the Teotihuacan elements present on the final version were also present on the first is unknown. He would have seen Ruler 12's Teotihuacan influenced constructions, so there would have been models should he have decided to be inspired by them. There are two currently known examples of pieces of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" represented on monuments constructed by Ruler 12. The most well known example is Stela 6, which depicts him wearing elements of Teotihuacan Warrior Costume (B. Fash 1992; Fash and Fash 2000). The second is on the building called Híjole, which is buried inside the base of the Esmerelda Structure. The exterior of the Híjole was decorated with painted modeled stucco figures on stone armatures, who at least wore Teotihuacan Warrior costume garters with Xiuhcoatl pendent triangles just like the Stela 6 representation. The rest of the figures were destroyed in antiquity, so we are unfortunately unable to evaluate how much more of the costume was represented (Fierer-Donaldson 2006).

7.3 The "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume"

It has been noted that when Teotihuacan iconography is found in the Maya area, the elements are not found randomly, but rather are part of a suite of motifs that together demonstrate a concern with warriors and warfare (Fash and Fash 2000; Taube 2000). One of the ways this iconography is displayed is

figures wearing what has come to be known as "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume." According to Karl Taube (2000), the elements considered to be part of the Teotihuacan Warrior costume are: the atlatl (spear thrower) and darts, the Tlaloc mask (goggles), Mexican Year Signs (trapeze-and-ray sign), thick shell collars, a shell platelet war helmet/headdress, and pyrite mirrors. William Fash and Barbara Fash (2000) also include a square shield and specific type of garter worn around the top of the calf just below the knee, but otherwise concur with Taube as to the elements involved in this complex. While most individuals identified as wearing the Teotihuacan Warrior costume do not display all the elements list above, various permutations of this suite of imagery can been seen at at Teotihuacan itself and at various Maya sites.

One of the most frequently cited iconographic examples of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume in the Maya area appears on Stela 31 from Tikal dated 8.17.1.4.12 11 Eb 15 Mac, or Jan. 16, 378 C.E., which shows two smaller figures dressed in the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume flanking an individual who is not (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Tikal Stela 31 front, sides. Drawing by John Montgomery in Clancy 1992:fig. 3

The central figure, according to David Stuart (1998), is named in captions as Nun Yax Ayiin. This arrangement of a central figure flanked by two warriors who are wearing garb associated with Teotihuacan is also known from the Early Classic site of Tres Islas where Stelas 1,2, and 3 erected in 475 CE demonstrate this arrangement (Clancy 2009:34). Flora Clancy (2009) also argues for an intentional program drawing upon this tradition with the erection of a number of Late Classic Stela at Piedras Negras beginning with Ruler 1 and continuing possibly through the reign of Ruler 4. Returning to the familiar exemplars on Tikal Stela 31, Clemency Coggins describes the figures as people who:

> . . . carry spear throwers and rectangular fringed shields, which are emblazoned with the portrait of Tlaloc the Mexican rain and storm deity. They wear pecten shell necklaces, shell spangled headdresses, feather panaches in the headdresses and they have long feathers hanging from the waist." (1975:143)

Coggin's pecten shell necklaces are Taube's "thick shell collars" and a closer look at Stela 31 shows that on one of the figures the collar is made of a combination of pecten shells and another type of shell (perhaps spondylus spangles), while the other is made of pecten shells and jade or shell beads. The differences among these two collars raise the question of just what elements are needed to fit the description of a "thick shell collar." Further research by Taube (1992) has identified the circular objects from which hang the waist feathers as pyrite plaques or mirrors, which is how they come to be included in the list of attributes. Many of the attributes discussed here and the whole challenge of separating out elements and evaluating patterns in their distribution began with Esther Pasztory's 1974 work on the various representations of Tlaloc with a particular focus on their manifestations at Teotihuacan, but she also looked at the distribution in the Maya region as well.

A close look at the figures on Stela 31 shows both figures wear Fash and Fash's (2000) knee garters, which means they are dressed in the entire suite of elements save for the shell goggles. The only goggles in the scene are worn by the figure on the rectangular shield who Coggins refers to as Tlaloc. Interestingly, Tlaloc-on-the-shield does not wear the shell platelet headdress, but is instead depicted

wearing the well-known "tassel" headdress from Teotihuacan just like the goggle wearing figure on Tikal Stela 32 and the figure on Stela 11 at Yaxha (Clancy 2009:36; Stuart 1998). On the bowl from Tikal Problematical Deposit 50 the only figure definitively wearing goggles, also carries an atlatl and spears, but does not wear either the spangled headdress nor the tassel headdress. In fact, the tassel headdress is worn by two other figures on the bowl neither of which have any warrior accouterments and nobody is wearing any obvious mirrors (Culbert 1993:fig128a). Yax Nuun Ayiin is also pictured on Stela 4 and described as wearing a pecten shell necklace and holding an atlatl in his hand. The headdress in this depiction is feline in nature, like the earlier Stelae 29 and 36, rather than either serpentine or made of shell platelets. He wears a nose ornament, and the depiction lacks goggles and a shield (Coggins 1983:57; Sharer and Traxler 2006:326). Multiple depictions of the same individual wearing different costumes in life demonstrate how a ruler can be identified with multiple roles throughout his life and makes the implications of what is chosen as the appropriate costume for burial contexts even more important.

7.3.1 Atlatl

The atlatl (spearthrower) is considered to be a type of weapon used overwhelmingly by Central Mexicans and much less frequently by people in the Maya region (Coggins 1983; Taube 2000; Fash and Fash 2000). Not only is the weapon different, but because it uses a specific size of darts rather than the spears that are more commonly depicted in the Maya region, the stone points of the weapons are also different in size and manufacture. Coggins (1975) describes the atlatl as made out of wood with a hook at one end in which the butt of the atlatl dart can be set and a round area in the middle with finger holes by which the user grasps the weapon. While the wooden shafts of the atlatl darts often do not survive in archaeological contexts, the projectile points that tipped such darts are identifiable in contrast to projectile points most commonly found at Maya sites. Iconographic examples of atlatls can be clearly seen: held by Yax Nuun Ayiin on the sides of Stela 31 and the front of Stela 4, held by one of the individuals in profile

on a stuccoed bowl from Burial 10 (Coggins 1975:170; Culbert 1993:Fig. 17a no. 4), held by at least 3 individuals on a tripod vessel from Problematical Deposit 50 of Tikal suggested to have possibly been a re-deposited tomb from the Early Classic period or a cremation burial (Coggins 1975:180; Culbert 1993: Fig. 128a no. 2; Stuart 1998). They are also present on the Early Classic stucco frieze from the North Group at Palenque (Stuart and Stuart 2008: 120).

7.3.2 Rings or Goggles

The rings or goggles found in tombs at Copán and other Maya sites have often been associated with the Central Mexican God Tlaloc, whose image is well known and who is often depicted with rings around his eyes. While his name comes to us through the Mexica-Aztec, he is a figure whose presence has been traced back at least into the Classic Period at Teotihuacan. According to Taube (2000), however, the goggles are not just the preserve of Tlaloc, but are also an integral part of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" and can be often seen depicted on the Teotihuacan War Serpent. The most well known example is the War Serpent Headdress on the Old Temple of the Feathered Serpent, which was built sometime in the middle part of the third century CE (Sugiyama 1989) (Figure 7.2). Taube (2000:274) suggests that while the presence of the goggles in the Maya region may have sent archaeologists looking to Central Mexico because of the well-known goggles of Tlaloc and that it is likely that Tlaloc wears goggles because during the Classic Period he is seen as a warrior or a God of War. The goggles, therefore, are not emblematic of Tlaloc specifically, but rather are so integral to the costume of a certain kind of warrior that he too wears them to signal his role as a warrior.

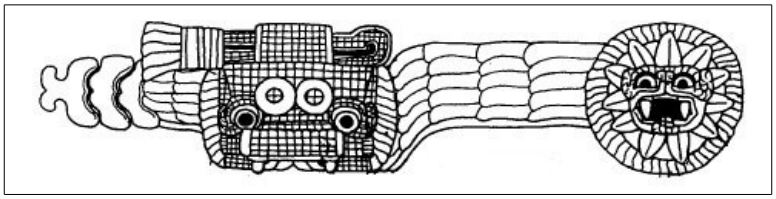


Figure 7.2 Facade of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent at Teotihuacan (Taube 2003:fig. 19g)

This idea about the relationship between the Central Mexican Storm God and the wearing of goggles was developed during Taube's (1992b) research into the iconography of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent at Teotihuacan. While the identification of the forward facing serpent head as a depiction of the Feathered Serpent was easily recognized, it is a common image in multiple media throughout the city, the identification of the other face on the facade of the building has undergone many revisions. As alluded to above, one of those identifications was Tlaloc, since Tlaloc was known to wear goggles around his eyes and the head is depicted with two prominent rings. As far back as 1952 Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal had already observed that the rings were not demonstrating the placement of the eyes, which were instead located lower down on the sculpture that depicts a serpent, while the goggles were on the forehead. They, and Taube (1992b:59) who follows them, see this serpent as an earlier version of the Postclassic Xiuhcoatl, which Taube explains in the Classic period is associated not just with fire, but also with war.

From this, Taube develops the idea of what he calls the Classic War Serpent, an entity whose depictions both he and Sugiyama see as limited at Teotihuacan, but prevalent in various contexts among the Classic period Maya (Taube 1992b; Sugiyama 2005). Taube (1992b) describes the War Serpent as having a snout with a horizontally projecting nose that curves up a little at the end, rather than the "almost canid snout" possessed by depictions of the Feathered Serpent at Teotihuacan (1992:59). He describes the teeth as large, closely set, and slightly curving, like the teeth of Jaguars at Teotihuacan. The eyes are large, round, and with a curved element toward the back (1992:59). The goggles would be on the forehead of the serpent, a position we often see them in on in depictions of humans. Both Sugiyama (1989, 2005) and Taube (1992, 2000) view the goggle wearing entity on the Temple of the Feathered Serpent as a headdress rather than a full creature, since unlike the Feathered Serpent itself, it lacks a lower jaw and a body. This is the War Serpent Headdress that is present in the suite of elements that make up the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume."

To Taube (1992, 2000) the mosaic texture of the War Serpent's headdress comes from its creation from shell platelets, which is how the headdress and its corresponding helmet version is created when it is to be worn by humans (Berlo 1980). Sugiyama (2005), on the other hand, suggests the texture is actually a reflection of the creature's skin, and rather than a serpent, we are instead looking at a depiction of a "Primordial Crocodile" a deity associated with creation and divine authority and present through Mesoamerican time and space: "it is a predecessor of Postclassic Mexican deity, Cipactli, a successor of the Preclassic Olmec Dragon, or a contemporaneous Oaxacan reptile deity (Glyph V or M) and the Maya celestial crocodilian monster, Yax Ayin" (Sugiyama 2005:73).

7.3.2.1 Iconography of Goggles at Teotihuacan

In addition to the goggle wearing and platelet helmeted war serpent on the Old Temple of the Feathered Serpent, goggles can also been seen on Teotihuacan style ceramic figurines that appear to depict bundle burials (Taube 1992b, 2000:272), and both the goggles and platelet helmets are present on an enthroned mold made figurine of unknown provenience thought to be from the Metepec period (Berrin and Pazstory 1993:fig.96). Figures wearing the goggles are also present on the murals of the Tepantitla apartment complex (Taube 2000:fig10.3a; Miller 1973: fig. 195). A Thin Orange olla shows a molded version of a platelet headdress worn in conjunction with goggles by a figure Taube (1992:fig.10a) refers to as Esther Pasztory's (1974) Tlaloc A, which she suggests is the version of Tlaloc that is present in the Maya area. Another example, from a carved vessel, shows a profile individual not only wearing goggles and the serpent headdress, but also carrying darts that Taube identifies as being for an atlatl (1992:67; Sejourne 1964: fig. 8; Sugiyama 2005:fig. 21d). Goggles are worn in conjunction with a feathered serpent headdress on a ceramic plaque found in a workshop (Sugiyama 2005:fig21a) and on a ceramic vessel recorded by Sejourne (1966b:109 in Sugiyama 2005:fig.21h). Beyond the examples of goggles worn in conjunction with platelet headdresses or serpents, they can also be seen on figures wearing the "tassel"

headdress and eagle costumes (Sugiyama 2005: fig. 18d. 20e,f). Looking at the iconography of Teotihuacan, therefore, shows a strong connection between goggles and warriors, as Taube argued, especially with predator animals such as snakes and eagles, which have been traditionally thought of as warrior emblems in Central Mexico along with the Jaguar, but it also appears to be prevalent with the tassel headdress, whose role in Teotihuacan and beyond is still under discussion.

7.3.2.2 Iconography of Goggles at Maya Sites

In the Maya region iconographic depiction of goggles can been seen at multiple sites. At Tikal, Early Classic Burial 10 has three different stuccoed and painted ringstand bowls that each show different figures with goggles. Goggles are worn around the eyes on two of the four individuals on one bowl (Culbert 1993:Fig. 15), three of four individuals on the second bowl (Culbert 1993:Fig. 16), and three of the four individuals on the third bowl (Culbert 1993: Fig. 17). Also at Tikal in the Early Classic, goggles are worn on the foreheads of at least one and possibly two of the four spear carrying individuals on an incised tripod vessel from Problematical Deposit 50 (Culbert 1993:Fig. 128a). At Copán goggles are worn on the face by dynasty founder K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' on Altar Q, one of the effigy *incensarios* placed outside of Ruler 12's tomb also likely depicting K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', on the dazzler vessel from the Early Classic Margarita tomb (Sharer 1996, 1997), on the stone Tlaloc vessel found at the base of Structure 10L-16, and on the head of the stone figure in the niche of the inner chamber of Structure 10L-16's temple, as well as several small effigy Tlaloc heads projecting from the cornice of the same room, and the four anthropomorphic Tlalocs on each side of the temple facade. There were also goggles on the masks from the roof decoration of Structure 21A (B. Fash 2011:67-69, 74, figs. 73, 75, 76). At Palenque in the Early Classic they are on a stucco frieze from the North Group, and also on the later Group IV *incensario* and Temple XIX (Stuart 2005:124; Stuart and Stuart 2008:120, 164). At Piedras Negras they

are clearly depicted on Last Classic Lintel 2 worn by the figure on the far right of the scene, while the line of figures on the left of the scene all wear shell platelet helmets.

7.3.3 Shell Platelet Headdresses

Another important element of the group is the aforementioned shell platelet headdress. While called platelets by Taube and Sugiyama, Kidder, Jennings and Shook (1946) referred to them as shell spangles, which is also still present in the literature. There are also thought to be two different versions of this head covering both made out of shell platelets or spangles. One is a simple helmet, while the other is a zoomorphic headdress most often with clear serpent attributes (Berlo 1976; Kubler 1967; Taube 1992b). Both of these types can be seen on Tikal Stela 31, which will be discussed in more detail below. As stated in the previous section the headdress has been associated with the Teotihuacan War Serpent, especially with its depiction on the Temple of the Feathered Serpent at Teotihuacan (Taube 1992b, 2000). It is common to see depiction of people wearing the shell platelet headdresses and helmets also carrying weapons and shields, both accoutrements of the warrior.

7.3.3.1 Iconography of Shell Platelet Headdresses from Teotihuacan

Shell platelet headdresses are present iconographic form at Teotihuacan itself beyond the facade of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent. There are a number of Teotihuacano figurines, which are depicted wearing the war serpent headdress beginning in the Miccaotli phase (third century CE) and continuing into the later mold made figurine tradition (Taube 1992b) According to Taube (2000), these headdresses, like the goggles, are often are depicted as sitting on top of a figurine mummy bundle demonstrating a strong connection between death and the wearing of the shell platelet headdress. Whether it would have been something one would have actually worn into battle is debatable, though the helmet shaped one is perhaps more likely than the full expression of the serpent. It does, however, seem to mark the wearer as a warrior. The prevalence of the object in tombs and in iconography depicting death indicates it was marked

an important identity in death as well as life. While it is difficult to say at this point how much the better known and much later, Mexica-Aztec traditions surrounding the death of warriors are applicable to the Teotihuacanos of the Classic Period, the fact that the afterlife fate of Mexica-Aztec warriors is depicted as the most desirable in the ethnohistoric texts (Chapter 2), provides a good reason for having that role marked in the rituals surrounding death.

One of the most famous examples in the Maya region of the shell platelet headdress/helmet is from Stela 31 at Tikal, which depicts Yax Nun Ayin wearing two different styles of spangled headdress/helmet and was erected to commemorate the 9.0.10.0.0 date (445 CE) (Figure 7.1). Taube (2000) calls the simple dome-like version of the helmet/headdress the "pillbox," while the other he refers to as zoomorphic. He also notes it often has clearly identifiable serpent characteristics, but it sometimes also contains jaguar or butterfly aspects as well. The zoomoprhic style is likely present on two stuccoed bowls from Early Classic Burial 10, (Clancy 2009:37; Coggins 1975:fig. 53b; Culbert 1993:Figs.16a and 17a no. 3; Parsons 1986:193). According to Taube (1992b:60) iconographic depictions of the headdress can be found beyond Tikal during the Early Classic on a figurine from Burial 1 of Mound 2 at Nebaj (Smith and Kidder 1951:fig. 87a), and at Kaminaljuyu on a monumental stone sculpture (Parsons 1986).

In the Late Classic period, the War Serpent appears even more prevalent, though it is hard to know whether this is a reflection of an increase in preoccupation with these symbols or an artifact of preservation, since so many more monuments and structures survive from that time. At Piedras Negras examples of the War Serpent have been well studied by Flora Clancy (2009) and can be found on: Panel 2 showing multiple people wearing the helmet version in a scene that is retrospective, perhaps to the Early Classic (Schele and Miller 1986 in Taube 2000), Stela 7 (Maler 1901), and Stelas 26, 31, and 40 (Clancy 2009). Clancy (2009) also notes the its presence at Naranjo, where Stela 2 shows the Late Classic King Smoking Squirrel wearing a war serpent headdress. At Palenque on the Tablet of Temple XVII a king is shown wearing the war serpent headdress (Clancy 2009:38; Graham and Von Euw 1975:13). The image

on Calakmul's Stela 52 depicts a Late Classic king wearing a platelet helmet and a mask, which may indicate he is dancing in the costume of a god (Clancy 2009; Stuart 2011). Stuart (2011) also connects that image to Late Classic monuments at Dos Pilas representing similar themes. Lamanai Stela 9, Lacanja Stela 1, and Bonampak Stela 3 all show the war serpent headdress (Clancy 2009:38; Proskouriakoff 1950:fig. 44b). As does two figures on Lintel 2 of Structure 5D-57 at Tikal, which shows two serpents who have been suggested to be passing out shell rings/goggles (Clancy 2009:fig. 6.4a, 23, 38), while Jaina and Jonuta figurines give examples of the headdress at a less monumental scale (Corson 1976: figs. 5d, 20c-d, 21a, 24c). Returning to our focus, at Copán the Hieroglyphic Staircase figures can be seen wearing the war serpent as part of their warrior regalia, but this is a very zoomorphic depiction of the War Serpent and there is no evidence of shell platelets at all (Gordon 1902: plates VII, X, XIV, XV). In fact, there are currently no known iconographic depictions of shell platelet headdresses at the site of Copán during any period, though as will be discussed later, they are present at the site in burial contexts.

7.3.3.2 Archaeological Examples of Shell Platelet Headdresses

Platelet headdress/helmets have been found archaeologically in Teotihuacan and in the Maya area. At Teotihuacan an example was found at the Yayahuala apartment complex, though Taube (2000) does not mention the context beyond the building name. According to Sugiyama (1989) a number of rectangular shell plates with holes drilled in them were found among the over 200 adult males found sacrificed at the base of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl in Teotihuacan. Berlo (1976) suggested they might be part of a shell platelet armor and/or headdresses and Taube (1992, 2000) pointed to them as War Serpent Headdress/Helmet pieces. Sugiyama, on the other hand, makes no mention of shell platelets in his very detailed 2005 book on the subject. The only pieces fitting the description above are referred to as shell plaques, which appear to be part of the shell maxilla necklaces, and do not resemble the shell platelets from excavated contexts at Copán or Kaminaljuyu (Sugiyama 2005:19, figs. 84, 85). It appears as further

analysis was undertaken and the necklaces more thoroughly reconstructed the scattered plaques were accounted for in the necklace design. This means other than the possible example from Yayahuala, there is no good evidence of their physical presence at Teotihuacan.

In the Maya area the shell platelet headdress are found in tombs. Shell does not always preserve well and sometimes needs a special context in order for us to have a chance to find it, which makes it difficult to know whether we are observing a preservation bias or whether the headdress are objects to be included in burial contexts rather than disposed of or passed down. There are examples from Early Classic Tikal Burial 10, Burial 177 (Coggins 1975; Maholy-Nagy 2008), Kaminaljuyu Tombs A-I, A-III, and B-I (Berlo 1976: 36-37; Kidder et al. 1946), later Classic Piedras Negras Burial 5 (Berlo 1976; Coe 1959:59), and multiple examples from Early Classic Copán: three from royal tombs and one from a non-royal context. The royal contexts are the early to mid-fifth century Hunal Tomb, the late fifth century Oropéndola Tomb, and early to mid- sixth century sub-Jaguar Tomb, while the non-royal context is from Sepultura V-4, which was found just north of Structure 10L-26 and is also an Early Classic period burial based on its ceramic assemblage.

7.3.4 Thick Shell Collars

Taube's list also contains the inclusion of a "thick shell collar," which appears to take multiple forms in various iconographic contexts. In fact, shell necklaces are so common in iconographic depictions of Maya personages, the other items from the suite of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume must be present in order to identify it as part of the group. In some iconographic depictions it appears less like a necklace and more like lines of overlapping shells stretching from shoulder to shoulder and across the chest, which may be the reason Taube uses the word "collar" rather than necklace to describe the item. Whether this is part of Berlo's (1976) shell platelet armor is unknown, but the variations in iconographic depictions of shells around necks currently makes it difficult to be any more specific than Taube's definition as a "thick

shell collar." It may be these various versions have a symbolic significance to which we are as yet are unable to recognize.

7.3.4.1 Iconography of Thick Shell Collars

Shell collars however, are found in both iconographic and archeological contexts at both Teotihuacan and in the Maya area. Sugiyama (1989, 2005) mentions that the male individuals who were sacrificed and buried at the foot of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent wore shell collars in addition to the shell or bone maxilla pieces they also wore around their necks. The individual buried in the Oropéndola Tomb at Copán appeared to be wearing a collar of shell platelets over his upper chest that evoke the design of the collars on Tikal Stela 31. As he also wore a shell platelet headdress or helmet, it is also possible the shell platelets found over his chest could be the lower jaw of a zoomorphic example of the warrior serpent headdress seen on Tikal Stela 31. The flanking figures on Tikal Stela 31 both wear pecten shells as part of their shell "collars," while one also has round beads (jade or shell) and the other possible shell platelets or other similarly shaped item. There is no evidence of pecten shells used in the necklaces of the maxilla wearing individuals at the Feather Serpent Pyramid. The only place where pecten shells were found was in Burial 14, which is the central burial that does not contain maxilla necklaces or other indications of warrior identities. While a number of the pecten shells found in Burial 14 were drilled through their hinges to allow them to be suspended, their placement was scattered over the top of the individuals with no concentration at the neck areas (Sugiyama 2005: 166-168, fig. 82).

7.3.5 Iron-Ore Mirrors/Pyrite Plaques/Pyrite Mirrors

Most often thought to be pyrite, though there are archaeological examples of hematite as well, iron-ore mirrors are found on most lists of the suite of objects that make up the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume. Taube's 1992 study on iron-ore mirrors looks at iconography from Teotihuacan murals and Teotihuacan style vessels which he interprets as depicting warriors and hunters wearing mirrors at their

backs (in Miller 1973:fig. 149; Linne 2003 [1942]:fig. 175). In addition, he gives examples of mortuary bundle ceramic figurines from that site that wear warrior garb including mirrors at back or front (Taube 1992a, 2000:308). At the time of his original study, archaeological data from Teotihuacan of iron-ore mirrors with intact contextual information had not been uncovered, but he noted their presence in Esperanza phase burials at Kaminaljuyu in locations implying they were worn on the body (Taube 1992a; Kidder et al. 1946).

7.3.5.1 Iconography of Iron-Ore Mirrors/Pyrite Plaques/Pyrite Mirrors

Later research at Teotihuacan has brought to light archaeological examples of mirrors worn at the back by maxilla necklace wearing men sacrificed at the Temple of the Feathered Serpent and buried around its periphery. Writing in detail about the burials encountered at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, Saburo Sugiyama (2005) discusses that during Postclassic Mexica-Aztec times mirrors worn as back ornaments called *tezcacuitlapilli* were so prevalent among soldiers garb as to be diagnostic. In Teotihuacan iconography, back mirrors are depicted as worn in the fourth through sixth centuries by priests and warriors, while the Feathered Serpent Pyramid burials give archaeological evidence of them associated with warriors in the early third century (Sugiyama 2005:159-160, fig. 18c, Miller 1973: figs 149, 17; Taube 1992a: 172-177). As the study was focused mainly on Teotihuacan, Taube (1992) does not go into extensive detail on examples of pyrite mirrors at Maya sites beyond Kaminaljuyu, though such canonical examples as the Teotihuacan Warriors on the sides of Tikal Stela 31 are mentioned, as well as two of Teotihuacan warriors depicted on one of the stuccoed and painted bowls from Tikal Burial 10 (Culbert 1993:Fig. 17a nos. 2 and 4; Taube 1992a:172-174). From these examples, Taube interprets the mirrors to be an important part of the regalia of a Teotihuacan warrior.

It is clear from several scenes on Classic Maya period ceramic vessels that pyrite plaques/iron-ore mirrors had uses in the Maya area beyond that of an element of warrior regalia. Blainey's 2007 study of

iron-ore mirrors takes a very different approach from Taube's 1992 study, as he centers his investigation on archaeologically excavated examples at Maya sites, from Preclassic to Postclassic, and the corpus of Maya ceramic iconography. He notes that the majority are found in cache and burial contexts, which he sees as evidence of their importance to elite power. While he is aware of their presence in in female burials, he says the majority are with males. His iconographic evidence is taken solely from the depiction of mirrors on polychrome ceramic vessels from the Kerr collection, and leads him to state that there is not a single example of someone wearing a mirror in that entire corpus of vessels photographed by Kerr, he does not mention their presence on Stela 31 at Tikal or the ceramic vessel from Tikal Burial 10. Among the Kerr collection, they are most often shown in courts scenes sometimes being held by an assistant and sometimes propped up. He also describes some scenes where mirrors seem to divide space between humans and gods and scenes in which gods also have mirrors. From his data, he interprets them as an embodiment of elite power through their use in shamanic rituals and a ruler's role as the 'head' shaman. He develops a hypothesis where mirrors are symbols of rulership by virtue of their place in what he refers to as the "shiny surface complex," which he sees as exemplifying the shamanistic ability to cross or communicate across worlds.

David Freidel (personal communication 2012), also views the pyrite plaques depicted in court scenes, especially those that are rectangular in shape, as affiliated with what might be considered the duties of a shaman. For Freidel, they are used for divination as casting tablets. He equates them to the rectangular tables modern Maya diviners use for their work keeping the days and counting out their omens. Through the work of casting and counting, he sees the rulers of the Classic period as ordering the world, helping to shape and mold it. This very important power is essential to the role of the ruler and was the same kind of power that the creator pair from the *Popol Vuh* used to begin the world. He has seen evidence that some rectangular pyrite plaques were covered in wax, and suggests that this was used to write on as part of the diviner's work. Freidel and Blainey's work both aggregate a significant amount of

data that together suggests at least some pyrite plaques, and possibly all of the rectangular ones, were used by rulers and scribe-diviners for glimpses into the otherworld.

While Taube's 1992 paper does not spend time discussing pyrite mirrors as either instruments to glimpse the "otherworld" or as actual portals to it his 1992 work on the Temple of Queztalcoatl does note that both the feathered serpent and the warrior serpent headdress on the façade of the Temple are associated with round mirrors. He also says that it appears the feathered serpent is depicted as actually passing through the mirrors on the façade, which would iconographically, at least, imply its use to permit movement from one place to another. If he is correct, this gives evidence from Teotihuacan of mirrors used in contexts besides items of personal adornment or regalia. The predominance of images in the Maya area of pyrite plaques used in court scenes rather than as adornment elements, suggests it may be a practice borrowed from Teotihuacan by the Maya, perhaps a part of the regalia under discussion.

7.3.5.2 Archaeological Examples of Iron-Ore Mirrors/Pyrite Plaques/Pyrite Mirrors

Archaeological evidence among the Maya, shows the placement of pyrite plaques in tombs both on the body and in stacks next to the body. There does not seem to be any pattern in size or decoration between these two different placements. While I might wonder how someone would have worn one of the larger examples of the pyrite plaques, the fact that these too are found on bodies at Kaminaljuyu means the size distinction is either not correlated with use or pyrite plaques of different uses were placed in the same locations. Neither does the distribution align by sex, as a female from Kaminaljuyu has mirrors on her body and the female buried in the Rosalilia Tomb has a mirror stack in hers, a configuration present in male burials as well. The lack of distribution patterns in size and form suggest their placement in the tombs are not driven by whether they were used as adornment items or divination instruments. It is important to note, however, that Copán has no examples of individuals buried with pyrite plaques on the

body, while Kaminaljuyu has both, which makes it difficult to understand the degree to which different regional traditions are driving their placement.

7.3.6 Knee Garters

The two additional pieces that Fash and Fash (2001) add to the complex of objects that make up the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume are acknowledged by others, but due to the perishable nature of the materials they are made out of are harder to find record of in archaeological contexts. They are, however, common in iconographic portrayals. The garters encircle the upper part of the calf just below the knee are sometimes adorned with two or three triangles joined top to bottom and suspended from the garter. The triangles are seen as emblems of Xiucoatl known from the Central Mexico during the Postclassic. Xiucoatl is the Turquoise Serpent who Taube sees as the later version of the War Serpent (1992, 2000). While the turquoise elements that are so essential to Xiuhcoatl in the Postclassic are not present in the Classic period, many of its other characteristics do already appear. As turquoise does not make its way from the Southwest of the United States into Mesoamerica in great quantities until after the end of the Classic period, the lack of what would later become essential to Xiuhcoatl's identity has a clear explanation. At Copán iconographic depiction of these garters can be seen on Stela 6 and the exterior of the Híjole Structure, both built by the 7th century Ruler 12, the seated figures on the facade of the Structure 26 Temple constructed under the auspices of Ruler 15, as well as on the cross-legged seated figure from the niche inside Structure 16's Temple built by Ruler 16.

7.3.7 Square Feathered Shield

The second addition by Fash and Fash (2000) is the square feathered shield, which is often contrasted with the Maya shield traditionally depicted as round. While it is unclear exactly what material the shields would have been made from to have been light enough to carry, it is likely they would have been a perishable material such as wood and/or hide, which may help explain their absence in the

archaeological record. The square shields can be seen in iconographic depictions at multiple sites in the Maya region. At Copán square shields are visible on the late eighth century Altar Q depicting a serpent, on the early eighth century figures from the Hieroglyphic Stairway two of whose shields can still be seen one depicting an image of Tlaloc and the other an owl. The figures on the facade of Structure 10L-26's temple also hold rectangular shields, but the example at the Sculpture Museum shows it depicts a diety face, while the figures on the late eighth century facade of Structure 10L-16's temple carry shields showing the same serpent as that on Altar Q down below. The only Early Classic example currently known to me is found on the stuccoed and painted stone double cups from Tomb 08-01, which show a figure holding a square shield emblazoned with a Teotihuacan style starfish (Chapter 5).

7.4 Burials of Warriors at Teotihuacan

There are two main contexts at Teotihuacan excavated thus far that contain what their excavators have described as the burial of warriors. These are the previously mentioned burials associated with the Feathered Serpent Pyramid and the second is the more recently discovered burials found during the excavation of the Temple of the Moon. If, as the name implies, we should look to Teotihuacan for the inspiration of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" than these contexts are the best archaeological references we have. Before plunging into a description of each, however, it must be noted that there is something they share in common that may have effected the creation of these contexts in ways none of the Maya area examples duplicate. This is, of course, that they are both apparently the results of rituals that included the sacrifice of the individuals in question as part of the building dedication. They also appear from strontium analysis to all be from areas outside of Teotihuacan (Sugiyama 1989, 2005; Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2006, 2007).

The individuals buried at the foot of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent in Teotihuacan are adult males who are buried with multiple types of projectile points including obsidian atlatl darts, pyrite back

mirrors, and thick shell collars. While there were also females among the over 200 people sacrificed and buried in association with the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, they are buried separately from the males and do not have the same grave goods (Sugiyama 2005). While the male individuals do not have every element of the aforementioned complex, their age, sex and use as sacrificial victims for the dedication of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent, in addition to the elements they do have, lead to the conclusion they are indeed warriors. The lack of the non-perishable elements of the costume, the goggles and the platelet headdress, indicate at least some of the omissions are intentional and likely significant for our understanding of the suite as a whole. Since they were buried at the food of a pyramid decorated with war serpents, each of whom wear Tlaloc goggles and shell platelet headdress, indicates their absence is due to the specific choices made by the people in charge of the ritual rather than the lack of the iconography in this time and place. The biochemical studies done on the bones of the individuals to determine their location of origin show the vast majority of them to be from outside of Teotihuacan (Sugiyama 2005). Perhaps their status as foreign warriors does not merit the inclusion of shell goggles or platelet headdresses in their burial costume. They could also be markers of rank or status these men did not merit or markers of a specific brotherhood to which these men did not belong. While it is possible to say that the men were not from the Teotihuacan area, the lack of more specific knowledge about their home communities and about Teotihuacan's interactions with the areas these men came from, means we are left guessing that they were enemies captured in war, but this may not in fact be the reality of their death.

More recent work at the Temple of the Moon at Teotihuacan has turned up a number of burials most of which, like the ones at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, are sacrificial burials activating new building phases of the temple or terminating old ones. Additionally, all of the individuals are from outside of Teotihuacan based on their bone chemistry and are young to middle aged males, which Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan (2007) interpret as signifying they were foreign warriors or captives taken in war.

One group of three individuals buried together (Burial 5), stand out from the others and it has been suggested that they are not sacrificial victims, but very important people from outside Teotihuacan. According to their bone chemistry and a number of non-Teotihuacan pieces of grave furniture, a foreign origin for these individuals is likely. Perhaps they were diplomats or allied warriors, as they are the richest burials yet excavated at the site. While the three individuals of Burial 5 are adorned with richer objects than the other individuals buried in the Temple of the Moon Complex, all of the burials that contain grave furniture have material associated with warriors, warfare, and sacrifice. This is signified through "weapons (e.g. abundant projectile points), possible warrior paraphernalia (e.g. pyrite disks), and conquest trophies (e.g. maxilla necklaces), instruments related to post battle ritual (e.g. sacrificial knives); tied or caged animals emblematic of military institutions (e.g. carnivorous mammals, birds of prey, and rattle snakes)." (Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2007:142).

While the faunal compliment is very different from the burials at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, the other objects are the same ones recorded for the burials. They also continue to lack shell platelet headdresses and shell goggles. Explanations for this lack based on these particular contexts can be hypothesized, as I suggested for the Feathered Serpent Pyramid burials, but what it does mean is there are no archaeological examples some of the most recognizable elements of the suite. It seems to suggest that the individuals at Teotihuacan are being identified as warriors in their graves, but perhaps not as the specific kind of warriors whose identity would be signaled by either or both of the missing elements. Looking beyond the individuals from the Pyramid of the Moon and Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent, there continue to be no burials yet discovered at the site of Teotihuacan that contain these elements so visible on various pieces of iconography. It may be, as suggested by William Fash (personal communication 2011), that this reflects a difference in burial practice for Teotihuacano warriors at this time. Perhaps like the later Mexica-Aztec, warriors of Teotihuacan were burned with all of their belongings in order to transition into the afterlife leaving only burial bundle figurines to demonstrate they

ever existed. This might help to explain why we see individuals buried in these costumes during the Early Classic period in the Maya area where there was no tradition of cremation.

7.5 "Teotihuacan Warrior" Burials at Copán

At Copán, the first of the two non-royal burials that contains an individual buried with elements of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume was excavated in 1979 by Proyecto Arqueologico Copán (PAC I) (Figure 7.3). The burial is called Sepultura V-4 and consists of the tomb of a single adult located in the open plaza north of Structure 10L-26 and east of the ballcourt. The most detailed record of the tomb is a brief description that includes a list of the grave furniture, a plan map, and some photos included in the chapter on burials by Rene Viel and Charles Cheek in the 1983 *Introducción a la Arqueología de Copán.* That volume dates the tomb to part of the Early Classic Period (500-550AD) based on the material present. The tomb itself is an almost square 1m x 1m. The walls were made of cut blocks of various sizes without niches and the floor was made from small stones placed to create a flat surface (*emplanteado*). The only exception to this is the area on which the individual had been placed, which was made of one large flat piece of white limestone. There is no mention of stucco remnants on either the floor or the walls. No roof was found, though the extensive damage caused by dirt falling into the tomb from above lead the investigators to conclude there had been a perishable roof, possibly of wood, that collapsed causing a violent filling of the space below, rather than an intentional filling of the tomb cavity.

