

Between Earth and Sky: Idols, Images, and Postclassic Cosmology

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The site of Santa Rita Corozal in northern Belize has long been known as a Late Postclassic Maya center (Gann 1900, 1918; Hammond 1973; Sidrys 1976). Recent work at the site (D. Chase 1981, 1982), in conjunction with that undertaken by Thomas Gann, provides a fairly sizeable sample of modeled censers and cache figures suggestive of Maya deities and ritual activities. That effigy censers were representations of deities is evident from the ethnohistory (see, for example, Landa in Tozzer 1941:139, 110, 154, 161); attempts have been made to correlate Postclassic Period effigy censers encountered at the site of Mayapan with Maya gods (Thompson 1957). While effigy censers are well accepted as representations of Maya deities, analysis suggests that caches also form an extremely useful body of data with which to analyze Maya ritual. Although the actual interring of offerings in the ground is not mentioned ethnohistorically, it is evident that archaeologically recovered caches do have ethnohistoric parallels in the descriptions of offerings made between two vessels (Landa in Tozzer 1941:143, 165) – particularly as many caches are composed of two vessels placed lip-to-lip. It is suggested that certain cache patterns from the site of Santa Rita Corozal (see Figure 1) are not merely generalized indicators of ritual activity, but rather are representations of specific rituals – the Maya New Year rites, described ethnohistorically by Diego de Landa (Tozzer 1941) and illustrated in native Maya codices. Besides noting that problems exist in previous identifications of Maya deities, this reanalysis of the Maya New Year or Uayeb rites importantly suggests specific correlations between archaeological manifestations, ethnohistoric descriptions, and native Maya codices.

The Uayeb Rites

In Diego de Landa's *Relacion* (Tozzer 1941:135-149) there is a fairly detailed account of Maya New Year or Uayeb ceremonies. These activities took place during the five unlucky days of the old year prior to the onset of the new one. The four yearbearers at the time that Landa was writing were Kan, Muluc, Ix, and Cauac. The first

day of each new year began with one of these named days; there was cyclical rotation between the names. Each of these years was associated with particular directions, deities, and events. Details concerning the activities and the deities can be used to attempt interpretations of certain pages of the Codices Dresden and Madrid (or Tro-Cortesianus) as well as specific archaeological patterns. Correlations between Landa's account and the codices have also led to interpretations concerning the physical representations of specific Maya deities.

The Dresden Codex

Thomas (1882), Seler (1887), and Forstemann (1906) first demonstrated that pages 25 to 28 of the Dresden Codex (Figure 2) were related to the Uayeb rituals. These associations were drawn on the basis of parallels between the illustrations and Landa's (in Tozzer 1941) account. Examples of these parallels included: the depiction of an individual offering a headless bird in each of the bottom frames as this scene is suggestive of the ethnohistorically described offerings of a headless "hen" to an image at a set of stones outside of the town; the presence of individuals seated on tun signs, presumably representing the idols on the piles of stone at the edge of town; and the offering of the leg of a deer on the lower part of page 28 (representing Manik and Lamat), which may correspond to a similar offering described for the Kan years. These associations have been used to derive the names of certain of the deities; the figure of God K on page 25 has been taken to represent Bolon Dzucab (Thompson 1970a:226,228) while the figure of the death god on page 28 is generally accepted as Uac Mitun Ahau (Thompson 1970a:228).

While it is clear that there are associations between these pages in the Dresden Codex and the Uayeb rituals described by Landa, a series of interrelated factors must be considered: (1) the date of the manuscript; and (2) the inconsistencies between the Codex and Landa's account, including the fact that the yearbearers in the Dresden (Eb and Ben, Caban and Etz'nab, Ik and Akbal, Manik and Lamat) are not those being used and described by Landa

