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# DEITIES PORTRAYED ON CENSERS AT MAYAPAN

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## DESCRIPTION OF VESSELS

An excellent description of the effigy incense burners of Mayapan has been published by R. M. Adams, Jr. (1953, pp. 146-68), and supplementary information by H. D. Winters (1955, pp. 385-88). Accordingly, it is sufficient here to give an outline of their material and to refer readers to those sources. Full technical information will appear in R. E. Smith's forthcoming study of the pottery of Mayapan.

Effigy censers are made of coarse, unslipped pottery. The effigy is attached to the front of a thick-walled vase which stands on a high pedestal base, both slightly flaring. The headdress of the effigy usually rises 10 to 15 cm. above the rim of the vase. The tallest censer found at Mayapan is 68 cm. high, but the more usual height seems to have been some 10 cm. less. Some censers, although none of this class is complete, are of medium size, perhaps about 40 cm. high, and an occasional specimen is diminutive; Ruppert and Smith (1954, fig. 7,*k*) illustrate one only 13 cm. high. Vase diameters are about 18 cm.

There may be a lime wash on the exterior of the vessel; interiors, particularly the bases, of many are fire blackened. Small vent holes in the pedestals and in the bases of bowls are further evidence that burning took place in these vessels.

The effigy figure is attached to the front of the vessel, in an upright position. Winters (1955, p. 385) mentions rare examples of seated effigies. I have not noted any of that class at Mayapan, although elsewhere seated personages and diving gods are common on effigy censers. Legs are freestanding, apart, with feet parallel, and attached to the bowl immediately below the buttocks. The sandal normally has an ankle guard to which is attached a cord with a flap over the arch of the foot. A number of the feet show a cord between the first and second and the third and fourth toes. Toenails are carefully indicated.

In most figures the arms are bent at an angle of 90°, palms up, and the hands may support offerings; in a few the hands are brought together in front of the stomach to hold an offering. Rarely a shield is on the left arm; in one effigy a hand grasps a spearthrower.

Usually a wide loincloth end hangs between the legs, partly covering them, and reaching almost to the ankles. In width this loincloth is neither in the classic Maya tradition nor in that of Mexican representational art at Chichen Itza. A half-skirt over buttocks and sides of thighs is remi-

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niscent of the jaguar-skin drawers worn by personages on stelae of the Central Maya area. A sort of short-sleeved jacket and a breast ornament are usually part of the costume; cuffs and bands below the knees may be shown.

Winters notes three main types of headdress: a close-fitting cap or, in his words, cylindrical bonnet; a helmet in the shape of the jaws or beak of some animal or bird; and, very rarely, a kind of rectangular box. All headdresses appear to be topped by a flaring funnel and to have on each side a flap reaching to the shoulders.

A pair of flanges, which project from the vase on either side of the effigy, serve as the two-piece frame, usually of featherwork, which was placed behind gods or their impersonators, and which is shown being placed in position on the murals of Bonampak (Ruppert, Thompson, and Proskouriakoff, 1955, fig. 27).

Some parts of the effigies, notably faces, hands, and feet, were commonly made in molds. Molds for these faces have only occasionally been found at Mayapan; their rarity is not surprising, for potteries might not have been located within the city. Many details of dress and ornament were made separately and attached to the effigy before firing; often these details in appliqué become detached.

Painting was done after firing. Colors observed are red, yellow, blue, green, gray, purple, brown, black, white, and, less commonly, gray, purple, and brown; both brown and gray may at times have been accidental. Sometimes there is an apparently intentional mixture of blue and green resulting in a variable shade here called turquoise. Density of paint produces different tones, and sometimes (fig. 2,*a*) a dark blue design is painted on a light blue or a dark red on pink. The colors may have ritual significance, as, for example, that for the flayed skin, correctly shown as white to a very pale yellow, which Xipe wears (fig. 2,*a,b*), or the black-and-white facial painting of Tlazolteotl (fig 2,*c*), or the variable colors of God B (fig. 1,*a-d*); at times the artist appears to have used whatever paint took his fancy or was in good supply.