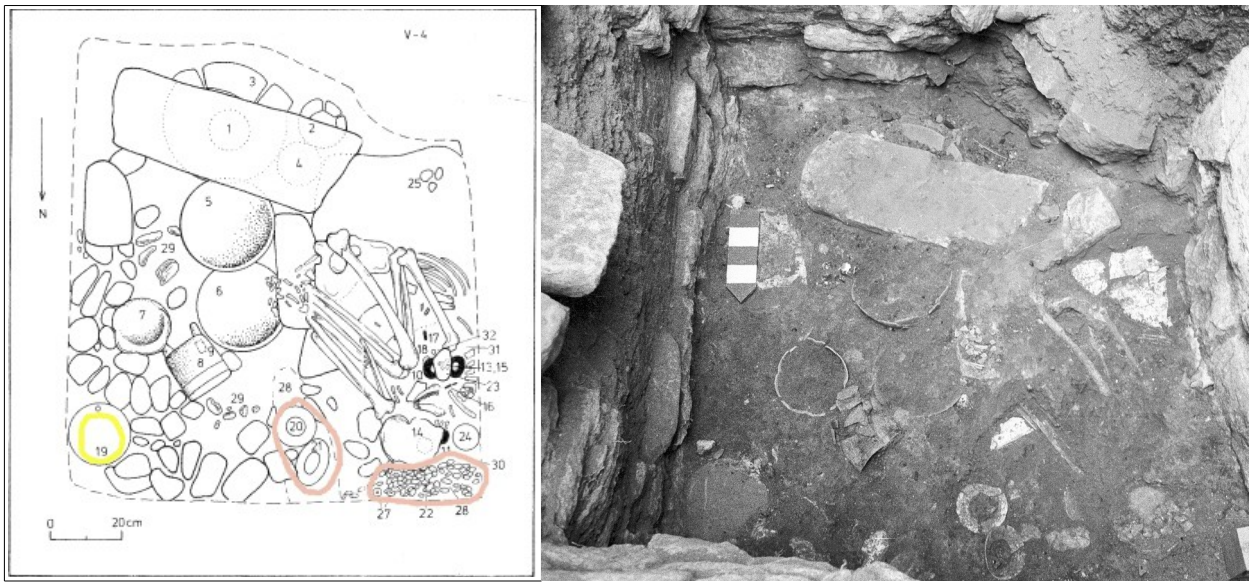


Figure 7.3 Sepultura V-4. Drawing: Viel and Check 1983 fig. S-9. Photo by M. Bracher courtesy of Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia

The individual in Sepultura V-4 was an adult, but Viel and Cheek (1983) make no mention of whether an evaluation of sex was made or was possible. The skeleton was found slightly displaced to the north, originally the occupant would have been seated facing east with his/her back against the west wall and the knees tightly bent. Though no specific evidence was mentioned, the report states the belief that the individual was originally wrapped with a textile or mat of some kind. The collapse of the tomb and the movement of the body means there was no way to discern the original position of the head and the arms. The seated and flexed body positioning is extremely rare in the known corpus of Copán burials from any time period. While the Early Classic shows a marked preference for extended burials and the Late Classic for flexed burials, the normal position during all of the Classic Period was lying down rather than seated (Longyear 1952). The only other seated burials at Copán to this date are the female individual in the Early Classic Motmot tomb found by PAAC (Chapter 6), the Early Classic Burial 94-1 found by ECAP at the entrance to the passageway that preserved access to the Margarita tomb, and the individual found by PAPAC in the tomb in the Bosque residential barrio. Seated burials are known during the early period

from Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu (Kidder et al. 1946) and as part of the bundle burials at Teotihuacan (Headrick 1999; Serano Sanchez 1993). Recently, Geoffrey Braswell (2003) has pointed out that there is a difference among seated burials between the ones that are cross-legged/tailor fashion and those in which the knees are flexed at the chest. For individuals in the tombs at Kaminaljuyu, in the Motmot and Bosque tombs, and in Burial 5 at the Temple of the Moon, seated means tailor-fashion, while the warrior bundles, many of the sacrifices at the Temple of the Moon, and the individual in Sepultura V-4 are seated with their knees drawn up to their chests.

The second burial was found by the Early Copán Acropolis Archaeology Project (ECAAP) and called Burial 95-1 (Figure 7.4). It was placed some 12m west of, but in line with, the Margarita structure's central axis. It was not, however contemporary with the Margarita structure, but interred at the time of its cancellation. The burial contained a single adult male individual of at least 40 years. The strontium analysis of his teeth point to someone who lived his childhood away from Copán and in a place farther to the north, perhaps even in the Northern Lowlands of the Yucatan Peninsula (Price et al. 2009). Unlike Sepultura V-4, Burial 95-1 was not placed in tomb with masonry walls, but rather an informal cist 2m E-W, 1m N-S, and 0.25m deep. The deceased was placed extended and slightly on his left side with his head to the west, as if scrunched to one side of the cist to permit the addition of various grave goods, but generally in the extended position common during the Early Classic Period (Longyear 1952). The cist was lined with a mat and a smaller mat was placed over the body, though there was no evidence the body itself was wrapped.

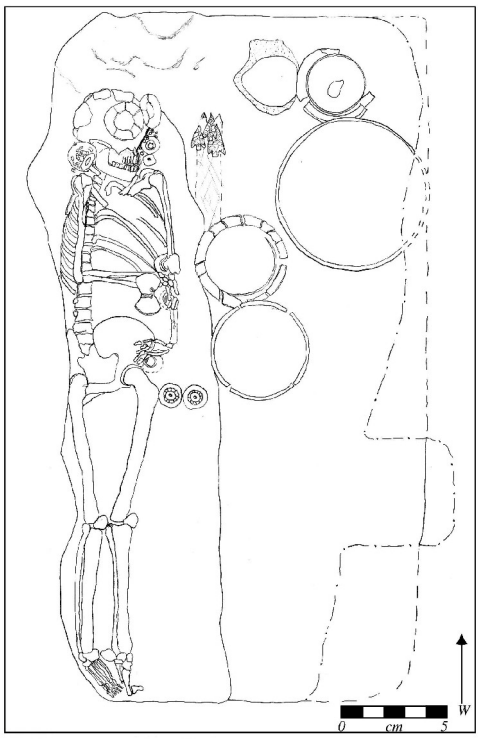


Figure 7.4 Burial 95-1. Drawing Courtesy of Ellen Bell (2007:fig. 5.92)

7.5.1 Shell Goggles at Copán

Both tombs contained a number of objects that belong to the group described as the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume, though neither has all of the elements. One item present in both tombs is a pair of white shell goggles. In Sepultura V-4 they are made of spondylus shell with an incised line running around the middle hole on one side and small holes by which they could be attached to other objects such as a headdress. The pair in Burial 95-1 are made of nacreous shell, like mother-of-pearl, and lack the central line. In the drawing and photograph of Sepultura V-4, the goggles are shown located on the tomb floor to the north and east of the head. There is no comment as to whether the individual might have been wearing them or if they were associated with other objects. Based on the photographs, however, I think it likely they were found in their original position, since they lay close together incised side up on the opposite side of the body from which the headdress appears to have fallen. Their identification as goggles became

clear with the discovery of Burial 95-1, which was the first, and still only, example at the site of Copán in which a pair of shell rings were found in situ on the interred individual's forehead.

While Sepultura V-4 and Burial 95-1 are the two burials usually mentioned when the topic of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume is discussed at Copán, they are not the only tombs at the site to contain shell goggles. Both the sub-Jaguar tomb and the Oropéndola Tomb also contained at least one pair of *Spondylus* shell goggles, though in both those cases the goggles were found placed on the tomb floor like Sepultura V-4, rather than worn as part of the burial regalia as with Burial 95-1. At Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu shell rings were found worn by individuals who have been described as servitors or accompanying burials to the main individuals in Tombs A-IV skeleton 2, B-I skeletons 2 and 3, and Tomb B-II skeleton 3. There is also an example of at least one primary individual, in Tomb B-I, who was buried with shell rings placed near the skeleton, but not worn. Shell goggles, therefore, appear only to be worn in burials by auxiliary or secondary individuals. When present with central individuals, they have thus far been found only nearby rather than worn. Hattula Maholy-Nagy has also identified shell rings that appear to be of this type at Tikal in non-royal burials and suggests they were also possibly present in some of them problematical deposits as well (Maholy-Nagy 2008:46). Linné (2003:figs. 283, 285) mentions goggles in the museum at Teotihuacan, but I have never found an image of them. He excavated what may be a cruder pair than any of the Maya examples from a burial at the Tlamimilolpa compound, though he did not identify them as such. From Linné's summary, no other elements in the tomb to suggest it was the burial of a warrior. Unfortunately, none of these contexts are well published enough to evaluate whether they are the same items found at Copán and Kaminaljuyu and if they fit the same pattern of deposition.

7.5.2 Shell Platelets Headdresses at Copán

Present in Sepultura V-4, but interestingly absent in Burial 95-1, are the shell platelets mentioned above as part of the War Serpent Headdress/Helmet. From our excavation of these items, it can be seen

that they are usually made of *Spondylus* shell, whose interior layer has been removed revealing the color below and whose spines have been removed to create a thin platelet with a smooth back. The remaining shell was shaped into different sized platelets. Usually a single hole is drilled through the center, though there are examples of platelets with multiple holes, indicating how they were once strung or sewn together with other pieces. In the contexts where they have been uncovered in situ, they were found in overlapping fish scale patterns running both horizontally and vertically. From the photographs of Sepultura V-4 the perforated shells found above the head appear to be shell platelets rather than the beads of a necklace as the report suggests. This would make sense not only because of their shape and size, but because they were found in a location suggesting an original association with the head.

In both the Hunal Tomb and in the Oropéndola Tomb the spangles were found in situ around the head of the deceased demonstrating their function as part of a headdress or helmet, while a series of shell platelets, likely an extra headdress, were found below the burial platform in the sub-Jaguar Tomb (Chapters 5, 6). Platelet headdress/helmets have been found archaeologically in Teotihuacan and in the Maya area. Taube (2000) mentions them at Teotihuacan in the Yayahuala apartment complex, though he does not give the context beyond the building name, and provides no images of the object to allow comparison with those found in the Maya area. Since no shell platelets were found in the warrior sacrifices at both the Temple of Quetzalcoatl and the Temple of the Moon, other than the possible examples from Yayahuala, they have not been found archaeologically at Teotihuacan (Sugiyama 2005; Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2006, 2007). In the Maya area the shell platelet headdress have been found at Tikal in Burial 10 and Burial 177 according to Coggins (1975) and Maholy-Nagy (2008). They are present at Kaminaljuyu in Tombs A-I, A-III, and B-I (Kidder et al. 1946). At Piedras Negras in Burial 5 (Berlo 1976; Coe 1959:59), and both royal and non-royal examples from Copán previously mentioned. With the exception of Skeleton 2 from Burial B-I at Kaminaljuyu, platelet headdresses are only worn by central individuals, and not by auxiliary or secondary individuals.

7.5.3 Atlatls and Atlatl Darts at Copán

As the individuals in both Sepultura V-4 and Burial 95-1 at Copán are referred to as wearing Teotihuacan Warrior Costume, we might expect to find along with the dress, the tools of the trade. Burial 95-1 contains obsidian dart points with badly degenerated wooden hafts that Ellen Bell and her colleagues have suggested are atlatl spear points (Bell 2007; Bell et al 2004). None of the other tombs at Copán with Teotihuacan Warrior Costume elements contain points of this type and only the Hunal Tomb contain any points at all, though they are eccentric and made of chert rather than obsidian (Chapter 6). Kaminaljuyu Tombs A-V, A-VI, B-I and B-II contained obsidian points that may have been from atlatls (Kidder et al. 1946). At Teotihuacan the scarified individuals from the Temple of the Feathered Serpent were accompanied by numerous obsidian points, as were many of the scarified individuals found in the Temple of the Moon Pyramid (Sugiyama 1989, 2005; Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2006, 2007). Thus far these spear points have been exclusively found in association with accompanying burials rather than primary ones. This pattern may explain the lack of them in the royal tombs at Copán and the abundance of the sacrifices at Teotihuacan.

7.5.4 Iron-Ore Mirrors/Pyrite Plaques/Pyrite Mirrors at Copán

The final durable element of the suite is the item referred to either as a pyrite mirror or a pyrite encrusted plaque. In Sepultura V-5 one such item was found in the northeast corner of the tomb. The placement appears intentional and suggests the plaque was never placed on the body. While there are some examples of this type of mirror whose slate backs were painted, the report makes no mention of the back of the mirror and only provides a picture of the front surface on which pieces of pyrite mosaic are placed like tesserae across its face. Originally the pyrite would have provided a reflective surface, but pyrite easily degenerates in archaeological contexts creating sulfuric acid, which can damage other nearby artifacts.

At Copán, mirrors were only found in some of the royal tombs. They were present in the Oropéndola and Margarita tombs and fragments were found in Ruler 16's tomb, but not in the Hunal and Sub-Jaguar Tombs. Neither were any present in Burial 95-1. In all cases at Copán the pyrite disks were placed next to the body of the deceased, but Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946:126) report cases at Kaminaljuyu where they appear to have been placed: at the chest, at the back, and where one or more were laid on the ground next to individuals. All of the Esperanza phases tombs, except one with very few grave goods (B-VI) contained between one and seven pyrite encrusted plaques for a total of 35. As previously mentioned, pyrite plaques were found with the sacrificed warriors at the Temple of the Feathered Serpent and in association with various sacrificed warriors from the Temple of the Moon Pyramid (Taube 2000; Sugiyama 1989; Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2007).

It is important to note, however, at Copán in Margarita Tomb, and Kaminaljuyu in Tomb A-II, pyrite mirrors were found in tombs belonging to females. Whether this is because powerful women are buried with accoutrements of power without regard to whether their gender would have been allowed to perform the actual behaviors, simply because they are symbols of power, or if at least some women could become warriors, as has been suggested for a Queen of Naranjo, is unknown. As suggested by Blainey and Freidel, the mirrors may also be present not as a piece of warrior costume, but rather due to other significations mirrors might hold such as the divination or shamanistic associations. The Teotihuacan warrior costume specifically calls for back mirrors based on the iconography, but while the two attendants in Burial B-I at Kaminaljuyu do appear to have been buried with mirrors at their back, the vast majority of worn mirrors from the site appear to be placed on the front. Whether these front mirrors are elements limited to the regalia of a specific role or if they are parts of multiple types of regalia is unresolved. The two individuals from B-I with the back mirrors are also individuals with shell goggles, which make them some of the individuals most securely identified as wearing the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume. We have already noticed the tendency for goggles to be placed next to central individuals rather than being worn

by them, which may hold for mirrors as well, though not everyone wearing goggles also wears back mirrors, as in the case of the secondary individuals in Kaminaljuyu Tombs A-IV and B-II, and perhaps Burial 95-I at Copán.

Table 7.1 Elements of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume in the Burials of Kaminaljuyu

	Shell Platelet Headdress	Shell Goggles	Obsidian Points	Pyrite Plaques/Mirrors
Tomb A-I	yes, on floor	no	no	1 on ground
Skeleton 6	coronet or choker	no	no	2 on front of body
Tomb A-II	no	no	no	no
Skeleton 1	no	no	no	2 on front
Tomb A-III	yes, on ground	no	no	1 on ground
Skeleton 1	no	no	no	3 on front of body
Tomb A-IV	no	no	no	1 on ground
Skeleton 1	no	no	no	1 on front of body
Skeleton 2	no	yes, on head	no	no
Tomb A-V	no	no	yes, on floor	no
Skeleton 1	no	no	no	1 on front
Tomb A-VI	no	no	no	1 on ground
Skeleton 1	no	no	yes	2 on front of body
Tomb B-I	yes, on floor	yes, on floor	no	2 on ground, 1 on bier
Skeleton 1	yes, on head	yes, on bier	no	1 on front of body
Skeleton 2	yes, on head	yes, on head	no	1 at back of body
Skeleton 3	no	yes, on head	yes	1 at back of body
Tomb B-II	no	no	no	1 on ground
Skeleton 1	no	no	no	3 on front of body
Skeleton 3	no	yes, on head	yes	no
Tomb B-III/IV	no	no	no	1 on ground
Skeleton 1	no	no	yes	3 on front of body
Tomb B-V	no	no	no	no
Skeleton 1	no	no	no	1 on front of body

7.5.5 Patterns in the distribution of the elements of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume"

These patterns lead us to some interesting inferences. We can see the differences between central figures and auxiliary figures in burials seem to be replicated in the distribution of elements of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume. Auxiliary individuals wear their goggles, may or may not wear pyrite mirrors, but if they do they are worn on the back. They are not generally associated with platelet headdresses, and are the only ones found buried associated with obsidian spear points. Central figures may have goggles, but if they do they don't wear them. Mirrors may be worn on the front or placed to the side, but tend not to be on the back. Spangled Headdress are most often worn, but can also be placed to the side, and they do not appear directly associated with obsidian spear points.

Table 7.2 The "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" at Copán, Honduras

Source	Shell Spangle Headdress	Shell Goggles	Obsidian Dart Points	Pyrite Mirror
Hunal Tomb (Ruler 1)	Yes, on head	No	No	No
Oropéndola Tomb (Ruler 2-6)	Yes, on head	Yes, 2 pair on ground near mirror stack	No	Yes, at least 2 on ground
Sub-Jaguar Tomb (Ruler 7-8)	Yes, on floor below dais	Yes, 1 pair on ground w/ headdress	No	No
Sepultura V-4	Yes, on head	Yes, 1 pair on ground	No	Yes, 1 on ground
Burial 95-1	No	Yes, 1 pair on head	Yes	No

This would mean that at Copán Burial 95-1 was not considered a central burial figure, even if he was buried alone, as he clearly fits the auxiliary model. His placement in association with the Margarita Structure which holds the Margarita Tomb and above the Hunal Tomb may also indicate he was seen as auxiliary or guardian to those internments. Sepultura V-4, on the other hand, looks much more like a central figure, though he too was buried by himself. There are no other internments near him and his identity beyond an example of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" has not been speculated on. While it

might be simple to suggest the differences observed are just ones of status, with higher status individuals being buried with wealthier grave furniture, the patterning across sites seems to indicate that something more is being reflected. Perhaps what we are looking at are issues of roles being reflected in the archaeological record, where the actual warriors, the auxiliary burials, are people buried wearing the costume of their profession, while the central burials show people buried with the accouterments, even wearing some of them, because of the significance of the identity of the warrior within the society rather than because it was the main role they performed. These central figures may have sometimes fought in war, but their identity was made up of aspects beyond that of the warrior as well.

7.6 Maya Epigraphic Data Associated with the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume"

In order to explore the variety of contexts in which the various elements of this complex might be expressed there is another data set that can be added to the iconographic and archaeological ones we have already discussed. In Maya contexts, at least, the work done by epigraphers such as David Stuart and Marc Zender on the title *yajaw k'ahk",* which is found attached to non-royal elite at multiple cities, may help to broaden our understanding of the symbols and roles involved. The title itself has been translated as "Lord of Fire" and at Palenque is attached to at least three individuals within the hieroglyphic corpus, two of whom are depicted in multiple portraits wearing goggles on their foreheads. This convergence of text and image is what makes Stuart suggest the goggles as a costume element specific to the role (Stuart 2005:figs. 93, 94; Stuart and Stuart 2008:163). All of the individuals for whom this title is recorded are from the Late Classic period, which is both Palenque's time of prominence and period in which most texts are from, but goggle wearing warriors have a history at Palenque stretching into the Early Classic period based on the presence of one holding an atlatl and decorating the substructure of Temple V of the North Group (Stuart and Stuart 2008:120).

According to the Stuarts, the first *yajawk'ahk'* at Palenque for which we have any information is a man named Aj Sul. He receives the title 9.11.10.5.14 662 CE, which is recorded on a stone censer stand excavated in Group IV that shows him wearing a headdress with two large goggles (Stuart 2005:124; Stuart and Stuart 2008:163). Zender puts his accession on 9.8.17.10.14 610 CE from the same stone censer stand and places the construction date of the censer in 655 CE (2004:158-159, 293). Aj Sul is also known in the epigraphic record at Palenque for participating in the dedication of the passages below House E in 654 CE carrying the title *Ajk'uhuun*. As *Ajk'uhuun* is a common title found among priests and nobles, its presence along with his participation in the dedication emphasizes his place as a member of the court. The Stuarts suggest the title is bestowed to Aj Sul was a result of Palenque's victories against Santa Elena and Pomoná, which would have allowed his militaristic role to bring him to new prominence in the palace administration as Palenque was growing into a regional power (Stuart and Stuart 2008: 163-164). Confusingly, the Stuarts place the date of these wars as having taken place in 659 CE, while Zender (2004:308) says the head records an attack on Santa Elena just three days after Aj Sul's accession to the title of *yajawk'ahk'*. He also notes that the head indicates at least three, if not five, other people also gained the title of *yajawk'ahk'* at the same time as Aj Sul. Whatever the actual dating of the head and the sequence of events, there does seem to be an agreement between the title and its relationship to exploits of war, perhaps even specifically captive taking, which is mentioned in many accounts.

The next time the title appears in the epigraphic record of Palenque is as one of the titles of a man named Chak Suutz' who also holds the titles of *b'aah ajaw* (head lord) and *sahal*. Following Schele and Mathews (1993a:130), Martin and Grube (2000:173) describe him as K'inich Ahkal Mo' Naab' III's "military captain," they also note he was the sponsor of the Tablet of the Slaves, and the owner of a very nice palace. They also note that there are records of three personal military victories in 723, 725, and 729, which helps to reinforce the relationship between this title and military roles, though Zender points out that military roles may also be associated with the other titles he held, especially *sajal* (2004:203). The

numerous examples of *yajawk'ahk'* associated with military exploits, not the least of which are the ones who are taken as captives, cause Zender to conclude the title is one that denotes a military role, but it is likely not the only military title, nor does it follow that the only role of one who held such a title was as a soldier (2004: 204). Chak Suutz' also demonstrates that at least some *yajaw k'ahk'* hold multiple titles at the same time effecting their overall status within the city (2000: 172-173; Zender 2004:297, 299-300). Much less is known about the third title holder at Palenque who is named something like Yok? Tal, possibly Yok Ch'ich' Tal, who is recorded holding the title in 731 or 734CE (Stuart 2005:173; Zender 2004:315). Temple XIX is dedicated in his honor and there are two portraits of him wearing goggles, but there are no specific details on his accomplishments or role within in the kingdom. With the 734 CE date coming after the last recorded date of Chak Suutz' in 730CE, Stuart (2005:124) notes there is no evidence the title could be held by more than one person at a time, though the dates are also close enough together for there to have been overlap.

Beyond Late Classic Palenque, the title is most commonly found in during the Late Classic in the western and northern lowlands at sites such as Naj Tunich, Piedras Negras, Comalcalco, and Tonina with a distinct concentration at Chichen Itza (Stuart 2005: 124; Zender 2004: 196). As a title it works like other subordinate titles where the holder is described as belonging to a higher ranking lord, so that on Piedras Negras Stela 12 there is a description of a captive who was the "*yajaw k'ahk'* of" someone else (Stuart 2005: 125; Zender 2004:370). In the Late Classic, at least, the title appears to be associated with exploits in war and likely other responsibilities when not directly engaged in battle. It also is attached to people who seem to hold different amounts status and power within their communities, perhaps due to other titles or offices they hold simultaneously. This might also help to explain the variety in costume elements observed among all of the people who display items of the regalia whose inspiration appears to come from warriors at Teotihuacan.

Marc Zender (2004: 205-207) suggests some of the examples of goggle wearing was done by a group of warrior-priests who were elite, but non-royal, and who fought as part of their performance of the role of a religious professional. The people holding the *yajawk'ahk* title would not be the only people to wear the goggles, but would demonstrate the existence of a specific role associated with goggle wearing, but not did not also include the atlatl or the platelet headdresses. This kind of role could help explain the variability in how of the elements of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" complex have been employed by different people. In addition, since both Stuart and Zender have shown the title can be held both by itself and in conjunction with other titles, it is likely there was a variety of roles or ranks made manifest through the variability in the costume choice by the Late Classic period. People emphasize different parts of their identity depending on the circumstance of the moment and it is likely that different parts of of the complex were employed at different times depending on what information the individual desired to communicate to the viewers. Perhaps this is why my survey never found all of the elements of the complex displayed in its entirety in any context either in the iconographic or burial record at Teotihuacan or the Maya Area, not in the Early or Late Classic periods.

In addition to the idea that some people wearing warrior goggles had multiple titles and multiple roles that could have effected how they displayed the elements of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume, it has also been suggested that in Teotihuacan there were multiple warrior groups. Ethnohistoric sources of the later Mexica-Aztec contain evidence of warrior brotherhoods where at least some were distinguished by the symbols of specific animals such as eagles and jaguars (Sahagun1950-1982). Evidence for the application of idea that warriors were separated into groups possibly distinguished by the symbols of predator animals to the much earlier city of Teotihuacan has recently been gathered by the excavation of burials discovered in the Temple of the Moon. Work at the Temple of the Moon exposed evidence of the sacrifice of warriors and predator animals: big cats, eagles and poisonous snakes, together for various rituals (Sugiyama and Cabrero Castro 2007; Sugiyama and Lopez Lujan 2007). Whether all warrior

groups would have been designated by animals or whether there might have been other types as well, is not known, but what it does indicate is evidence that not all warriors would have displayed the same regalia, even if they would have all been considered part of the military.

It is also known from iconography at Teotihuacan and in the Maya area that the wearing of goggles has been observed both with people who carry weapons and those who carry incense bags, as well as people wearing a variety of headdresses, including the miters discussed by Zender, C. Millon's tassel headdress, the various war serpents and feathered serpents noted by Sugiyama and Taube, as well as both birds and felines that can be seen on the walls and ceramic vessels of Teotihuacan, on ceramic vessels from Tikal Burial 10 and Problematical Deposit 50. In addition there are also headdresses that display the so-called Mexican year sign that is often seen in the iconography of both Teotihuacan and Maya sites like Kaminaljuyu, Tikal, and Copán. All of these elements, which seem to have their symbolic origins at Teotihuacan are become associated with Maya symbols when they reach the Maya area. One of the things has made it so difficult to understand the details of the relationship between Teotihuacan and the various Maya polities, is what appears to be a tendency of the Maya to integrate certain Teotihuacan symbols into the existing fabric of their own society and its ideology. When compiled, the iconographic data points to the existence of warrior-priests, at least in the Maya area, but probably in Central Mexico as well. In addition there is evidence in both areas of multiple brotherhoods or branches of soldiers who would have displayed their different affiliations and likely their different ranks in their costume, at least some of whom in the Maya area begin take the inspiration for parts of their regalia from the symbols of Teotihuacan in the Early Classic period.

7.7 Conclusions

Returning to the case of Copán, we can see what appears to be a contradiction. All of the previous work has indicated that people in primary burials and the main protagonists in iconographic depictions do

not wear goggles. Perhaps this is because warrior identity while very important, is not the one chosen to be emphasized in tomb contexts of primary individuals who have other identities to express as well. The glaring exception to my previous comment that central figures and main protagonists do not wear goggles are the various Late Classic portraits of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'. In fact, in the Late Classic period the goggles seem to be uniquely identified with the founder of the dynasty serving to mark his presence hundreds of years after his death.

Conversely, the iconography of Copán from the all periods contains no known examples of the platelet headdress. In burials and iconography across Mesoamerica are examples of platelet headdresses worn by central figures. This holds true for Copán burials as well, where the headdress is worn in three of the four primary tombs in which it is located and the only burial containing elements of the "Teotihuacan Warrior Costume" without a headdress is the one belonging to the guardian. The lack of platelet headdresses in the iconography of Copán makes the site very different from places like Tikal and Piedras Negras where there are many examples of such images.

Thus, the proliferation of representations of K'inichYax K'uk' Mo' wearing goggles in the Late Classic must be understood in the context of their complete absence from his tomb, their presence in four other Early Classic burials, the lack of the platelet headdresses in Copán iconography and their overwhelming presence in tombs. As primary individuals in burials do not usually wear goggles, their absence in the Hunal Tomb is perhaps understandable, but what happened so that by the Late Classic period he is so securely identified with this item of adornment that it comes to be the symbol by which he is recognized.

The answer likely has to do with the realities of time and memory. As decades went by, after the death of Ruler 1 and the collapse of Teotihuacan itself, symbolic items were less connected to their original meanings and could be employed by contemporary people for their own purposes. For some reason, the goggles made a better symbol than the headdress, perhaps because the goggles were the more

universal symbol of a warrior and that is the aspect of his identity chosen to be emphasized. Or, it is possible that overtime the goggles retained their connection to foreignness and to the memory of the great city of Teotihuacan in ways that the platelet headdresses did not. Altar Q, on which he wears goggles, clearly demonstrates that the narrative of the outsider king who founded the dynasty of Copán was the foundation of the dynasty's identity at the time of the 16th ruler. What the Late Classic rulers appear to have done is to change the events of the past by changing the community's memory of what had occurred. By continually showing K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' as the one, as the only one, who wears goggles at Copán, they become a symbol of his identity, and through him as the founder of the identity of the dynasty, though they were not important enough in his life to be buried with him, and it is even possible he never wore them at all.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Death is a universal experience. It is one of the two experiences every person undergoes no matter who they are or when or where they lived, and of the two, it is the only one to leave a record that can be recovered archaeologically—as the other is birth. At its core, death is an inescapable biological reality, but its very universality means the social reality, the different ways a culture explains, commemorates, and treats death, as well as its view of what happens after death, can be a window into the community and what it deems important. The opportunity to excavate the Oropéndola Tomb and analyze its contents in the context of the other Classic period royal tombs at the site of Copán, Honduras provided an opportunity to delve into the questions surrounding death within one community. Specifically, the goals of my analysis were to help confirm the status of the Oropéndola Tomb as a royal tomb, to try to identify to which member of the Copán dynasty it belonged, to evaluate whether the tomb also contained information about how the Maya of Classic period Copán conceptualized the afterlife, and to better understand royal funerary ritual at a Classic period city.

To accomplish these goals it was important to understand how tomb contexts are ritually formed. Such an understanding assists in understanding those elements that reflect the identity of the deceased and those that reflect the communities beliefs about the fate of their rulers after death. Fully aware that the tomb contexts were created not by the deceased or by the entire community, but by a specific subset of people, who likely included the heir and other powerful court members, I employed a theoretical framework that could account for all of these varying forces. I found this framework within Patricia McAnany's 1994 work on the role of ancestors in Maya society, James Fitzsimmon's 2009 study on Maya royal funerary rituals, and the growing

body of work typified by Meredith Chesson's 2001 project studying the connection between identity and social memory as applied to mortuary contexts. Together they helped me navigate the complexities, help to situate the data from the ethnohistoric, ethnographic, iconographic and epigraphic data, and guide the explanation of the various ambiguities that appeared when I began to compare all of the excavated royal tombs of Copán.

I began in Chapter 2 with my analysis of the ethnohistoric documents by reviewing information on 16th century Catholic ideas about death and the afterlife. This was an important first step because it was the Spanish friars who collected most of the written information about the beliefs and practices of the indigenous people of the New World from the early years of contact. I wanted to understand what mental frameworks and ideas they arrived with, as these would be the perspective through which they interpreted the behavior they observed. It was also the material they would be trying to teach during the conversion process. This means understanding 16th century Catholicism was important not only for understanding the ethnohistoric documents created by the Spanish, but also for understanding the process of transculturation that created the many views contemporary Maya people have about what happens when someone dies. An understanding of Catholicism in Europe during the 16th century also allowed me to approach the ethnographic data about funerals and afterlife landscapes with a better ability to identify the aspects that were contributed by the Spanish.

The Catholic beliefs of the 16th century centered around the idea that souls go to Heaven, Hell, or purgatory after death. Placement in one of these locations was based on your "works and faith" on earth, which means living a good Christian life and repenting before death. Relationships between the living and dead were limited, with the living being called on to say

prayers for the dead souls to help insure their residence in heaven. Heaven and Hell are not physical places so much, as the state of being close to or far from God, creating little need for the objects of earth to be sent into the afterlife with the dead. The soul is incarnate and its experiences are emotional rather than physical. Not until the Day of Judgment when the bodies will rise up into heaven to reunite with their sundered soul that a change will occur in the soul's experience of the afterlife.

In order for the information gleaned from such a project to reflect actual practice and not just idealized doctrine, I followed Keith Jacobi's (2000) methodology by also looking at 16th century cemeteries from Europe and from Spanish colonial communities in the new world. Study of 16th century Catholicism reveals that people were buried in cemeteries or below church floors after having been wrapped in a shroud, preferably white, and placed in a coffin. The traditional body position for the deceased was extended lying on the back and placed along the east west axis, though in practice body position was often oriented along the same axis as the church. The most desirable burial location was as close as possible to the altar and radiating outward. These positions were often given to people of high status, though Catholicism teaches that anyone can go to heaven who lived a proper Christian life. The placement of accompanying materials in either grave or coffin were few, and what there was tended to be religious items such as crosses or rosaries.

The Spanish were not the only empire to control large swaths of Mesoamerica between the end of the Classic period and the present day. This was also accomplished by at least the Mexica-Aztec, if not others, and it is clear that ideas whose origins came from the cultures of Central Mexico found their way to Maya speaking regions. It is unsurprising, therefore, to see

concepts that seem more at home among the worldview of the Mexica-Aztec in both the Maya ethnohistoric documents from the early colonial period and in contemporary Maya communities. For this reason, I also reviewed Mexica-Aztec ethnohistoric sources to better understand what those influences might have been, and to see the similarities and differences between groups of people with a history of interaction and exchange reaching back over a thousand years.

Many of the funerary practices among the Mexica-Aztec appear to be based around the afterlife location for which a person is destined. Since this determination is not based on evaluations of moral or ethical behavior, but instead in the manner of death and perhaps status, it is often clear to the community where the soul of the deceased will spend eternity, and funeral ritual can be tailored for that location. Even when there is some uncertainly, as in the case of Quetzalpetlatl in *Primeros Memoriales*, a decision is reached by the community and practice consistent with that decision is followed. The main divisions of the afterlife for the Mexica-Aztec are: Mictlan, Tlalocan, and the House the Sun. The fourth place is Xochatlalpan, where the Tree of Breasts is located, and is available only for infants. It is the only place from which there is any indication that souls are reborn on earth. Mictlan is for all those who die of sickness, Tlalocan for those whose manner of death was seen to be under the purview of the god of rain, while the House of the Sun was reserved for those who died in battle or are sacrificed.

The differences in these fates are reflected in burial practice; those who go to Mictlan and the House of the Sun are burned, while those who go to Tlalocan are buried. In all cases, the dead are dressed in special clothes and adornment, which correlate with their destination, rather than in their own clothes. There is no discussion of whether grave goods are included in the burials of those who go to Tlalocan, but in the case of both Mictlan and the House of the Sun

there do appear to be items of food, drink, and other offerings that are burned in order to accompany the dead into the next life. In fact, the offerings do not end with the funerary ritual at the time of death, but instead continue for four years. The first four years after death appear to be important, as it is also the amount of time it is thought to take to traverse the obstacles on the journey to Mictlan and the amount of time before those in the House of the Sun are transformed into bees and butterflies spending the rest of eternity sipping nectar under the warmth of the sun.

Tlalocan is uniformly described in the ethnohistoric sources as a desirable place to be with a verdant environment, spring-like weather, and the presence of good things to eat. It is a paradise, which is perhaps the reason no specific offerings are needed to accompany these deceased individuals. The House of the Sun is also supposed to be a desirable location, though its connection with the Sun rather than with the Rain God, means its description is more a desert environment than a rain forest, with cacti, agave, mesquite, and unceasing warmth. The descriptions of the slaves who accompany the royal dead, whose funerary rituals all appear to indicate that they will go to the House of the Sun, also suggest certain maintenance of hierarchy and privilege into the afterlife. For although one's afterlife fate is thought to be governed by the manner of one's death rather than the type of life one lived, for those of highest status entry into the House of the Sun was automatic. Mictlan, on the other hand, is subject to inconsistent descriptions. Some suggest it is a place of cold, full of hard work and bad food, while other sources suggest a more earth-like experience. Part of the confusion may spring from the fact that the majority of the information is about the dangerous journey to Mictlan, and the obstacles one must face, rather than the experience of residing in Mictlan itself.

While far less is known from ethnohistoric sources about the afterlife among Maya

communities of the early period of contact, the work of Bishop Diego de Landa and the *Popol Vuh* do offer some suggestions. Landa features little discussion about the destination of the soul after death and what is present seems so steeped in his ideas about Heaven and Hell that it is difficult to determine whether any part of it reflects views held by the Yucatec Maya he is discussing. Landa does, however, have a limited discussion of the funerary ritual. The *Popol Vuh,* on the other hand, contains no information about funerary ritual, since none of the protagonists are actually dead as they travel into the afterlife. Instead, it presents the Underworld in detail not present in any other sources for either the Mexica-Aztec or the Maya.