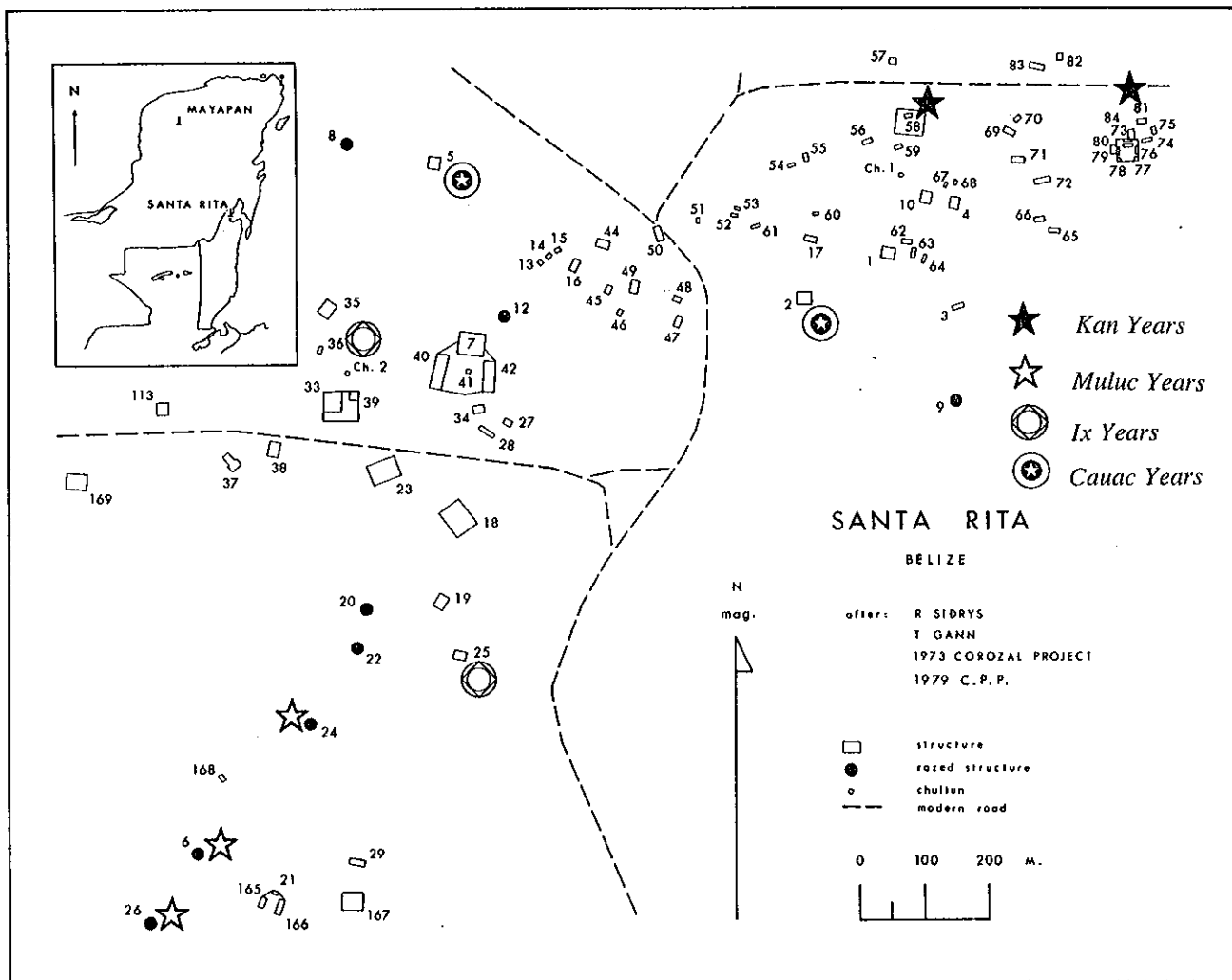


Fig. 1 Map of Santa Rita Corozal indicating the location of the various caches and their suggested associations:

(Kan, Muluc, Ix, Cauac). While Satterthwaite (1965:618, 622-626) suggested a date of no earlier than A.D. 1345 for the Dresden Codex, Thompson (1972:15) suggested that it be dated between A.D. 1200 and 1250. Most researchers follow Thompson's dating which indicates that the Codex was completed significantly before Landa's time (sixteenth century). While this temporal difference is enough to suggest the possibility that there may be variation between the rites as indicated in the Codex and in Landa's account, there are additional factors which call into question their direct correlation, the most pressing of which are the differences in yearbearers. The different yearbearers in the Dresden can no longer be explained away as Forstemann ingeniously attempted to do (1906:121): "The years, however, were always named after their second day (i.e., Kan, Muluc, Ix, and Cauac years), since the New Year's Day was considered unlucky and it was the practice of the Mayas to conceal the real starting point." Many scholars (see Thompson 1972:89)

follow Thomas's (1882) initial assertion that the ceremonies indicated took place on the last day of the old year and the first days of the new one; even if this is the case, the days recorded in the Dresden Codex differ from those reported by Landa. Edmonson (1976, 1982) has pointed out that the Maya made calendar changes which incorporated changes in yearbearers. Arlen Chase (in press) has further suggested that there were in fact regular, cyclical changes in yearbearers. This idea of yearbearer shifts implies distinct time differences between the Dresden Codex and the extant ethnohistory. However, the mere fact that the yearbearers vary, even if spatially (see Thompson 1972:89), again suggests the probability that the rites and deities themselves may not have remained entirely the same.

Yearbearers are not the only noted differences between the Dresden and Landa's account; there are also problems of color changes and directional associations in the Codex which, in addition to the distribution of deities, have



a



b



c



d

Fig. 2 Pages 27 (Ik, Akbal), 28 (Manik, Lamat), 25 (Eb, Ben), and 26 (Caban, Etz' nab) of the Dresden Codex (After Villacorta and Villacorta 1930:64, 66, 60, 62).

been used by Thompson (1934:214; 1972:90) to suggest the necessity of reordering the pages. Even a reordering of the pages does not allow good correspondence with either Landa's account or the later Madrid Codex. Thus, because of dating, pagination, and other problems, new Year's interpretations based solely on the Dresden Codex must be viewed as suspect.

The Madrid or Tro-Cortesianus Codex

Besides the Dresden, the Madrid Codex also has four pages (34 to 37) which have been taken to be representative of Uayeb rites (Figure 3). Cyrus Thomas (1882) pointed out the similarities between the Dresden Codex and the Madrid. He further noted the absolute correlation of yearbearers in this manuscript with those in Landa's account. Specific depictions within each of the years portrayed in the Codex appeared to match Landa's descriptions. For example, an individual on high stilts and a postulated bolt of cloth in the upper frame of the Madrid Codex for the Muluc years seemingly correspond with Landa's description of the associated ceremonies. Thomas also attempted to identify the deities present on the various pages, although some of his interpretations were based upon what is probably a mis-assumption – that each of the pages referred to more than just one of the years. In spite of this, some of his figure identifications still hold.

While the Madrid is missing some of the imagery present in the Dresden – such as the headless birds – its pages may be more precisely correlated with specific ethnohistoric descriptions than those in the Dresden, if only because of its later date. The manuscript is generally assumed to have been Late Postclassic in date (Thompson 1965:638), and its yearbearers precisely match those of the documents. Unlike the Dresden, there are no problems in the Madrid with directions or page order.

Because of the problems with the Dresden Codex noted above, it is suggested that the Madrid Codex should be more useful in making specific correlations of deities and activities with Landa's ethnohistoric descriptions of the Uayeb rites; the Dresden Codex should be used only as secondary evidence for Uayeb ceremonies. Accordingly, it is only the Madrid Codex which will be utilized within the following interpretations.