## FUNCTION OF EFFIGY CENSERS

R. E. Smith informs me that, in examining sherds, he has found burned copal incense in the bases of some effigy censers, in verification of the inference from the presence of vent holes and smoke stains on the interiors of many sherds that these vessels were, indeed, used as incense burners, although there is no reason to suppose that they were swung like the censer of the Old World. Quite apart from such direct testimony, the normal occurrence of large quantities of fragments in or around structures designated as shrines is indirect evidence that the vessels were used for burning copal; but it must be remembered that one, though not the only, reason for classifying such structures as shrines is precisely that huge quantities of sherds of incense burners are often found in their vicinity. Nevertheless, these vessels frequently stood on or at the foot of what presumably were altars.

Some confusion in early Spanish accounts between pottery idols and effigy incense burners probably reflects a lack of clear-cut differentiation among the Maya informants, but it would seem that the effigy incense burners of Yucatan, like those of the present-day Lacandon, had the dual purpose of serving as receptacles of the burning copal and as idols of the gods they portray, for in the Relación de Valladolid (Relaciones de Yucatan, 1900, 13:19, 27-28) we read: "They worshipped some idols made of clay, like small jars or the flower pots used for sweet basil, with different faces on the outsides. Inside, they burnt a strong-smelling resin called copal. This they offered to those idols," and, with reference to the temple on top of the pyramid, "They had their idols in the building on top, made of pottery in the shape of basil pots but with very irregular outline (*muy bocadeadas*) with their feet, and on them faces, ill-featured and deformed with evil grimaces. They put into this idol a resin-like incense which they call copal."

Support for the view that the Maya of Yucatan regarded these effigy censers as gods is found

in the belief, common among the present-day Maya, that the pottery censers come to life at night and are extremely dangerous. They are called Ah Lux or Ah Lux Kat, and should be destroyed, but their destruction entails some danger. An ingenious method was explained to me by a Maya informant: a heavy stone is suspended above the effigy vessel by means of a strip of *mahau* (tie) bark. In time the bark strap will rot, allowing the rock to crash on the incense burner, which is destroyed without endangering the person who has contrived its end.

Sixty-five heads from censers were sufficiently well preserved or retained sufficient characterization to be suitable for study, and perhaps 20 more were rejected, but these numbers give an inadequate idea of the total quantities unearthed, for in very many cases faces were too badly smashed to be counted.

The number of sherds of effigy incense burners in late deposits is truly enormous. For instance, Burial Cist 2 of Str. R-86 yielded 18,433 sherds, of which 16,795 (91 per cent) were from effigy incense burners (Proskouriakoff and Temple, 1955, p. 327), yet in this huge number there were only 25 faces. Above child burials of Str. Q-208 there were more than 1800 sherds of censers, some of which were fairly large and many of which were covered with bright paint. Only 6 faces were recognizable, but these had been broken into some 30 sherds. Counts of 9 feet and 10 arms agree fairly closely with the tally of 6 faces (J. E. S. Thompson, 1954, p. 78). Even though breakage would be inevitable because of the nature of the pottery and the many projecting and appliqué elements, it was clear that these effigy censers had not been complete when they had been strewn over the children's graves, and the same appears to be true of many large deposits of these sherds. Again, Lot C-32 from Str. Q-82 produced 8300 sherds, 80 per cent of which were from censers, and 96 per cent of all sherds above the latest floors were of censers (Shook, 1954, p. 267).

It has been suggested that these deposits of large numbers of sherds of effigy censers might be connected with the renewal of the idols of clay and the braziers which Landa (Tozzer, 1941, p. 161) says fell in either the month Ch'en or Yax. It appears highly probable, however, that the renovation ceremony was connected with the start of the 260-day almanac on 1 Imix, which chanced to fall on 18 Yax in Landa's specimen year. The interval between renovations of the vessels is irrelevant, but the fact that a renewal rite of the effigy censers has survived to the present day among the Lacandon (Tozzer, 1907, pp. 105-47) is significant.

## CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL PLACEMENT

The highly standardized type of effigy incense burner discussed in this paper made its appearance late in the occupation of Mayapan and seems to have attained great popularity in a short time. Indeed, the presence or absence of its sherds is an important factor in dating a deposit.

Effigy incense burners of very similar type occur with considerable frequency on the east coast of the peninsula (e.g., Gann, 1918, pl. 2), apparently from near the northeast tip southward as far as the north end of New River Lagoon in British Honduras, this southern boundary perhaps corresponding approximately with that of the ancient province of Chetumal. Everywhere the vessels are surface finds, and usually appear on the summits of pyramids.