The information from Landa's description of funeral rituals suggests both burying and burning were acceptable treatments for the body after death. Commoners were buried inside or behind their houses, while lords had temples built over their remains. Both commoners and lords had their mouths filled with stones, likely jade, as Landa describes it as the stones used for money so they could buy things, as well as maize to feed the soul in the afterlife. The description includes the information that at least some people are given grave goods that are often associated with the role or profession a person performed during life. Perhaps they are for use in the afterlife like the jade and the maize. Unlike the Mexica-Aztec funerary activities, the Yucatec Maya ones seem to be focused around the status of the deceased (lord or commoner) or role (such as the examples of priests and sorcerers) rather than the manner of death.

Like the previous discussion of Mictlan, the description of Xibalba in the *Popol Vuh* begins with obstacles faced on the journey to reach the underworld. Whether these are actually Maya ideas or are influenced by the Mexica-Aztec views on Mictlan, is unknown. Once the obstacles of the journey are successfully passed, the Hero Twins are subjected to more tests

inside Xibalba itself, since the goal of the Lords of the underworld is to kill them. The underworld outside of those tests, however, is very earth-like in description with a functioning royal court as the backbone of its social structure containing lords, sub-lords, and families. The descriptions of events include references to alcohol and entertainment. The environment has trees, flowers, and rivers and there are animals described: ants, catfish, and rabbits, all of which paints a picture very similar to what is experience during life. The fate of the Hero Twins, who ascend into the heavens to become celestial bodies, suggest another possible afterlife landscape beyond the underworld in which their father will remain, but the account lacks any description of who else might reside in the celestial realm or what the landscape might look like.

Chapter 3 reviewed a cross-section of modern Maya communities to explore a series of important topics related to beliefs about death and the afterlife. This included the concept of the soul, descriptions and ideas about afterlife landscapes, the role of ancestors in the lives of the living, the existence of an idea of rebirth, and descriptions and interpretations of the content of funerary rituals and their relation to the rest of the surveyed concepts. By employing the insights gained from Chapter 2's discussion of the ethnohistoric sources, beliefs among modern Maya populations with origins in earlier Maya ideology could be more securely identified. This allowed the data gathered from ethnographic sources to be more critically evaluated as to which insights and ideas were appropriate for testing with Classic period data sets.

In the modern Maya communities surveyed for this project people referred to a soul or spirit as that which made someone an individual. Often that soul was thought to leave the body after death to travel to the afterlife for a period of time after which it was reborn in subsequent generations of a family. It is this soul to which certain epigraphic phrases and iconographic

symbols may be referring. While in all communities the world is composed of three levels, with the earth sandwiched between the Upperworld and the Underworld, the exact nature of those places varied among groups and it was clear that ideas both from Catholicism and from the Mexica-Aztec had become part of the beliefs and practice of the modern Maya communities. In some communities the Upperworld was a place only for God and various celestial bodies, often identified with saints or other important Catholic religious figures, while others saw the Upperworld as a place for the "good" or the "valiant" raising again the question of Catholic influence. Communities in which one reaches the Upperworld by successfully navigating a set of obstacles or due to one's manner of death both suggest a certain amount of mixing with Mexica-Aztec ideas. In none of the modern Maya communities is the landscape of the Upperworld discussed in any detail, with only the people of Zinacantán describing what residing there would have been like for the dead. That description is of an existence that sounds very much like a continuation of life as it was on earth with only a few changes.

The Underworld is also varied among contemporary Maya groups. Among some groups it as a place of punishment; a placed inhabited by the "damned" or the home of "demons." In these communities, it is the people who acted badly in life who are relegated to such a fate where the experience is described as punishment for actions taken during life. This is another example of a Maya idea that resonates so closely with Catholic ideas of Hell as to be difficult to disentangle or draws its inspiration directly from them. In other places, the Underworld is described as similar to life on earth with the exception of punishment either only for the most evil people or for everyone for a short amount of time, since no one is perfect, after which existence is happy. It is in the two Tzotzil speaking communities, Zinacantan and Chenhaló, where the description of the

afterlife is most clearly described as very much like earth. People live with their families and work the land, but that work is not a punishment, but rather just the stuff of everyday life. Interestingly, in Zinacantán that place is the Upperworld (Vinahel) and in Chenhaló it is the Underworld (Katinbak). This difference perhaps reflects that at one time the afterworld was envisioned in the same way in both communities, but over the centuries and after influence from other cultures they diverged in different ways without losing the central idea of the afterlife as similar to this one. After extracting the influence of Mexica-Aztec and Catholic ideas, it appears that the afterlife is often thought to be similar to the life lived on earth, perhaps with some differences and even some punishments, but for most people it is not an unhappy, scary, or painful existence.

All of the communities surveyed had entities described as ancestors and maintain some interaction with their dead. For many this is in the form of Day of the Dead fiestas where dead family members are enticed back to earth with their favorite foods and drinks. The dead in all communities are seen as powerful, though they are thought to use their power in different ways and have different relationships with the living. The Day of the Dead, however, appears in most places as a festival that honors those ancestors who had brought land to the family and people who were important figures in the lives of the living. In many communities, interactions between the living and dead happened at other times of the year as well. This usually takes the form of offerings and prayers given by the living either to recruit the assistance of the ancestor or to learn why the ancestor is unhappy and punishing their descendants. In some communities, offerings are given to lineal ancestors who had been known in life, while in other cases offerings are more often targeted toward ancestral gods who do not have a direct lineal connections to individuals,

but who instead were seen as ancestral to the entire community. The bridge between these two different forms of "ancestor worship" can be seen in the communities of the Ixil Area who pray to both direct lineal ancestors and people who were important community members. All of these prayers and offerings are given in the same church, but specifically in different areas of the church depending on who is the focus of the offering. In this can be seen a model by which the different ancestors are treated similarly, but there is still the creation and reification of a hierarchy of ancestors that occurs via the differentiation in the specific prayer locale. It may have been a mechanism similar to this that helps create ancestral gods.

Direct discussion of any ideas associated with the concept of rebirth were less frequently reported than other aspects of the ideologies surrounding death. The four communities in which we do find references to rebirth envision people being reborn on earth via the placement of the soul of the deceased, most commonly described as a family member or lineage member, into the body of a new fetus or infant. In these communities, the new children are seen as replacements of the deceased family members of the previous generations, since they carry the same soul. The metaphor behind this concept of rebirth has to do with the relationship between humans and maize. Since humans are thought to be made from maize, it makes sense for them to follow a similar life cycle. As kernels of last year's corn are planted into the ground to germinate and grow new stalks, so too the dead are buried in the ground where they remain for a certain amount of time, often thought to be the same number of years as those spent on earth, and then they will grow again as new children. The question of whether this type of rebirth is also present in the Classic period, and how it interacts with the idea of ancestors to whom one provides offerings and receives benefits is central to Chapter 4 and its discussion of the Classic period epigraphic

and ethnohistoric sources.

Funerary practices among modern Maya communities suggest that burial contexts reflect both the identity of the person who was buried and the destination of the soul in the afterlife. Unlike the Mexica-Aztec, who buried their dead with specific clothing and adornment based on the deceased's final afterlife destination, the burial garb of modern Maya people are most often their own clothes. Sometimes there is a preference that these be “new” or “good” clothes, perhaps even clothes reflecting the performance of a certain important roles, but even in the case of “new” clothes they are changed in such a way as to make them belong to the deceased. In Chan Kom, where the actual dressing of the body in a paper cape suggests influence from Central Mexican ideas, the final set of clothing worn by the individual is still included as part of the grave offerings. People in many communities are described as placed lying on a mat with another mat placed over them, though in the case of the Lacandon of Najá, the dead are buried wrapped in their sleeping hammocks. There is a common tradition of burying “personal” items with the dead as well. These often include: clothes, eating and drinking containers, and tools most often used by people during their lives. All of these items, along with the manner in which people are dressed, indicate that actual items belonging to the deceased are essential components of the burial context.

Unfortunately, there is no discussion of whether the personal belongings are included solely because of their connection to the deceased, in some communities they are described as containing part of the soul of the one who used them, or if they are also envisioned as items that will be used by deceased in the afterlife. There are, however, items placed into the graves that are specifically characterized as useful in the afterlife. Some of these items are food and drink and

said to sustain the soul, while others are included to assist the soul on its journey. This can include money to buy necessary items, a candle to light the way for a deceased spouse, the head of a rooster that will indicate the proper path to take on the journey, or the lock of hair, bone, and palmleaf dog each thought to help pass obstacles on the road to the underworld for the Naja. The question of whether obstacles on the path to the underworld was an idea present in the Classic period or introduced from Central Mexico remains an unresolved question. In all cases, however, the actions of the funeral ritual must be undertaken correctly, as it is dangerous when a soul is not properly assisted into the afterlife. This necessity creates a condition where funerary rituals within a community will tend to have similar frameworks and even similar components, since a funeral with significant variation would run the risk of being dubbed "improperly" conducted and bring with it dangerous consequences..

The review of known Classic Maya terms concerned with death and dying in Chapter 4 gives an indication that the process of death and burial was likely spread out over a number of days and encompassed a number of ritual activities. Phrases like *cham-i* '[he/she]died/[he/she] fell mortally ill' suggest that detecting the moment of death was not a major concern for the Classic Maya or that they understood being seriously ill as a similar condition to death. The not yet fully deciphered phrase *k'a'ay u ? sak ik'aal "* it finishes, his 'seed?' white/pure breath," is thought to reference the death or "finishing" of the breath/spirit of the deceased. This idea seems consistent with the contemporary Maya ethnographies that indicate a pervasive belief that the soul must leave the body to make its way to its next destination. In some accounts this happens automatically when the body dies, but in some cases there are indications that the soul needs assistance to be able to free itself and depart on its journey.

The phrases *ochb'ih* and *och ha'* "road-entering" and "water-entering" respectively, have been often thought to reference the idea that the soul must take a journey on its way to the afterlife and may indicate the beginning of that process. Others, have suggested that one or both of these phrases may be metaphors for death or references to body treatment after death (personal communication Marc Zender 2012). This leaves the rather prosaic statement of *mukhaj* "he/she was buried" to describe the actual process of interment. The fact that there is no term to discuss cremation of the dead, unless it is buried in a more euphemistic phrase, does suggest that in the Classic period this was not a major funerary behavior, at least not for individuals of very high status whose stories are recorded on monuments.

The iconographic data reviewed for this project is focused on afterlife life landscapes and ideas about rebirth and ancestors, since funerals are so rarely depicted in the media preserved. Both an upperworld and an underworld are represented on Classic period ceramics. They are often recognizable based on their placement with regard to sky, earth, and water bands. Both show the landscapes to be characterized by royal courts ruled by lords. Not only does this resonate with the social organization in the *Popol Vuh's* depiction of the underworld, but it supports the idea that in many ways these "otherworld" locals were envisioned as similar in structure to this world, though they are ruled by gods rather than humans. Lacking in the scenes of both landscapes is anything that can be identified as depictions of deceased humans. Perhaps the transformation that takes place after death has thus far rendered them opaque to our searching eyes or perhaps they are not the major players in either landscape and therefore are not depicted in the known scenes.

The situations in which deceased humans are represented in iconographic settings speak

more to the ideas of ancestors and rebirth than the landscapes of the afterlife. These depictions include both the representation of ancestors as growing plants, on items like the Berlin Vase and Pakal the Great of Palenque's sarcophagus, or as celestial bodies at sites like Tikal, Yaxchilan, and Palenque. Both ancestors as plants and ancestors as celestial bodies can be found at Pakal's tomb, and likely again on the Berlin Vessel where a celestial cartouche containing an anthropomorphic head hovers over the scene on one side. The ancestors growing as various forms of vegetation likely partake of the metaphor of earthly rebirth present in the Maize God's life-cycle discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Moments of that cycle can be seen on various objects during the Classic period and appear to culminate with the Maize God breaking through the earth in the form of a turtle shell to grow back onto the earth.

The ancestors shown in celestial cartouches or marked with the signs of celestial bodies appear to depict a different type of afterlife existence where rebirth happens not back onto earth, but into the celestial realm. Interestingly, there are cases, such as Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal of Palenque, where a single individual is shown both as a growing tree and as a celestial body. This means the two different types of rebirth are not mutually exclusive for at least some people. In fact, what the vegetal rebirth seems to make reference to is the idea of rebirth on earth through one's lineal descendants creating strong ties between generations of the same family. These kinds of connections are very important when one's right to rule comes from being born into a specific lineage, but it is also the kind of rebirth that appears to be open to people of all classes based on how it functions in modern Maya communities.

The depiction of ancestors as celestial entities, as having been reborn into the celestial world, appears to be more concerned with the reciprocal relationship between the living and the

dead in which the living provide offerings and the dead provide powerful assistance the living cannot access on their own. It is an open question whether everyone would have had the potential to become one of these celestial ancestors. Clearly, it is possible for royalty to do so, as just discussed. Non-royal members of courts could also be depicted in such ways, as shown by Chinchilla Mariezgo's (2006) work on the people in star cartouches on Pakal's sarcophagus. Perhaps, then, this is the fate for the 'honored' ancestors mentioned in the ethnohistoric sources, those who gave significant amounts of land or other property to their descendents, were lineage founders, or were respected individuals among the wider community. Patricia MacAnany (1995) showed years ago that differential burial treatment occurred among members of the same patio group all the way back into the Preclassic period, indicating that members of the same family or lineage were treated differently in death and that eligibility to become an ancestor was not limited to only the highest of elites.

Chapter 5 laid out the newly discovered Oropéndola Tomb in order to present that new data for analysis. Its consideration with the other royal tombs at the site form the basis of Chapter 6 and together Chapters 5 and 6 strive to apply the insights of the beginning chapters of this dissertation to the interpretation of archaeological burial contexts. From this work comes the conclusion to one of the first question asked: the Oropéndola Tomb is absolutely a royal tomb. Its location in the Acropolis under the tallest structure, the treatment of the corpse with red pigment, and the quantity, quality, and variety of materials in the tomb all indicate its royal nature. In addition, it contains large numbers of wealth objects, including objects that have traveled long distances, such as jade and shell, and these are often modified in elaborate ways suggesting significant additional investment on the part of skilled craftspeople. Many of the objects in the

tomb emphasize that it belonged to someone with concerns far beyond the regional area in which Copán is located. Only the Pachuca obsidian sequins and the marine shells from the Pacific Ocean can be securely sourced from outside Copán, but there are other objects whose inspiration comes from outside of the region. This includes objects that are the only examples of their kind at the site, such as the stuccoed and painted carved stone double cups with iconography from Teotihuacan, objects that copy iconography from other regions, such as the tripod vessels with Plano-relief "feathery eyes," and examples of imitations like the faux Thin Orange ring-foot bowl, which is a type originally made in Puebla, Mexico. Likewise, the shell platelet headdress, shell goggles, and iron ore mirrors are hallmarks of the Teotihuacan warrior costume with origins in central Mexico or areas that show profound connections to that region during the Early Classic period such as Kaminaljuyu in highland Guatemala and Tikal in Petén.

The Oropéndola tomb is from the second half of the fifth century and likely belonged to one of the early rulers in the sequence about whom little is known, as it's stratigraphic context, contents and location are more similar to the Hunal and Margarita Tombs from the middle part of the 5th century, than to the Sub-Jaguar Tomb from the middle part of the 6th century. Our lack of knowledge about the early rulers and their activities makes it difficult to assign the tomb to any one individual, since it is currently impossible to compare it to contemporary contexts known from any of the early rulers. I can suggest it is most likely to belong to Rulers 3 or 4 based on our current understanding of the Acropolis stratigraphy, the treatment of the body, and the artifacts present, though I cannot completely rule out either 2 or 5. A more accurate identification may be possible with the excavation of additional contexts of this time period, the full decipherment of the Hieroglyphic stairway, which is expected to include at least the names and reign dates of all

of the rulers through the 15th, and an ability to accurately tie early architectural sequences to each other and to specific rulers. The tomb provides a wealth of information about a time period about which little is known at the site, but until it is bolstered by more information from other contexts, there is a limit to what we can say about its place in Copán's history.

One of the tantalizing pieces of information from the tomb lacking the context to fully explain it are the indications that the tomb was hastily made. While there is nothing identifiable on the very damaged bones to suggest the cause of death, sudden or otherwise, the failure of the capstones, the reuse of drainage stones for at least 3 of the capstones, the poor quality of the tomb walls, the lack of a plastered floor, and the replacement of the stone burial platform with his palanquin all suggest haste. This is especially true, since all of these elements were found in conjunction with a tomb as rich in artifacts as the other royal tombs at the site, which leads to a picture of a situation in which there was a lack of time to properly complete all of the elements of construction, rather than lack of care or the disgrace of the deceased. This may be the tomb of a ruler who died unexpectedly, or in a particularly tense political environment, rather than a ruler who did not deserve the full ritual treatment of a king.

In order to be able to separate elements of the tomb assemblage that make reference to the deceased's earthly identity from those that make reference to their afterlife fate, the data gathered in the introductory chapters help to understand how the death and the afterlife were conceptualized by the Maya during the Classic period. Evidence shows that the ideas used in the Classic period to understand life and death were based in two important cycles from the natural world. One is the cycle of maize, mentioned previously, which finds expression in the mythology surrounding the life and death of the Maize God, while the other is the daily cycle of the sun. The

Sun cycle encompasses its daily journey through the sky to its setting in the west where it enters the underworld and begins the journey it takes while the earth is plunged into the darkness of night. The cycle continues with the sun emerging out of the watery underworld in the east in the morning to rise back into the celestial world of the sky to begin another day. While both the maize cycle and the sun cycle begin with the soul of the deceased sinking into the underworld for a specific amount of time, the maize cycle continues back onto the earth while the sun cycle continues into the sky. It is the sky that appears to be the home of celestial ancestors; the people whose souls rise out of the underworld, like the sun, and spend eternity in a celestial paradise such as "Flower Mountain."

The Mexica- Aztecs bury their dead in different costumes depending on the location in which they will spend the afterlife and rulers are apotheosized by being dressed in the costumes of four different gods, which means their burial costumes have very little bearing on the life led on earth. Evidence from Hunal, Margarita, and Oropéndola Tombs, where costumes are best preserved, suggest that these individuals wore dress that likely made references to their roles in life, and may have been worn by them in life as well. The occupant of the Margarita Tomb has been suggested to have been buried with cape and jade skirt associated in iconographic depictions with royal Maya women, while her tomb is full of the tools necessary to the archetypal Maya woman, who is a skillful weaver. It contains bundles of needles, awls, and weaving picks and over 10,000 thousand tiny jade beads at least some of which were likely placed into the tomb as raw material for her to use in the afterlife. These elements of her tomb, along with the only set of groundstone implements in any of the royal tombs at Copán, emphasize her identity as the Maya woman she likely died as, even if she perhaps did not

consider herself to be Maya prior to the arrival of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'.

In the Hunal and Oropéndola Tombs, the costumes worn by the kings make reference to their roles as warriors, and perhaps even specific kinds of warriors, rather than gods seen among the Mexica-Aztec royalty. These costumes are the shell platelet headdresses in both tombs, the shell goggles in the Oropéndola Tomb, and the eccentric projectile points in the Hunal Tomb. We know _ from all of the iconographic depictions of the costume at Kaminaljuyu, Tikal, Piedras Negras, and Teotihuacan that it was a costume worn by multiple human warriors rather than by people impersonating a specific god. It would be unsurprising for a dynasty in its early years to feel the need to emphasize the warrior prowess of their rulers and choose to do so by using iconography that makes reference to a powerful foreign locale such at Teotihucan. For Ruler 1, part of his legitimacy was in his identity as an outsider king, who likely married an important local woman to solidify his position among the people already living in the area. His ability to bring the area of Copán into the large network of Maya cities through connections with sites such as Tikal in Guatemala, Caracol in Belize, and perhaps Teotihuacan as well, was likely part of his attraction as a leader. His heir and the other organizers of his funeral ritual would have made sure these powerful associations were invoked during the first instance of complete transition between members of the nascent dynasty. That the people who organized the funeral rituals for the person in the Oropéndola Tomb also chose to dress him in the same costume as Ruler 1 suggests they were likely working with similar ideas, but by that time the iconography would have evoked an additional layer of meaning, an association with the founding ruler.

We cannot say whether the Oropéndola Tomb occupant had a lineal or familial association with Ruler 1, as neither textual nor DNA evidence exists to demonstrate such, but the

choice to emphasize the connection between the two men is testament to the success of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and the strategies employed by his heir and allies to solidify the creation of this new dynasty. Interestingly, by the time of the ritual that resulted in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb, priorities among the funeral organizers had changed. They still included the items of costume that would remind people of the founder, a shell platelet headdress and goggles were found below the burial platform, but he was not dressed in them. Instead some other part of his identity was chosen to be amplified by his costume and it is our great loss many of the elements in both it and the one worn by Ruler 12 in the Chorcha Tomb were too damaged to be identified.

There were other items in Ruler 12's tomb, however, that may speak to the identity being evoked in the funeral rituals. This includes artifacts such as the storage containers for red pigment and a bowl depicting a scribe. These may be present in reference to Ruler 12 having been an accomplished scribe or artist and to provide him with raw materials to continue his work in the afterlife much like the jade beads in the Margarita Tomb. As the longest reigning ruler in Copán's history who died a very old man in a time when the dynasty was well established, there may have been no need to portray him as a warrior in his tomb, whether he had been one in his youth or not. Instead it was his wisdom and skills as a scribe or artist that were chosen to be emphasized.

In fact, Ruler 12's tomb contains no elements that can be identified as part of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume, though his reign and those after it continue to use its elements in monumental iconography on both stela and stone mosaic facade sculpture. It is Ruler 12 himself who erects Stela 6 and oversees the building of Híjole Structure, both of which display elements of the costume. It is clear by the time of Ruler 12's death that the shell goggles from the

Teotihuacan Warrior Costume have become specifically identified with Ruler 1 and the founding of the dynasty. We know this because of the effigy *incensarios* placed outside of the Chorcha Tomb by the organizers of his funerary rituals that shows only one of the 12 ruler effigies with goggles. Later rulers decorate Altar Q and Structure 16 with a goggle wearing Ruler 1 as well, continuing to make this reference in the most public of ways. In the communal memory of the people of Copán it is K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', the founder, who wore the Teotihuacan warrior goggles, and they are a sign of him and his success at beginning this dynasty. Their use by rulers hundreds of years after his death draw upon the mythologized narrative of his life and his successful founding of the dynasty to legitimatize the current ruler by making him heir to the power of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and all of the successors who followed him.

This memory of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' wearing the goggles of the Teotihuacan Warrior Costume, however, seems to have likely been a created one. In the Early Classic period, all iconography and burial evidence show rulers and other primary figures did not wear goggles. It was the important, but secondary figures in scenes and tombs who displayed them on their heads or faces. While burial evidence does show that some rulers and primary individuals were buried with goggles near them at both Kaminaljuyu and Copán, it seems to have been an intentional action not to place them among their actual adornment. Even more important, is the tomb of the founder, the Hunal Tomb, completely lacked shell goggle element of the costume, though they were present in the later Oropéndola and Sub-Jaguar Tombs. Sometime in the years between Ruler 1's death in the early to mid 5th century and Ruler 12's death at the end of the 7th century, the people of Copán had changed the meaning of the goggles to the point where they became emblematic of a person who may have never worn them.

The only item among the costume elements of the various royalty that may make reference to the costume of a specific Maya god, is the *Spondylus* shell worn over the pelvis present in all of the royal tombs except for the Hunal Tomb. Depictions of the Maize God often show him with a shell as part of his loincloth or belt assemblage, though no other elements of his costume have been identified in the tombs. James Fitzsimmon's (2009) survey shows that when rulers are depicted as ancestors in monumental iconography they are depicted as deities or semi-deities that emphasize celestial iconography over that of the Maize God. This may mean the *Spondylus* shell is a reference to the Maize God's role in one of the cycles of rebirth, which is only invoked in tomb contexts. Or it may be that the *Spondylus* shell is a reference to the watery underworld through which all the dead must first spend time. It is clear, however, that assumptions about the connection between the female gender and the placement of *Spondylus* shells at the pelvis do not hold true in royal burial contexts.

In addition to the *Spondylus* shells worn at the pelvis, one of the most consistent elements among the royal tombs is the inclusion of other unmodified shells and marine animals. This includes very different representations of this idea from the piles that contain almost 100 *Spondylus* valves in the Oropéndola Tomb to the wide variety of marine animals in the Chorcha Tomb. None of these shell or animal remains are modified into pieces of adornment or decorative elements for other items, which suggests it was the shells themselves that were important and not their use as adornment material. Copán is too far away from any sea for the marine animals themselves to have been eaten fresh in the city, which means their importance lies not in their use as sustenance either. As has been suggested for years, it is likely the remains of marine creatures are present because they represent the landscape of the watery underworld though which the

souls of all the deceased pass. This may also be true of some of the other objects with iconographic content that makes reference to water. This includes the possible waves on the dishes in the Chorcha Tomb, the turtle shaped handle on a ceramic vessel from the Hunal Tomb, the monster-headed fish plaque from the Margarita Tomb, the possible crab on a bowl from the Oropéndola Tomb, and the crocodilian zoomorphs on the ceramic vessels of the Sub-Jaguar Tomb.

Animals that lived in the water are not the only ones to have underworld associations for the Classic Maya. While the evidence for jaguar hides and claws in some of the tombs are likely due to their association with the strength and power of royalty, they are also animals considered to be associated with the underworld for their tendency to hunt at night and to spend time in the water. The jaguar head beads in the Margarita Tomb may be playing with one or both of these levels of meaning, while the shell from the Hunal Tomb elaborated to look like a jaguar with a water lily tail is clearly evoking the jaguar's connections to water. Likewise, the centipedes, which decorate many of the small bowls from the Chorcha Tomb, and are perhaps represented on three jade beads from the anklet in the Oropéndola Tomb, are considered underworld creatures as they spend much of their time tunneling underground. Snakes, which were thought to be similar to centipedes and which might be thought to be associated with the ground are, in fact, associated with the celestial world a good reminder that the patterns and categories we think we identify do not always hold, as other cultural ideas and mythologies may operate on certain symbols in what to an outsider would be unexpected ways.

Unfortunately, all of the tombs suffered damage from seismic activities, while some were also damaged by water infiltration and tomb collapse. This makes it difficult to evaluate how

many of the ceramic vessels were made specifically for inclusion in the tomb, and might therefore be likely to have iconography that references the afterlife, and how many had use lives before they were placed inside. Certainly, some of the vessels had evidence of food remains, such as chocolate, quails, and fish scales, which were likely offerings meant to accompany the deceased into the afterlife, but that does not preclude them from having been used during the ruler's life as well. We also lack sufficient information to know whether specific types food and drink were prepared for the tomb, though based on ethnohistoric and ethnographic data such a thing is likely and may relate to successfully negotiating one's existence in the afterlife.

Since the tombs in this sample were all the tombs of rulers, we might also think to find references to the solar cycle of rebirth and their final transformation into celestial ancestors, as well as their time spent in the underworld. This could be the explanation for the bones of birds identified in the Hunal and Sub-Jaguar Tombs located not in ceramic dishes, but on the burial platform and the floor. While the Oropéndola Tomb did not preserve any animal remains other than shell, the amazing necklace of macaw beads may be making the same kind of celestial connection either by referencing creatures of the sky, whose red color associated them with fire and the sun, or perhaps by invoking his ancestor, K'inch Yax K'uk' Mo', in whose name macaw appears. There are also tantalizing hints of other celestial references in the two shell peccaries found in the Hunal Tomb. That peccaries are celestial iconography rather than earthly is based in the Maya practice of seeing groups of stars as recognizable entities, one of which is a peccary constellation. The references to K'inich Ajaw, the sun god, on the ceramics of the Sub-Jaguar Tomb, and perhaps all of the disembodied eyes in the Oropéndola Tomb, which are often considered to be references either to death or to stars, may also be functioning in these tombs as

specific symbols of the afterlife. If ancestors did spend their existence in a place like 'Flower Mountain' then we might also expect to find such things as flowers in the royal tombs as well. Though there is evidence for organic remains on the floors of most of the tombs, what they consist of is currently unknown, though Dr. McNeil's testing for pollen has indicated the presence of flower pollen in at least some of the Early Classic tombs. Representations of flowers were present in earflares from the Oropéndola, Margarita, and Chorcha Tombs, while the Margarita and Oropéndola Tombs also had flower shaped beads, and the Oropéndola and Chorcha Tombs both contained ceramic vessels that depict flowers. While many of these iconographic interpretations are extremely conjectural, they are noted to provide information that can be compared with other burial contexts both at Copán and beyond in order to test their interpretive strength and relevance.

One of the most likely expressions of belief in a celestial rebirth is the application of red pigment to the bones, bodies, and burial platforms of all of the deceased royalty and very few other burials. The color red is associated with the east, the direction from which the sun is reborn giving it a place among the symbols of rebirth. Its also shares a distinct visual similarity with blood, which is considered to be more powerful when it comes from royalty, creating a rational by which they are set apart from other members of society. This means that it is royal bloodletting that makes the most potent sacrifices to the gods and gives the ability to consult with their ancestors giving the blood of rulers a strong association with the celestial world even before their death. If Fitzsimmons (2009) is correct and the decoration of bodies with red pigment brings together these two ideas by creating the blood of celestial rebirth to match the blood of earthly birth, than it is a powerful symbol of transition in which royalty are born as ancestors.

APPENDIX A: ARTIFACT TABLE

Artifact Table

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
08-006	62	S8.10 E8.80 H607.20	1441	Green stone, red, yellow, and black paint		
08-007	90	S7 E10.19 H596.12	1586	Pieces of broken jade (popcorn)		
08-010	90	E2 Level 2 H593.92	1601	*Spondylus* Shell	27/09/2008	
08-011	90	F2 Level 2 H593.84	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* Shell Beads (6)	27/10/2008	1
08-012	90	E/F7-8 Level 3 H593.54	1601	Plano-relief slab-foot tripod cylinder	05/02/2008	2
08-013	90	E6/7 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Plano-relief slab-foot tripod cylinder	27/10/2008	3
08-014	90	A/B5-6 Level 3 H593.53	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	05/02/2009	4
08-015	90	E2 Level H593.87	1601	*Spondylus* shell platelet	10/11/08	5
08-016	90	C5 Level 1 H593.63	1601	*Spondylus s*hell	10/11/2008	n/a
08-017	90	C1-C4, D1-D4, E1-E3 Level 1 H593.81	1601	*Spondylus* shell platelets (185, 300 frags)	13/11/2008	5
08-018	90	C1 Level 1 H593.79	1601	Conchas Spondylus fragments (20)	16/12/2008	5
08-019	90	C1 Level 3 H593.61	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	10/02/2009	6
08-020	90	D2 H 593.82 Level 2	1601	Large tubular jade bead	17/11/2008	7
08-021	90	A4/B4 Level 3 H593.58	1601	Faux Thing Orange ring-foot bowl	17/12/2008	8
08-022	90	C2/C3?Level 2	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	2/12/2008	1
08-023	90	C2/C3? Level 2	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	2/12/2008	1
08-024	90	B/C4-5 Level 3 H593.56	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	27/04/2009	9
08-025	90	B2 Level 3 H593.57	1601	*Spondylus* shell (4 pieces)	16/12/2008	10
08-026	90	B2 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Small semi-spherical jade bead	16/12/2008	10
08-027	90	B/C2 Level 3 H593.63	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	16/12/2008	11
08-028	90	C2 Level 1 H593.75	1601	Small semi-spherical jade bead (2)	16/12/2008	n/a
08-029	90	D2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Small semi-spherical jade bead	17/12/2008	n/a
08-030	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Left earflare. Jade mosaic pieces, slate	17/12/2008	12
08-031	90	C2 Level 2 H593.78	1601	Macaw head jade bead	17/12/2008	13
08-032	90	C2 Level 2 H593.68	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	17/12/2008	1
08-033	90	C2 Level 2 H593.68	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	17/12/2008	1
08-034	90	C2 Level 2 H	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead		1
08-035	90	C3 Level 2 H593.71	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	17/12/2008	1
08-036	90	C3 Level 2 H593.71	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead		1
08-037	90	C3 Level 2 H593.67	1601	Small jade bead	17/12/2008	n/a
08-038	90	C3 Level 2 H593.65	1601	Small tubular jade bead	17/12/2008	n/a
08-039	90	D3 Level 2 H593.70	1601	Medium semi-spherical jade bead	17/12/2008	n/a
08-040	90	D4 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small semi-tubular jade bead	18/12/2008	n/a
08-041	90	D5 Level 2 H593.65	1601	Medium semi-spherical jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-042	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Irregular jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-043	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Macaw head jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-044	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Medium semi-spherical jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-045	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Medium semi-spherical jade bead	18/12/2008	14

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
08-046	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Medium semi-spherical jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-047	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small semi-tubular jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-048	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Medium semi-tubular jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-049	90	E4 Level 2 H593.67	1601	Large tubular jade bead	18/12/2008	15
08-050	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small tubular jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-051	90	D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small irregular jade bead	18/12/2008	14
08-052	90	C2 Level 2 H593.82	1601	Small jade bead	18/12/2008	n/a
08-053	90	C2 Level 2 H593.79	1601	Small semi-spherical jade bead	18/12/2008	n/a
08-054	90	C2 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-055	90	C2 Level 2 H593.66	1601	Right earflare. Jade mosaic pieces, slate	19/12/2008	16
08-056	90	C2 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Small jade bead	19/12/2008	n/a
08-057	90	C2 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-058	90	C2 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-059	90	C2 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-060	90	C2 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Small worked jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-061	90	C2 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-062	90	C2 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-063	90	C2 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead	19/12/2008	13
08-064	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Large jade mouthbead	19/12/2008	17
08-065	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/2008	18
08-066	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/08	18
08-067	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/08	18
08-068	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/08	18
08-069	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/08	18
08-070	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/2008	18
08-071	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/2008	18
08-072	90	D2 Level 2 H593.76	1601	Small nacreous shell	19/12/2008	18
08-073	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead	19/12/2008	1
08-074	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead	19/12/2008	1
08-075	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead	19/12/2008	1
08-076	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead	19/12/2008	1
08-077	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead	19/12/2008	1
08-078	90	E2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead	19/12/2008	1
08-079	90	B/C3 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Medium tubular jade bead	19/12/2008	19
08-080	90	B2 Level 2 H593.59	1601	Whole *Spondylus* shell	19/12/2008	20

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
08-081	90	B2 Level 2 H593.59	1601	Large oval jade bead	19/12/2008	20
08-082	90	B2 Level 2 H593.59	1601	Large spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	21
08-083	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-084	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-085	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-086	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-087	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-088	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-089	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-090	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-091	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-092	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-093	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-094	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-095	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead	19/12/2008	1
08-096	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Medium spherical jade bead with 4 holes	19/12/2008	1
08-097	90	A7 Level 3 H593.50	1601	Spherical Spondylus Shell Bead	19/12/2008	1
08-098	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Spherical Spondylus Shell Bead	19/12/2008	1
08-099	90	D3 Level 2 H593.73	1601	Spherical Spondylus Shell Bead	19/12/2008	1
09-001	90	E/F7 Level 3 H593.55	1601	“Alabaster” double cups. Has 2 numbers	26/02/2009	22
09-002	90	B6 Level 2 H593.62	1601	Large solid jade earflare	06/02/2009	23
09-003	90	C6 Level 2 H593.60	1601	Large solid jade earflare	06/02/2009	23
09-004	90	C/D7 Level 2 H593.59	1601	2 *Spondylus* shells	25/02/2009	24
09-005	90	B/C6-7 Level 2 H593.58	1601	40 jade beads, half quatrefoils. 1 pendant	06/02/2009	25
09-006	90	B7 Level 3 H593.51	1601	2 circles of small discoidal jade beads	29/04/2009	26
09-007	90	A7 Level 3 H593.50	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	28/05/2009	27
09-008	90	F7 Level 3 H593.55	1601	See Artifact #09-01	26/02/2009	22
09-009	90	D8 Level 1 H593.58	1601	Tomb wall stone	20/01/2009	n/a
09-010	90	G1 Level 3 H593.56	1601	Large solid jade earflare (west)	25/02/2009	28
09-011	90	G1 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Large solid jade earflare (the one east)	26/02/2009	28
09-012	90	G1 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Medium spherical jade beads (7)	25/02/2009	28
09-013	90	G1 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Medium spherical jade beads (2)	26/02/2009	28
09-014	90	E/F1 Level 2 593.81	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-015	90	E/F1 Level 2 593.81	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-016	90	E/F1 Level 2 593.81	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-017	90	E/F1 Level 2 593.81	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-018	90	E/F1 Level 2 593.81	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
09-019	90	G1 Level 2 593.60	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-020	90	G1 Level 2 593.60	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-021	90	G1 Level 2 593.60	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-022	90	G1 Level 2 593.60	1601	Small worked nacreous shell, eye	09/01/2009	35
09-023	90	E/F9-10 loose dirt	1601	Thin, circular, light pink worked shell	10/02/2009	n/a
09-024	90	B9 Level 3 H593.46	1601	Jade and shell mosaic ring with eyes	22/04/09	29
09-025	90	E7 Level 2 H593.57	1601	Burnished red-orange bowl	12/02/2009	30
09-026	90	F2 Level 1 H593.80	1601	Tiny jade bead in organic sample #09-179	16/02/2009	n/a
09-027	90	F3/4 Level 2 H593.84	1601	Small jade bead stuck to textile	18/02/2009	n/a
09-028	90	C3 Level 2 H593.67	1601	Macaw head jade bead	18/02/2009	13
09-029	90	D3 Level 2 H593.74	1601	Bone needle point	18/02/2009	n/a
09-030	90	D3 Level 3 H593.58	1601	Melano slab-foot tripod vessel	15/04/2009	31
09-031	90	F2/3 Level 3 H593.58	1601	Melano slab-foot tripod vessel	14/04/2009	32
09-032	90	C3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-033	90	C3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-034	90	C3 Level 2 H593.68	1601	Small irregular jade bead	25/02/2009	n/a
09-035	90	C3 Level 2 H593.68	1601	Small semi-spherical jade bead	25/02/2009	n/a
09-036	90	C4 Level 2 H593.67	1601	Nacreous shell associated (#08-17)	25/02/2009	5
09-037	90	C3 Level 2 H593.68	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-038	90	D3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Small semi-spherical jade bead	25/02/2009	n/a
09-039	90	D3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-040	90	D3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-041	90	D3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-042	90	D3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-043	90	D3 Level 2 H593.69	1601	Macaw head jade bead	25/02/2009	13
09-044	90	D2 Level 2 H593.70	1601	Semi-round natural pearl	25/02/2009	18
09-045	90	D2 Level 2 H593.70	1601	Natural pearl with 2 round sections	25/02/2009	18
09-046	90	D2 Level 2 H593.70	1601	Semi-round natural pearl	25/02/2009	18
09-047	90	C2 Level 2 H493.65	1601	Jade bead broken in half with a perforation	26/02/2009	n/a
09-048	90	D2 Level 2 H593.78	1601	Macaw head jade bead	26/02/2009	13
09-049	90	D2 Level 2 H593.80	1601	Round natural pearl	26/02/2009	18
09-050	90	D2 Level 2 H593.80	1601	Round natural pearl	26/02/2009	18
09-051	90	D2 Level 2 H593.79	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	26/02/2009	1
09-052	90	D2 Level 2 H593.79	1601	Small tubular jade bead	26/02/2009	n/a
09-053	90	D2 Level 2 H593.79	1601	Spherical Spondylus Shell Bead	26/02/2009	1