The Uayeb Rites: Kan Years

During the Kan years (Landa in Tozzer 1941:139-143), the omen of the Bacab was Hobnil. A clay image was made of the god Kan u Uayeyab and placed on the stones to the south of town where the idol of the preceding year had been left. A statue was also made of the god Bolon Dzacab; this statue was placed in a public place, in the house of the *principal*. The priests and men then went to the statue of Kan u Uayeyab; it was incensed with forty-nine grains of maize and incense, and the head of a hen (most likely a turkey) was cut off as an offering. The statue was placed on a standard called *Kante*, and an angel was placed on its shoulders. They drank a beverage made of 415 grains of parched maize (*picula kakla*)

and carried the statue to its place opposite Bolon Dzacab in the house of the *principal*. More offerings were made of food and drink; the leg of a deer was given to the priest. Kan u Uayeyab was offered bread, one portion of which was shaped like a heart. Blood drawn from the participants' ears was used to anoint the stone of the god Kanal Acantun. Following the five unlucky days, the statue of Bolon Dzacab was placed in the temple and Kan u Uayeyab was brought to the stones on the east of town.

The Kan years were generally good; however, on occasion there were calamities and the people were required by the "devil" to perform other ceremonies. They made an idol named Itzamna Kauil to place in the temple. Three balls of incense were burned to it. In addition, either a dog or a man was sacrificed by being thrown down from a height onto a pile of stones. The heart was taken out and offered to the idol between two platters. Gifts of food were also offered and old women danced. "They said that an angel descended and received the sacrifice" (Tozzer 1941:143).

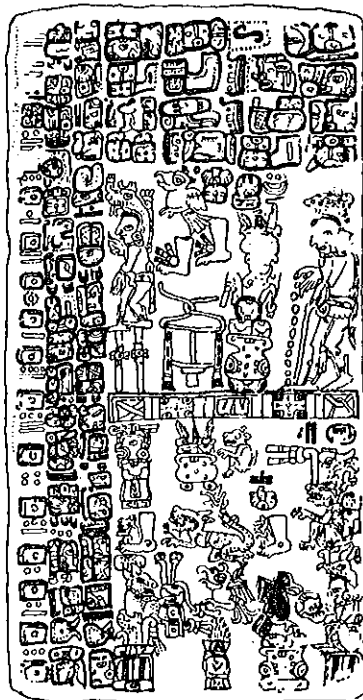
Codices

Page 35 of the Madrid Codex (Figure 3a) clearly refers to the Kan years described by Landa. In addition to the Kan signs on the left border of the page, the hieroglyph for south and images which concur with the various parts of these rites appear. In the upper left panel of page 35 of the Madrid Codex the sacrifice of a man is illustrated. He appears to be bound and to be falling upon a structure; blood spurts out of him. It is suggested that this is the individual who was sacrificed in a similar manner in the Kan years in Landa's account. There is also an individual above him who appears to be diving, and who may represent the angel described by Landa as receiving the sacrifice. Alternatively, this diving image could also reflect a bacab (see Thompson 1970b:472); this possibility will be returned to at a later point. The right figure is depicted with a staff and is scattering something with his hands. He is undoubtedly some combination of priest, bacab, or deity.

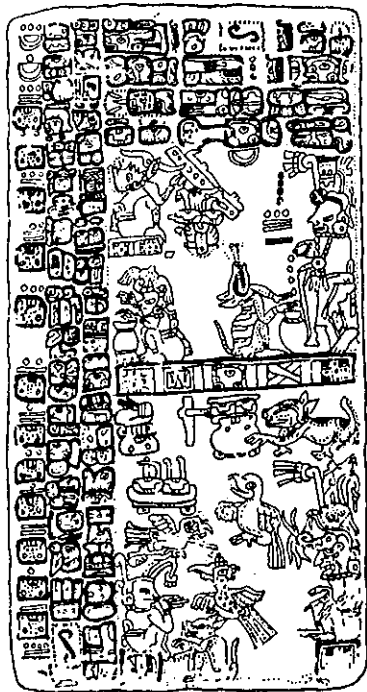
The Bacabs were representatives or impersonators (Thompson 1970b:472). In the Dresden Codex (Figure 2), an individual is depicted as an opossum holding a staff in his hand on each of the upper divisions of the four pages referring to the Uayeb rites; these are generally believed to represent bacabs (Thompson 1970b:483-484). Except for costume, there is also general similarity between all four upper register figures on the right side of the pages of the Madrid Codex (with the exception of the individual associated with Cauac). It is therefore suggested that these individuals are probably bacabs. Following this interpretation, the depiction on page 35 is probably intended to indicate the bacab of the Kan years, Hobnil. It should be noted, however, that this particular depiction has certain characteristics indicative of either God D (the toothless mouth) or God P (the markings behind the eyes and the necklace). The individual wears a miter with winglike projections and has what appears



a



b



c



d

Fig.3 Pages 35 (Kan), 36 (Muluc), 37 (Ix), and 34 (Cauac) of the Madrid Codex (After Villacorta and Villacorta 1930:294, 296, 298, 292).

to be a jaguar pelt attached below his waist. He is scattering something with his hands; this might well be the combination of maize kernels and incense described for incensing the idol in the initial ceremonies at the edge of town. If this is the case, then this upper screen combines events taking place during the various days of the Uayeb rites, first at the edge of town, and including those prescribed following the initial five days. The central image in this part of the illustration is a vessel resting on two coils of a snake. The vessel is filled with Kan signs and the upper elements of what appear to be plants, probably maize. This vessel is undoubtedly the locus for deposition of many of the offerings described by Landa during Kan years; it is nearly identical to the vessel indicated on the lower portion of the same page and on the pages 34, 36, and 37.