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
09-055	90	D2 Level 2 H593.78	1601	Semi-round natural pearl	26/02/2009	18
09-056	90	D2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical Spondylus Shell Bead	26/02/2009	1
09-057	90	D2 Level 2 H593.77	1601	Spherical Spondylus Shell Bead	26/02/2009	1
09-058	90	D2 Level 2 H593.78	1601	Semi-round natural pearl	26/02/2009	18
09-059	90	F7 Level 2 H593.54	1601	Tubular ceramic very thin	26/02/2009	n/a
09-060	90	D5 Level 2 H593.63	1601	Small tubular jade bead in organic sample #09-218	02/03/2009	14
09-061	90	F/G5 Level 3 H593.55	1601	East wall stone with sample of black organic matter from above gravel floor	03/03/2009	n/a
09-062	90	C5 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel	24/04/2009	33
09-063	90	C8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-064	90	C8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-065	90	C8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Worked jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-066	90	D8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-067	90	D8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-068	90	D8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Worked jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-069	90	D8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Worked jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-070	90	D8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-071	90	D8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Tubular jade bead from anklet	09/03/2009	34
09-072	90	C5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	*Spondylus* shell platelet	09/03/2009	5
09-073	90	D8 Level 2 H593.55	1601	VOID	16/04/2009	n/a
09-074	90	C8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Tubular jade bead from anklet	10/03/2009	34
09-075	90	C8 Level 2 H593.56	1601	Jade bead from anklet	10/03/2009	34
09-076	90	C/D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Medium Spherical jade bead	11/03/2009	14
09-077	90	C/D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small irregular jade bead	11/03/2009	14
09-078	90	C/D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small irregular jade bead	11/03/2009	14
09-079	90	C/D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small irregular jade bead	11/03/2009	14
09-080	90	C/D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small irregular jade bead	11/03/2009	14
09-081	90	C5 Level 2 H593.62	1601	Small piece of natural pearl	11/03/2009	n/a
09-082	90	C4 Level 2 H593.65	1601	Large jade polished pendent	11/03/2009	36
09-083	90	D2 Level 2 H593.78	1601	Natural pearls (9) found behind C1 y C2 vertebrae	12/03/2009	18
09-084	90	D2 Level 2 H593.78	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell beads behind C1 y C2 vertebrae (18 beads and fragments)	12/03/2009	1
09-085	90	B/D9-10 Level 3 H593.68	1601	Group of *Spondylus calicifer* shell valves (73)	23/03/2009	37
09-086	90	E/F9-10 Level 3 H593.68	1601	Group of *Spondylus princepts* shell valves (21)	23/03/2009	38
09-087	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.68	1601	Round jade bead found inside vessel #09-	16/03/2009	1

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
09-088	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.68	1601	3 macaw head jade beads found inside vessel #09-30	16/03/2009	13
09-089	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.68	1601	22 pieces of mosaic jade found inside vessel #09-30	16/03/2009	n/a
09-090	90	B9 Level 3 H593.48	1601	Small worked bone. Needle fragment?	24/03/2009	n/a
09-091	90	C2/3 Level 2? H593.64	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	31/03/2009	39
09-092	90	C1/2 Level 2? H593.60	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl	31/03/2009	40
09-093	90	B2/C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Group: 4 *Nodipecten* shells 2 (3 with jade beads inside, 2 highly elaborated shells each with 2 tiny pearls, *Spondylus* shell in shape of a hand holding natural pearls, large jade bead	31/03/2009	21
09-093-01	90	C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Small *Nodipecten* shell	31/03/2009	21
09-093-02	90	C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	*Nodipecten* shell	31/03/2009	21
09-093-03	90	B/C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Jade bead inside #09-93-02	31/03/2009	21
09-093-04	90	C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	*Nodipecten* shell	31/03/2009	21
09-093-05	90	B/C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Jade bead inside #09-93-04	31/03/2009	21
09-093-06	90	C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	*Spondylus* shell in the form of a left hand	31/03/2009	21
09-093-07	90	C2 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Natural pearls inside artifact #09-93-06	31/03/2009	21
09-093-08	90	B2 Level 3 H593.59	1601	*Nodipecten* shell	31/03/2009	21
09-093-09	90	B2 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Jade bead inside #09-93-08	31/03/2009	21
09-093-10	90	B3 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Highly elaborated *Spondylus* shell at the north end of group	31/03/2009	21
09-093-11	90	B3 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Pearls associated with artifact #09-93-10 (2)	31/03/2009	21
09-093-12	90	C1 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Worked *Spondylus* shell in the shape of a man, south end of the group	31/03/2009	21
09-093-13	90	C1 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Pearls associated with artifact #09-93-12 (2)	31/03/2009	21
09-093-14	90	B2 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Natural pearl with perforation	30/01/2009	21
09-094	90	A6 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Pair of *Spondylus* shell rings each associated with a small jade bead	31/03/2009	41
09-095	90	D/E1-2 Level 3 H593.61	1601	Melano slab-foot tripod vessel	01/04/2009	42

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
09-096	90	E/F1 Level 3 H593.63	1601	Ceramic pot stand (east)	14/04/2009	43
09-097	90	F1 Level 3 H593.63	1601	Ceramic pot stand (west)	14/4/2009	43
09-098	90	F3 Level 2/3 H593.60	1601	Nacreous shell associated with vessel #09-31 (2)	14/04/2009	n/a
09-099	90	D3 Level 3 H593.72	1601	Melano ring-foot bowl found stacked on top of a Melano slab-foot tripod vessel (artifact #09-30)	15/04/2009	44
09-100	90	E4 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Ceramic pot stand (north)	15/04/2009	45
09-101	90	E4 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Ceramic pot stand (south)	15/04/2009	45
09-102	90	D/E4-5 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Plano-relief slab-foot cylinder tripod	15/04/2009	46
09-103	90	E5 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Thin solid jade earflare heavily damaged (39 fragments) (east)	16/04/2009	47
09-104	90	D5 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Thin solid jade earflare damaged (4 fragments) (west)	16/04/2009	47
09-105	90	D/E8 Level 3 H593.54	1601	Melano slab-foot cylinder tripod. Heavily damaged	16/04/2009	48
09-106	90	B/C 3-4 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Stuccoed and painted cylindrical slab-foot tripod vessel	23/04/2009	49
09-107	90	C/D 6-7 Level 3 H593.53	1601	Plano-relief slab-foot cylinder tripod	23/04/2009	50
09-108	90	B5 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Earflare. Jade and shell found east of vessel #09-62. (82 fragments of jade y 32 fragments of shell)	24/04/2009	51
09-109	90	C3 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Pair of earflares. Artifact #09-109-1 on the west, Artifact #09-109-2 on the east. 7 frags of shell 17 pieces of jade semi-spherical, 50 frags of slate, 61 flat jade pieces). Resin for flare and neck, shell base all decorated in jade mosaic	23/04/2009	52
09-110	90	B8 Level 3 H593.51	1601	Mica circle	23/04/2009	53
09-111	90	C6 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Earflare. Jade and shell pieces. West of vessel#09-62. (56 jade fragments, 21 hematite fragments, 23 pieces of jade)	23/04/2009	51
09-112	90	C4-5 Level 3 H93.55	1601	Tiny obsidian sequins (1600+).Found west of vessel #08-24. Covered in cinnabar	27/04/2009	54
09-113	90	C5 H593.57 Level 3	1601	Small discoidal jade beads placed like sequins. Found west of vessel #09-62. (62)	27/04/2009	59
09-114	90	C4-5 Level 3 H93.55	1601	Jade mosaic pieces (244). Fragments of shell (11)	27/04/2009	n/a
09-115	90	C7 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Small semi-spherical jade beads (34)	27/04/2009	55
09-116	90	E6 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Mica possibly stuccoed and painted. Originally shaped like a ring? Square?	27/04/2009	56
09-117	90	E7 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Mica sheets associated with vessel #09-25	27/04/2009	57
09-118	90	B5 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Jade and shell mosaic	27/04/2009	n/a

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
09-121	90	C3-4 Level 3 H593.60	1601	Jade mosaic fragments. With stucco? (15 flat jades, 3 semi-spherical)	12/05/2009	n/a
09-122	90	D4 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Small jade mosaic piece	12/05/2009	n/a
09-123	90	D4 Level 3 H593.59	1601	Small shell mosaic piece	12/05/2009	n/a
09-124	90	C4 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Jade mosaic pieces (30 flat jades and 2 fragments of slate)	13/05/2009	n/a
09-125	90	C4 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Worked nacreous shell	13/05/2009	n/a
09-126	90	B5 Level 3 H593.51	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades(18), piece of shell (1), and piece of hemitite (1).	13/05/2009	n/a
09-127	90	C5 Level 3 H593.54	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades (16) and pieces of shell (3)	13/05/2009	n/a
09-128	90	C5 Level 3 H593.54	1601	Fragment of worked bone. Needle?	13/05/2009	n/a
09-129	90	C6 Level 3 H593.51	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades (3)	13/05/2009	n/a
09-130	90	A6 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades (4) and fragment of hematite (1).	13/05/2009	n/a
09-131	90	D/E 5 Level 3 H593.54	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades (5)	13/05/2009	n/a
09-132	90	D/E5-6 Level 3 H593.54-593.59	1601	Fragments of shell in the shape of bars. Associated with something organic	26/03/2009 14/05/2009	n/a
09-133	90	D6 Level 3 H593.54	1601	Small jade beads (2)	14/05/2009	n/a
09-134	90	C3 Level 2 H593.63	1601	Piece of nacreous shell	18/02/2009	n/a
09-135	90	E3 Level 1 H593.83	1601	Worked shell	18/02/2009	n/a
09-136	90	C3 Level 3 H593.57	1601	Mosaic? Flat jade (1)	22/04/2009	n/a
09-137	90	B9 Level 3 H593.46	1601	Slate backed pyrite mirror. Red paint on back. The object immediately below artifact #09-24	22/04/09	29
09-138	90	B9 Level 3 H593.46	1601	Pyrite mirror with a hard stone back	22/04/09	29
09-139	90	B9 Level 3 H593.46	1601	Jade mosaic pieces of light blue (14 piezas). Belongs to artifact #09-140	22/04/09	29
09-140	90	B9 Level 3 H593.46	1601	Stone carved in shape of animal with jade mosaic details. Armadillo?	22/04/09	29
09-141	90	B9 Level 3 H593.46	1601	Slate backed pyrite mirror with red paint on the back. Bottommost object in stack, carries impression of petate from floor	22/04/09	29
09-142	90	D3 Level 1 H593.75	1601	Piece of nacreous shell	19/12/2009	18
09-143	90	C6 Level 3 H593.51	1601	Small spherical jade bead	18/05/2009	n/a
09-144	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.75 a 593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead found in organic sample #09-330 associated with bone #18 y inside vessel #09-99	25/05/2009	13
09-145	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.75 a 593.72	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell bead (3 fragments) Found in organic sample #09-330, associated with bone #18 y inside vessel #09-99	25/05/2009	1

Artifact #	Tunnel #	Coordinates	Lot	Artifact Description	Date Lifted	Main Object #
09-146	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.75 a 593.72	1601	Natural pearls (3 fragments) found inside organic sample #09-330 associated with bone #18 and inside vessel #09-99	25/05/2006	18
09-148	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.75 a 593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead found in organic sample #09-330 associated with bone #18 y inside vessel #09-99	25/05/2009	13
09-149	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.75 a 593.72	1601	Macaw head jade bead found in organic sample #09-330 associated with bone #18 y inside vessel #09-99	25/05/2009	13
09-150	90	D/E2-3 Level 2 H593.75 a 593.72	1601	Mosac jade pieces, from earflare? Found in organic sample #09-330 associated with bone #18 y inside vessel #09-99	25/05/2009	16
09-151	90	D/E4 Level 2 H593.67	1601	Macaw head jade bead found inside organic sample #09-500	25/05/2009	13
09-152	90	A7/8 Level 3 H593.50	1601	Pair of shell rings, lots of shell fragments (more rings?). Small jade beads	28/05/2009	41
09-153	90	A5-7 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Spherical *Spondylus* shell beads (201)	28/05/2009	58
09-154	90	A7 Level 3 H593.55	1601	Mica circle	28/05/2009	54
09-155	90	North end of the tomb on floor	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades (15), hematite piece (1) y jade semi-spherical (1) from cleaning the floor	28/05/2009	n/a
09-156	90	C/D5 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Jade bead found inside organic sample #09-307 associated with the pelvis	25/05/2009	14
09-157	90	A7 Level 3 H593.52	1601	Stone from the *emplanteado* found inside vessel #09-97. It is stuck to the dirt inside the bowl and preserved a coiled basket inside the vessel	28/05/2009	n/a
09-158	90	D3 Level 3 593.72	1601	Very small oval of mica found inside vessel #09-99 above the cinnabar/hide/mat stack placed on the burial platform	04/06/2009	n/a
09-159	90	D2-3 Level 2 H593.72	1601	Shell (3 fragments) associated with bone #18	01/06/2009	n/a
09-160	90	B6 Level 3 H593.53	1601	Mosaic pieces. Flat jades (4) Found in organic sample #09-237	21/07/2009	n/a
09-161	90	C4 Level 2 H593.64	1601	Small jade bead	04/03/2009	n/a
09-162	90	B8 Level 3 H593.58	1601	Shell worked into the shape of a profile face, (found among the pieces of shell associated with artifact #09-24)	13/10/2009	29

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL DATA FROM ETHNOHISTORIC SOURCES IN CHAPTER 2

"Imagine a text, difficult to understand in one language, translated into several languages; the combined meaning of all the different versions may prove richer and more profound than the partial, mutilated meaning drawn from each individual version" Claude Levi-Strauss 1988: 171

Catholicism in the 16th century

The majority of the topics under review at the Council of Trent were not directly related to issues that would have impacted the views of the friars on death and the afterlife. The two that were, purgatory and works and faith, were both upheld in their previous forms, which had been in place since the thirteenth century (Rutherford 1980:53). For all that the Council of Trent brought in serious reforms, the church fathers also needed to be seen as standing firm against what they perceived as heresy by strongly reaffirming those areas seen as the foundation of their beliefs. The results of the Council of Trent demonstrate no significant changes were made to the ideology of death and the afterlife during the time period under question, but the milieu in which the Council was convened suggests the friars traveling to the New World may have held more strongly to doctrine, may have been more attuned to potential heresy, and may have increased the friar's adherence to dogma and their zeal to stamp out any signs of heresy or idolatry. As we will see later, however, for all their fervor manifested in events like the Auto de fé burning in Maní, Yucatan, the friars were not good and recognizing when outward forms did not mirror inward conviction or belief.

In Christianity the concept of the immortal soul is an important idea. It is that a part of everyone that "lives" on after the death of the body, but also that the entity that survives, the soul, goes on to reap the rewards or punishment of their life on earth in another place. Within the Catholicism that would have been familiar to the priests and friars of the 16th century there were three main places one could go after death: heaven, hell, or purgatory. When discussed the places are said to be in the sky, below ground, with purgatory often considered to be considered one of four parts of Hell along with two areas of Limbo and Hell itself rather than a third afterlife destination (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1024, 1026, 1030-

1033).

In many ways, however, Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory are not places, but states of being, since neither they nor the soul are conceived of as having a physical reality. Instead, the places are described as states of emotion, with heaven being a place of perfect happiness and hell the ultimate in pain and despair. Over the years people have used physical descriptions of these places as a kind of metaphor to help people properly appreciate the impact of heaven and hell, Dante's work comes easily to mind. These descriptions, however, are employed as a way for humans to approach an understanding of the concepts rather than an actual description of what to expect to find after death. The decision of who goes to which place is based on one's actions in life (part of Catholicism's rejection of Martin Luther's ideas of grace by faith alone) and the faith one has in god (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1021-1022). Everyone is judged immediately after death and those who die in a state of mortal sin are sent to Hell, while those who die in a state of grace go to Heaven or Purgatory. Purgatory is for those people who committed sins during life, even mortal ones, but had confessed, repented, and were absolved before death. It is in Purgatory that people are 'purified' of the remains of their sin prior to going to heaven. In order for a sin to be mortal, it must be about a 'grave matter' (CCC 1021-1037):

> *Grave matter* is specified by the Ten Commandments, corresponding to the answer of Jesus to the rich young man: "Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honor your father and your mother." The gravity of sins is more or less great: murder is graver than theft. One must also take into account who is wronged: violence against parents is in itself graver than violence against a stranger. (CCC 1858)

The sin must not only be 'grave', but must be done with “full knowledge” and “complete consent” to be counted as a mortal sin rather than a venial one:

> Mortal sin requires *full knowledge* and *complete consent*. It presupposes knowledge of the sinful character of the act, of its opposition to God's law. It also implies a consent sufficiently deliberate to be a personal choice. Feigned ignorance and hardness of heart do not diminish, but rather increase, the voluntary character of a sin.
> *Unintentional ignorance* can diminish or even remove the imputability of a grave offense. But no one is deemed to be ignorant of the principles of the moral law, which are written in

> the conscience of every man. The promptings of feelings and passions can also diminish the voluntary and free character of the offense, as can external pressures or pathological disorders. Sin committed through malice, by deliberate choice of evil, is the gravest. (CCC 1859-1860)

The Catholic Catechism makes it clear where one goes after death is dependent on living life according to the precepts laid down by the church, those of proper action and faith. There is also an acknowledgment that people are not perfect, which is why there is a method through purification in Purgatory by which sinners have a chance to go Heaven in the end.

The Catholic Catechism is also says that Heaven is the state of being united with god, while Hell is eternal separation from god, rather than Heaven being a place of paradise and Hell as the opposite (CCC 1023-1029, 1033-1037). This makes it clear that the descriptions of Heaven and Hell as physical landscapes with which the dead interact is a rhetorical technique. The consequences of this are important since it means there is no need for the soul of the dead to carry anything with it into the afterlife. There is no physical existence to be sustained nor physical sensation to be experienced. The fact that Heaven and Hell are not places also means that Christians do not tend to view the world as having three parts, for all that Heaven is supposed to be above the earth and Hell below it. Rather Christian worldview envisions something more like duality with the pairing of this life and the next, whatever the next maybe, with two main parts of the next life each with multiple levels.

Another key element that results from the Catholic formulation of the relationship between sin and the afterlife, is it should not matter who you were in life, either your status or your wealth, into what family you were born, what profession you pursued, nor in what manner you died that determines your eligibility for Heaven or admits you to Hell. Instead it how you acted during life, determined by the precepts of the Christian faith with special emphasis given to the ten commandments, and whether you properly repented of your sins before dying that seals your fate.

Archaeological excavations of European and Colonial cemeteries from the time in question can

help try to resolve the tension between what doctrine states should be done and what was actually done in practice. Cemeteries are where to look for evidence of Christian burial, since beginning in Roman times Christians believed bodies should be kept away from areas of the living due to concerns about purity and contamination (Jacobi 2000). While according to Phillippe Aires (1981) this extreme fear of death lessened over time, it was replaced by a preoccupation with the idea that the deceased must be buried in a place safe from disturbance, since they needed their bodies to rise whole on Judgment Day, and that place should be as sacred as possible in order to increase the speed of admittance to heaven (Jacobi 2000:27-28; Müller-Wille 1993).

From the archaeological work done on European cemeteries, comes the information that often the idealized location and orientation frameworks were often interrupted by problems of overcrowding, causing superimposition of burials, heads off correct alignment, and increasing distance from the church, though effort to maintain orderly rows with heads in the right general direction was emphasized (Boddington 1987). There is also evidence of room being made for certain special people who it was necessary to bury near the altar due to their exalted status, usually due to wealth and sometimes to sex, but occasionally due to spiritual attainment (Christian 1989: 110-11). While head to the west is supposed to be the proper direction for a Catholic burial, Jacobi's (2000) review of European cemeteries shows that body placement appears instead to have depended on the orientation of the church with which the cemetery was associated resulting in the bodies buried parallel to the church walls. Many local traditions in Spain asserted that proper burial position for parishioners was feet toward the altar or church, while the priests were buried in the opposite direction. Known examples from the New World appear to demonstrate exclusively east-west orientations (Jacobi 2000:32, 57; Márquez Morfín 1984). Looking at both European burials and Spanish colonial burials in Florida, California, and Mexico, Jacobi (2000) also shows that grave goods are few and those that are present tended to be religious jewelry and crosses. His survey found no evidence of eating or drinking vessels, tools of work, and very little of clothes actually

worn during life.

Altogether, we are left with the creation of burial contexts which reflect Christian beliefs on the soul's initial journey to heaven and the later resurrection of the body. Since heaven is not a physical place, but instead the place where the soul comes to fully know god, there is no need for the grave to contain items to be used in the afterlife, as they will not be needed. All of the location concerns reflect the desire to be close to god and the body treatment is all in aid of its purification in order it be ready to join the soul in heaven. Looking at the burial contexts of Catholicism in the 16th and 17th centuries shows the religious ideology driving their creation and because the nature of that ideology calls for the erasure of much of the individual's identity, the investigator interested in the identities and lives people of the time is left little to study.

Ethnohistory

Aztec Ethnohistory

The Florentine Codex complied by Berdardino de Sahagún

The third book of the *Florentine Codex* is called *The Origin of the Gods* and its appendix contains three chapters that need to be considered for this project. The first chapter is an account of what the elders knew about "the souls of those who died, who went there to the place of the dead, and how they were buried" and "in which is told about the souls of the dead and of still other services [rendered] the devil" (Sahagun Bk III 1981:41). This chapter is specifically concerned with the afterlife place called Mictlan ruled over by the Lord of Mictlan and his wife, called Mictlantecutli and Mictecacihuatl. According to this account, not everyone goes to Mictlan, rather it is those who die of sickness, both nobles and commoners, who spend eternity there (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 41). The section continues with a description of various actions performed for someone who is sick and dying. There is no clear line in the text demarcating when the person is sick and when he is dead, which may indicate the Mexica-Aztec

lacked interest in this distinction. The first thing done is the dressing and binding of the one in question in special paper clothing. Once dressed, water is poured over the head, described as what the person enjoyed to drink on earth, and a little jar of water is given to him for the journey to the afterlife. The water is placed with the body and the person is wrapped and bound (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 42-43).

Once dressed, he is told of the journey he will take and how he will navigate the way. The journey is long and there many obstacles to overcome or endure including: mountains, snakes, lizards, deserts, hills, and the obsidian wind. The obsidian wind is described as so miserable a person must be protected by all their possessions, which were burned by their family in order to join the deceased on the journey. The lists of possessions are separate for men and women with special emphasis placed on weaving items for women and warfare items for men (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 43). After 80 days the deceased's belongings, now the descriptive emphasis is on clothing, were arranged to adorn a pinewood image of the dead, which was then burned. This burning is said to happen every year for four years and the burnt items are considered to be given by the dead as offerings to Mictlantecutli (Sahagun Bk III 1981:43-44). It is after these four years have passed that the dead soul is ready to cross the river and enter the nine places of Mictlan with the help of the yellow dog (Sahagun Bk III 1980: 44).

At this point the narrative of book III moves back to earth to discuss body preparation. It says, when a lord died he was specially adorned in paper vestments decorated with different kinds of bird feathers. Lords and nobles had jade put into their mouths, while commoners swallowed jade or obsidian, which was thought to become their heart (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 45). Once the body is fully decorated, it was burned and then bathed in water to cool it. Now cold, the bones are removed and placed in a ceramic vessel to be buried in the home of the deceased and the ashes are gathered and buried in a pit in the ground, which previously was called a cave (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 45). Slaves who cared for a ruler in life were shot with arrows and buried, not burned with the ruler, in order that they would accompany him in death continuing to perform their duties. Those specifically mentioned are the women who prepared

chocolate and food for their Lord and the men he used as messengers (Sahagun Bk III: 45-46).

From this first chapter of Book III's appendix we learn everyone who dies of sickness goes to Mictlan. The people who go to Mictlan are specially dressed when they die, they do not wear their everyday clothes, but special paper garments. For those of high status these paper garments may be augmented by decoration including feathers. The dead are given water to take with them to drink and are wrapped in cloth, burned and the remaining bones collected and the ashes buried. It is interesting that Sahagún suggests the slaves who will serve the lords are killed by arrows and then buried with no mentioning of burning, since even the personal items that accompany everyone must be burned in order to transition to the underworld. People are accompanied by their belongings because they will help them in the difficult four year journey to Mictlan and are considered to be offerings to the Lord and Lady of Mictlan. There is no discussion of whether these items will be used by their former owners once Mictlan has been reached.

In fact, there is no clear glimpse of Mictlan itself nor any discussion of whether it is a desirable location in this chapter. The journey does appear consist of attributes recognizable from earth such as: mountains, deserts, lizards, and rivers, but the longer description of the obsidian wind, the only obstacle given more than a short sentence, suggests that the underworld varieties of these phenomena may be of a larger and more dangerous variety. It is made clear that one's class in society does not matter for entrance to Mictlan, but the discussion of the fate of lords and their slaves does indicate that hierarchy is maintained and the work one did in life is continued after death, at least for some people. The mention of slave women who care for their lord by producing chocolate and food both in life and death does suggest food is eaten in Mictlan and it is the same kind of food eaten on earth. With no description of Mictlan itself it is only in this short section describing the fate of the slaves that there is evidence of the kind of existence experienced by the denizens of Mictlan, unless it too only refers to the first four years. Unlike various Maya sources that will be explored in depth below, there is no indication the Mexica-Aztec had

any idea of rebirth, instead Mictlan is the place where one spends the vast majority of one's existence; being in Mictlan is a kind of immortality, with life but a short moment under the warmth of the sun (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 41).

Chapter 2 of the appendix of Book III is titled “which telleth of those who went to Tlalocan” (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 47). While not as detailed as the previous chapter on Mictlan, chapter 2 does contain significantly more information on Tlalocan than many of the other sources. The emphasis of the entire section is on how Tlalocan is a wonderful place. It is described as a place of great wealth, without suffering, always containing a bounty of good things to eat; it is called a place of eternal spring (Sahagun Bk III 1981: 47). In the middle of the section it relates which deceased enter this place where the Tlalocs live: those who died by being struck by lightning, drowned, afflicted by 'divine sickness', various skin diseases, gout, and dropsy (Sahagun Bk III 1980: 47). The chapter ends with a brief description of the body treatment of those who were to go to Tlalocan. They are not burned, but instead buried. Their faces are decorated with liquid rubber, fish amaranth paste, blue is put on their foreheads and on the back of their heads a paper lock of hair. The account says “mountain images they placed before them” and each was covered with a paper cape and large wooden staves were placed in the hands (Sahagun Bk III: 1981: 47).

Unlike the account of Mictlan, the information given about Tlalocan is very clear in its depiction of this place as a desirable one in which to spend eternity. While we do not know whether the people were expected to work during their time in Tlalocan, if they did it would be in the best possible weather and without worry of producing enough food. There is no part of the chapter that discusses the preservation of hierarchy in Tlalocan. One enters Tlalocan based on the manner of one's death suggesting the people who reside in Tlalocan might have been a cross-section of the community. People who went to Tlalocan were buried rather than burnt and were dressed and adorned in specific ways. Their burial costume reflected their afterlife destination rather than being made of their own clothing, which might have reflected their

role or status on earth, but whether they were buried with any other items to take with them or if this would have even been necessary is left unstated.

The third chapter of book III is titled “in which are recorded those who went to heaven” (Sahagun Bk III 1980: 49). The chapter begins with a description of who goes “to the home of the sun” including all of the people who die in war and those who are captured in war, but die as sacrifices. It contains a very brief description of the place as a location like a desert, with magueys, other cacti and agave plants, and mesquite trees, and it says all the war dead live together. Sahagun states offerings made by the living could reach them there (Sahagun Bk III 1980: 49). The chapter ends with the information that after four years the war dead undergo a transformation where they turn into birds and butterflies eating all the honey in both the place where they live and on earth (Sahagun Bk III 1980: 49).

Much like the previous chapter on Tlalocan, the overwhelming sense from this chapter on the “home of the sun” is a desirable existence for those who fought for the empire and died in battle. While not the springtime of Tlalocan, there still is a sense of being warm, having good things to eat, and being reached by the offerings made by the living. The number four, like in Mictlan, is significant here marking an important transition on the path of the afterlife. While we do not know what happens when people finally reach Mictlan, the transformation of the warriors into bees and butterflies indicates a very non-earthlike afterlife for those who reside in “the house of the sun.” It is interesting to note, and Anderson and Dibble, the translators, themselves comment on it in one of the footnotes to chapter 1 of the appendix, that there is no mention here of the other group of people who in book VI are described as going up into the sky: women who died in childbirth (in Sahagun 1950-1983). Instead, the emphasis is on the men of war and the afterlife fate that is presented as a reward for their service. Different from the chapters on Mictlan and Tlalocan, there is no description of either the preparation of the body, nor the funeral ritual for these men, though based on the other two cases one would expect the funerary ritual for those who go to accompany the sun to be different from the other two reflecting the fact that Mexica-Aztec funerary

ritual is different depending on the final destination of the deceased.

Primeros Memoriales complied by Bernardino de Sahagún

It is Paragraph 6 of *Primeros Memoriales* that introduces "all of the different things that were consumed in Mictlan" (Sahagun 1997: 177). The beginning is quite gruesome stating those things eaten by the lord and lady, Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecaciuhatl: "feet, hands, and a fetid beetle stew. Their gruel is puss; they drink it from skulls" (Sahagun 1997: 177). From here the account appears to move from the Lord and Lady of Mictlan to its other inhabitants, the dead, and says one who ate good things on earth, will eat foul things in Mictlan. There are some exact descriptions of what this means including the eating of tamales "full of foul smell and fetid beetles" for those who ate tamales on earth, and the eating of hearts for those who ate black bean stew, and the eating of poisonous plants and prickly poppies (Sahagun 1997: 177). This account of the food of Mictlan is summed up with: "[e]verything that is not eaten here on earth is eaten there in Mictlan, and it is said that nothing else is eaten, that there is great want in Mictlan" (Sahagun 1997:177).

The next section gives a description of the landscape. It talks of obsidian knives, sand, and flintstone knives blown about by the wind, which is reminiscent of the description of the Obsidian Wind found on the journey to Mictlan in the *Florentine Codex* Bk III appendix. It continues by describing the presence of brambles and multiple kinds of cacti, by saying it is very cold, and that people must work very hard. Toward the end of this small section is again the story of the dog who helps his master across the river into, what is referred to here as, the ninth underworld. The paragraph ends with a sentence saying that one's final destination was were the mountains met, but it was a dangerous journey and one could cease to exist "[i]f the mountains met on one, he perished there; he was no more seen in Mictlan." (Sahagun 1997: 178).

. Paragraph 6 clearly describes Mictlan as a place that is disgusting, dangerous, painful, cold, and

full of hard work from the perspective of life on earth different from the impression given by the *Florentine Codex.* It is possible this description is intended to paint Mictlan as a place of punishment, as this seems an unhappy eternity for the people of Mictlan. This, however, brings up the issue of whether there was an indigenous belief in punishment after death or whether such ideas were introduced by the Spanish with their formulation of Hell. As the section does not discuss who goes to Mictlan, though it does mention babies go somewhere else, it is unclear whether the source of this information envisioned it as a place for specific people who deserve this kind of existence or whether in his view everyone ends up in Mictlan at the end. The very last line of the paragraph says: "And as for him who scattered maize grains on the ground, who despised them here on earth, in Mictlan Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacihuatl plucked out his eyeballs" (Sahagun 1997: 178). This line does suggest Mictlan has some kind of punishment function for at least some of its inhabitants, but leaves open whether Mictlan in and of itself is supposed to be punishment. It may be Mictlan is where most people go when they die and it is by its very nature an unpleasant place to be. If this is the case, it is interesting that such unpleasantness is not mentioned in the accounts of Mictlan from the *Florentine Codex*, where the description does suggest danger and pain on the journey, but also tells of ways to avoid being damaged by it. Nor it is part of the story below of Quetzalpetlatl. The inclusion at the end of the account of the dog who helps souls cross the river also suggests that some portion of this account is of the journey to Mictlan rather than Mictlan itself.

A second possible explanation for this description of Mictlan lies in drawing information from modern ethnographic accounts of some Maya communities. In some of these accounts the Maya underworld was thought to be an inversion of earth (Chapter 3). It may be this principle guiding the description of Mictlan: a place where the inedible is food, a place of cold where the wind is cutting for a culture whose center is in the sub-tropics, a place where all the plants are cacti when Mesoamerica is full of a vast diversity of plants, a place where everyone must toil without cease. The description of Mictlan would then not be connected with a Christian idea of punishment for sin, though some of its more

unpleasant characteristics might have easily been recruited by the Spaniards to translate the concept of Hell, but instead Mictlan's very place in the underworld, underground instead of above ground, dark when it is light on earth, meant other characteristics must also be the opposite of earth.

The short section on Xochatlalpan, which the translator Thelma Sullivan tells us means "Place of the Abundance of the Water of Flowers" (in Sahagun 1997:178 n. 11), contains three important pieces of information. It is not in Mictlan, it is the place babies go when they die, and it contains a tree with udders under which babies lay that is always full of milk (Sahagun 1997: 178). Anderson (1988: 152)gives the name of the tree as chichihuahuitl, which he translates as wet-nurse tree. While here it is said to be located in Xochatlalpan, he finds that in other sources it is described as located in Tamoanchan or omeyocan, which are often conflated with Tlalocan possibly because the tree fits so easily with an idea of a verdant and paradisaical place. This story of Xochatlalpan, which according to Sullivan is also found in the Codex Vaticanus A (1997: fol. 3r), gives the description of the afterlife for those the earlier section of paragraph six specifically exclude from Mictlan, which is a place where a small subset of the population exists whose needs are always met. There is no indication in this account of whether the babies will remain here forever, or if, as the case is in some Maya communities, they are thought to be reborn on earth after a specific amount of time has past. Anderson (1988) does suggest the babies who find their way to the wet-nurse tree are thought to be reborn, which may get support from the story of Quetzalpetlatl's journey through various afterlife locations.

Views of the afterlife in *Primeros Memoriales* continue with what the text refers to as a "miraculous story or prophecy" (Sahagun 1997: 180). In this story a young women, Quetzalpetlatl, is somehow only partially killed by her father-in-law, the paramount ruler of Tlateloco whose wife was the sister of the ruler of Tenochtitlan making her someone of very high status. Since she appears to be dead, she is given a funeral, which gives a partial view of such a ritual, though it is not the focus of the story. Since she is not completely dead, she is able to enlist a guide who takes her through various afterlife

locations. Her journey is said to include another brief account of Mictlan, a very sparse account of Tlalocan, and a mention of the fate of nobles in the afterlife. While still not a complete catalog of all of the possible afterlife destinations, there is no mention of the "house of the sun" found in the *Florentine Codex.* The story does illustrate the Aztec belief of multiple afterlife destinations for different people, but emphasizes separate fates for nobles more than other sources.

Her journey begins by traveling to the "land of the dead" through "the great plains, the houseless grasslands" (Sahagun 1997: 180-181). From there she goes to a place where the lizards are, thence she enters "the place filled with stones" and finally she reaches a place where groups of women are weaving, but she is warned not to speak with them. From here she is taken to Tlalocan "where there were frogs, as in the springtime" (Sahagun 1997: 181). The place is described as misty and she is told its inhabitants are those who died by being struck by lightening or who drowned. She meets Tlaloc, the lord of Tlalocan, who is described as old and toothless with liquid rubber blackening his face, just as he looks in his representations on earth. Again she is told not to speak to the dead though they call to her. She is shown "the sons of noblemen, who had died while young children" who are lined up bundled together. They include her step-son and there is an implication that he will be born again on earth. The story ends with her traveling past Tlalocan to an unnamed place where the Rulers live after death. She sees "that they had no houses. They lived in the grasslands, in the plains. A great wind blew where they were." (Sahagun 1997:183).

The description of "the land of the dead" with its great plains, lizards, and places filled with stones is reminiscent of the journey to Mictlan described in the *Florentine Codex*, though it is the first time there is the mention of women weaving. In Mexica-Aztec culture, weaving would have been one of the central tasks undertaken by women reflected by the implements burned when a women dies described in the *Florentine Codex*. Thus, the story contains additional evidence that paints Mictlan as a place where the jobs performed on earth continue after death. The description of Miclan also lacks an overt sense of

danger, pain, or gruesomeness in this place making the description more like that of Bk III of the *Florentine Codex* rather than the earlier section of *Primeros Memoriales*. (Paragraph 6). In the commentary on this chapter Sullivan makes the point that the description of the way to Mictlan through "great plains, the houseless grasslands" makes sense geographically based on the placement of Mictlan to the North during this time in Central Mexican belief, while Tlalocan was thought to be in the east (Sahagun 1997:181, n. 10). This account like the earlier one in the volume lacks any description of who finds themselves in the land of the dead after death or why. It is, however, interesting to note the similarity in description between the way to Mictlan on page 181 and the description of the place where the Rulers lived as: "they had no houses. They lived in the grasslands, in the plains" suggesting the Rulers may have lived in a location associated with Mictlan (Sahagun 1997:183).

The description of Tlalocan is even less detailed than that of "the land of the dead". All that is mentioned is the presence of frogs and mist (Sahagun 1997:181). There is no discussion on whether this is a desirable place to spend eternity or not, but the frogs and mist are consistent with the very positive springtime description of Tlalocan from chapter 2 of the appendix of Book III of the *Florentine Codex.* Quetzalpetlatl is told Tlalocan is the place people go who drown or are hit by lightening, which is also consistent with the versions previously reviewed. She is, however, shown a place, implied to be a little apart but in Tlalocan, where the sons of noblemen lie (Sahagun 1997:182). This almost seems to be a nod to the idea of the wet-nurse tree, which Anderson (1988) pointed out is sometimes thought to be located in Tlalocan, but as no tree is mentioned and there is no evidence in other sources the wet-nurse tree is only for noble boys. This version of the story contains the idea that one's status, perhaps both social status and sex, on earth impacts one's afterlife fate not present in other examples of the story. The very end of Quetzalpetlatl's account describes rulers living together out on the plains clearly separating them from commoners, even if the description of the place suggests an association with Mictlan. It is clear that Quetzalpetlatl's story of the afterlife destinations is far more concerned with status than many of the other

descriptions, which focus on the consequences of the manner of one's death rather than the life lived. It does, however, resonate with the earlier statement about nobles and their slaves in Mictlan and is another pieces of evidence suggesting in Mictlan, at least, earthly concerns such as status and slavery are still in force.

Both the seventh paragraph of *Primeros Memoriales* and the unnumbered paragraph in which Quetzalpetlatl's journey is told mention funerals. The seventh paragraph discusses the funeral of a ruler, while in the unnumbered one contains Quetzalpetatl's own funeral. Her status as the daughter-in-law of the Tlatoani of Tlatelolco indicates she is a member of nobility, and we know from her sojourn in Tlalocan that her step-son is one of the noble boys waiting to be reborn. Both of these funerals, therefore, give us a view of the funerary practices of the upper echelons of society rather than those that would have been followed by the majority of the community. In a study concerned with funerary ritual in general, this is an important distinction, but as this project is concerned specifically with the tomb contexts of rulers and non-ruling elites, the issues surrounding commoner funerary ritual during the Aztec period are out of its scope.

The seventh paragraph of *Primeros Memoriales* lays out some of the funerary ritual surrounding the death of rulers. It begins by stating that rulers are cremated when they die and for four days offerings are made to the Lord of the dead, Mictlantecuitli, at the place where the cremation occurred. The contents of the offerings consisted of "food, flowers, tobacco, capes, sandals" (Sahagun 1997:179). Then on the fifth day the ritual alters. Offerings are still made, but in addition there is feasting and speech making. "Once again they arrayed the image hewn of pine wood. Once again they cremated him where he had burned before Huitzilopochitli" (Sahagun 1997:179). The dressing and burning of an image of the ruler was done every year for four years and then they stopped. The section ends with the information that the "same was done for the noblewomen; in four years offerings to Mictlantecuhtli stopped." (Sahagun 1997:179).

The insistence on cremation for rulers is interesting. The story of Quetzalpetlatl shows that whether an elite non-ruler should be burned or buried is not always obvious, though perhaps one of the reasons for the lack of clarity was her death as the victim of murder, which is treated differently from other deaths in many Mesoamerican communities (Sahagun 1997:180). From our previously examined sources burying is for those who go to Tlalocan, while burning is for travel to Mictlan or the "House of the Sun," but this may be a situation that lays outside the usual enough to be debatable. The importance of the number four in the account, especially the first four years, is interesting because it suggests a connection with the four years it takes travel the paths to Mictlan or the four years spent before the war dead are transformed into bees and butterflies. Here in the *Primeros Memoriales* is another example where the objects commonly described as part of the funerary ritual : food, flowers, tobacco, capes, and sandals are said to be given in offering to Mictlantecuitli, rather than described as for the king's use in the afterlife (Sahagun 1997: 179). While the *Florentine Codex* introduced Mictlanteicuitli as the god who concerns himself with the dead and he is the recipient of the offerings in this account as well, a new god is also invoked, Huitzilopochitli. He is invoked implying a specific relationship between him and dead rulers. As he is the patron god of the Mexica-Aztec this is perhaps fitting. The mention of the noblewomen in the final sentence is a little hard to parse in translation and it is unclear if the "same" being done to the women is only in reference to the four years of offerings or if it applies for the entire proceeding paragraph. The status of women among the Mexica-Aztec from all accounts appears to be below that of men, but perhaps in certain situations the social class of the woman involved would trump the traditional lower status afforded females.

The story of Quetzalpetlatl does not, unfortunately, clarify the questions just asked regarding funerary rites of noblewomen, but rather adds more complexity. It appears there is a brief debate between the elders of whether she should be "cremated" or "just buried." The final decision is unanimous in concluding "she must not be cremated," but we are left without any indication upon what basis this was

reached (Sahagun 1997: 180). Is it her sex, her status, the method of her death (murder) or some other factor not yet alluded to? It shows the of ritual was not always obvious and community discussion determined what was proper action. Whatever the reason for the decision, she was buried in a grave as deep as a man and the dirt was stamped down on top of her and large stones were placed over it. (Sahagun 1997:180). Prior to burial she was adorned "as was done of old when there was a death," which means she was bound in a flexed position with many capes and she was dressed in special papers (Sahagun 1997: 180). The account of her funerary ritual concludes with the information that she was in the grave for four days, which is when she traveled through the various afterlife places (Sahagun 1997: 180). These four days may correspond to the first set of rituals for the dead, which go on for that amount of time before changing on the fifth day.

Diego Duran *The History of the Indies of New Spain*

Chapter 38 is the section of Duran's *History* that deals with funerals for the war dead. It begins by recounting what was spoken to the widows of the dead reminding them of what a good thing it was that their husband's died in battle rather than while working in the fields or trading (Durán 1994:283). The idea of the life of the warrior as the pinnacle of Mexica-Aztec society is clearly shown in Chapter 29, which describes the flowery war. Chapter 29 describes how at some point in Mexica-Aztec history the separation between those who went to war and those who did not was reinforced by the gifting of fine things to the warrior by the king: "labrets, golden garlands, many-colored feathers, ear ornaments, armbands, shields, weapons, insignia, rich mangles, and breechloths" and by the prohibition of commoners from wearing and eating and drinking certain items in order that this distinction be made visible to all. These privileges and prohibitions applied to everyone including the son of the king (Durán 1994:234-235). Part of the reward for fighting well and dying in battle. The idea that the dead warriors were thought to be "now rejoicing in the shining place of the sun, where they will walk about in his

[Huitznahuatl's] company, embellished with light. They will be remembered forever!" (Durán 1994:283) Both life and death in the Mexica-Aztec Empire were structured to support and glorify the role of the warrior.

The funerary ritual begins with the address to the widows just discussed and then singing and playing of sad music. The widows wore "the cloaks of their husbands' on their shoulders and their breechcloths and waistbands around the necks" and they wept and danced as the music played (Durán 1994:283-284). Not only the widows, but the sons of the dead men also participated in the weeping and the clapping "wearing their fathers' cloaks, carrying on their backs small boxes containing the lip, ear, and nose plugs, and other jewelry" (Durán 1994: 283-284). The adult men of the family stood still "holding the swords and shields of the deceased in their hands and joining the women in their lamentations" (Durán 1994:283-284). There is much crying and sorrow and it is said that these are offerings to the sun, who will console the bereaved, and whose children are those who die in war (Duran 1994: 284).

The account picks up four days later, with no discussion of what occurred during the intervening time, and says now is when wooden images are made of the dead. These images are dressed properly in "breechcloths, sashes, and mantles", but are then additionally adorned with hawk feathers they would use to "fly before the sun every day (Durán 1994:284). Feathers were also placed on the heads of images and the images were given jewelry to wear for the ears, nose, and lips. The images were then taken to a special room, called Tlacochalco, where they were offered food by the widows. This food consisted of a stew called tlacatlacualli, which according to Duran means "food of human flesh," as well as a special kind of tortilla called papalotlaxcalli or "butterfly bread," along with a drink made of toasted maize flour in water (1994:284). Special vessels were placed in front of the statues and wine was poured into them and to the four directions from gourds. Flowers and tobacco were also added to the offerings in front of the statues (Durán 1994:285). When evening fell the statues were burned and the women again wept and an 80 day morning period began (Durán 1994:286).

One of the interesting things to note in this telling is the lack of a body as the focus of the ritual. During the activities of the first day there is specific mention of the entering and weeping of the widow's family members who are "those who took charge of laying out the dead," but there is no discussion of where the bodies are, any specific body treatment or adornment, nor whether the bodies were burned or buried (Durán 1994:284). This maybe the reflection of a reality where the majority of bodies are never recovered from war or were captured and sacrificed by their opponents. Instead, the focus of the rituals were on images of the dead warriors made of wood. It is the statues that are given special food and drink by their families and then burned. It is the images that are dressed in proper clothing and adorned to be able to fly before the sun, as it is done by those who reside in the "House of the Sun". If these images are considered analogous to the dead themselves, then this funeral contains much of what we are already familiar with.

The view of the afterlife from Duran's account is less clear than could be hoped. We are told the souls go to join the sun as it journeys through the sky everyday and suggests this is a desirable fate coinciding nicely with the information from the Florentine Codex Book 3 (Sahagun Bk 3 1981:3:49). The dressing of the images in special paper clothes and feathers continues trend of Mexica-Aztec accounts where the dead is dressed specifically for death in paper clothes here with the addition of feathers because of the specific place he will spend his afterlife. He is also dressed in everyday attire: breechcloths, sashes, and mantles, but whether these belonged originally to the individual or not is not stated. Certain objects that did belong to the deceased are brought to the ritual worn by the widow and children of the deceased, but whether these make it onto the images or into the pyre is not discussed. The offering of food and drink to the images is typical of almost every Mesoamerican funerary ritual encountered and its burning suggests that it too will be joining the deceased in the afterlife.

Information on funerary rituals for rulers is present in Duran's description of the funerals of Motecuhzoma I (d. 1469), Axayacatl (d. 1481), Tizoc (d. 1486)l, and Ahuitzotl (d. 1502). He includes

differing amounts of information about the funerals for each ruler, when put together, however, they give a picture of what is necessary for a proper funeral for a ruler of the Mexica-Aztec empire. Since Duran was gathering information by talking to people living in the middle part of the the 16th century, it makes sense that his account of the funerals of Mexica-Aztec rulers begins with Motecuhzoma I.

There is actually a brief paragraph at the very end of Chapter 14 about the death of Itzcoatl in 1440, the ruler before Motecuhzoma I. It contains the information that many people came from nearby cities, including both nobles and commoners, that the ceremonies lasted for 80 days, with much food and the exchange of "mantles and other clothing", but that the "funeral ceremonies had not taken the form they were to assume later" (Durán 1994: 121-122). Duran gives no details about the difference between the funeral of Itzcoatl and those rulers who followed him, which is especially frustrating since all of the generalities mentioned are completely consistent with the later ceremonies. This includes the short description of Motecuhzoma's funerary ritual about which Duran says that all the proper actions were taken: "kings and chieftains of the land" who came to bring "offerings and presents", "slaves and people who had served him" were killed so they could continue their work in the afterlife, and he was "buried with a large part of his treasures in the courtyard of his home" (Duran 1994: 245-246).

Axayactl 's funeral fills in some of the detail left out from the descriptions of Itzcoatl and Motecuhzoma I. It is explicitly says both Tenochtitlan's allies and its opponents in the flowery wars come to the city to bring offerings at the death of Axayactl, though the method by which they do this is different. The leaders of the allies come openly and give speeches in praise of the deceased, while the enemy leaders attended in secret. All the leaders brought slaves to be sacrificed, ear, lip, and nose jewelry made of gold, as well as gold bands for the head, arms and ankles, bows, and arrows, feathered adornments of green feathers and eagle feathers, a beautiful set of clothes including mantle, breechcloth, sandals, a necklace and a large amount of highly resinous wood (Durán1994: 291-292). Duran mentions this practice of having the flowery war enemies come in secret to Tenochtitlan was done for other

important ceremonies, implying that this behavior at Axayactl's funeral is an extension of general ritual practice and not something specific to funerals. A wooden image is made of the king and it is adorned with a headdress of feathers, a breastplate of feathers, and all the costume elements belonging to the god Huitzilopochitli. Over the garments of Huitzilopochtli are then placed the costume of Tlaloc so he represented that god as well. Next came the dress of the god Yohualahuan, who Duran calls the god associated with the night. Finally a fourth set of garments are placed on the image turning it into the god Quetzalcoatl (Durán 1994:293-294).

The wives of the ruler bring food and chocolate to put in front of the image. Flowers and tobacco are provided by nobleman and likewise placed in front of the image. Incense is burnt and the kings slaves come dressed in finery and carrying the king's clothing and jewelry. Everyone drinks pulque and it is poured around the room. The image and the body are then brought in front of a statue of Huitzilopochitli and they are both burned. The slaves are adjured to join the king bringing with them all the items they carry and to be ready to serve him in the afterlife. They are to insure he always has enough to eat and drink, all the clothing and jewelry he might want, and to hand him his blowgun or bow and arrows if he asks for them. All of the slaves are killed by heart extraction and their blood thrown on the fire that had burnt the image of the king. A hole was dug at the feet of Huitzilopochitli and the ashes, the hearts and bodies of the slaves, and all the offerings were put into and buried. Duran ends the account saying 80 days later another statue was made, dressed in the same way, the same ceremonies were performed, and again slaves were sacrificed." (Durán 1994: 295-296).

The account of the funeral rituals for Tizoc and Ahuitzotl are also shorter than that of Axyacatl, but this appears to be due to the fact that Duran feels no need to repeat information he has already given, but instead focuses on a few things that he says were different. For Tizoc. most of the differences in the description have to do with various costumes worn by the participants in the rituals and physical actions they performed. We do however learn that in Tizoc's case it was his body rather than a wooden image that

was dressed in the garb of four gods and placed before the statue of Huitzilopochitli and then burned by someone dressed in the costume of the Lord of the Underworld (Hayden 1994:308). This shows that the wooden images discussed for previous kings were functioning as a stand-in for the body, since here is an example of the body being dressed in the same manner.

In section on Ahuizotl's death the account relates that it is customary for people of all ranks to give offerings to the dead. While offerings for kings are of the most expensive and extravagant type, "[p]oor widows and relatives could offer only a little food and clay or stone beads of the cheapest kind" (Durán 1994:383). The section explains that "all this wealth was an offering to the deceased and mainly it served to fulfill the needs he would have in the other life, where he would enjoy these things" (Durán 1994: 383). Here, then, is information from Duran that while the funerary rituals for high status individuals were quantitatively different from those of commoners, they appear to have been considered to be similar in their actions and results. While part of the ritual for kings appears to be a king of apotheosis when he is dressed in the garments of gods, this does not seem to change the idea that at its most fundamental the rituals were seen as similar.

Maya Ethnohistory

The *Popol Vuh*

In the *Popol Vuh* One and Seven Hunahpu, the fathers/uncle of the Hero Twins, travel to Xibalba on a road that traverses a number of different landscapes. They descend over a steep slope and go down until they reach canyons named "Rustling Canyon, Gurgling Canyon." Once through there they go through Scorpion Rapids, which contained numerous scorpions, but they passed unhurt. Next was a river called Blood River and then a river filled with pus. The story makes clear these were all tests as it says "[s]till they were not defeated, but passed through again" (Tedlock 1996: 94-95).

The next step along the journey is the crossroads and it is here One and Seven Hunahpu are

defeated. While they do continue into Xibalba and do play ball with its lords, from the crossroads on they fail all of the tests put before them. They take the Black Road, which is a defeat, though it is the "Road to Xibalba," they then incorrectly address the first two lords in line as One and Seven Death though they are in fact only woodcarvings, they are offered a bench to sit on that turns out to be a burning hot stone, and they are given Dark House to sleep in, but are unable to keep their cigars and torches burning throughout the night as instructed (Tedlock 1996: 97). All of this culminates in their sacrifice with the head of One Hunahpu placed in the fork of a tree and his body, along with the entire body of his brother, buried at the 'Place of Ball Game Sacrifice.'"

The story of their sons, the Hero Twins, begins with the impregnation of a maiden of Xibalba, the daughter of one of the lords named Blood Gatherer, by the head of One Hunahpu. Through a series of events she is able to make her way of out Xibalba, find the mother of One and Seven Hunahpu and convince her mother-in-law she is really carrying the children of her dead son (Tedlock 1996: 98-104). While most of this section of the *Popol Vuh* is concerned with the placed called Xibalba, sprinkled throughout are discussions of beliefs about resurrection and reincarnation. In the section discussing Blood Moon are a couple of instances where it is said that the father is not completely gone, but "goes on being fulfilled", by having sons and daughters (Tedlock 1996: 99). Blood Maiden once directly says "One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu are alive, they are not dead. They have merely made a way for the light to show itself, my other-in-law, as you will see when you look at the faces of what I carry" (Tedlock 1996: 102).

Issues of death and rebirth also come into the story is right before Hunahpu and Xbalenque take their turn going down to Xibalba. To ease their grandmother's worry the twins plant ears of maize in the house. They tell her when the corn dries up the she will know the twins have died, but when it sprouts again she will know they live (Tedlock 1996: 116). The use of the cycle of corn as a metaphor for life, death, and rebirth is a central and powerful idea that is present throughout the Maya world both in images

during the Classic period and in ethnographies of the modern period. As the other examples of the idea of rebirth happen later in the story of Hunahpu and Xbalenque, I will continue with the narrative and pick up the question of life after death later on.

The story continues with the Twins encountering the same obstacles that faced their fathers on the Road to Xibalba. The only change seems to be an addition of a place with "throng birds," which they pass through without incident. When the twins reach the place where their fathers' failed, the crossroads, the narrative explains they "knew about the roads of Xibalba" and were therefore able to make the correct decision here. In both this account and the one of their fathers' journey, the story describes the four roads as each marked by a color, but interestingly there is a change between the two accounts. For the fathers' journey they reach a crossroads with the Red Road and Black Road (east and west) and the White Road and Yellow Road (north and south), while their sons' reach a crossroads with Black Road and White Road, Red Road and Green Road" (Tedlock 1996: 95, 116). The story does not tell us which one the Hero Twins elect to take, though they clearly select the correct one, but instead it focuses on how they defeat the trick of the woodcarvings of One and Seven Death (Tedlock 1996: 116-118). Success on this test appears to be less about failing to recognize the wooden images as fake, but rather failing to address properly each of the lords of Xibalba. The Hero Twins win by being able to name each of the lords in order of precedence and with their correct names.

The Twins are able to successfully navigate each of the tests of the five houses: Dark House (macaw tail feathers and fireflies to simulate burning torches and cigars) Razor House (promising to the blades that they will get to cut all animal flesh), Rattling House (shutting out the cold and hail), Jaguar House (bones of another animals given to the jaguars to fight over), Bat House (hiding inside their blowguns), though Hunahpu looses his head in the final test of Bat House. (Tedlock 1996: 119, 122-126). They successfully pass the test of the flowers assigned after their first loss of the first ball game by getting leaf cutter ants to help them and are able to get back Hunahpu's head by using a rabbit and a gourd as

stand-ins (Tedlock 1996: 123, 127-129).

Having passed all of the tricks and tests set by the Lords of Xibalba, the Twins realize in order to fully defeat the Xibalban's they must trick them. To do this they decide to show the Xibalban's what they want to see, the death of the Twins, but while they will be killed, the Twins won't die forever. The Twins enlist the help of two "midmost seers" asking them to advise the Xibalbans that once the Twins are dead, they should be thrown into an oven, their bones should be ground on a grinding stone, like corn, and the resultant powder thrown into a river (Tedlock 1996: 130). This is done, and five days later the boys "reappear" in the water looking the same as before they died when gazed on "by the people," but looking like catfish "when their faces were seen by Xibalba" (Tedlock 1996: 132). This section of the story is another allusion to rebirth via an agricultural model.

After a day spent "germinating" in the water the Twins return in disguise as dancers and "miracle" workers (Tedlock 1996: 132). Word soon came to the ears of the One and Seven Death that there were two people who could set things on fire and return them to normal, who could sacrifice each other one moment and be alive the next. Wanting to be entertained, One and Seven Death invite these two "vagabonds" to perform for them in their house (Tedlock 1996: 133). The Twins come and perform all of their dances and "miraculous" acts until the Lords of Xibalba are begging to be sacrificed and brought back to life having watched it be done to others. This was, of course, the Twin's plan from the beginning they kill them and do not bring them back (Tedlock 1998: 138). This causes all the other Lords of Xibalba to be frightened of them and they readily told the Twins the location of their father's burial at the Place of the Ball Game Sacrifice. The Twins also put limits on the power of the Xibalbans telling them they will no longer receive blood sacrifices, but rather they will be offered sap instead and neither will they "feed" upon humans, but just animals (Tedlock 1996: 138). There is also a passage here that may suggest in addition to the limits on appropriate sacrifices to Xibalba, there is also a change in who will go to Xibalba. "Only the worthless will yield themselves up before you. These will be the guilty, the violent,

the wretched, and the afflicted. Wherever the blame is clear, that is where you will come in, rather than just making sudden attacks on people in general" (Tedlock 1996: 139).

The next section includes the final pieces of information about rebirth from in this section of the *Popol Vuh*. It is here told that when the Twins were killed and thrown in the oven, the corn they had planted for their grandmother withered. She burned incense in front of the corn, as is often done as part of death rituals, and was happy to see that the corn once again sprouted reflecting their rebirth in the river (Tedlock 1996: 139). Here can also be found information on the potential rebirth of their father. There is a bit of confusion as to exactly who this is, as Tedlock (1996:141) refers to him as Seven Hunahpu. Michael Coe (Coe and Kerr1998:180) says this is a scribal error and what was meant was One Hunahpu, while Allen Christiansen (2007:178) just refers to him as "their father." Since the Hero Twins are considered to be the sons of both One and Seven Hunahpu, I will follow Christiansen and just say it is their father who was "put back together" by the Twins. Their father is told in order for everything to be as it was he must name all of his former parts, but is unable to do so, which means he remains in the Place of the Ball Game Sacrifice. He is told he will be prayed to by his descendants and be remembered and his name will not be lost (Tedlock 1996: 141). The final scene of the section says the Twins now ascended to the sky "and the sun belongs to one and the moon to the other," so that they are in the sky when light dawns on the earth in which humans are finally created.

APPENDIX C: ADDITIONAL DATA FROM ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCES IN CHAPTER 3

Souls

Among the Tzeltal speaking community of Chamula and the Tzotzils speakers of Zinacantan and Chenhaló, one of the souls associated with an individual is called the *c'ulel*. This is the soul placed into a child, at birth in Chamula and as an embryo in Zinacanatan and Chenhaló, and which departs from the body a few days after death (Gossen 1975; Guiteres-Holmes 1961; Vogt 1969, 1993). Evon Z. Vogt explicitly describes that for the Zinacantecos this soul makes the person a unique individual and it is indestructible and eternal making is similar to the concept the Mam of Santiago Chimaltenango, Guatemala have of *aanma*, which also shares these characteristics and is associated with the breath (Watanabe 1992; Vogt 1969, 1993). The Chamulas say once it leaves the body after death the *c'ulel* travels to the underworld where it lives forever returning yearly to its family for the festival of the Day of the Dead (Gossen 1975:450).

In both Zinacantan and Chenhaló it is possible to suffer a partial loss of the c'ulel, which has thirteen parts, when one or more parts leaves the body causing sickness or death. Likewise, among the Mam part of the *aanma* can also be lost to the detriment of the health of the individual, though Watanabe (1992:87) never discusses whether it is composed of a specific number. Among the people of Zinacantan and Chenhaló, this soul-loss can be caused by the ancestral gods punishing improper actions, evil witches selling one's soul to the Earth Lord as a servant, an intense orgasm or fright that separates part of the soul from the body, while the people of Chimaltenango, who do not have ancestral gods, only attribute the loss to fright, though the price for curing its loss might be to have it end up a servant of the *witz* after death. The soul can also leave the body while a person sleeps to visit other souls or deities. (Gossen 1975: 450-51, Guiteres- Holmes 1961: 56, 104, 110, 116, 136; Vogt 1969:370, 1993:18; Watanabe 1992:87). The vulnerability of children, who die so easily, to soul-loss shows Maya souls as essential to the maintenance of life and its departure as part of death. The the ability of soul to travel to visit other souls and deities while living and to return to earth for Day of the

Dead once dead suggests a method by which a certain amount of contact between the realms of living and dead can occur.

In Chamula the soul portion with thirteen parts and subject to loss is the *canul.* It is described as a separate animal soul under the protection of St. Jerome, while Zinacanteco animal spirit companions with whom the people are tied through their c'ulel, are under the protection of the ancestral deities (Vogt 1969: 370, 1993: 18). Among the Lacandon everyone has a soul (*pixan),* which is connected to a spider monkey double living in the underworld can be hunted by the god Kisin causing injury and death to its human counterpart (McGee 1990:111). For the Mam of Chimaltenango their "spirit double" who shares their fate was called a *kleel,* embodied either by an animal or a natural phenomena, though the word currently is used to refer to guardian angels or saint (Watanabe 1992:87). The Quiché of Chichicastenango say harm to their "destiny animal" (*nagual*) causes harm to the human and in Chenhaló harm to someone's animal spirit (*wayhel*) causes harm to the person. Also in Chenhaló people can use their animal spirits to cause harm to others *(nagual*)*;* an idea that appears to have entered Maya communities due to the influence of the Mexica-Aztec, suggested both by the world *nagual,*which is Nahuatl in origin, and the fact that the idea is more prevalent in Mexica-Aztec sources than Maya ones (Bunzel 1952:274; Guiteres-Holmes1961:158). The information from Chenhaló is really helpful here, since it gives an example of a community in which both the Maya and Mexica-Aztec derived terms are employed to describe the relationship between humans and animal spirit companions and clearly shows that they are different concepts. This difference is good evidence the multiple souls of the Mexica-Aztec, meticulously documented by Alfredo Lopez Austin (1988) from Nahuatl ethnohistorical documents, are not the only place from which modern Maya communities draw their beliefs in multiple souls, but rather there is likely a long term Maya belief in such ideas that in some modern cases have been conflated with the Mexica-Aztec ideas to varying degrees.

Afterlife Landscapes

Chamula

Gary Gossen (1974, 1975), who lived and studied in the Tzeltal community of Chamula, Mexico relates there is an upperworld, which has its own sub-layers and is located above this world, a world in which humans live their lives, and below is the underworld. The upperworld is the place of celestial phenomena such as the sun, moon and stars, god, and at least some saints. The singular god and the inclusion of saints makes the upperworld appear to be a reflection of Catholic beliefs about Heaven, but the conflation of the Moon with the Virgin Mary and 'Our Mother' and the sun with Saint Jerome and 'Our Father' imply a certain lack of Christian purity in this vision of the upperworld. In addition, Saint Jerome in the upperworld is the senior version of the Saint Jerome who lives on earth and both have the role of overseeing the animal souls of those who live in Chamula. Also important in the Chamula depiction of the upperworld, is a clear maintenance of the hierarchical relationships between various celestial inhabitants; the moon belongs to the second level, while the Sun and St. Jerome are present on the third. There is no clear statement whether humans have any ability to join Mary, Jesus, and St. Jerome, or if the celestial realm is not open to any new inhabitants, but since Gossen reports that all dead souls go to the underworld in Chamula it may not accessible to humans. Gossen's description of the upperworld lacks the paradisaical adjectives often used to describe the Christian Heaven. It may be that Gossen's informants did not chose to give him the information, or because living humans do not travel there, they may not have developed a description of the place beyond the dwelling place for certain entities and celestial bodies.

For the Tzeltal, the underworld is the place in which the dead live. As long as you were not a murderer or a suicide, both of who were punished after death, life in the underworld is very similar to the one experienced in the living world (Gossen 1974, 1975). The main divergences are: day on earth is night in the underworld, humans eat tortillas and beans on earth and in the underworld the tortillas are

charred and burnt and people eat flies, and there is also no sexual intercourse after death (Gossen 1974:21-22). Otherwise the environment is similar to the one familiar from earth and people live together and work together in much the same way they always did. It is not paradisaical, but neither is it hellish, instead almost a continuation of life on earth. While Gossen makes no specific comment explaining the prohibition against sexual intercourse and the change in food, he does say the underworld is seen to be the opposite of the living world; when it is night in the living world it is day in the underworld. The implication being that sexual abstinence and inedible food are also examples of such reversals.

As mentioned above, the switching of day and night between earth and the underworld most likely comes from the long standing idea that the sun travels into the underworld during the night, giving the underworld its day. Thus the inversion of day and night between the earth and the underworld might not be just an opposition, but instead the logical outcome of the conceptualization of the sun's journey. As most of life in the underworld is described as almost identical to the living world, breaking away from the idea of opposition allows us to take another look at the implications of the underworld being different with regard to food and sex, but not to work, living arrangements, or community interaction.

Sex and food are two of the most essential components necessary for the continuation of human life. Without edible food people die and without sexual intercourse no babies are born to continue the community. While on earth farming and cooking are essential for the maintenance of life, in death food has been changed so that cooking is done improperly (burnt tortillas) and farming is not needed to harvest flies to eat. The suggests the way in which 'life' in the afterlife is significantly different is it lacks the attributes necessary to life on earth. Sexual intercourse is not necessary because birth into the afterlife comes from death on earth, and there is no need for food to provide sustenance, since there is no life to maintain. It is also interesting to contemplate another commonality of food and

sex is beyond their functional purposes they are things that give pleasure, which suggests the afterlife as pleasureless place, though clearly not a place of pain and punishment. Whatever the cause of the differences, the Tzeltal idea of death does not appear to suffer overmuch from Christian influence and suggests the afterlife among the Maya is in most ways very similar to life on earth and the vast majority of the community would have shared the same fate no matter their lives on earth.

Naja

The Lacandon of Naja also live in a multi-leveled world. The three largest divisions are of the underworld, earth, and celestial world, but there are also two more levels above the celestial world the first of which is the home of the creator of the gods (most of whom live in the celestial world) and the second of which is cold and dark. According to McGee (1990:108) travel from one world to the next entails a "reversal of form", which means death is seen as the reverse of life. Before a soul reaches the underworld it must undertake a journey full of obstacles. It takes a road down and must pass by chickens, lice, a pack of dogs and a large river. The ability of the soul to safely pass these trials is contingent upon the burial of the correct objects with the corpse allowing the soul access to them in the underworld (Perera and Bruce 1982:107; McGee 1990:111). The underworld is called *Metla'an* and when the soul of the dead arrives it is judged by the Lord of Underworld, Sukunkyum. Those people who stole, lied, or murdered are given to the god of death, Kisin, to be punished with burning and freezing, otherwise the soul will travel to the House of Mensabak, the god of rain (McGee 1990:108, 111, 114). The House of Mensabak is not a bad place, but souls there are not completely content as there is "no forest or game," since the souls of animals that reside there cannot be killed again, which leaves the humans eating only beans and tortillas (McGee 1990:111).

McGee does not describe the location or much of the environment of the House of Mensabak, but information from the earlier account of Perera and Bruce may help to add more detail. Robert Bruce describes three different post-journey options for the Lacandon of Naha. They may go to

Metlán, live in the House of Sukunkyum in the underworld, or ascend to one of the five heavens (here five instead of the three described by McGee) based on "the kind of person he was or the manner in which he died" (Perera and Bruce 1982:107, 176-177). Metlán is the place of punishment by Kisin, Sukunkyum's house is described by Bruce as "beautiful forests full of the souls of the animals that live and die on earth" and inhabited by the "reasonably good, by Lacandon standards," while the most "valiant" go to live in Hachakyum's heaven (in Perera and Bruce 1982:176-177).

While there is no mention of Mensabak the rain god by Bruce, it seems likely his description of the House of Sukunkyum with its animal souls and lush forests might be the best candidate of what became seen as the rain god's house. The change of the place from the House of Sukunkyum to the House of Mensabak may represent the influence of Mexica-Aztec belief, which clearly contains the idea of a lush afterlife overseen by a rain god. This is not the only reason to suggest Mexica-Aztec beliefs have influenced the Lacandon, since both the name Metlán and the concept of the manner of one's death determining one's afterlife fate, can both be clearly traced to the Mexica-Aztec, as has been discussed previously (Chapter 2). In addition, the placement of obstacles on the path to the underworld is also likely to be the result of Mexica-Aztec influence. If it were the only Central Mexican idea present among the Lacandon, I might take it as evidence that that the obstacles of the *Popol Vuh* had a Maya rather than Mexica-Aztec origin, but the presence of multiple Mexican elements suggest the obstacles likely came from the same place. Their absence in other contemporary Maya ethnographies support this as well. There are good indications that the underworld among the Maya has been thought to be watery since at least the Classic period, which will be discussed farther in chapter 4, which also suggests the idea of a watery, verdant afterlife may be a pan-Mesoamerican. That it is a concept with such a far ranging reach both geographically and temporally, is why McGee (1990:64) believes multiple modern Maya communities have a watery afterlife locations and others insist on at least the presence of rivers that must be crossed. The Lacandon also seem to have incorporated Christian ideas

on the importance of proper behavior during life on the punishment one will receive in the afterlife.

Chan Kom

According to Redfield and Villa Rojas (1934), in Chan Kom, Yucatan the world is divided into three parts. The sky is above the earth and is the location of the stars and the clouds. Described as both beyond and above the clouds is the location of the "gates of heaven" at which can be found Saint Peter with his keys (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:198, 205). Within the gates of heaven is the abode of the "souls of the saved," which is called *Gloria* and is described only as paradise, while just outside the gates is the place of the angels. The chaacs and the balams are also found in the sky, though they do not go into heaven. Below the earth is Metnal, which is the placed of the "damned." There is even less description of Metnal than *Gloria,* though the impression given is of an undesirable location. Cenotes are the "mouths of hell," while dry wells function as its anus (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:205).

From its name can be seen that the Chan Kom concept of an upperworld has been affected by Christian concepts of heaven. *Gloria* is described as paradise and is immediately accessible to those who "die in the innocence of childhood," while adults must first travel through the realm of the angels in order to reach the gates of heaven (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:198). The angels will tell Saint Peter to bar the gate, if the traveling soul was unkind to children. Otherwise, the man who is able to enter *Gloria* is one who has lived properly on earth. Proper living is described by Redfield and Villa Rojas (1934:198) as: only laying with his wife, being good to his animals, obeying his parents, not swearing, not thinking "evil of another," not wanting the possessions of others, learning his prayers every Saturday and Sunday, saying a prayer and making the sign of the cross before sleeping, and not beating his wife or children. Not only does admittance to heaven rely on the Christian idea of proper behavior during life, the list of qualities is almost completely Christian in nature staying very close to the ten commandments.