In the lower illustration, there are two figures opposing each other. Between them is a vessel with offerings; this is identical to that in the upper frame except that there are two, rather than three, Kan signs at its mouth. The figure on the left is a quadruped that has two hieroglyphs (Kan and Imix) at his back; on page 36, a similar depiction in a different location is seen as representing the offering of dogs with bread on their back (Thomas 1882:80; Tozzer 1941:145, note 702). He is the only one of the two opposing figures on the bottom half of these four pages in the codex that is not sitting on a tun sign. Opposite him is an individual who may represent God E, the maize god. At least one, and possibly both, of these two individuals should represent deities – either Kan u Uayeyab, Bolon Dzacab, one of the images from the preceding year, or the idol Itzamna Kauil made following the five days. Neither of these individuals is God K, the traditionally assumed representation of Bolon Dzacab (Thompson 1970a:226, 228). As the right figure rests on the tun sign, it is likely that this individual represents either Kan u Uayeyab, resting on the stones at the edge of town (see Thomas 1882:81), or Bolon Dzacab near the acantun. The Kan and Imix symbols on the back of the figure to the left may also indicate that this figure was itself an offering rather than a deity. While the tun sign may symbolize either the acantun, or the stone pile at the town boundary, it may also refer to the closing of the period of time.

Archaeology

Archaeological evidence from Santa Rita may correspond with the Uayeb rites of the Kan years. While the placing of an offering between two vessels is noted in at least two instances in Landa's *Relacion* (Tozzer 1941:143, 165), it occurs only once in his description of the Uayeb rites – for the sacrifice of the Kan years; this type of offering is reminiscent of archaeological caches. It seems likely that this mode of offering took place during other years as well; however, it has been suggested (D. Chase 1985) that one of the cache patterns at Santa Rita conforms particularly well with the Kan years. This pattern is found in the northeastern part of the site (Figure 1), possibly indicative of the south to east movement of

Kan idols. In the recovered caches a modeled and painted pottery vessel in the form of a human in a jaguar headdress protruding from a shell is found inside two other pottery vessels. These painted vessels likely represent the Angels described by Landa (in Tozzer 1941:141) as "frightful to look upon," and the shell may correspond to his "sign of water." These figures may also represent Itzamna Kauil, the deity for whom the sacrifices were performed. The human head has characteristics frequently associated with Itzamna. The horned jaguar head undoubtedly has significance as well. It should be pointed out that these figures also have remarkable similarities to the diving bee gods and may point towards a relationship between the angel, diving bees, and the bacabs. Thompson (1934; 1970b) concluded that the Bacabs are often associated with shells of snails or with turtles.

The two caches of lip-to-lip vessels with an enclosed figure, recovered at Santa Rita, may correspond with the Kan ceremonies. One of these, found in Str. 81, also had two effigy censers in association. Whether these effigy censers reflect Uayeyab or other rites will not be speculated on at present, especially as the idols are described by Landa as being moved from the *principal's* house at the end of the five days of the Uayeb. A nearly identical cache was found in the nearby Santa Rita Structure 58 (Figure 4a), but without associated censers.

Several other caches have individual features which suggest similarities to the Kan years described by Landa and/or illustrated in the Madrid Codex; it is doubtful, however, that these were deposited during Kan years. There is a similar miter found on the upper right figure on page 35 of the Codex and in figures located in Mound 24 at Santa Rita by Thomas Gann. The combination of figures in this cache, however, suggests that it most likely was deposited during the Muluc years. The Str. 36 cache contains a modeled ceramic figure placed in the mouth of a larger earth monster head. Although this cache contains an inner vessel almost identical to that from Str. 81 (associated with the Kan year rites), the outer vessel and its placement directly in fill suggest that it was not deposited during Kan years.

The acantun mentioned by Landa is believed to be the equivalent of archaeologically encountered stone altars located within the settlement. These are especially present in the northeastern part of Santa Rita (on or near Structures 58, 75, and 79). Stone turtles were also found in three diverse excavations at Santa Rita (Structures 8, 25, and 77). Turtles are not mentioned for the Kan years, but they may be associated with Muluc years and the deity Yax Cocah Mut (Landa in Tozzer 1941:145). Given their distribution at Santa Rita, however, it seems likely that these turtles mark certain of the town boundaries and that they might generically symbolize the acantuns of the Uayeb.

The Uayeb Rites: Muluc Years

During the Muluc years (Landa in Tozzer 1941:144-145), the omen of the Bacab was Can Signal. An image was made of the god Chac u Uayeyab and this image

was taken to the stones on the eastern side of the town. A statue was made of the god Kinich Ahau and placed in the *principal's* house. Chac u Uayeyab was incensed with fifty-three grains of maize combined with incense. After the head of a turkey was cut off, the image was placed on a standard (*Chacte*). The participants danced war dances – the *Holcan Okot* and *Batel Okot*. They carried the idol to the *principal's* house drinking a beverage made of 380 grains of parched maize. When the idol was placed opposite the statue of Kinich Ahau, bread and other offerings were made, including blood from the ears of boys for the stone of the god Chac Acantun. Afterwards the statue of Kinich Ahau was taken to the temple and the image of Chac u Uayeyab was left on the north side.

The Muluc years were generally good, but nevertheless the “devil” required them to make an additional idol of Yax Cocah Mut to place in the temple as well as an additional idol of stone to place in front of it. All previous images were removed. Offerings included incense, squirrels, bread, heads of turkeys, drinks of maize, and cloth without embroidery. Women danced in the temple and there was a dance on high stilts. Offerings were made of pottery dogs with bread on their backs; a dog with a black back was sacrificed. Blood was drawn for the stone Chac Acantun.