The souls of those who did not live in the correct way fall into two categories the line

between which is not clearly delineated. Some go to Puragory to be burned until "white," at which point they can join *Gloria*, but the "very bad" are sent to Metnal, which is the "home of the demons" (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:199). Some of those who do go straight to Metnal are sorcerers, who are considered to have sold their soul to the devil in exchange for their power and knowledge, while the others include: suicides, those who know how to make love potions, those who can turn themselves into animals, and those who have any "uncanny ability," even if it is for something non-magical like needlework or bullfighting (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:199).

Some souls who did not behave properly in life are able to make their way to *Gloria* after some time has passed or remediation has taken place. Unlike the list of those who go straight to *Gloria* these conditions appear not to owe much to Christian sensibilities. They are those who: have intercourse with their wives' sister, die leaving money buried, and die leaving debts unpaid. After a time as frogs or whirlwinds, after the location of the money has been communicated to the living and found, and after the deceased soul has been turned into an animal, shot, and his creditor able to recoup his debt from selling the meat, these souls may travel to *Gloria* (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:199). No souls, however, stay forever in their afterlife location, as all go back to earth to be placed into new children, since "God" does not have sufficient new souls for those being born without recycling the souls those who were previously alive (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:199).

Chichicastenango

Ruth Bunzel describes the Quiche view of life after death as more traditional than Christian in nature. While some lip service is paid to the ideas of heaven, hell, purgatory and reward and punishment, they are not part of the main ideas that concern the Quiche when they think about death. Instead, the emphasis is placed on death as what turns people into ancestors who have an influential role in the life of the living. Their death makes people more powerful and gives them certain kinds of

additional knowledge, but the motivations and emotions that drive the use of these powers are the same as when they were living.

> The dead experience all the emotions of the living; they suffer from ambition, envy, greed, malice, and vengefulness which they take out on the living or on those of their fellow ghosts who were their enemies or enemies of their families during their lives… Divine retribution is carried on with all the mechanisms of worldly justice – courts, prisons, fines. [Bunzel1952:269]

The ancestors maintain their ties from life after they die and continue to act from the same emotional place. Though they now have more power and wisdom, this does not mitigate the their desire to punish their enemies, but rather is seen as entirely consistent with it. This is not an afterlife in which souls travel to a completely other world leaving their living concerns behind such as a Christian heaven or hell, but instead it appears like another facet of the living world.

Bunzel (1952: 270) doesn't say where the Quiche believe the dead reside after death, but she was clear that there are specific places where people can go to interact with the spirits of the dead: the house, the church, and the cemetery. There is not a sense that the spirits actually live in these places, but rather they symbolize and localize the roles the ancestors play in the lives of the living, with the house as the symbol of the ancestors' relationship with their descendants and church the place where they fulfill their larger community roles.

Reinforcing the similarities between the living and the dead is the idea ancestors must be given food and drink, with candles, tortillas, and aguardiente. On the other hand that they have no abode in the afterlife is a very different situation from earthly life. This lack indicates the afterlife as not thought of a place per se as it lacks a landscape or physical attributes, yet it is the place the spirits of the ancestors remain. It is especially interesting that the modern Quiché either lack a detailed description of the underworld or envision an afterlife without physical space, since the vivid description of Xibalba in the *Popol Vuh* written in Quiché from the early colonial period is so often referenced when trying to understand the Maya view of the underworld both in the classic and modern periods. As we can see,

other modern Maya communities do conceptualize the afterlife as an identifiable location where the dead live. Having both information from the early colonial period and the modern period allows us to glimpse at some of the change Quiché belief underwent during the intervening half of a millennium. While the Quiché may not spend a lot of time thinking about the physical space of the place where their ancestors reside, the depiction of the ancestors as participating in judicial hearings at afterlife courts presents the Quiché dead as some of the most humanlike encountered in the ethnographies.

Chenhaló

According to Calixta Guiteres-Holmes (1961), the Tzotzil of Chenhaló describes two different places one can go after death once past infancy: Winahel and Katinbak. The location of Winahel in the sky and Katinbak below the earth is why there is a tripartite division of the world to Tzotzil speakers of Chenhaló. According to her main informant, Manuel, no living person has ever visited Winahel, which means no description exists of what it looks like. In the copy of the interview with Manuel at the end of the book, the English word Heaven is used in reference to Winahel instead of the term 'Hearafter' used in the essay portion of the volume used for both places. The use of the word Heaven could suggest it is a desirable place, but the lack of discussion in either part of the ethnography means its use could just as easily be due to Winahel's location in the sun and sky suggesting the idea of Heaven to someone with a Christian mental framework (Guiteres-Holmes1961:158). Karl Taube (2004) believes Winahel is the place mentioned in a Chenhaló creation myth that describes a new sun rising into a place where “there were many fruit trees, many sweet smelling flowers, . . . it was much better up there” (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:186 in Taube 2004:70), though neither Manuel nor Guiteres-Holmes makes this connection, as is obvious from Manuel's claim that there is no description of Winahel.

Of the second ‘Hearafter’ location, Katinbak, something of a description exists. Katinbak is a place of punishment and suffering for everyone who enters, since no one was perfect during their lives.

Your actions on earth are not what send you to Katinbak, but they are considered the reason for the suffering you will endure there. The people of Chenhaló say it does not matter how good a person may have been because at some point in their life they probably complained about the weather and that is enough to warrant punishment as one first enters Katinbak. The idea of an underworld location as a place of punishment and pain makes it seem very similar to Hell and possible to some versions of Mictlan, thought the idea that everyone deserves to be punished for something as minor as complaining about the weather is clearly not Christian in derivation. Passing over the river with the help of a black dog suggests similarities between the Chenhaló community's vision of Katinbak and underworld locations such as Mictlan and Xibalba in which tests and trials are part of the journey (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:56). While the help of a dog to cross the river can be found in many contemporary Maya communities, whether there is evidence of the existence of this belief among the Maya of the Classic Period, either iconographically or archaeologically is not resolved, and may be the result of the dissemination of beliefs of the Mexica-Aztec empire or its predecessors. In fact, much the description of Katinbak appears more similar to an Mexica-Aztec or a Mexica-Aztec and Catholic view of the underworld than strictly Maya, though as there are aspects that cannot be explained by either of them and maybe strains of earlier Maya beliefs that have intermixed with later ideas.

Instead of everlasting damnation and torment, the Tzotzil of Chenhaló believe the punishment has an end. Once the punishment has been meted out, the newly deceased is met by relatives who escort him or her to the Lord of the Katinbak. The person is able to see that the people who inhabit Katinbak are healthy, beautiful, and strong, while the surroundings are fertile valleys and abundant trees. If one stole or committed adultery during life further punishment ensues at this point, but once it is over everyone leads a very happy life in Katinbak growing younger. As many years is spent in Katinbak as years on earth and then the soul is reborn (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:144). This version of Katinbak is consistent with the other Maya communities who see the afterlife as similar to earth and incorporates

the idea of the rebirth of the would, which we see in other modern Maya communities.

The factor that determines whether you end up in Winahel or Katinbak is based on the manner of one's death in Chenhaló. Guiteres-Holmes reports that in order to go to Winahel, which is located with the sun, one must be a "woman who has died in childbirth, those struck by lightning, those drowned, or those murdered who do not have to be cleansed of sin because their faults accrue to those of their killer" (1961:144). That afterlife fate is based on the manner in which one dies rather than in which one lives is more consistent with Mexica-Aztec beliefs than the Maya ones we see in other modern Maya communities, especially when we consider who was set apart. In both Mexica-Aztec and Chenhaló communities, women who die in childbirth are thought to go live with the sun and follow its path. While among the Mexica-Aztec the lightning struck and the drowned do not follow the sun, but they are accorded special status by going to Tlaloc's watery paradise called Tlalocan. A watery paradise is not present in Chenhaló belief. This may be due to the loss of rain gods demanded by monotheistic Christianity, while the conflation of the sun with 'Our Father' and sometimes Jesus, provided space for the continuation of that set of beliefs. That the Mexica-Aztec and the Tzotzil of Chenhaló set apart the same groups of people suggest that the precursors of at least some facets of Chenhaló religion are not to be found in the culture of the Classic Maya. As following the sun and going to Tlalocan are both highly desirable fates among the Mexica-Aztec, it may indicate that Winahel is considered similarly, another possible reason it was easily combined with the Christian heaven.

Different from the other members of the Chenhaló community, infants alone are thought to go to the "tree of breasts" where the soul will stay until it can be placed into the body of another fetus. The "tree of breasts" is always full of milk and the infant is comfortable and content until it is reincarnated (Guiteres-Holmes 1961:104). Like the ideas about Winahel, evidence for a "Tree of Breasts" that succors infants is found among the Mexica-Aztec with no direct evidence of a Maya

counterpart, as is more fully discussed in the ethnohistoric chapter. The idea of reincarnation of the soul into a new child is present in multiple Maya communities and is absent from the Mexica-Aztec ethnohistoric data that describes everyone dwelling in the afterlife for eternity except for the babies of the wet-nurse tree. As the Mexica-Aztec empire controlled large swaths of Mexico and other parts of Mesoamerica prior to the incursion by the Spanish, it is that they, rather than the Maya of the Classic Period, are the origin of this idea.

Zinacantan

Similar to the Tzotzil of Chenhaló, the Tzotzil of Zinacantan recognize a place called Katin-bak located below the earth and a place called Vinahel located above the earth. Vinahel is the place of the sun and other celestial bodies. The sun is called 'Our Holy Father' or 'Our Father Heat' and while Vinahel is his home, he does traverse a path circling the earth through the skies and below the ground to return back to the heavens (Vogt 1969: 297, 1993:16). Vinahel itself has three layers. In the lowermost layer, the moon travels her daily path. The stars inhabit the middle layer, while the uppermost layer is the domain of the Sun (Vogt 1969:297). The decision of whether one ends up in Vinahel or Katin-bak appears to be based on choosing the correct path once the soul has spent nine days on earth post-death, then crossed a river with the help of a black dog (paid with tortillas placed with the body during the funeral), and reached "the place of final judgment" (Vogt 1969: 222). The taking of the correct path, however, is not based on the soul being "judged", but rather whether the funeral was correctly performed. If it was, there will be a rooster at the crossroads crowing to indicate that the small crooked and almost invisible path on the right is the one to take. A proper funeral will also insure there is money and charred tortillas for other souls to steal as the new soul travels to Vinahel. Life in Vinahel is very similar to that of earth: people meet their deceased relatives, live in square houses, and plant crops. The life is described as easy for those who worked hard during life, but

kept the sabbath, while those who did not will work until their hands bleed. Those who did not participate in fiestas during life are barred from joining the ones in Vinahel and the people who were "fussy" about their water during life are given only dirty water, blood, or pus to drink (Vogt 1969:222). Interestingly non-Christian reasons for punishment in the afterlife.

Katin-bak is located in a hole inside the earth and has similarities to the Christian idea of hell. It is hot from the burning of bones and it is populated by demons. While the information on the journey to Vinahel suggests anyone who chooses the correct path at the "place of judgment" can avoid Katin-bak, Vogt's description of Katin-bak paints it as a place of extreme punishment for people "who mistreated and were too fussy about the 'long-suffering maize,'" loose women, the incestuous, and murderers (1969:222). As with many other communities the very young have different fates from the adults. Infants who die without baptism became demons, while baptized babies would go directly to *Vinahel* where they became flowers tied on crosses (Vogt 1969: 222-223). Interesting, that in many ways the Vinahel for the Zinacantecos sounds similar to the Katinbak of Chenhalo, while Katin-bak in Zinacatan is almost Catholic in its ideas of pain and punishment and Chenhaló's Winahel is Mexican in nature.

Lake Atitlán

In the area of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala various anthropologists have documented beliefs that the dead become stars. These were collected by Oswaldo Chinchilla (2006) as he tried to make sense of various Classic period iconographic scenes in which gods, people, and mythical creatures were depicted associated with celestial bodies, especially stars. As far back as J.E.S Thompsons's 1960 work, can be found the assertion that there was a connection between the dead and stars. He quotes Sol Tax's work at Panajachel, in which Tax found the belief that the dead becomes stars, while the important dead become bigger stars. It is their souls that become these stars, as it was thought that the stars returned to earth to be placed in the body of an infant and be its soul (1960:85 in Chinchilla 2006:46). From the same area of Lake Atitlán, Vincent Stanzione has also found evidence that the men and women who

faithfully serve and reach the top of the traditional cargo system are also thought to become stars, but that they reach the Milky Way by going up a mountain where they join the other stars who travel with the sun through the underworld (2003:185-186 in Chinchilla 2006:46).

Beyond the Lake Atitlan area, the Chorti of southern Guatemala also believe the dead can become stars and travel with the sun, which Rafael Girard, who collected the information, suggests is related to the part of the *Popol Vuh*, in which the 400 boys became constellations after their death and were the entourage of the sun and the moon (1966:26, 230-232 in Chinchilla 2003:46). These accounts bring together ideas we will see echoed in the iconography of the Classic period, in which a mountain may be the way in which ancestors rise from the underworld into the celestial world as celestial bodies, but that this may be limited only to certain "important" people rather than to the entire community (Chapter 4).

APPENDIX D: ADDITIONAL DATA FROM THE COMPARISON OF ROYAL TOMBS IN CHAPTER 6

A detailed comparison of the royal tombs of Copán

Tomb Chambers

The Hunal tomb is a single chamber 2.5 x 1.5 x 1.7m in size and with a vaulted roof (Bell et al. 2004). The Margarita tomb has two chambers, located sequentially rather than one after another, both were vaulted with the upper chamber is 3.2 x 1.2 x 1.35m in size, while the lower chamber in which the skeleton was located is 2.4 x 1.2 x 2.1m. The walls were stuccoed and painted red (Bell et al. 2004). The Oropéndola tomb is single cha37mbered like Hunal, its roof is flat-topped, often referred to as lintel style, making the chamber much shorter than the previous two vaulted ones. Its size was hard to estimate from the damage, but was approximately 2.06 x 1.5 x 1.43m (Chapter 5). Sub-Jaguar follows the single chamber tradition, was roofed lintel-fashion like Oropéndola, but its walls were stuccoed and painted red like Margarita's (Bell et al. 2004). Its size was 3 x 1.2 x 1.5m making all of the Early Classic tombs between 2-3m in length, approximately 1.0-1.5m in width, and with heights generally between 1.5 and 2m. The earlier tombs are both vaulted, while the two later are flat-topped. The decision to stucco and paint the walls was done in half of the tombs, Margarita and Sub-Jaguar. All we know about the tomb below 10L-19 is that it too was oriented north-south and was approximately 3 x 1.7 x 1.8m placing its length and depth at the long end of the Early Classic tombs and its width a little larger than the largest (Galindo 1835).

In the Late Classic, the Chorcha tomb consisted of a vaulted antechamber, while the tomb itself was roofed at the floor level lintel-fashion like the later Early Classic period tombs. The walls of the burial chamber were plastered and part of them were painted pink. The burial chamber was 7m x 2m x 1.5m in size (Fash et al. 2001), and was therefore considerably longer, somewhat wider, but about the same depth as the Early Classic Tombs. The tomb in Structure 10L-18 is similar in design to that of the Chorcha tomb. It had a tall vaulted antechamber immediately above the tomb, while the tomb was cut into the floor and likely had been topped with lintel style capstones (Becker and Cheek 1983).

Body treatment

The evidence suggests that both the Hunal and Margarita tombs were re-entered after the flesh was no longer present in order to paint the bones with red pigment (Bell et al. 2004). The Oropéndola tomb likewise found the remains of red pigment on the bones, but there it appears the color was placed on the body while some amount of flesh was still present and the body was laid out on top of a thick layer of red pigment that covered the other items on the burial platform (Chapter 5). Evidence of red pigment was also found in the Sub-Jaguar tomb covering the burial slab and it is thought that transfer from this surface is the cause of the red staining found on the bones rather than direct application either before or after decomposition of the flesh (Bell et al. 2004). It is possible this was the intended result, as the presence of red pigment in all of the royal tombs shows familiarity with the attributes of the material.

In the Chorcha tomb evidence for red pigment is found in multiple places throughout the tomb, but was found in concentrated amounts between the two levels of the wooden burial platform suggesting it covered the top of the second level. The platform was also stuccoed and painted with evidence of both red and green pigments decorating the surface. The clay thought to have encased the skeleton was stained with red pigment on the concave sides indicating that it had once been between the clay and the body and if the bones had been better preserved might have been visible there as well. (Fash et al. 2001; Magee 1997). The evidence seems to indicate tradition at Copán of placing red pigment in association with deceased royalty. While in the earliest tombs this was done once the flesh was no longer adhering to the bones, the examples of the Oropéndola and Chorcha tombs suggest it was later added to the body while the flesh was still present, which this might have also been the case for the Sub-Jaguar tomb as well.

Red pigment is often found in the tombs of royalty and high elite individuals. Krejci and Culbert (1995:106) found that only a small percentage of burials have red pigment in them either on the skeleton or other artifacts and that these burials tend to be the wealthiest. The sample at Copán follows the trend demonstrated by Krejci and Culbert with red pigment present in all of the royal burials and in large

amounts, while Longyear notes that non-royal tombs only sometimes have small lumps of cinnabar (1952:40) and Burial 92-3 does contain traces of red pigment (Bell et al. 2004:149). In his work on burial rituals, Fitzsimmons (2009:82) presents a few of the different ideas, both symbolic and functional, that scholars have used to interpret the presence of red pigment in Classic Maya tombs. The practical suggestions have included the idea that it might act as a preservative to slow down putrefaction and as an insecticide or as deterrent for microorganisms. The symbolic interpretations have focused on its color. Alberto Ruz Lhuillier (1991) hypothesized that the red pigment was placed on the dead to make them appear more lifelike, while others including Stuart (pers com to Fitzsimmons 2002) and Fash et al. (2001:161) connect it to blood via their visual similarities, which is particularly evident when the red pigment is mixed with liquid. As a material that evokes blood, red pigment would have a very important ritual significance and be connected to the ideas of *k'uhul* and *ch'ulel* previously discussed in chapter 3. Fitzsimmon's third symbolic meaning is the relationship of the color red to the direction east, which, as we have seen, is the place of the rising sun and the celestial rebirth of ancestors. He brings together the second two symbolic ideas and posits a ideological connection between blood and rebirth via the idea that east is red and supported by fact that since human birth is a bloody undertaking where the new baby comes into this world covered in it, such a condition might appropriate for rebirth as well. Therefore, the early manifestation of red pigment in tombs, in which it is placed directly on the bones or body of the deceased, would be a ritual action evoking birth as part of the process of insuring their rebirth (2009:83). As time passed it may no longer have needed to be put on the body itself, but was still a potent enough symbol of power and rebirth through its connection to blood that continued to be included in royal and high elite tombs.

Personal adornment

Mouth beads

In the Hunal Tomb, Ellen Bell (2007) has suggested a tubular jade bead with an incised mat design found near the mandible might have originally been in the mouth of the occupant. There is strong evidence that artifacts moved around in the tomb after it was sealed due water infiltration and seismic activity, which she cautions makes it difficult to determine just how close the bead originally was to his mouth. Since, however, it was found within close proximity to the mandible, was of a size to fit in the mouth, and was not clearly associated with any of the other jewelry groups supports the idea that it was indeed a mouth bead. In the Margarita Tomb two beads were found in close proximity to the mouth. One is a shell bead found at the edge of the mandible and the other is a jade tube discovered sticking out of her mouth (Bell 2007). Based on the other tombs at Copán and discussion of mouth beads throughout the Maya area, it is more likely that the jade tube was the bead placed in her mouth at death, while the shell bead likely came from another piece of her adornment. The mouth bead in the Oropéndola Tomb was originally in the form called a pectoral, though it was found immediately associated with the maxilla and mandible rather than the pectoral region. It is a beautiful green jade in the shape of an anthropomorphic head carved with an ak'ab "darkness," sign in his headdress, crossed-eyes, a down turned mouth, tau-shaped teeth, and flaring nose. While some have been tempted to see the head as that of the Sun God, with the ak'ab headdress signifying the Night Sun who travels through the underworld, the face lacks the cheek dots and k'in sign usually present to mark k'inich. The field report from the ECAP 1993 field season, which includes the report of the continuing excavation of the Sub-Jaguar Tomb, mentions a large jade bead was found just to one side of the occupant's mandible, which is thought to have been a mouth bead (Bell et al. 2004; Sharer et al. 2004). There is unfortunately no description of the bead beyond its relative size and material. The reports on the Chorcha Tomb does not make any mention of whether the excavators observed any beads that might originally have been placed in the mouth of the deceased king

(Fash et al. 2001; Magee 1997). The tomb contained 25 pieces of jadite (Fash et al. 2001:162), some of which are clearly part of the earflare assemblages and the necklace of plaques worn by the deceased. It is possible, however, one of the other beads found in the chest area, while currently displayed as if all were part of a single necklace, may have originally been a mouth bead. The disintegration of the skeleton makes it difficult to judge the likelihood of such a suggestion by evaluating the proximity of various beads to the maxilla and mandible, as they were significantly damaged.

Headdresses

Headdresses can be considered to have contained messages to an audience expressing something the wearer wanted to make known to those who observed. While people have suggested that headdress reflect the identity of the wearer, it is a mutable identity; one that is taken up and put down. We know a specific headdress style was not indelibly tied to the wearer, since there are iconographic depictions of specific individuals wearing different headdresses at different moments and different people wearing the same headdress. This makes sense, however, in a the Maya context where there is an explicit connection between wearing a specific costume and not just taking on the identity it signifies, but actually becoming that entity in the case of the various gods. There also headdresses that appear to be associated with different titles, roles, and professions during the Classic Period (Zender 2004), which may mean that when worn the people embodied that identity. Headdress do not reflect an inherent identity of the wearer, but are put on to assist in the assumption of the identity. In iconographic depictions kings are almost always shown wearing headdresses of some sort, which makes it unsurprising, therefore, that there is evidence for headdresses in all of the excavated royal male tombs at Copán.

Evidence from the Hunal Tomb indicates that the occupant was interred wearing a headdress at least partially made from shell spangles (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004). It may have had other decorative elements based on some of the mosaic jade and shell pieces found in the head region. It is unlikely the

headdress will ever be able to be fully reconstructed, as the group of shell spangles found on the tomb floor just off the burial platform indicate sufficient movement to have dislodged other pieces as well. The Hunal tomb, however, is not the only place shell platelets were found in burials at the site of Copán. The individual in the Oropéndola Tomb likewise had shell platelets as the foundation of his headdress. Shell platelets are also found in the grave goods of the Sub-Jaguar tomb, though occupant actually wore a different headdress. As will become clear from the following discussion, many objects of adornment were placed into the tombs in addition to the items the individuals were wearing. On average the spangles in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb appear to be smaller than those of Hunal and Oropéndola, though both of those tomb show a variety in spangle size that encompass the ones in Sub-Jaguar (Bell personal communication 2010). A shell platelet headdress was also found associated with the non-royal elite occupant of Sepultura V-4. While some platelets made of shell were also found in the Margarita tomb, they seem to have served a very different purpose based on their shape, size, and location. The archaeologists who excavated that tomb believe they were part of her sandals (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004). Chapter 7 will discuss the distribution and significance of the presence of this specific headdress and related symbols in detail

The evidence for the headdress worn by the ruler in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb indicates it was large, mostly organic, and very poorly preserved (Bell et al. 2004:153). While unable to suggest the form the headdress would have taken, the fact that the body was placed on the burial slab with 50cm of space between the cranium and the edge of the platform without a corresponding space at the feet suggested to the excavators that it had been left to accommodate the now disintegrated headdress (Sharer et al. 2004). The headdress in the Chrocha Tomb likewise appears to have been made mostly of organic material. Work on the part of both the archaeologists and the conservators was able to find evidence of a "matted gray fibrous material" and 11 large pearls all located in the area of the head that they interpret as the remains of a headdress (Fash et al. 2001:162). That the data from the Sub-Jaguar and Chrocha tombs indicate headdresses were often substantially made from organic material likely does not come as a surprise to

anyone who has looked at iconographic representations of Maya headdress and wondered how anyone's neck could support such a thing. While some of the iconographic headdresses may never have been worn in real life, this evidence shows that they could be large and making them of light organic materials would likely have been necessary. Unfortunately, this reality also means we cannot reconstruct either of them sufficiently enough to allow comparisons to any of the headdress corpus on either the monuments or ceramics at Copán or elsewhere in the Maya area. The evidence from the headdresses in the Hunal and Oropéndola Tombs, however, suggests that if we could reconstruct them, we would likely find similar examples in the iconography of the time.

Unlike the royal tombs of males at Copán, Ellen Bell describes the placement of the cranium in the Margarita Tomb was close enough to the edge of the burial slab to lack sufficient space for a large headdress (2007:388). This does not disallow a smaller headdress, but evidence shows that the southern half of the burial slab impacted against the southern tomb wall with enough force to fracture the cranium. This movement makes discrimination difficult between all of the items associated with the head and neck of the skeleton. Suffice it to say, that whether the Margarita Tomb occupant wore any kind of head decoration is unknown, but even if she did it was clearly different in size and composition from the male site rulers. As there is iconographic examples of royal women from sites other than Copán, evidence exists that such women would have worn headdresses and diadems. To my knowledge no comprehensive study has been done on how women's headdresses different from men's during the Classic period. This makes it difficult to hypothesize whether her lack of a large headdress was due to her gender or to some other social identity she was dressed to evoke that either did not have a headdress or had a smaller one like the diadems illustrated on such monuments as Yaxchilan Lintel 15.

Necklaces

One of the most common pieces of jewelry in the royal tombs of Copán were strings of beads

found in the neck and chest region. While preservation at times made it hard for the researchers to determine whether the individual was actually wearing the necklace at death or if it had merely been placed over the upper chest region, it is clear that necklaces present in all of the tombs.

The Hunal Tomb had the least amount of adornment items on the chest of all of the royal tombs. It was limited to a large tubular jade bead, referred to in publications as a 'bar pectoral,' and further discussed in the section on pectorals and a bead with an incised mat design, which has already been hypothesized to be the mouth bead (Bell 2007; Bell et al. 2004). The individual in the Margarita tomb wore a multi-strand jade and shell necklace. The beads were laid out in a clear pattern with the shell tubular curved beads on her right side and the shell globular beads on her left with jade beads, flower shaped shell pieces, and small seed pearls found on both sides (Bell et al. 2004:139). A smaller necklace made of large carved jade beads, called pectorals by Bell and colleagues, was found closer to the neck (2004:139). A full description of both necklaces is impossible due to the looting of the tomb that occurred in 1998, while the necklaces were both still partially in situ, but the motifs on the plaques are described as being "a jade tube, a creature head, a monster-headed fish, and two anthropomorphic heads, one of which wears a tri-lobed headband" (Bell 2007:139, 417-419; Bell et al 2004). The beads belonging to these two necklaces were not the only beads in the chest area. Bell describes an assemblage of beads containing "seed pearls, zoomorphic carved shell beads, and small, flower-shaped shell ornaments," which were found not only in the chest area, but also around the neck and shoulders, which she explains by pointing to "beaded capes" worn by high status women on various monuments (2007:420; Joyce 1996; Looper 2001; Proskouriakoff 1961).

The individual in the Oropéndola Tomb was buried wearing at least two necklaces and possibly one more. One necklace consisted of globular jade and *Spondylus* shell beads. The jade beads, the majority of which were smoothly polished, were set over the chest, while the shell beads formed the upper sides and back of the necklace. The possible necklace is a series of large natural pearls found in the

chest area and behind the neck line up next to some of the jade and shell beads of the first necklace (Chapter 5). The second smaller necklace was made of small carved jade plaques. Each plaque was carved into the shape of a bird head that looks like a representation a macaw. Numerous artists seem to have contributed their own interpretation of how a macaw should be represented to the final version of the necklace, since there is a wide variety among them with some plaques composed of rounder lines and softer curves, while others are much more rectangular with straight lines. The interpretation of the significance of macaws to this individual and the site of Copán is still ongoing. No representations of macaws were found in the tomb of the individual thought to be Ruler 1, whose name K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' contains the word macaw. It is clear that at least beginning with the stucco panels decorating the Margarita structure and ending with the macaw in the headdress of Ruler 1 on Ruler 16's Altar Q, with other examples in between, depictions of macaws were a major part of the iconography used to identify Ruler 1 after his death. Macaws were, however, found in other burials at Copán. Including two significant, but non-royal Early Classic burials. Burial 92-1 often called the "Tlaloc Warrior" burial contained a macaw head jade bead found beneath the head of the deceased (Bell, personal communication 2010). The second macaw was found in a burial referred to as 'El Brujo' (Burial VIII-36) located beneath Plaza A of Group 9N-8 in one of the residential wards of the site called las Sepulturas. This individual wore a necklace whose pendant according to its excavator, William Fash, was decorated with a macaw on one side and a quetzal on the other (Fash 2001).

The individual in the Sub-Jaguar tomb wore a very large multi-stranded shell necklace including both tubular and globular beads apparently made of conch shell. Some of the shell beads were incised with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures and faces, but no attempt at an interpretation of the images has yet been published. While other beads of jade and shell were found in the chest area, the excavator, Loa Traxler, could not determine whether they were part of this necklace or formed their own object (Bell et al. 2004:153; Traxler 1994; Sharer et al. 1994).

The occupant of the Chorcha Tomb was buried with a much less substantial necklace array than those of Oropéndola, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar, but what was present was of high quality jade with beautifully carved workmanship. The necklace consisted of four carved anthropomorphic plaques showing the individuals in lavish costume and headdress and both spherical and tubular beads (Fash et al. 2001:162).

Bar Pectorals or Tubular Beads

Iconographic examples of a few different varieties of pectorals can be seen at Copán adorning the depiction of the Rulers on Altar Q and the bench in the Structure 11 temple (Viel 1999). At its simplest, people have called a pectoral the large tubular jade bead worn horizontally across the chest by K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', Ruler 1, on Altar Q. Various additional elements can be added to make more complex forms and some pectorals do not appear to have a bar piece at all. A number of the Copán tombs contain large tubular beads they may have been part of a 'bar' pectoral. From a practical identification standpoint, there has been no discussion of how big a tubular bead must be to be considered a pectoral and whether all large tubular beads would have functioned in this fashion or if they may also have been part of other types of adornment.

While no one has attended to these practical issues of pectoral identification, people have discussed possible reasons for their depiction in the dress of many people and gods during the Classic Period. Claude Baudez (1994:97, 177) ascribed the differences in pectoral style as something merely decorative, something done to add more visual interest to scenes. Rene Viel (1999) attempted to evaluate possible meanings encoded in the pectorals at Copán by taking a detailed look at the pectorals on the figures of Altar Q and of the Bench from Structure 11 both of which record the accession of the 16th ruler of Copán. Viel (1999) suggests that the similarities and differences among the pectoral styles both connects specific individuals together because of certain shared identity elements and demarcates them

from others who share different identities. He suggests that these identities are both job related and also likely related to the ruling structure of the city with a distinction made between those who perform military/external vs. administrative/internal roles. He also a reflection of familial lineages who traditionally had access to these different positions and their waxing and waning in power at Copán. While his conclusions are conjectural, the approach and the apparent patterning does suggest that pectoral decorations were not merely decorative, but were probably symbolic encoding meaning that we are struggling to uncover.

The Hunal tomb contained a jade bead described by the team who excavated it to be a bar pectoral (Bell et al. 1994:133). The bead is a large tubular bead, which was squared off at the ends was found in the area of the chest. Its location where one would expect to find pectorals supports the conclusion of its use as a pectoral, as its extreme simplicity might otherwise make the identification less secure. The shape of the bead, and the lack of any other elements, makes it look remarkably similar to the one Yax K'uk' Mo,' Ruler 1 of Copán, is wearing on Altar Q. The similarity between the two is one of the pieces of information used to suggest the individual in the Hunal tomb was the first ruler of the Copán dynasty.

The Margarita tomb contained an uncarved 10cm long tubular jade bead found on her chest (Bell, personal communication 2010). There were a number of differently shaped and incised jade beads in the same area perhaps making up a large necklace or pectoral decoration (Bell et al. 2004). It is unknown if all of these large beads were part of the same item and whether the larger tubular bead was part of an item that incorporated some or all of those other pieces, or if these are the remains of multiple objects. The non-tubular beads are the ones referred to as pectorals above that are decorated with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic designs (Bell 2007:417-419).

The Oropéndola tomb had one very large 25cm long tubular jade bead and 2 smaller tubular beads that may originally have been pectorals. The large tubular bead was found in the area of the head

and chest, while the smaller tubular beads were located closer to the arm areas. Since there were no other objects clearly associated with these smaller tubular beads, it is not known how close they are to their original locations, especially since the one near the left arm had clearly moved, though how far, is unknown (chapter 5).

There were no clear contenders for a jade pectoral in the Sub-Jaguar tomb. The main decoration over the chest was a very large shell necklace with carved beads some with anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and geometrical designs. While some other beads were found in the chest area none of them have thus far been suggested to be a pectoral piece, though the organic mask with sets of shell eyes might have originally been part of a pectoral decoration with or without the other shell and jade beads (Bell et al. 2004:153)

The Chorcha tomb had a much smaller complement of jade items than the earlier tombs, but there were some carved jade beads in the neck/chest referred to as plaques by Fash and colleagues and some tubular and round jade beads found lower down on the chest with at least one near the left arm, which may originally have been with the others (2001:162). While the current display in the town museum in Copán Ruinas shows the tubular and round beads strung together as if they were originally a necklace, their placemen on the original drawing shows they one, some, or all of them might originally have formed a pectoral (Fash 2001; Fash et al. 2001).

Earflares

Evidence that earflares worn by the deceased were found in all of the royal tombs of Copán and some tombs also contained extra pairs. While it is possible that the patterns that adorn earflares may be more symbolically significant than mere decoration, much like the pectorals, there has not, to my knowledge, been any attempt to review earflare form and decoration within either the iconographic or archaeological corpus. This dissertation will not fill that gap, as an iconographic survey is way beyond its

scope. In addition, due to a preference for mosaic earflares in more than one of the tombs royal tombs of Copán, the original decorative motifs were often impossible to recover, which precludes any attempt to interpret the iconography of the earflares even at the level of this single site.

Only one jade earflare was found next to the head on the western side of the burial platform of the Hunal Tomb. It appears the eastern earflare fell to the floor prior to the excavation of the tomb (Bell 2007:236), as figure 5.33 in Bell's 2007 dissertation shows them to be a matching set of earplugs and rings. They are composed of a solid jade disk with a small hole in the middle for the throat and stem of the flare and a smaller jade disc with a hole in the middle large enough to consider them rings rather than discs. The ring was placed at the base of the stem and the pieces worn together (Bell 2007:214; Bell et al. 2004:133). While made of solid polished jade, these flares do not have any other decorative motifs on them. The earflares from the Margarita Tomb were also described as solid jade with one found on either side of her head and are described as possibly "flower" shaped, though they may also just be irregular circles (Bell 2007: 401; Bell et al. 2004:140).

In the Oropéndola Tomb, the earflares worn by the occupant were composed of small and thin beautifully made jade mosaics pieces on slate backings. Unfortunately, no clear idea of the original placement of the mosaic pieces exists due to the loss of the adhesive over time. This means nothing is known about the original motifs beyond a the existence of a general circular pattern, which is likely just the result of the fact that they were round earflares. Small piles of small jade mosaics and round slate pieces were present on each side the occupant's head in the Oropéndola Tomb indicating this was the pair worn in death. The other pairs of earflares present in the tomb, there were six in total, will be discussed in their own specific contexts. The earflare pair worn by the deceased ruler in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb were mosaic earflares made of shell and jade found on each side of the head (Bell et al. 2004:153; Traxler 1994). Unfortunately the mosaic pieces had been moved around by water infiltration making the original design difficult recover (Sharer et al. 1994), much like the case of the earflares in the Oropéndola Tomb.

The earflares worn by the occupant of the Chorcha Tomb are the most elaborate pair. Like the earlier tombs they are made of solid jade, and were carved with flower petals in a ring around the central hole, as if the hole was the area of the flower's stamens and pollen. In addition, the earflares had tubes that likely would have protruded from the throat of the earflare possibly evoking a stamen, and round jade counterweight beads (Fash et al. 2001:162). While it is tempting to try to look for patterns among the earflare types worn by the royalty of Copán, they were in fact all very different with regard to composition and materials, except that each included at least some jade. The presence of mosaic rather than solid jade flares was clearly not due to lack of access to jade, at least in the case of the Oropéndola Tomb, since it contains two pairs of extremely large solid jade earflares, a pair of solid jade earflares that could have been worn by a human, as well as two pairs of jade and shell mosaic earflares that were likewise relegated to the floor. The earflares worn by the Oropéndola Tomb occupant were entirely the choice of whoever dressed him. If their original motif was indeed symbolic, and there is still hope a talented conservator might be able to repair at least part of one of the flares, the significance maybe something we could access. If, on the other hand, the choice was more emotional in nature, such as a favorite pair, we will never be able to tell.

Belts/loincloths

In the Hunal Tomb, there was a group of 7 complete and other fragmentary "spiral top" shells found in the region of the pelvis (Bell 2007:210-211). Whether these were originally sewn onto something, strung together as a decorative element on a belt or loincloth, or whether they were added as a loose group to the pelvic region. 13 Shells of the same type preserved sufficiently to see their drill holes were found on the floor of the tomb, likely having fallen off the burial slab when the other times did. Bell suggests that together the shells may have been decorative elements for a belt or loincloth (2007:212, 238). The second group of objects found in the area of the pelvis were 2 groups of shell spangles on either

side of the body and 48 small irregular discoid jade beads suggested to have been strung or sewn onto a backing on east side. The archaeologists have interpreted the shells and beads as part of the composite shell spangled headdress displaced from the head area due to seismic or water movement (Bell 2007:210-211). On the other hand, they could be part of a loincloth or belt decoration that mimicked the headdress form. If they do indeed belong to the headdress and were not originally waist decorations, it makes the occupant of the Hunal Tomb the ruler with the least elaborate surviving costume in that area. If his belt or loincloth was once decorated only with fragile organic material, we will never know it.

At the waist of the woman in the Margarita Tomb, interpreted as a belt, was a set of objects containing: 41 globular jade beads that ran around the body, a set of "flower" shaped jade earflares with one at each hip, a set of rectangular objects originally made out of made of pyrite, but now unrecognizable (Bell 2007:414). This was all associated with hundreds of small discoidal shell beads that may once have been stitched onto a fabric backing or strung together, and a set of three bird beaks indicating that the belt had also once included bird heads. On top of her pelvis was an *Oliva* shell placed inside a *Spondylus sp.* laid out so the interior of the valve was face up (Bell 2007: 401-402,412; Bell et al. 2004:140). Bell recalls Tozzer's (1941) mention of *Oliva* shells as associated with virgins and tied around a woman's waist before marriage, thought parturition pits on the pelvis of this woman rules out that possibility (Bell 2007:413). Since the *Oliva* shell is clearly not making reference to a virgin, Bell also notes that Thompson (1939) made a connection between spiral shells and the moon goddess and fertility based on the Mexican tradition of associating a mollusc sticking its head out from its shell with a baby exiting the birth canal (2007:413). This interpretation, however, runs into problems with the spiral top shells found at the pelvis of the occupant of the Hunal Tomb. From the orientation and placement of the *Spondylus* shell, interior up hinge toward the feet, and the *Oliva* located inside, Bell thinks it unlikely the shells were part of the original waist assemblage (Bell 2007:413), but they were clearly an essential part of the death ritual and perhaps the death costume, which suggests an interpretation more inline with ideas

of ancestral rebirth than virginity (Chapter 4).

The Oropéndola Tomb, like the Margarita, had a number of objects in the pelvic area as well as some objects placed over the upper thighs. One group of items that appear to make a single assemblage includes two large jade earspools, two *Spondylus* valves, and a 41 jade bead necklace of which 20 were globular beads, 20 were carved four-lobed beads, and the final element was a jade pendant. All of these elements were found over the thighs. The next set of items, which is a group of jade beads, was found more in the vicinity of the pelvis itself (Chapter 5). My tendency is to interpret these beads as two different groups, since they were so different in treatment and quality. One group is made of very high quality jade, it is brilliantly polished, and contains two of the largest and most well executed macaw head beads in the entire tomb, one of which is made from bright apple green jade. The other group is made of very rough not well polished jade pieces of irregular shape. Together all of the objects point to a loincloth or belt present as part of the burial costume, but whether all of the beads were also part of that assemblage or placed in the pelvic area later is hard to discern, especially due to the almost complete obliteration of the pelvis from the tomb collapse and damage to all of the bones in the tomb.

The description of the waist decoration in the Sub-Jugar Tomb is not described in as much detail in the published sources as those of the other tombs. What is known is the waist was adorned with a large jade pendant, two obsidian disks and a *Spondylus* valve placed over the jade pendant placing it in a similar genre to the two assemblages in the Margarita and Oropéndola Tombs (Bell et al. 2004:153). We see the repetition of of jade beads, even a pendant like the Oropéndola Tomb, and two matched round objects, though in Margarita and Oropéndola they were both jade earflares, and a *Spondylus* shell placed at the pelvis. It is the *Spondylus* shell at the pelvis found in the early tombs beginning with the Margarita Tomb, that is the only element of the waist decoration that matches the Late Classic Chorcha Tomb. In the Chorcha Tomb there is nothing that looks like a belt or loincloth decoration, but there are two and possibly three *Spondylus* valves found in the pelvis area some of which had jade pebbles inside (Fash et

al. 2001:163-164). This means that all of the tombs in had shells in their pelvic area, though the Hunal shells were of a different type, and as none of the male tombs had *Oliva* shells at the pelvis, though the Hunal Tomb did have similarly shaped spiral top shells.

Bracelets, Anklets, Rings

The section surveys other adornment items worn by the deceased that are present in some, but not all of the royal tombs. While none of the patterns are robust enough to warrant firm conclusions, they do suggest some possible meaningful interpretations of what is present and absent. Various costumes ensembles available through the iconographic corpus suggest that wearing sandals or other food coverings was common, and that many other items of jewelry without clear iconographic components are also frequent.

In the Hunal Tomb the additional pieces of adornment are both arm and leg decorations. The leg decorations are 4 jaguar canines with holes drilled for stringing, which are possibly associated with a nearby group of 26 irregular oval jade beads. The jade beads and at least two of the jaguar canines were associated with proximal end of right tibia suggesting they may originally have been tied there just below the knee. The other two canines may have been associated with left proximal tibia and moved due to the fall of vault and/or wall (Bell 2007: 210), which would leave him with a matching set of an adornment item often referred to as garters based on their location. The arm decoration had fallen to the floor on the east side of the tomb, which makes it impossible to tell if it was associated with the wrist or the arm. It is a band of 33 shell tinklers made from *Oliva* shells (Bell 2007:236).

The woman in the Margarita Tomb has more adornment than any of the male burials, which may be a reflection of her gender. She was apparently wearing shell platelet sandals, which were not present in any of the other royal tombs and band of large jade beads around each lower leg, which were possibly her version of a garter or anklet, but significantly more impressive than the ones in the Hunal Tomb (Bell

2007:400; Bell et al. 2004:139). Around her lower arms were arm bands or bracelets made of two strands of large jade beads. At least three rows of small rectangular jade plates with reflective pyrite elements comprised bracelets around both wrists (Bell 2007: 401; Bell et al. 2004:140). Both of the arm decorations are unique among the royal tombs, and even those who do have bracelets, like the Sub-Jaguar Tomb, have only one set on each arm and of a much less elaborate nature.

The anklet or garter in the Oropéndola tomb was only found associated with the right leg, though a few of the beads were between the two legs, but whether they moved from the right or left side is difficult to determine. They are set of jade beads comprised of simple tubes, tubes with small central holes from which to suspend things, tubes incised with a centipede or reptilian design, and other irregular shapes (chapter 5). The large tubes found near each arm, and not in association with anything else were previously discussed as possible bar pectorals, but the locations in which they were found may mean they were originally part of arm or wrist bands whose major components were organic.

The Sub-Jaguar Tomb is the only other one in which there is evidence of sandals having been included as part of the burial costume and this is based on the maintenance of a close articulation among the foot bones, even after all of the tendons and ligaments were gone (Bell et al. 2004:153). This is not to say sandals were not present in the other tombs. In fact, the presence of sandals in both male and female burials and at both the beginning and end of the Early Classic period suggest it was likely they were originally present in other of the royal tombs. Unfortunately, bone preservation was poor enough in the other tombs as to make such a diagnosis impossible, if as in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb they were mainly made of organic materials. The occupant of the Sub-Jaguar tomb also wore both bracelets and anklets made of jade and shell beads continuing the trend in all of the Early Classic tombs of having some kind of leg decoration. In both the Hunal Tomb and the Oropéndola Tomb the data is equivocal on the presence of bracelets, while their obvious presence in the Margarita and Sub-Jaguar tombs do indicate that at least some burial costumes did contain these items so frequently seen in iconographic depictions. The Chorcha

tomb contains no evidence of personal adornment jewelry beyond the beautiful earflares and necklaces (Fash et al. 2001). Certainly the Chorcha Tomb had much less in the amount of jade than the other tombs, but what was present was made of high quality material and executed with gorgeous artistry.

Objects on burial platform

Mats/textiles

Hunal's stone burial slab was covered with the remains of either a textile over which the skeleton and other artifacts were placed (Bell et al. 2004:133), likewise the burial platform in the Margarita tomb was covered with a mat, on top of which were placed the skeleton and other objects (Bell 2007:400). At least one of the layers of material on top of the burial platform in the Oropendola Tomb, the one directly on top of it, was made of matting (Chapter 5). The Sub-Jaguar Tomb contains evidence a mat was placed under the skeleton and over the red and black painted surface of the stone burial platform (Bell et al. 2004:153). In the Chorcha Tomb "plaited-grass matting" was found on the stone dais onto which the wooden platform was placed and other small remnants of matting suggests there may also have been matting on top of the upper wooden platform on which the skeleton was laid (Fash et al. 2001:161).

Jaguar skins, leather

The only secure example of skins or hide is from the Late Classic Chorcha Tomb, in which evidence for two cat skins in form of 36 feline phalanges were found on the stone burial platform, with one skin placed over north side and other over south side. Due to disturbed stratigraphy the archaeologists and conservators were unable to determine if the pelts were above or below the skeleton (Fash et al. 2001:161). The tomb with merely suggestive evidence is the Oropéndola Tomb. There it has been suggested that one of the layers on top of the burial platform was made of hide or leather (Chapter 5). There is no evidence of animal bones associated with it, as there were in the Chorcha Tomb, but as the entire Oropéndola Tomb is devoid of animal bones and the human bones were severely disintegrated, it is

impossible to definitively conclude they were never there.

Adornment

In the Hunal Tomb a group of small jade mosaic fragments was found to the east (right-side) of the body. They have been separated from their original backing, but their size and shape are very similar to a group of mosaic objects found on the floor: the inlaid shell "horse collar" and 3 animal mosaics, though they were most like mosaics 2 and 3 (Bell 2007:213). The group was found on the east side floor associated with a jade and shell necklace. The shell "horse collar" is made from a giant limpet shell whose interior was incised to provide inlay beds for a jade, shell, pearl, and hematite mosaic. Bell reports that Simon Martin interprets the image as referencing the Principal Bird Deity and Yax K'uk' Mo' (2007:237). There is a figurine from El Peru-Waka? That shows someone wearing an item of the same shape suspended from the neck and laying across the chest showing a possible representation of how this item might have been used. The three animals are all carved shells, two of which still had some of the original jade and shell inlay. The two with inlay appear to be peccaries, while the third is a jaguar with a water-lily blossom tail. All had holes for suspension (Bell 2007:237-28). Bell suggests this may indicate that at least the composite artifacts, if not the whole group was originally was placed on the burial platform (Bell 2007:212-213).

While the shell collar may have been directly related to K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', buttressed by the short glyphic phrase that may relate to one of his titles (Bell 2007:238), the jaguar and peccaries are a good reminder that not all iconography that appears in the tomb can be easily related to the occupant. Some may reference lesser known titles or roles like the shell collar, which would likely be impenetrable to scholars if found associated with a ruler about whom less is known. Others, such as the water-lily tailed jaguar fuses two iconographic elements often associated with the underworld: the jaguar and its relations to the night sun and the water-lily, an oft used reference to the underworld's watery nature. Was this item chosen because of it evoked these ideas or was it a piece of jewelry worn in life and part of the deceased

various costumes? Peccaries in Maya iconography are often identified with one of the constellations, which is thought to depict two peccaries mating (Maya Cosmos, Forest of Kings, Bonampak). If the inclusion of these items are for their symbolic value in a tomb context, the group of items might be seen as evoking the plunge into the watery underworld and later rebirth into the celestial world of gods and ancestors in which can also be found the sun, moon, and stars.

Margarita Tomb contains some of the most amazing examples of the bead makers art in both quantity and quality. Along the right side of the occupant's body were found over 2,000 tubular jade beads and discoid blue beads perhaps made of turquoise, while on the left side of the body were more than 9,500 tiny discoidal jade beads on top of thick concentration of cinnabar (Bell 2007:400, 407). There is evidence that at least some of the discoid beads on the left side of the body were originally strung together and Bell suggests the beads may have originally been part of a garment, strings of beads or necklaces, or were the raw material for such objects placed into organic bags that did not preserve. Bell hypothesizes the reason for the inclusion of the thousands of beads next to the body may be for their use in making garments and related to the idea of weaving as something that elite women and goddesses do (Bell 2007:407). It is very clear from multiple ethnographic accounts and supported by Landa's report from colonial Yucatan that Maya people were often buried with the materials and tools of their occupation or role and Bell's interpretation of these beads suggests an origin for this practice beginning at least in the Early Classic period (Chapters 2 and 3). The blue discoid and green tubular beads were found aligned indicating they were part of the same string and Bell reminds us of the bead skirts worn by the young maize god and the female deity associated with the moon (2007:409).

None of the other tombs had objects of adornment whose original locations were likely the burial platform, though based on the amount of disruption all of the tombs experienced between the times of their sealing and excavation by archaeologists, it is impossible to say conclusively that non of the adornment objects found of the floors were not originally from the slab, as we know happened in the case

of the Hunal Tomb.

Animal bones

In the Hunal Tomb a group of 5 worked bone awls made from the long bones of a large mammal, perhaps a deer, and 7 stingray spines were found together near the left knee (Bell 2007:209). The awls were at the eastern side of the group and stingray spines on the left. Their close association and the organic remains around them suggest they were once in a bag or wrapping and suggest they were seen as related to each other, probably performing the same function (Bell 2007:210). The Chorcha Tomb had two stingray spines and two obsidian blades along with marine animal pieces placed in the chest and stomach areas of the body (Fash et al. 2001:163). Since a dead body does not have a lot of blood to loose, and it is the soul and not the body that travels into the afterlife, perhaps their inclusion in the tomb pertains to the idea that one of the central roles of a ruler was to shed his blood for gods due to the power it contained (Schele and Miller 1986). Stingray spines were not recorded on the burial platforms of either the Margarita or Sub-Jaguar tombs (Bell et al. 2004:153).

The bier of the Sub-Jaguar tomb was covered by a rectangular pattern of 27 *Spondylus* valves placed around the body. Some appeared to have been covering dead birds/animals and it is unknown if the others originally did so as well. There has been no previous discussion that I am familiar with on an association between birds and *Spondylus* shell, though one might be tempted to see it as evoking a link between the watery underworld, rebirth, and the celestial world of birds, ancestors, and gods. The body was laid out over these shells in such a way that the arms, hands and feet were actually resting on shells (Bell et al. 2004:153). The original field report also notes a group of worked bone objects that were likely in a bag or other container that did not preserve on the burial slab near the body (Sharer et al. 2004).

The stingray spines in the Chorcha tomb were found in the area of the torso mixed with red pigment and sea urchin shell fragments, sea star, brittlestar, and sea fan fragments, fish vertebral bones,

tiny pearls and clamshells, sea sponge, and small stone pieces of many types. Red pigment usually found on top of lower wooden platform suggesting these marine objects were also once located on that surface below the skeleton. The archaeologists suggest group was once contained in something, perhaps a bag based on organic remains in the area. Their location lines up with one of 5 *Spondylus* shells on the platform, since some of these shells were found with small jade pieces, they suggest the marine objects might likewise once have been associated with the *Spondylus* shells (Fash et al. 2001: 163-164). It is unfortunate that the collapse of the wooden platform in this tomb makes it impossible to work out some of the stratigraphic relationships between objects such as the original location of the *Spondylus* shells and their relationship to the skeleton and the other items on the various levels of platform and slab. Though not all the tombs had *Spondylus* shells on their burial surfaces, *Spondylus* shells are one of the objects found in all of the royal tombs. While most of the tombs have examples of jewelry and adornment items made out of this precious material, many also have whole valves sometimes containing items like jade, other shells, and animal bones. They are often interpreted as evoking the watery nature of the underworld, and as they are shells that cement themselves to rocks far enough below the ocean surface that people must dive for them, they are without a doubt part of the underwater landscape. When the white aragonite layer on the inside of the valves is scraped away a pink/orange color is revealed, this color frequently embellished with the addition of red pigment, has evoked the direction east for some scholars, who now suggest that the shells do not merely represent the watery underworld, but instead are objects whose nature and color evoke rebirth out of that underworld and transition into the celestial one.

Other objects on the Burial Platform

In the Sub-Jaguar Tomb a wooden object was found near the right hand of the occupant along with an obsidian blade. Placement of obsidian blade in either the hand or near the groin are often thought to make reference to ritual bloodletting, especially by royal individuals and maybe the reason for such a

find (Fash et al. 2001). A group of small polished wooden pieces and seeds were also found near right hand. These pieces are suggested to have been in organic bag that has long since disintegrated, and are thought to have possibly been counters, divination pieces, or rattles inside wood object (Bell et al. 2004:153-154). The examples of patoli boards at Copán scratched into stucco floors near the buried earlier ballcourts and in the second floor room of the Oropéndola Structure demonstrate why an individual might have carried counters or game pieces around. On the other hand, from ethnographic accounts we know day-keepers and other religious practitioner, especially those who do divination, carry around seeds and other objects to assist them in their work, while Landa tell relates that those he refers to as sorcerers are buried with the implements of their trade, which suggests these items are were perhaps divinatory in nature (Chapters 2; Fash 1986:213-216). This question will come up again later in the discussion of a group of quartz stones found in one of the niches in the Chorcha chamber.

Objects on the floor

If we knew without a doubt the original location of tomb items, it would be interesting to to explore in depth the significances of the distributions of objects inside the tombs, but the evidence that at least some, but who knows how many, objects have fallen off the platforms onto the floor or out of niches and onto the floor makes this a hard idea to evaluate. I have separated, where possible, the worn items from the items on the burial platforms from the items on the floor and I will continue to mention more specific origin locations when known, but there is enough conjecture in many of the attributions to raise doubt about the strength of the conclusions from this kind of analysis.

The items a person was actually wearing are a little easier to hypothesize about because, as I have already discussed, we have good information of the importance of costume in Maya culture and the kinds of messages it transmitted and the kind of functions it had within the communities. The questions become tricky when trying to understand how to interpret objects not directly worn in one tomb, especially when

they are the same objects that are worn by others.

An example from the royal tomb sample of Copán are two objects placed directly underneath the platform in the Sub-Jaguar tomb that are both present in the Oropéndola Tomb, while one of the objects is also present in the Hunal Tomb. In the Hunal Tomb and Oropéndola Tombs the shared object is on the burial platform worn by the deceased, this is of course, the shell spangled headdress already mentioned above. While the second object, a pair of shell goggles, were found below the burial platform in Sub-Jaguar Tomb, and against the east wall in the Oropéndola Tomb. If Bell and colleagues are correct, than we have a clear example of what appear to be the same items that are regarded in completely different ways by different people, or this could be an instance where placement is not heavily imbued with meaning (Chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of these objects)

Floor Covering

In the Hunal Tomb a dark brown light-weight organic floor covering of varying thicknesses was found throughout the tomb. It has been suggested that this could have been reed matting, textiles, pelts, or plants like pine needles covering the floor, but Bell concludes a plant material like pine needles is the most likely explanation because of the variability across the floor (2007:219). This was not the only tomb found with organic remains covering the floor, both the Margarita and Oropéndola tombs were also found to contain organic remains, though the conclusions of the original causes differed amongst them.

In the Hunal Tomb the organic covering was placed over a stucco floor on a clay and sterile soil base (Bell 2007:219), which makes it like both the Margarita and Sub-Jaguar tombs that also had stucco floors. In the Margarita Tomb, however, the stucco was placed over a layer of tuff gravels rather than sterile soil. In the case of the Margarita Tomb the organic material is hypothesized by Bell to be textiles based on small impressions left behind (2007:425). While the Oropéndola Tomb did not contain any clear evidence of floor plastering, it, similar to the Margarita Tomb, had a floor based in a tuff gravel layer.

Above this gravel layer was evidence of dark brown or almost black fluffy organic remains that reminiscent of the texture of coffee grounds. It covered the entire floor in varying thicknesses, which might suggest an interpretation of plant remains like that of the Hunal Tomb, but in the few places with better preservation, under ceramic vessels for instance, staining on the gravel floor suggested that at least these locations were covered with reed matting (chapter 5).

The floor of the Sub-Jaguar Tomb was stuccoed, but there is no discussion of an organic layer above it. Instead, it appears to be covered with thick layer of red-black mangenite like the burial platform, the walls and the roof (Bell et al. 2004:154). The floor of the Chorcha Tomb was made of tuff gravels with no suggesting of stucco, for all that the walls of the tomb and the burial platform were stuccoed. The current evidence points to an early tradition of covering the floor with some kind of organic layer, that was not done with the Sub-Jaguar Tomb or the Chorcha Tomb. The Oropéndola and Chorcha Tombs both lack plaster floors, though the Oropéndola Tomb stands out as the only one without evidence of plaster on either walls or roof. This is one of a few items that has suggested to us the tomb might have been hurriedly constructed.

Items of personal adornment

All of the royal tombs at Copán contain items of adornment left on the floor of the tomb and ethnographic analogy suggests that all of these items would have belonged to the deceased and were to be used in the afterlife. The reasons specific adornment items were not selected to be part of the burial costume itself is likely due to a specific role, message, and/or image being highlighted by the funeral organizers by directly associating certain adornment items with the body, which is the point of focus for funerary ritual events.

In the Hunal tomb the additional items of adornment include a concentration of shell and jade beads found associated with earflare-shaped objects and mosaic fragments of shell, jade, hematite, and

bone. Bell suggests the group was originally a pair of earflares and a composite object that is the remains of a necklace, chest ornament, headdress, or backrack (2007:240). Unfortunately, with so many mosaic fragments unmoored from their setting, it is difficult to know how many objects were originally represented and nature their original forms. The proximity of the earflares to the composite mosaic object(s) raises the possibility they were related pieces of regalia. The fact that the original iconography and design are not currently reconstructable makes it impossible to test this hypotheses of association by comparison to either iconography or other archaeologically known pieces of adornment and it must consequently remain unresolved.

The other major pieces of adornment found on the floor of the Hunal Tomb is the mosaic inlaid limpet shell "horse collar" and shell mosaic animals. These objects were discussed previously in the section on adornment items from the Hunal burial platform, but as it is unknown whether their original location was on the floor where they were found or if they had fallen from the burial platform onto the ground. The "horse collar"gets its name from similarly shaped objects at Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu (Kidder et al 1946). The closest match for this object at Copán is the previously mentioned Burial 92-3. Like the "horse collar" from the Hunal Tomb, the one in Burial 92-3 was made from a giant limpet shell and inlaid with jade and shell mosaic forming an image of the Principal Bird Deity or Itzamnah. Bell and colleagues suggest it is was likely a pectoral decoration for the interred individual (Bell et al. 2004:149). It has been suggested that the jade and shell mosaic ring from the Oropéndola Tomb is similar these items, though it has enough differences that is is reasonable to question assuming an equivalence. The object in the Oropéndola Tomb: is made of a different base shell, is a different shape, the mosaic is glued on rather than inlaid, it likely had a hematite rather than empty center, and has iconography based around feathered eyes and serpents rather than the Principal Bird Deity (Chapter 5).

The Margarita Tomb is an excessively wealthy tomb on almost every axis of comparison. This display of wealth is found in the items worn by the occupant herself and the extra adornment pieces both

on the burial platform and the floor. Hers is the only tomb at Copán to have shell finger rings; there are 21. The sheer number (thousands) and variety of beads in size, shape, and material is unknown in the Maya world and while many of the beads are not worked beyond their shape, the group of jaguar heads is unique among the tombs in which representations of birds such as macaws and quetzals are more common (Bell 2007:436, 440-443). While many of the beads are of a size and shape appropriate for necklaces, there are also many that were likely strung together and/or sewn onto backings to create and decorate garments. The lack of organic preservation in this, and all of the tombs, means it is difficult to tell how many of the beads in the Margarita tomb were from finished items and how many may have been raw materials. Like the other royal tombs hers includes at least two extra pairs of earflares, one of shell and jade mosaic that appear to have included stucco and wooden portions and possibly drilled snail shells and another of made of carved shell (Bell 2007:434, 438).

The additional items of adornment from the floor of the Oropéndola Tomb include four pairs of earflares. One of those pairs is similar in size and shape to the ones that are part of the belt or loincloth piece from the tomb, which means they are too big and too heavy to have been worn by humans. While the extra pair may have been for something like waist decoration, I have also wondered if such gigantic earflares might not have been intended for a headdress. The earflares were found leaning one on top of the other against a large tripod vessel, which unfortunately gives very little idea of their use either in or out of the tomb. Two of the other pairs are shell and jade mosaic earflares, while the fourth pair was jade carved small and thin enough to be able to be worn. They are rounded, but have slightly irregular edges and a round central piece perhaps evoking a flower. This pair was found directly under the burial slab and the closest objects to it were a jade pendant and a large composite object of completely unknown identity. The pendant is highly polished on one side with an overall rectangular shape, though the top end through which the hole runs is rounded. The composite object is made of mica, some unidentified organic remains, perhaps some rectangular cut shell bars at least part of the composite also shows evidence of

having been stuccoed and painted (Chapter 5). Whether this was a backrack, a pectoral piece, a shield, a headdress, or something else completely is not known. It is likewise unknown whether the composite object has relationship to the pendant and earflare pair. As I mentioned, it has been suggested that items below the burial platform might be more personal, which would be interesting if true, as the at least the earflares and pendant are some of the least elaborated pieces of jade in the tomb.

If the jade and shell mosaic ring decorated with eyes is, like the ones in the Hunal Tomb and Burial 92-2, a pectoral decoration, than it too belongs in this section as it was found on top of the stack of pyrite mirrors against the east wall. Unlike the previously mentioned "horse collars," it does not have obvious suspend holes, though the amount of damage to the object make have obscured them. It also appears similar in form and design to iconographic depictions of mirrors worn at the belt by warriors. Its deposition in a stack of pyrite mirrors may indicate that it also was considered a mirror in this context. Unique to the Oropéndola Tomb is a group of over 1600 pachuca green obsidian sequins covered in red pigment that were likely sewn onto some organic backing or were the raw material for doing so (Chapter 5). The final two adornment items were found next to each other against the east wall of the tomb. One was a shell necklace made from over 200 globular *Spondylus* shell beads, while the other were at least two, but probably three, sets of shell goggles of the kind often considered to be part of the Teotihuacan Warrior costume (Chapter 7 for more detail). There is one other possible candidate for this designation, which is the group of *Nodipecten* shells and two highly elaborated *Spondylus* shell figures found laid out of the floor of the tomb. Both figures have holes for suspension, while there are examples in the iconographic corpus of whole *Nodipecten* shells or valves used as part of necklaces. While in the tomb there were covered in red pigment and had jade beads placed inside, they may have originally formed a necklace or pectoral decoration.

When compared to the Margarita Tomb, and even the Oropéndola Tomb, the Sub-Jaguar Tomb did not contain many extra pieces of adornment. All of the pieces it did contain were found below the

central area of the burial platform associated with a cup and bowl, a wooden box, and other organic objects. There were no extra earflares and only one necklace, which was made of *Oliva* shells with jaguar claw pendant. It did, however, contain the remains of a shell spangle headdress and a pair of shell rings/goggles (Bell et al 2004:154). While the headdresses and goggles will be discussed in detailed in chapter 7, it is interesting here to note the inclusion of these items must have been very significant, as there were no other items of adornment added to the tomb beyond these and what the occupant was wearing.

The Chorcha Tomb contains fewer extra items of adornment than the Sub-Jaguar Tomb. All of the jade pieces were found associated with the body itself, and when compared to the Hunal, Margarita or Oropéndola Tombs the amount was quite small, if beautifully made. In fact, it is similar only to the Sub-Jaguar Tomb in how little jade was present. It would seem to suggest a possible change in either jade use or jade procurement at the site. It is often suggested that the site of Quirigua was begun by the same people who founded the Copán dynasty to help control the jade trade from the Motagua River Valley. Copán continued to have a superordinate relationship with the site of Quirigua into the reign of Copán's Ruler 12, since he oversaw the seating of a Quirigua ruler in 652CE. It isn't until 734CE, almost 40 years after Ruler 12's death, that the capture and sacrifice of Ruler 13 of Copán by Quirigua provides firm evidence of a change in the nature of the relationship between these two sites. It therefore seems unlikely that the organizers of Ruler 12's funeral could not get access to jade, but for some reason did not fill the tomb with as much of that material as had been customary during the earlier part of the Early Classic. Another thing missing from the Chorcha Tomb are shell beads. While it has some whole *Spondylus* valves and a huge variety of marine objects, the tomb seems to be completely lacking the shell pendants, shell spangles, shell bead necklaces, and shell mosaics, while at least some of which are found in every other royal tomb.

Ceramic vessels

Hunal Tomb

Bell observed no pattern in the distribution of plain and decorated wares among the ceramic vessels in the Hunal Tomb (2007:221). INAA shows that half of the vessels were made in local workshops, two made in the Motagua Valley near Quirigua, three in the Petén region near Tikal, and three from Puebla, Mexico, while the final three vessels are from unidentified locations (Reents-Budet 2004 et al. in Bell 2007:221-222).

Six of the vessels in the Hunal Tomb are cylinder tripods. V6 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.38) is a black cylinder tretrapod with mammiform feet and an applique base of circles with a line through them (cacao beans?). V9 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.46) and V16 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.55) are two tripod cylinders with rectangular feet and oval appliques at their base. While the designs are not the same, these three local black tripod vessels with decorated vases are reminiscent of the four locally made black tripod vessels with decorated bases in the Oropéndola Tomb. Vessel 6 was found with a Melano bowl (V8) stacked on top (Bell 2007:222-223), which is very similar to the configuration in the Oropéndola Tomb where a Melano ring-based bowl was found stacked on top of a black Melano tripod vessel with decorated base. V14 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.51) and V17 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.54) are another matched set of cylinder tripod vessels with rectangular feet, four rattle appliques on the body, and a lids with rattle handles. V19 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.56) is the most highly decorated of the cylinder tripods, as it and its lid are both are embellished with powered red pigment rubbed into a series of cartouches containing“ reptile-eyes” topped with three circles and between the cartouches are scrolls. While “reptile-eyes” are often thought to be symbols from Teotihuacan and cartouch-style decoration is common there, Reents-Budet and colleagues call this style typical of Early Classic Petén (2004:173).

Six of the vessels in the Hunal Tomb are bowls. V7 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.37) and V3 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.41) are two are Thin Orange ring-based bowls with incised geometric decorations, which appear to have

been made in the highlands of Mexico, while V18 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.53) is a ring-based bowl thought to be a local version of the type, often referred to as faux Thin Orange. V15 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.52) is a Melano ring-based bowl with a red rim, while V8 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.39) is the previously mentioned Melano bowl found stacked inside the tripod (V6) (Bell 2007:222-223). V5 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.45) is a small composite silhouette undecorated Melano bowl (Bell 2007:224-226).

There were five dishes in the Hunal Tomb. V11 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.48), V12 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.49), V13 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.50), and V21 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.43) are all mammiform dishes with scalloped basal flanges and Usulután resist style decoration, three of the vessels are tripods while the third is a tetrapod. The fifth dish in the tomb is V2 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.42) a composite silhouette tripod dish with a turtle effigy lid.

V10 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.47) is a large cuspidor vase with globular body, flaring neck and nubbin supports decorated with stars (starfish?) near the rim, a connected series of scrolls at the base, and in the center on both sides are two male figures with goggle rimmed eyes, wearing a feathered helmet headdress with a staff in the right hand, and perhaps a spear-thrower and darts, a rectangular feathered shield in the left. This seems to be an evocation of the Teotihuacan warrior discussed in detail in chapter 7. According to Reents-Budet and colleagues the jar style, the decoration technique and palette, and the iconographic elements and presentation are all Teotihuacan in inspiration, if not origin, and the scroll elements are thought to represent clouds and waves (2004:174).

V20 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.57) is a brownware tecomate on a high ringstand decorated with incised geometric motifs (Bell et al 2007: 226-331).V4 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.40) is a thin-walled basin with a post-fire, painted stucco surface perhaps decorated with an owl and feathered oval cartouches that may be mirrors (Reents-Budet et al. 2004:174). Unlike the Margarita and Oropéndola Tombs there are no free standing poststands in the Hunal Tomb, there is only this one that was made as part of the base of the tecomate and demonstrates the type of vessel, one with a rounded bottom, that would have needed the

assistance of such a support.

V1 (Bell 2007: fig. 5.44) is the amazing deer effigy vessel, while according to Reents-Budet and colleagues similar vessels have been found at Tikal and Kaminaljuyu and are similar to Thin Orange zoomorphic and anthropomorphic effigy vessels from highland Mexico (2004:173; Serrano Sanches 1993:113), no similar vessels have been found at Copán in any of the other early classic contexts.

Margarita Tomb

In the Margarita Tomb 16 ceramic vessels, one of which is a vessel stand, and 2 lids were placed on the floor of the tomb under the burial slab, all but one in the northern two-thirds of the tomb. As with the Hunal Tomb there does not seem to be any specific patterning as to the distribution the vessels on the floor, as the bias toward the northern end of the tomb is easily explained by the presence of the tomb access on that side (Bell 2007). While I am not reviewing the ceramic vessels of the upper chamber of the Margarita Tomb (Chamber 2), it does need to be noted that not only do the most highly decorated of the ceramic vessels comes from Chamber 2, "the Dazzler," but in general the ceramic vessels in Chamber 2 are more impressive than those in the tomb chamber itself. Twelve of the vessels were tested for INAA, which returned a result of 1 vessel from the Mexican Highlands, 9 vessels produced locally, and 2 vessels indeterminate (Bell 2007:Table 5.10).

V13 and Lid 1 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.159) and V14 and Lid 1(Bell 2007:fig. 5.158) are two very similar black cylinder tripod vessels with rectangular feet. They have the taller slimmer silhouette rather than the shorter squater one and the remains of pigment can still be detected on their exterior, though no decorative motifs can be made out. The only tripods of the shorter and squater sillhouette are three vessels from Chamber 2 (Vessels 1, 5, 9 Bell 2007:figs. 5.111, 5.112, 5.116).

Six of the vessels in the tomb were bowl shaped, three of which had ring bases. V6 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.147) is a small hemispherical stuccoed and painted bowl whose predominate color is blue-

green. A spiral that begins at the base and travels up to the rim was not stuccoed, but was incised, punctated, and colored with red pigment (Bell 2007:429). The addition of red pigment to ceramic vessels is a treatment familiar from the plano-relief tripod vessels in the Oropéndola Tomb. V2 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.150) is a large shallow bowl slipped with orange and decorated with a red band around the rim and resist decoration in the interior of a pisote, bird, or monkey, while the exterior was decorated with geometric designs and some unidentified zoomorphic images. . V3 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.151) is an orange slipped hemispherical bowl with the remains of a quail inside providing direct evidence of animal remains in tomb vessels (Bell 2007:430). While it is likely the quail was seen as a food item, there are a few ethnographic sources that describe birds, chickens in the modern period, whose job it was to alert the soul of the deceased to the proper path to take within the underworld (Chapter 3). To insure the rooster would do its duty it was added to the burial context, though sometimes just the head while the rest was eaten. V1 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.157) is a sub-hemispherical ring based bowl slipped orange and decorated with red geometric designs. V11 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.160) is a monochrome orange sub-hemispherical bowl ring-based (Bell 2007:432), while V16 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.161) is a Thin Orange ring-based bowl, which may be a faux Thin Orange vessels made locally, like the ones found in both the Hunal and Oropéndola Tombs, rather than one imported from highland Mexico (Bell 2007:425).

V8 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.152) is an undecorated Thin Orange jar like the one in the Hunal Tomb and it is also from Highland Mexico (Bell 2007:430-31). This seems to indicate that there was some access to the actual imported Thin Orange vessels, but there were also imitations being made and used in the same contexts. As modern ceramicists can often tell the difference between Puebla made Thin Orange and faux Thin Orange by their weight, it is likely the difference would have been known by those who could pick up the vessels, but likely not by those who would just see them visually.

Two small cup shaped miniature vessels were placed in the tomb chamber, though not together. V5 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.148) is a miniature jar with a loop handle, flat base, and slightly restricted opening,

and it is similar in size and style to V4 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.149), which is a miniature jar with two loop handles decorated with geometric designs and also a frog or lizard (Bell 2007:429-430).

Four almost identical dishes were placed into the tomb chamber. V9 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.153), V10 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.154), V12 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.155), V15 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.156) are small open dishes with ring bases and a small basal flange. They are all are orange slipped with a red rim band and red decoration of specular hematite. On the interior surface this decoration consists of geometric designs, dancing monkeys and curved decorations (Bell 207:431);

V7 (Bell 2007:fig. 5.146) is a stuccoed and painted pot stand that is painted red on the base and blue-green on the stem with incised decorations that may be scrolls. The Oropéndola Tomb has four potstands, though they are all merely slipped and not stuccoed and painted. Like the Oropéndola potstands, however, there is no obvious candidate for a vessel that would have rested on top of it. None of the ceramic vessels are clear contenders. While both tombs had an abundant array of organic vessels that might have been placed on top of the stands, the lack of preservation of these objects and insecurity about their original placement makes it difficult to ascertain whether any particular object would be a good possibility.