Codices

Page 36 of the Madrid Codex depicts the Uayeb ceremonies for the Muluc years (Figure 3b). Muluc is repeatedly depicted on the left border of the page, and there is a hieroglyph for east within the upper panel of the text. There are a number of probable correlations between illustrations and activities described by Landa. On the upper left there is an individual on stilts, undoubtedly performing the prescribed dancing (see also Thomas 1882:79). The feet drawn here (and elsewhere in the Codex) are generally thought to represent dancing (Thomas 1882:79-80; Tozzer 1941:145, notes 700 and 703). Below the feet is a peculiar item described by Thomas (1882:79) as the unembroidered cloth mentioned in the ethnohistory; this identification can be confirmed by reference to the mantles portrayed on page 84 of the same text. In the center of the upper panel are two vessels holding the offerings. The lower one is similar to all the others in the text and rests on one coil of a snake. The upper vessel appears to contain something different, perhaps spears associated with the described war dance; these are repeated in the upper vessel of the lower frame. The figure on the right carries a staff and distributes items with his hands, presumably the combined maize and incense. He wears an animal headdress or skin, possibly either a jaguar or an opossum. He is most likely the Bacab, Can Sical; the jaguar pelt may also be representative of the costume for the war dance.

The lower frame of page 36 is less easy to interpret; however, there are illustrations which would appear to be equivalent to the actions indicated by Landa for the Muluc years. As has been pointed out by others, there

are numerous quadrupeds on this page, probably representing dogs which were sacrificed; the spotted dog may well be the dog with the black back. The feet with dogs on them probably indicate the described ethnohistoric dances for the Muluc years during which dogs were carried by women (Thomas 1882:79-80; Tozzer 1941: note 703). Three vessels are indicated in this lower panel. Two are of the usual kind while the upper one contains the same items, probably spears, presented in the upper frame. The lower vessel contains two Kans with a bird perched above, but no growing maize. There is also a censer represented in the lower bottom panel; again a bird is above it. The birds on this and other pages of the Codex may represent the “augury” of that particular year (see Roys 1949:177, note 232). Also in the lower left panel are two figures sitting on tun signs. The figure on the lower left would appear to be a dog, jaguar, or possibly a rabbit. On the left is a human with features similar to the standing figure in the top frame, but wearing a different animal headdress. Precisely which deities these two individuals might represent is difficult to determine. The figure to the left has an Imix glyph above its head and sits on growth rather than directly on the tun; these two factors may indicate that the figure to the right more likely depicts Kinich Ahau.

Archaeology

Possible archaeological correlations with the Uayeb rites for the Muluc years may also be found in the Santa Rita caching patterns. Although no specific ethnohistoric mentions of offerings placed between two vessels exist for this year, contents of caches at Santa Rita suggest that such a practice was followed. Deposition of caches also seems appropriate given the depictions of single vessels holding offerings on pages 34 to 37 of the Madrid Codex.

In Structure 24 at Santa Rita, Thomas Gann (1918:59-63) encountered an urn with a lid containing 49 ceramic figures: 4 warriors, 3 seated humans performing penis perforation, 4 standing humans, 4 lizards, 4 alligators, 4 snakes, 4 birds, 4 dragonlike creatures, 4 tigers or jaguars, 14 *pisotes*, and 1 representation of a human penis. This cache contains a number of items suggestive of the events which took place during the Uayeb rites in Muluc years. The warriors (Figure 4b) are probably representative of the war dance, while the *pisotes* may represent the dogs and/or squirrels which were offered. That *pisotes* are particularly important during Muluc years seems indicated by statements concerning the Bacab, Can Sical, in the tun prophecies: “He takes the part of Ah Cantzicanal, he takes the role of the comedian opossum” (Roys 1949:172). The jaguar and “burrowing opossum” are also names of military orders (Roys 1949:162) and thus may also pertain to the war dance. The seated figures may further specify the kind of blood offerings made to the stone Chac Acantun during this particular year; penis perforation seems to have been practiced during Muluc years.

Structure 26 at Santa Rita (Gann 1918:65-7) also con-

tained a similar cache. Here an urn with lid was found in combination with 20 pottery figures: 3 warriors, 1 seated human, 4 alligators, 4 dragons, 6 pisotes, and 2 serpentlike creatures. Like the cache in Str. 24, it is suggestive of the war dance, blood sacrifice, and other offerings or activities (specifically with reference to squirrels and/or dogs) noted as taking place during Muluc years.

In Str. 6 at Santa Rita, Gann (1900:683-5) found an urn and lid filled with 19 ceramic objects: 4 jaguars, 9 alligator-like figures, 1 fish, 4 human figures, and a jar with a diving god on the front. Of all of these objects, the four human figures would appear to correlate most closely with both Landa's account of the Muluc years and the corresponding page in the Codex Madrid. They are described as veiled by Gann, but actually appear to be holding up pieces of cloth (Figure 4c). The cloth has no embroidery other than striped lines and looks surprisingly similar to the cloth in the upper panel of page 36 and the mantles on page 84 of the Madrid Codex.

It is posited that the above mentioned associations indicate that these three caches, all located within one portion of the site (see Figure 1), are representative of variation in archaeologically recovered aspects of the Uayeb rites during Muluc years.

The Uayeb Rites: Ix Years

During the Ix years (Landa in Tozzer 1941:145-147), the omen of the Bacab was Sac Cimi. An image was made of the god Sac u Uayeyab and this image was taken to the north side of the town. A statue of the god Itzamna was made and placed in the *principal's* house. For Sac u Uayeyab at the north, the head of a turkey was cut off; then the image was placed on a standard (*sachia*). They carried it to the *principal's* house while dancing the Alcabtan kam Ahau. They partook of the usual drinks along the road. The image was placed in front of the statue of Itzamna. To Sac u Uayeyab they then offered the head of a turkey and other food and drink. They drew blood to place on the stone, Sac Acantun. On the last of the five days, the statue of Itzamna was brought to the temple and the image of Sac u Uayeyab was brought to the western boundary of the town.

Ix was generally an austere year. To remedy this, an idol was made of the god Kinich Ahau Itzamna. It was placed in the temple and there were offerings and prayers. The stone (Sac Acantun) of the idol was annointed with blood. Dances, intoxication, and "orgies" were associated with Ix years as was the renovation or rebuilding of an oratory.

Codices

Page 37 of the Madrid Codex indicates rituals undertaken during Ix years (Figure 3c). The Ix glyph is present on the left border of the page. The direction noted in the upper text is north. The upper half of the page contains a number of individuals. On the right is the same individual present on the other four Uayeb pages; however, here he wears a distinctive headdress. He distributes

something with his hand and holds the usual staff. He may represent the Bacab Sac Cimi, although there is also a figure in the lower left frame of the text who may more likely qualify as this personage if the name is literally translated. Below the upper right figure is a drum on which a pisote plays. On the upper left is an individual seated in an uncomfortable position, perhaps playing some other instrument; below him a woman plays drums. It should be noted that singing and dancing are predominantly mentioned in the Ix years by Landa.

On the lower half of the page in the upper left corner is a deer haunch; interestingly, no mention is made of such an offering during Ix years although it is a noted part of the Kan rites in Landa's *Relacion*. To the right is a vessel containing two kans and an axe; it is being approached by a quadruped. There is a low plate with offerings and several birds. The lower left figure sits on a tun sign. It appears to be a dead individual, possibly either God A or a dead God E. To the right is another individual seated on a tun sign. This is an older individual; his features are those usually associated with God D and Itzamna, although it is possible that he represents God B. This would match with the statue of Itzamna discussed for these years by Landa. Thomas (1882:82-83) alternatively has suggested that the left figure represents Itzamna while the right represents Chac u Uayeyab.

Archaeology

Archaeological patterns pertaining to this particular year are difficult to distinguish from any others. The problem derives primarily from Landa's cursory description of Uayeb ceremonies during Ix years. It is possible that the caches from Structures 36 and 25 might pertain to these years; this association is derived primarily because the two caches form a distinct pattern not clearly correlated with any year. Both caches were placed directly in fill. The cache in Str. 36 was comprised of two modeled ceramic vessels. The outer vessel is either an earth monster or God B; the inner vessel is nearly identical to the composite figure found in Str. 81 (Kan years). The Str. 25 cache (Gann 1918:63) is similar in that it consisted of an alligator vessel with a human head inside the alligator's mouth (Figure 4d). While the first word of the dance "*alcab*" literally means to run, the placement of the vessels directly in the earth and not in an urn may relate to the root "*cab*," or earth.

The Uayeb Rites: Cauac Years

During the Cauac years (Landa in Tozzer 1941:147), the omen of the Bacab was Hozan Ek. The image was made of the god Ek u Uayeyab and placed on the stones to the west of town where the idol of the preceding year had been left. A statue was also made of the god Uac Mitun Ahau and placed in the house of the *principal*. The head of a turkey was cut off as an offering for Ek u Uayeyab. The idol was placed on a standard called *Yax ek*. On the shoulders of the image a skull and a dead man were placed; above them was perched a carnivorous bird (*kuch*). Drinks were had on the way to the *principal's*