Oropéndola Tomb

Of the 24 ceramic objects in the Oropéndola tomb, four are pot stands and three are the previously mentioned bowls likely placed on the burial platform during the funerary ritual. This leaves 17 ceramic vessels on the floor of the tomb. Of those 17 there were ten slab-foot tripod vessels, six ring based bowls, and one round bottomed bowl. The full tomb vessel complement was, therefore, half tripods (10) and half bowls (10). Based on both vessel type and INAA almost all of the vessels were made locally though stylistically they draw inspiration from beyond the region (Chapter 5). The majority of the ceramic vessels were in the southern and eastern sections of the tomb, but there were also vessels on the northern

and western sides as well. Vessels were also found both underneath and along the sides of the burial platform with no clear distinctions between their placement with regard to either type, and when known, contents. Most of the vessels were placed immediately adjacent to another vessel on at least one side and often on more than one, making it difficult to break them into groups based on their location. There do, however, seem to be groups based on form, type, and decoration.

One group is the four slab-foot cylinder tripods referred to in chapter 5 as plano-relief. They are all decorated with an almost identical incised "feathery eye" cartouche motif and powdered red pigment added to the exterior after firing, which makes the incised decoration stand out clearly. The vessels are locally made imitations or homages to a foreign style and iconographic program. There is only one other example of a plano-relief vessel found in association with the Copán's other royal tombs. It is a slab-foot tripod whose decoration is that of a feathery bird, probably a macaw, in a cartouche. It too was found with red pigment applied to its exterior. Instead of inside the tomb chamber, however, it was found as part of the offering located on top of the capstones of the Sub-Jaguar tomb (personal communication Ellen Bell 2009).

The only other similar vessel was found associated with the Hunal tomb. It excavators nicknamed 'the Astounder' (Vessel 19) due to the high quality of its decorative scheme. Rather than a standard plano-relief type decoration on the exterior, the decoration appears more similar to the modeled carved styles. It apparently comes from Tikal or the nearby region based on INAA (Reents-Budet et al. 2004). Similar to the plano-relief vessels found in Oropéndola and outside of Sub-Jaguar, it was decorated with cartouches and red pigment had been applied on its exterior. Uniquely, the cartouches were present not only on the body, but also on the feet and lid. Surrounding the cartouches are what have been suggested to be feathers or smoke, while the element inside may either be a yax or venus sign with an unknown three dot element (Bell 2007). The inclusion of this type of vessel in the tomb chamber, whose original inspiration is thought to be central Mexico, is not uniquely present in the tombs of Copán, as examples can be found at

both Esperanza phase Kaminaljuyu and Manik phase Tikal (Culbert 1993; Coggins 1975; Kidder et al. 1946).

The second group of cylinder tripods are four large locally made Melano vessels, three of which were decorated with an incised band at the base, while the fourth had completely smooth sides. Two of the vessels shared the same type of decoration, which was a repeating series of circles with dots in the middle, while the third was decorated with a geometric design. Like all of the cylinder vessels in the Oropéndola Tomb these were not buried with ceramic tops. The vessels form a group not only because of the ceramic type and size, but also because they apparently held the same, as yet unidentified, though clearly inedible, material (Chapter 5). These vessels are reminiscent of the large tripod vessels found in the Hunal Tomb and in Margarita's upper chamber. The Hunal Tomb has five large cylinder tripods. Two are decorated with a band of ovals at the base and have no lids (Vessels 9 and 16) making them very similar to the ones in Oropéndola. Two others have rattle appliques on the bodies and as their lid handles (Vessels 14 and 17), which is a decorative technique not present in any of the other tombs. The fifth (Vessel 6) is more like the first two in its lack of a lid, shape, and decorative technique, it has a band of "screw-like" decoration at the base, but the legs are more mammiform than slab shaped like the others (Bell 2007:fig. 5.46, 5.55, 5.51, 5.54, 5.38). There are two large cylinder tripod vessel found in the Margarita Tomb offerings and they were both located in the upper chamber rather than the tomb chamber. One (Vessel 5) is very similar to the Oropéndola vessels and some of the Hunal vessels, as it has no lid and a band of decoration about an inch up from the base of the vessel, while the second one (Vessel 9) was more highly decorated with red painted stucco with white and black elements, but lacked a lid and was of a size and shape more similar to those just mentioned (Bell 2007:fig. 5.116)

Of all of the slab-foot cylinder tripods in the Oropéndola tomb, the last group are the most highly decorated. They are two smaller stuccoed and painted vessels vessels with beautifully vibrant colors and fine line painting. This decorative style has also been found on the stuccoed and painted basin (Vessel 6)

and cuspidor (Vessel 10) from the Hunal Tomb and "the Dazzler" (Vessel 1) found in the upper chamber of the Margarita Tomb, the pyrite mirror backs from the Margarita Tomb chamber, some of the stuccoed organic objects also found in the tomb, and the stuccoed and painted stone double cups in the Oropéndola Tomb (Bell 2007).

Unlike the items mentioned from the Margarita Tomb, neither of the ceramic vessels in the Oropéndola Tomb were decorated with human figures. Instead, they have flowers at the rims and the bases, repeating medallions on the body, which are different on each vessel, and the space on the bodies is regulated by thick lines that create diamond shapes. The object in the Oropéndola Tomb decorated like the aforementioned items in the Margarita Tomb, is the pair of "alabaster double cups" that were stuccoed and painted with figures on each side (Chapter 5). This style of decoration in the Maya area is also known from Tikal Burial 10 and a number of the Esperanza phase burials from Kaminaljuyu, though it is considered to have begun in Teotihuacan (Bell et al. 2004; Culbert 1993, Coggins 1975; Kidder et al 1946). As mentioned above, the Dazzler vessel actually incorporates iconographic elements from both the Mexican and Maya corpora and none of the examples in the Oropéndola Tomb are thought to have been made in central Mexico.

While the Sub-Jaguar Tomb does contain a number of stuccoed and painted vessels, some of which are cylinder tripods, there are perhaps only two decorated with something approaching this style of fineline painting. These are the Teotihuacan inspired zoomorphs on the bodies Vessels 2 and 6, though the lids of the vessels are decorated with Maya-style saurians (Reents-Budet et al. 2004:186). The zoomorphs appear to be feline in nature with perhaps some butterfly elements. They are very reminiscent of the stone mosaic sculpture of a feline with butterfly elements wearing goggles found decorated the facade of Structure 10 at the site of Rastrajon, which is located in the foothills of the valley about 2km away from the Acropolis. A sculpture of the same feline was also found by William and Barbara Fash at the Xala Compound at Teotihuacan (Fash and Fash 2011).The Chorcha Tomb contains no stuccoed and

painted vessels at all. The ceramic with the closest decorative style to fine line painting is present on a cup decorated with seated human figures on the body and blue flower petals at the base, but it is completely Maya in style and execution and makes no references to Teotihuacan. This seems to suggest that this decorative technique is becoming less popular in the royal tombs of Copán by the time the Sub-Jaguar Tomb is filled in the mid sixth-century and gone completely by the filling of the Chorcha Tomb at the end of the seventh-century.

The most common ceramic type in the Oropéndola tomb were hemispherical and sub-hemispherical bowls almost all of which were ring based. In total, the tomb contained 10 bowls. 3 have already been discussed, as they three undecorated Melano ring-based bowls from the burial platform. The fourth undecorated Melano ring-based bowl was located against the east wall, which appears to have been its original location. There were also four Conpermiso ring-based bowls decorated with a red stripe at the rim (Bill 1997; Viel 1993). This stripe is thick, over 1 inch wide, and is painted in red specular hematite. Some of the bowls also contain spirals or other designs in the same paint on their interior. It has been suggested by Ricardo Agurcia that one of them may have a crab decorating its interior, while the others are unidentified or just swirls (personal communication 2009). One of these vessels, Artifact 08-19, has been identified by Cameron McNeil and her colleagues as likely having contained cacao, due to the presence of theobromide in the residue collected from the interior of the vessel (McNeil 2009). The bowls were placed throughout the tomb without any clear patterning, including one that sat on top of one of the large Melano cylinder tripods (Chapter 5). The Hunal tomb definitely contains two Melano ring based bowls with red stripes at the lip and Margarita has a couple of ring based bowls that but for their strange surface treatment look exactly like the ones in Hunal and Oropéndola (personal communication Bell 2010, Bell 2007). The Sub-Jaguar Tomb did contain five locally made ring-based bowls of a slightly different shape than the ones in the 5th centuries tombs, but they are likely the later incarnation of this type. The Chorcha Tomb, on the other hand, completely lacks any vessels of this shape reflecting some

major changes in the ceramics that were used at the site of Copán during the Late Classic period. This will be discussed more below in the section devoted to the ceramics of the Chorcha Tomb.

The third group of ring based bowls from the Oropéndola tomb is only a single vessel. It is completely different from the previous 8, which were all of the local Melano type. This vessel is most likely what is referred to as faux or fake Thin Orange and was found against the east wall of the tomb. There are other burials at Copán that contain real and/or faux thin orange ceramic vessels, including both the Hunal and Margarita Tombs and Sepultura V-4. Since it is a vessel type associated with the Early Classic period, it is unsurprisingly not found in the later tombs. The Hunal tomb contained two ring based bowls (Vessels 3 and 7) and a cuspidor shaped vessel (Vessel 10) that appear stylistically to be thin orange and INAA analysis suggest they did actually originate in highland Mexico. Hunal Vessel 18, on the other hand, is a ring based bowl in Thin Orange style that appears to be a locally made faux Thin Orange (Reents-Budet et al. 2004:Table 9.3). The Margarita tomb had two thin orange style vessels in the tomb chamber itself, and ring base bowl (Vessel 11) and a cuspidor (Vessel 8). Like the Hunal Tomb the cuspidor shaped vessel does appear to have come from highland Mexico, while the ring base bowl is another local version of Thin Orange. In the Margarita Tomb's upper offering chamber there are two ring based bowls and the “Dazzler” that are Thin Orange in style and are believed to originate in highland Mexico based on INAA testing, while three other ring-foot bowls (Vessels 17, 7, and 15) appear to be faux Thin Orange (Reents-Budet et al. 2004:table 9.4, p. 176). The royal tombs are not the only ones to have thin orange type vessels as offerings. The burial excavated by PAC I in 1979 referred to as Sepultura V-4 also contained a single Thin Orange type vessel though whether it was made in Puebla or is a local copy is not known. There are no Thin Orange vessels in either the Sub-Jaguar or Chorcha Tombs indicating not only was this type of vessel no longer important in the Copán region by the middle of the sixth-century, neither was the type important enough to be locally copied and placed in royal tombs.

The final bowl from the Oropéndola Tomb is the only one without a ring-base. It was decorated in

a deep and highly burnished orange color, and was unidentifiable by both Dr. Viel and Dr. Bill, though Dr. Viel suggested highland Guatemala as a possible location of origin (personal communications in 2009). It was placed in a stack with at lest one organic vessel, possible a basket, and sheets of mica and was located near the "alabaster double cups." Both sheets of mica stacked with ceramic vessels and the "alabaster double cups" are known from Kaminaljuyu (Kidder et al. 1946), so perhaps highland Guatemala is a good place to look for the origin of this vessel.

Sub-Jaguar

Twenty-eight ceramic vessels were placed on the floor of the Sub-Jaguar Tomb both below and along three of the sides of the burial platform. 12 are stuccoed and painted, several have serpent images like KJ Burials A-VI and BII and Tikal Burials 10 and 48 (Bell et al. 2004). A stuccoed and painted cup and bowl were placed centrally under the burial platform and are are suggested by Bell and colleagues (2004) to be items of a more personal nature, or perhaps they are analogous to the vessels found on the burial platforms in the Oropéndola and Chorcha Tombs. Below the south end of the platform and therefore not considered to be personal items are seven stuccoed and painted vessels and two stuccoed and painted perishable objects. Along north and west sides of tomb were 13 ceramic bowls and three everted-rim ceramic basins (*apastes*). The final group of three ceramics were: a jar, a stuccoed and painted cup, and large cylinder tripod along west wall. INAA indicates most of the vessels from area around Quirigua, while five were produced even more locally and five more undetermined (Bell et al. 2004:154)

The Sub-Jaguar Tomb, like all of the other Early Classic Tombs, contained a number of locally made ring-based semi-hemispherical bowls. In the Sub-Jaguar Tomb there were 5 of this type and they were decorated with red slip on an orange base with negative Usulután-type resist decoration (Vessels 12, 14, 21, 23, and 24). Reents-Budet and colleagues (2004) compare them to Vessel 18 in the Hunal Tomb

and Vessel 15 in Margarita's upper chamber, but this style of vessel is one that characterizes all of the tombs prior to the Chorcha Tomb, in which such shapes are completely absent.

More similar to the Chorcha Tomb, however, is the inclusion of 3 *apastes* (Vessels 13, 8, and 9) that were very roughly made and not well fired. Most of the ceramic items in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb show significantly more skill than is demonstrated by the *apastes*, which was the same case in the Chorcha Tomb as well, and opens up the question about the importance of such vessels to the funerary ritual that they would be included in the grave goods.

A single red jar, likely locally made, and decorated with incised lines on its whitewashed neck, is a local Early Classic type called Ricardo Composite (Vessel 18) (Bill 1997:127-129; Reents-Budet et al. 2004:184)

Six basal-flanged plates (Vessels 10, 11, 17, 19, 20, and 27) were all decorated with geometric designs of red and black on orange. Three (Vessels 17, 29, and 27) have small spouts in their rim for pouring, while two have no spout, but are decorated with fish in their interiors. Reents-Budet and colleagues suggest they are similar to vessels found in tombs across the Maya world including: northern Belize (La Milpa Tomb Op. b-11), central Petén (Tikal Burial 10), and the southern highlands (Kaminaljuyu Burials A-III, A-IV, and B-I) (2004:184). This demonstrates the wide ranging outlook and connections of the site during this time in its history. It was clearly participating or attempting to participate in some of the predominate styles of the day within the Maya heartland. The sixth plate (Vessel 19) is a little different it is form and decoration, as all of its designs were geometric or abstract, though very well executed, but is similar enough to be considered in a group with the others (Reents-Budet 2004:184-185).

While composed of different forms, the 12 post-fire stuccoed and painted vessels, are very similar in their shapes and the execution of their decoration making them appear as related or as a “set” within the tomb. The group includes: cylinder cups, a tripod dish, a sub-hemsipherical bowl, small cylinder

tripods and large cylinder tripods.

There were five small cylinder cups (Vessels 1, 3, 5, 15, and 22) found within the tomb, which Reents-Budet and others suggested were used as drinking vessels for individuals due to their size (2004:187). The Chorcha Tomb is the only other one with small cylinder vases that might be described as cups used by an individual, which suggests this kind of form innovation of individual drinking cups was a later development in the site's history. The movement from more communal to more individual drinking vessels has been observed in Colonial America between the 17th and 18th centuries and has been thought to reflect large social changes surrounding the age of Enlightenment and the rise of individualism, which resulted in and increase in privacy and the welfare of the individual person becoming more important than that of the community as a whole (Deetz 1977). Whether we could even begin to make an evaluation of such a shift for the Maya is likely impossible, but it does serve to open up the questions and remind us that changes in ceramic forms and decorations can be the reflection of changes in society.

The decorations of all the cups are all Maya in style including: two profile saurian heads and water curls (Vessel 1), three oval cartouches with *k'inich ajaw* icons, and two upside down zoomorphic heads (Vessel 15). There are two vessels (Vessels 5 and 22) that each have three columns, each with two Maya hieroglyphs that David Stuart suggested to Ellen Bell might be toponyms (personal communication from Stuart to Bell 1999 in Reents-Budet et al. 2004:187), but have not been further deciphered or related to the occupant of the tomb in any meaningful way. The stucco and paint on the final cup (Vessel 3) is so poorly preserved as to be difficult to decipher, though they suggest it may have been "two elaborate glyph blocks on each side" (2004:187).

The only tripod dish in the tomb (Vessel 28) is decorated with a human effigy face appliques in the Mexican-style and a Maya-style profile saurian head and feathered wing with "water symbols" (Reents-Budet 2004:188). The creator of this vessel shows a facility with both Maya and Mexican style iconography that is very interesting to observe. There is no effort to keep the programs separate in this

example, but instead a joining together of elements making one wonder how the artists would have considered the different elements chosen to be together. Was it an intentional juxtaposition to elicit a certain kind of reaction, or by this point in the sixth century had at least certain artists become fluent in both systems able to playfully combine them at will?

One of the group of stuccoed and painted ceramics is a sub-hemispherical bowl, but there is no published description of its decorative motifs or any comparison of it to other known vessels (Vessel 25).

Two large stuccoed and painted cylinder tripods (Vessels 7 and 16) of very similar size and shape were found in the tomb. According to Reents-Budet and colleagues, for all of their similarities they were decorated in two very different styles, as one evokes a more central Mexican iconographic corpus and the other a Maya one. Vessel 16 is the more Mexican in decoration with three examples of a star design encircled by feathers and liquid dripping from is lower side, while Vessel 7 have four cartouches with profiles heads of different saurian entities (2004:186-187)

Three small slab-foot cylinder tripods two of which were lidded (Vessels 2, 4, and 6). Vessels 2 and 6 have been compared by Reents-Budet and colleagues to ceramic vessels in Tikal Burials 35 and 48 (Culbert 1993: figs. 27C1, 3 and 30), though Culbert considers these vessels to be imports to Tikal (2004:186). They are the previously mentioned tripods with Teotihuacan style felines. Vessel 4 seems to be more concerned with evoking Maya iconography, as it is decorated with cartouches contained a Maya-style saurian creature, though they consider it to be poorly executed and unlike other depictions of saurians in Early Classic art (Reents-Budet et al. 2004:186).

Chorcha

The Chorcha Tomb had far and away the most ceramic vessels of any tomb in the sample, but while many of the vessels in the tomb chamber are polychrome vessels, most were poorly made and decorated. There appear to have been over sixty vessels placed inside the tomb with many of them on the floor in southern area (Fash 1991:111; Henderson 2001). Two vessels were found in the southeastern

niche, along with a *Spondylus* shell and group of small crystalline stones, and three vessels were still in southwestern niche (Fash et al. 2001:164). It is likely that these were not the only vessels to have originally been placed in the niches, but it is impossible to say what the original disposition might have been, since there had been substantial movement of and destruction of the tomb chamber. In complete contrast to the rather poorly made tomb chamber ceramics, there were an amazingly beautiful group of 12 incensarios lids of effigy humans thought to represent the deceased and the 11 kings who proceeded him. Placed along with the effigy lids were 20 other incesarios of a much less accomplished design and execution most decorated with spiny protrusions some suggest to evoke *ceiba* trees and some that were also topped with flowers. One very different incensario, however, has an acrobat suggested by Henderson to be the Maize God (2001:32).. All were found in the antechamber arranged in 3 main groups on the south, west, and east sides, with a single incensario found to the north (Fash 1991).

Like the other royal tombs at Copán, the Chorcha tomb included a group of cylinder tripod vessels, though all were smaller and less decorated than previous examples. The group of nine, (Vessels 1, 2, 5, 10, 14, 33, 35, 41, 77) all had a red stripe at the rim, while some also had a red stripe at the base and at least two included paired vertical lines on the body over the feet. There were no lids included with these vessels. The three monochrome cylinder vases (Vessels 9, 15, 22) were even more simple, as they were completely without decoration of any kind. A fourth cylinder vase (Vessel 4) is completely different and unique in the tomb as it was made of a white ware with nicely incised, but meaningless glyphs at rim, incised seated figures on body, and a base decorate with small incised petals painted blue. These are the only glyphs of this style in the tomb, though many of the dishes have pseudo glyphs, the only full bodied figures, and the only use of Maya blue paint in the tomb, as the other vessels in the chamber are all just red, yellow and black.

Henderson describes nine tripod plates in the tomb, which are all very similar in size, construction technique, and decorative motifs. The floor decorations of the tripod plates are sometimes

hard to make out, but she gives the most common as knot decorations, a possibly abstract, possibly avian motif, and a central circle with 4 radiating lines each with a circle (2001:77-78). Running along the walls are connected c-shaped designs, which she connects to waves or water imagery like at Izapa (Henderson 2001:78; Norman 1976:68-69), which she interprets as evoking a watery underworld.

Done in a similar style as the tripod plates, sometimes sharing design motifs, are nine small dishes with steep walls. Numerous small dishes are decorated with a vertebral motif that Henderson connects to Taube's ideas of the centipede as the bony underworld version of a snake (2001:79-81). She breaks them into two groups of four and a ninth example she sees as "bridging" the two groups. The first group has wave like scrolls on upper register, central incised band of vertebrae, which Henderson interprets as Taube's underworld serpent counterpart: the centipede (Vessels 17, 18, 21, 39) (Henderson 2001:79). Two of those dishes have decorations on their floors that are important to mention. Vessel 18 contains a star with a circle in the middle, which is echoed again by Vessel 44, and Vessel 21 has the profile head of a human who wears a headdress in which scribal implements can be seen.

The members of the second group of four (Vessels 13, 19, 20, 43) are painted only with red and have similar "centipede" central designs to the first group, thought they are incised. They also include profile monster heads in cartouches, which in most cases these are the same heads, but there is one instance where they are different, and one dish has sprouting maize motifs along its interior walls (Henderson 2001:81). Henderson suggests the monster heads are fish-serpent monsters of the underworld and perhaps connected to the similarly described entity in the Maize God Cycle (2001:81-83). The ninth vessel (Vessel 44) is the only one of the group to be Copador type. Its exterior rim is decorated with pseudoglyphs, its middle has a carved band of vertebrae and two cartouches with carved faces that are different from the fish-serpents, the bottom is decorated with abstract motfs. The floor is painted with 6 pointed star with circle in the middle. While not mentioned by Henderson, the decoration reminds me of the starfish found in the Huanl and Oropéndola Tombs that each have a hole in the center, though the ones

in the Chorcha Tomb would be the kind of starfish whose legs are connected not just at the body, but along most of the leg, as if it were webbed, which is a different from the Early Classic examples where the legs only connect at the body.

The final groups of vessels in the tomb are the most crudely made. This is 3 *Apastes* (Vessels 12, 28, 34) and 26 cylinder vases that were found with cinnabar inside and called paint pots and have been suggested to be vessels contained red pigment used by scribes. These in conjunction with the unique dish depicting the individual wearing a headdress that makes references to the tools of scribes were what originally lead the excavators to suggest the Chorcha Tomb belonged to a highly placed scribe in the Copán kingdom (Fash 1991; Fashe et al. 2001). When new data was added to the picture suggesting the tomb belonged to Ruler 12 of Copán, researchers had to rethink whether the identification of the tomb occupant as a scribe could be possible, if he was also the king.

Ethnohistoric documents indicate it was the highest elites who were scribes and there are multiple iconographic scenes showing Maya rulers with writing tools in their headdresses (Coe and Kerr 1997; Henderson 2001:61). Henderson also points to the Tomb of Ruler A of Tikal buried within Temple 1, who had a halved conch shell inkpot in his tomb and a carved bone showing a hand holding a brush to demonstrate there is nothing inconsistent about a king who not only has scribal talents, but who is also celebrated in his tomb for them (2001:61-63; Fash et al. 2001). At Copán, Stela 63 calls Ruler 2 by the scribal title itz'at providing an example at the site of a ruler who is explicitly recognized, and perhaps celebrated, as a scribe. It would be unsurprising that a man of his age and eminence would be venerated in his tomb not as a warrior, but as someone with the wisdom and skill to pass on knowledge to his descendants and his community through his scribal talents. One wonders weather his headdress might also have included a representation of a scribal identity or if would have reflected a different aspect of his identity.

Another piece of evidence for the identification of a scribal identity in the tomb are the large

number of small and very roughly made cylinder vessels with the red pigment inside cinnabar inside, which Fash and colleagues have suggested are paint pots used by scribes (Fash et al. 2001; Fash 1991). I think Henderson is correct to see these vessels as storage for dry pigment or paint, rather than liquid, due to the low quality of the ceramic vessel, which appears to break down when in humid environments, let alone liquid ones (2001:64). She goes on to lay out an argument for the presence of these jars of cinnabar as almost completely symbolic by interpreting them as references to blood and rebirth rather than related to the identity of the deceased. She grounds this in the known codices, which use more black then red ink and hematic red rather than a mercuric red, to suggest the cinnabar in the jars would not have been used as ink and points out the lack of other implements for writing in the tomb as more evidence for the necessity of an alternate hypothesis.

While I do not dismiss the symbolic importance of red pigment and that significance may have played a large part in its inclusion in the tomb, I do want to point out that what Henderson has made two assumptions that may not be warranted. The first is to assume late Postclassic codices use the same materials and techniques in their productions as those of the Classic period. The second assumption is her very distinct separation of people who used 'ink' to write and draw in codices from the people who use 'paint' to write and draw on ceramic vessels, since there are many examples of Classic period ceramic vessels whose surface treatment is completed with mercuric reds and sometimes only with red. The most famous that come to mind are the vessels from Holmul and Naranjo, but the tomb under questions provides examples as well. All of the tripod plates and most of the small dishes with steep walls are Gualpopa, a type of Caterpillar polychrome that uses cinnabar for red along with black, while the cyclinder tripod vessels are the Chilanga type of Catepillar, which is a bichrome with only red paint. There are far more examples of these vessels than of the Copador type, which is the Catepillar polychrome with specular hematite paints. And while I would not expect brushes to survive, she also points out the lack of conch shell paint pots and smoothing stones for preparing codex pages. No conch

shell paint pots have been identified at the site, though perhaps the disintegrated remains of such objects were the function of two extremely degenerated conch shells in the Hunal tomb. The lack of these objects may also indicate that Copán used a different media for such purposes. While the smoothing stones are open to the same critique of possible of changes in techniques and media over time, one also wonders whether a ruler might have had someone to prepare his materials for him, rather like is known to have happened in the art studios of Europe where masters had apprentices and servants for such menial tasks as preparing canvases and mixing pigments. On the other hand, the other royal tomb with evidence of containers that once held cinnabar, the Margarita Tomb—though they were in organic vessels rather than ceramic, also had a jade smoothing stone that might have been used for such a purpose. Whether high elite females were literate in Mays society is not currently something for which we have an answer making it difficult to evaluate whether she would be a good comparison for Ruler 12.

Animal bones and shells

There were both animal remains and shells on the floor of the Hunal Tomb. Beneath the burial slab was a worked bone tube that Kitty Emery identified as a deer long bone with an organic collar, perhaps leather, that Bell suggested might be an enema tube (2000 in Bell 2007:232). Also below the slab were lots of bird bones including small song birds and quails (Kitty Emery 2000 in Bell 2007:232). While the quails may have been left over food items, the size of the song birds mean this is a less likely reason for their presence. It maybe that like the inclusion of marine animals thought to invoke the watery underworld, the birds are there because they are part of the celestial sky. Finding them below the burial platform, however, does not seem consistent with representing the layered world in which the underworld is below and the celestial world above. The remains of an armadillo carapace was also found and thought to have possibly been used as a bag since no claws and teeth were found (Emery 2000 in Bell 2007:239). Unfortunately, there is no clear candidate for an item or items that might have been held in the bag, and if

it was in incense bag, which are depicted throughout the iconographic corpus, it is unlikely they remains of its contents would have survived.

There were groups of *Oliva* shell tinklers found throughout the tomb on both eastern and southern sides, some likely came from the burial slab, but at least some were probably always located on the ground (Bell 2007:244). Whether these were all merely adornment items or were also placed to evoke the water is hard to determine when some of them are not well enough preserved to detect whether they were drilled for stringing. One large bivalve shell found on the ground near the eastern wall and two poorly preserved conch shells were found on the ground of the southern part of the tomb near spangled headdress (Bell 2007:252). The only other tomb with identified conch shells is the Sub-Jaguar Tomb and there they were worked into the thick shell necklace worn by the occupant. A shell carved into an amazing representation of a hand was left in the effigy deer vessel (Bell 2007:246). There were holes in the palm area that indicate it was hafted at some point and appears to have been used as a scoop. Thought to be a unique item when first encountered, the revelation that the Oropéndola Tomb contained an almost exact match, they are both left hands, surprised everyone. The tomb also contained a bone awl made from a deer femur against south wall near spangled headdress and jade bead pieces, which may have been used for punching holes in textiles or leather or as a bloodletting implement (Emery 2000 in Bell 2007:249).

The majority of the animal remains found on the floor of the Margarita Tomb are weaving and sewing implements in the form of bone needles, awls and spatulas. While a couple of the other tombs have a few of these items, indicating their presence is not a de facto indicator of the female gender, the sheer number of them is many times as many as any of the other tombs. One group of needles 15 separated into two bundles each with an "eye" hole and many stained blue-green were found together with a worked bone spatula wrapped. They were wrapped in an organic bundle and associated with a basket that also held a worked shell finger ring (Bell 2007:433). These were not the only bone needles found on the floor of the tomb. A second group also containing 2 bundles of needles with weaving

implements were found in the central area of the floor near the pyrite mirrors.

Close by the pyrite mirrors was a group of stingray spines and many items of adornment (Bell 2007: 440-44). The stingray spines are an important piece of comparison material because their presence indicates they are appropriate items in the tombs of both males and females and points out just how odd it is that the Oropéndola Tomb lacks such items. One thing that does seem to be lacking is the presence of unelaborated bivalve shells beyond the one found in association with her pelvis. While others tombs do not have the numbers present in the Oropéndola Tomb, the Margarita Tomb is interesting for its lack of such items or others that could be said to evoke the watery underworld. Does this mean it was not believed that the Margarita women would spend time there, does the lack of these shells have to do with her gender, or does it have another as yet unimagined significance?

As mentioned previously, the Oropéndola Tomb is conspicuous in the absence of animal remains beyond shells. Whether this was due to preservation issues or intentional practice is difficult to known, but the fact that this makes it unique among the royal tombs of Copán's suggests it may be the result of the Oropéndola Tomb environment, which was very poor for human bone. The shells that have not been elaborated into adornment objects consist of 2 bundles of *Spondylus* valves numbering over 90 in total and found at the north end of the tomb; 4 *Nodipecten* shells previously discussed as a possible necklace or pectoral decoration, though the presence of the jade beads inside would have been difficult to maintain when vertical if not somehow sewn in; 1 whole *Spondylus* shell with a very large jade bead inside; 3 highly elaborated *Spondylus* shells one carved into a hand and found “holding” a large round jade bead and a group of natural pearls, while the other two are the figures found in association with the *Nodipecten* shells and each of which was found with seed pearls. While the the Oropéndola Tomb lacks the animal bones of the other tombs, it does contain far and away the most shells, especially when we look at the *Spondylus* valves. While the number of shells is impressive, it is also the only royal tomb to have shells that appear to all come from the same general source, the Pacific Ocean, since the other tombs have shells

that can be found in the Caribbean (Linville 2009).

The only item in this category mentioned in the published material on the Sub-Jaguar Tomb is an organic container or bundle with nine small stingray spines reinforcing the identification between rulers and bloodletting (Bell et al 2004:154). Unlike the Margarita Tomb, Sub-Jaguar cannot be said to lack the bivalve shells with their watery underworld and possible celestial rebirth connotations, since 27 valves were found laid out on the burial slab with parts of the occupant's body placed on top of them. Also, similar to the Hunal Tomb are the presence of bird bones, though here in Sub-Jaguar they were found on the burial platform covered by the *Spondylus* valves instead of on the floor.

In the Chorcha Tomb it is difficult to determine whether some of the items found on the floor were originally located in the niches, since the archaeologists found some niches filled and some empty. There is an example of a *Spondylus* shell found in the southeastern niche with two ceramic vessels and a group of crystalline stones, but whether this means that the 8 *Spondylus* shells, 1 marine shell, 1 stingray spine, 1 bone artifact all found on floor were likewise originally in niches or were placed on the floor intentionally is unknown (Fash et al. 2001:164). These are all materials found on the floors in the other royal tombs of Copán, which suggests there is nothing inherently inappropriate or wrong about their presence there. Unique to the Chorcha tomb was a southern bench on which a grouping of stingray spines were found in the southeastern corner of the tomb (Henderson 2001:67).

Stone tools

The obsidian blades from the Hunal Tomb were found on the ground on sides of tomb, but the association of some of them with the shell tinklers from a bracelet worn by the occupant create the possibility that at least some of them were originally on the burial platform. There are 24 non-prismatic obsidian blades, 22 of which are from Ixtepeque, Guatemala one from El Chayal, Guatemala and one from Pachuca, Mexico (McFarland in Bell 2007:235). The tomb is unique in its inclusion of eccentric

chert points found on the floor (Bell 2007:232). They are unique among the royal tombs both for the use of chert, not recorded for any of the others, and their shape of eccentric points, as none of the other tombs have points of eccentric or functional shape.

The Margarita Tomb, like Oropéndola and Sub-Jaguar does not have obsidian blades meaning the lack of obsidian knives or points occurs in the tombs of both genders during the middle section of our tomb sequence. Unlike any of the other royal tombs at Copán, the Margarita Tomb does have three groundstone objects. One is a small grinding handstone made of jade, while the other two are a hexagonal grinding stone and its associated hand stone (Bell 2007:435). The Esperanza phase tombs at Kaminaljuyu have groundstone objects in almost all of the tombs whether the main occupant is male or female, which means the restriction of these items to the female tomb is something specific to Copán. Both Oropéndola and Sub-Jaguar have obsidian in the tombs, but in both cases the obsidian has been shaped for adornment (the sequins in the Oropéndola Tomb and the two round discs at the waist in the Sub-Jaguar Tomb) rather than as blades, points, or other tools. The only obsidian in the Chorcha tomb was two blades found with two stingray spines associated with the body and suggesting their use as bloodletting devices.

Miscellaneous

In the Margarita Tomb one of these items is a group of organic objects that likely originally held red pigment perhaps mixed in some cases with specular hematite (Bell 2007:436). The ceramic vessels holding red pigment in the Chorcha tomb have been interpreted as being for the the use of a scribe, but red pigment is such an important and sacred material, as its use in burials and caches indicate, that it is difficult to determine what was the meaning behind its inclusion. Within the Chorcha tomb the inclusion of the portrait of the scribe helps to suggest that interpretation, but there is nothing in the Margarita tomb to assist the interpretation in any specific direction. The Margarita Tomb also included two slate-backed pyrite mirrors with decorated backs inspired by Teotihuacan themes found in a stack on the floor of the

tomb (Bell 2007:445-447). Whether these mirrors were made to reference the mirrors worn by warriors, and should therefore be included in the adornment section, or if they are the mirrors used in court scenes and often depicted on ceramic vessels is unknown. While they are large enough to present a significant difficulty for wearing, they may have been effigy objects or objects meant to evoke the warrior costume without ever having been intended to be worn. The Margarita Tomb is not the only tomb to contain a female associated with pyrite mirrors, as Tomb AII at Kaminaljuyu does as well (Kidder et al. 1946). The significance of pyrite mirrors and their distribution at Copán and in iconography will be taken up again in chapter 7.

The Oropéndola Tomb also contained a stack of slate-backed pyrite mirrors, though they were so significantly damaged as to prohibit a determination of whether there was any decoration beyond red paint on their backs. Also in the Oropéndola stack was a what appears to be a pyrite mirror not backed with slate, but with a different stone, while another item in the stack was a stone carved into the shape of an animal with jade mosaic decoration, which is likely an armadillo (Chapter 5). The final piece on the stack, or it might be pieces, is the jade and shell mosaic on a base of a nacreous shell with hematite in the center. This is the piece that has been compared to the shell "horse collars" from the Hunal Tomb, Burial 92-2, and the Kaminaljuyu tombs, though many of their elements and construction techniques are different. The pieces of mosaic hematite found in the center of the ring suggest it once had a reflective surface, but whether it was used as a mirror to gaze into or worn as part of a costume is unknown.

The final uncategorized object in the Oropéndola Tomb is a pair of small stone cups on a base cut from the same block. They are similar in shape and style to the two sets found at Kaminaljuyu and referred to there as "alabaster double cups" (Kidder et al 1946:fig. 154), but those do not mention any decoration, the ones from the Oropéndola Tomb were stuccoed and painted in a polychrome fine line style very reminiscent of Teotihuacan (Chapter 5). There are no other examples of this artifact from the Copán Tombs and other than the two from Kaminaljuyu they are unknown to me in the Maya area. An

unprovienced pair assigned a date from the Tlamimilolpa phase to the Metepec phase, which is approximiately 200-600 CE (Baramendi-Orosco 2009), and supposedly from Teotihuacan, were lent anonymously to the Art Museum at Princeton and appear in Kathleen Berrin and Esther Pazstory's1993 catalog of *Teotihuacan: Art from the City of the God.* Rather than the greyish white stone material of the cups from Oropéndola, the example from the catalog is referred to as a "yellow-white alabaster-like" stone. No mention is made of any stucco remains or other decorative remnants on the surface of the cups. Unlike the examples at Kaminaljuyu and Copán, the example from the exhibit both have lids.

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