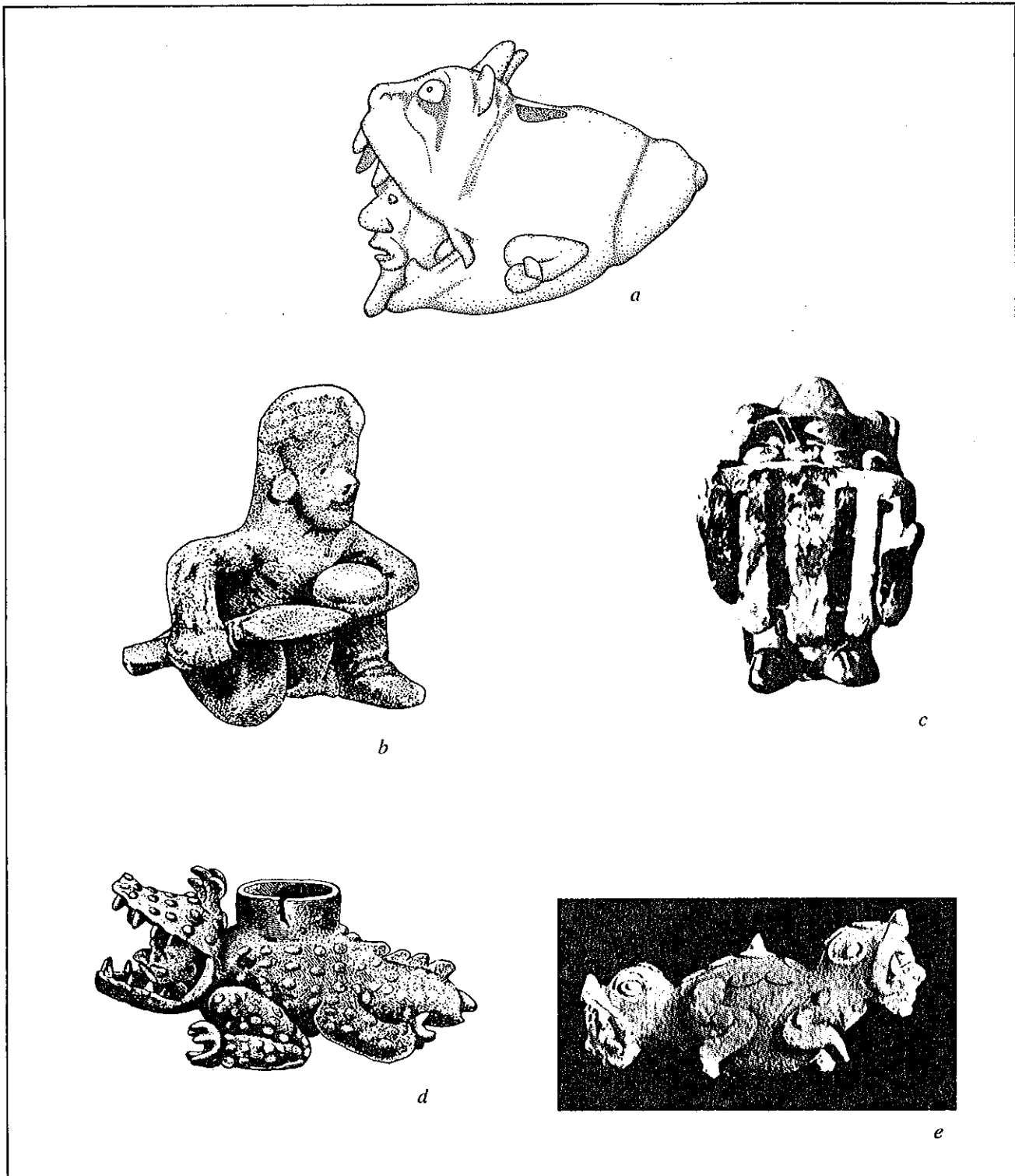


Fig. 4 (a) Composite Figure from Santa Rita Structure 58; thought to derive from Kan year cache. (b) Warrior figure from Santa Rita Structure 24 (after Gann 1918: Plate 9); thought to derive from a Muluc year cache. (c) Veiled figure from Santa Rita Structure 6 (after Gann 1900: Plate 37); thought to derive from a Muluc year

cache. (d) Alligator figure from Santa Rita Structure 25 (after Gann 1918: Figure 18); thought to derive from an Ix year cache. (e) Double-headed figure from Santa Rita Structure 5 (after Gann 1900: Plate 33:1); thought to derive from a Cauac year cache.

house and the Xibalba Okot, or "Dance of the Devil," was performed. The idol was then placed opposite Uac Mitun Ahau in the house of the *principal*. More offerings were made, and the stone of the god Ekel Acantun was annointed with blood. Following the five unlucky days, and statue of Uac Mitun Ahau was placed in the temple and Ek u Uayeyab was brought to the stones on the south of town.

This was an unfortunate year and, as a remedy, the people were required to make four idols named Chi Chac Chob, Ek Balam Chac, Ah Canuol Cab, and Ah Buluc Balam. Other offerings included resin, iguanas, bread, a miter, flowers, and a precious stone. An arch of wood was also constructed in a plaza or court and much singing and dancing was done around and inside this structure. At nightfall the area was set on fire, and those who had danced went across the coals barefoot.

Codices

The Cauac years and their associated activities are referred to on page 34 of the Codex Madrid (Figure 3d). The glyph for Cauac appears on the left border and north is the direction indicated in the upper panel of text. The upper part of the page contains relevant illustrations as well as those whose meaning is as yet unknown. To the left of the upper panel is a seated figure encircled and surrounded by what may be bells; the significance of this figure is not known. Below it is a figure with a caban glyph and axe in place of the head. Below this is a crouched figure with an ahau head wearing a winged headdress. A torch is near his hand. This figure may represent the individual who sets the fires at the end of the Cauac ceremonies. Thomas (1882:82) has suggested that he may have been Kinich Ahau Itzamna; however, Kinich Ahau Itzamna is not mentioned by Landa in relation to the Cauac years. In the center is the usual vessel with kan signs and maize growth and a bird resting above it. On the right is a figure who probably distributes the maize incense mixture and holds a staff. He also wears a headdress of a jaguar or tapir. He is depicted as black and may well represent the Bacab Hosan Ek.

In the lower illustrations is the depiction of an individual's head – possibly God E – and offerings. The lower scene consists of two individuals facing each other. On the left is God A, probably Uac Mitun Ahau in Landa's description. On the right is yet another deity with a bird above its head, possibly God E. Between them is a vessel with handles and the usual offerings. In addition, however, God A raises his hand toward the head of what would appear to be God B or a lizard; this might equally represent an offering or one of the four deities called upon as a remedy.

Archaeology

Gann found one cache in Santa Rita Structure 2 in which the placement of pottery figures around the pottery urn may indicate the Cauac year activities (Gann 1900:678-82). One jaguar and one turtle figure were located on each of the four sides while another turtle and

a double-headed figure (Figure 4e) were located above the urn. The placement of the figures on the four sides (and above) could be taken to suggest the figures of the four additional gods called into play during Cauac years. Alternatively, however, the presence of flint spear points could indicate another variation on the cache deposited during Muluc years, or the war expected in Ix years.

In addition to the cache in Str. 2, there is another cache which may reflect the Cauac rites. A double-headed alligator, similar to that in Str. 2, was also found in Santa Rita Str. 5 (Gann 1900:682-3). Thus, the double-headed alligator may have symbolic meaning for this year. The outer cache vessel from Str. 36 is similar to the head above the vessel in the lower frame of page 34 of the Codex Madrid. Based on the vagaries of the Cauac descriptions, it is possible that any of the figures found in Structures 2, 5, 25, or 36 may reflect the "offerings of iguanas" (Tozzer 1941:148) during Cauac years.

Implications and Conclusions

The preceding discussion indicates the parallels between the Uayeb rites as described by Landa (Tozzer 1941), pages 34 to 37 of the Madrid Codex, and certain Late Postclassic archaeological patterns from the site of Santa Rita Corozal in northern Belize. While it has not been discussed in depth here, the Dresden Codex does not share the multitude of similarities that exist between the Madrid, the ethnohistory, and the archaeology. Given the difference in dates between the two codices, this is not surprising. It seems likely, however, that the lack of correlation between the two codices – specifically in regard to directions, deities, and depictions of offerings – is due not only to temporal differences, but also reflects a slightly divergent cycle of deities and rituals.

While not all archaeological or manuscript information pertinent to the Uayeb rites has been presented, certain conclusions concerning deity and/or offering identifications may be entertained. It is suggested that each of the upper right figures in the four pages of the Madrid Codex dealing with Uayeb ceremonies represents the Bacab for that particular year. Each is portrayed dispersing something with his hands, probably the mixture of maize and incense described ethnohistorically. The staff, while not elaborate, suggests parallels with the opossum figure Bacabs on pages 25 to 28 of the Dresden Codex.

One of the two opposing figures on the lower half of pages 34 to 37 of the Madrid may be indicative of the gods whose likenesses were made into statues in the ethnohistoric accounts (specifically Bolon Dzacab, Kinich Ahau, Itzamna, and Uac Mitun Ahau). It is possible that the opposing figures represent the images made each year (Kan u Uayeyab, Chac u Uayeyab, Sac u Uayeyab, and Ek u Uayeyab). Two of these deities are relatively simple to identify: Uac Mitun Ahau is on the left on page 34; Itzamna is on the right on page 37. Consistency requires that Bolon Dzacab be present on page 35 and Kinich Ahau on page 36. Neither of these latter possibilities is traditional. It is suggested, however,

that Bolon Dzacab is the figure on the right (God E or God F) on page 36. Similarly it is suggested that the figure on the right of page 36 may be a representation of Kinich Ahau Itzamna. The presence of "statues" as opposed to idols on the tun signs in the Codex suggest that they represent the Acontuns within the town rather than the piles of stone outside it, as has previously been suggested. This may be archaeologically correlated with the stone altars at Santa Rita.

It is evident from viewing the Codex (and comparing it with the ethnohistory and archaeology) that a number of activities are indicated on each page. What is presented in the Codex is not identical to Landa's description, but parallels it, as apparently does the archaeology. This may imply both differing perspectives between Landa and the native Maya scribes who composed the Codex and variability in the ceremonies themselves. Some aspects of the Uayeb rites prominent in the Codex and the archaeology are also present in the later Maya tun prophesies. For example, the prophesies for Tizimin and Mani (Roys 1949:175) also mention war and "a pledge of cloth" in relation to the Muluc years.

Archaeologically excavated caches from Santa Rita Corozal apparently symbolize a combination of offerings, ceremonies or dances, angels (or Bacabs), and deities. Two cache patterns are closely allied with the ethnohistorically described Kan and Muluc years. Their contents, however, indicate variations even within one kind of Uayeb rite. The other caches at the site are as yet less securely associated with specific years, but may be tentatively affiliated with the Ix and Cauac years. While most of the contents of the caches would appear to represent offerings or dances, the presence of either shell, turtle, or alligator figures (often with human heads) in all of them may point toward the representation of angels or bacabs in each. Certain of these figures suggest that they may be bacabs by the shell or turtle carapace alone (Thompson 1934; 1970a and b) without Landa's description of that year. Most may be seen as indicative of Itzamna in either the human head or alligator-earth monster characteristics (see Thompson 1970a). As such, perhaps they reinforce the relationship between Itzamna and the bacabs.

The correlation between cache figure and Bacab for the Kan years appears to be particularly strong. The Bacab for this year, Hobnil, is important during ceremonies other than those of the Uayeb, including the bee festival (Tozzer 1941:157). Thompson (1970b:471) suggests that Hobnil means "of the bee hives." These associations are of particular interest as one of the cache figures, seen as corresponding to the Kan years, looks much like a bee (Figure 4a). Thompson (1970b:472) goes further to suggest that the Bacabs may be equivalent to the Aj Munzecab or bee gods. Given the importance of the Bacabs in Landa's account, and Thompson's (1970b:483) suggestion that there may be a glyph meaning "festival of the Bacabs" at B5 on pages 34 to 37 of the Codex Madrid, one would expect representations of Bacabs for each of the years in both the Codex and the archaeology.

Interestingly, there are no indications of God N on these pages of the Madrid. As not all sets of caches have conch or turtle shell figures in them, this also suggests that the Bacabs may take forms other than those traditionally ascribed to them – God N or an opossum. It is in fact possible that bacabs may have had more than one form even in a particular year. This would perhaps explain Landa's (in Tozzer 1941:137-8) equivalence of Chacs, Bacabs, and Pauahtuns.

Nearly all of the Santa Rita caches have small shell or stone items within them, usually beads. These red and green stones have been described as offerings to Itzamna when there is hunger (Tozzer 1941:146, note 707) and must have been offered in more than the ethnohistorically indicated Cauac years (Tozzer 1941:148). Likewise, most of the caches were found in structures which also contained effigy censers or other modeled pottery. However, given the possibility that these might refer to deities other than those of the Uayeb rites (D. Chase 1985), no identifications are attempted at present. Further archaeological excavation and analysis will undoubtedly lead to the discovery of additional correlations of representations.

The distinct cache patterns at Santa Rita are located in specific parts of the site (Figure 1). These locations generally do not correspond directionally with the various years as described by Landa. This is to be expected as the caches were undoubtedly placed in areas within the town, such as the *principal's* house or temple, to which the idols had been brought. The distribution of caches at Santa Rita may be further reflective of the different barrios present at the site.

There is additional symbolism within each of the caches beyond that of each of the years; there is a figure in the Str. 36 cache, associated with Ix years and a movement of idols from north to west, which corresponds to the figure in a Str. 81 cache, corresponding to the Kan years and associated with movement of idols from south to east. If the identification of the Str. 36 cache with Ix years is correct, the presence of a figure, homologous to one from the Kan years, placed inside the mouth of an earth monster may symbolically represent a cosmological opposition of the directions east and west.

There are more Postclassic caches at Santa Rita than those that have been correlated with the Uayeb rites, and it is evident that caches were deposited for other occasions. However, the strong associations between the majority of the cache patterns and the various yearly Uayeb rites described by Landa is suggestive of the importance of caching within the framework of Late Postclassic calendric rituals. Modeled figure caches have been found at other sites in the Maya Lowlands; however, the only other site with similarly abundant figures is Mayapan (see Smith 1971). It should be noted, however, that the cache patterns at Santa Rita and Mayapan may reflect their regional capital status rather than the normal state of affairs. A further possibility should also be entertained – that the Uayeb rites were undertaken only at a select site or sites each year and/or that caches were not deposited every year, but at specified longer intervals.