Incense burners of this same type are reported to occur on the surface at Chichen Itza, particularly in the area of the Caracol, the Monjas, and the Red House, and to represent a reoccupation of the site in late times. Specimens of this type, painted the same bright colors, were with burials in the pyramid of the High Priest's Grave, and fragments of others were scattered on the floor of the sanctuary (E. H. Thompson, 1938, p. 43; figs. 4,*b* 20, 21, 27; fig. 16,*i*, probably shows a piece broken off the headdress of an effigy figure). As the pottery associated with these burials includes Mayapan Redware, the late appearance of this effigy incense burner at Chichen Itza is amply confirmed. Strangely enough, fragments of these vessels do not seem to have been dredged from the cenote,

although numerous vessels of Mayapan ware holding copal were brought up.

Effigy incense burners of the same general type, though not so close stylistically, appear also along the west coast of the peninsula, but their distribution is not well known. In Campeche and as far as Los Tuxtlas are found effigy censers of types resembling to a lesser degree those of Mayapan; there is for the most part no information on their chronological placement, although in Tabasco, where alone intensive digging has been fully recorded, they occur on late time levels, as would be expected (Berlin, 1956).

## IDENTIFICATIONS OF DEITIES

Inasmuch as certain personages on the censers are readily recognizable as specific deities, their identification encourages the assumption that the figure on each of these effigy censers represents a definite member of the Mayapan pantheon. It is known that similarly each Lacandon effigy brazier represents a definite god (Tozzer, 1907, p. 89). If, then, we can identify deities whose features are modeled on these censers, we may be able to increase our knowledge of the effects of Mexican influences and the life of a militaristic center on Maya religion.

## ITZAMNA, THE OLD GOD

Several portraits of gods on incense burners clearly represent the deity to whom Schellhas (1904, pp. 22-23) assigned the letter D, and whom Seler (1887) and subsequently Fewkes (1895) identify as Itzamna. I believe most modern authors accept that identification, although Gates (1931) considered God B to correspond to Itzamna. The nature of the god is complex. Both in the codices and in the literature where he is referred to at times as Kinich Ahau Itzamna, he is merged with the sun god, but he also has nonsolar aspects.

The representations of this god on incense burners (figs. 3,*d,e*, 4,*a,b*) show the following characteristics: (1) The mouth is toothless except for a single worn molar in each corner. (2) An oval area around the mouth which includes the upper lip and chin is painted gold (red in one specimen) and outlined in black. As is usual with all effigies on censers, the lips are red. (3) Cheekbones are very prominent, presumably to add emphasis to the appearance of old age conveyed by sunken eyes. (4) Sometimes a groove curves from the nostrils around the eyes to accentuate the portraiture of advanced age. (5) The nose is markedly Hebraic, and there is a round projection over the bridge. (6) Eyebrows and eyelids are prominent, presumably to give a sunken appearance to the eyes. The upper orbital area is usually golden. (7) A white scroll with two pendent circles under each eye appears to be characteristic; but the white paint is fugitive, and the scroll, which may carry simple outlining in black, is not easily seen in all examples.

All the physical characteristics noted above are recognizable in examples of God D in the Maya codices, although the line marking the change of color around the mouth (not to be confused with the time furrows on each side of the mouth) is not always distinguishable. Nevertheless, in the portrait of God D on page 7,*b* and *c* of Codex Dresden, the areas of yellow paint around the chin are clearly visible. God D is usually shown as toothless in Codex Dresden, but in Codex Madrid and very occasionally in Codex Dresden (e.g., p. 9,*a*) there is one tooth in the corner of the mouth. The presence or absence of a single molar is of little consequence, however, as any dentist would agree.

On the murals of Santa Rita, British Honduras (Gann, 1900, pl. 30), God D, as lord of Tun 11 Ahau, conforms to the type already described. His mouth is toothless, but the area around it is yellow, although with a small red design imprinted on it. He appears also on murals at Tulum (Lothrop, 1924, pl. 6) with the same features, but again the mouth is toothless.

God D is represented by one complete incense burner (fig. 3,*d,e*), now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, and eight complete or incomplete heads from incense burners (fig. 4,*a,b*).

The complete figure was found with others in the shrine room of the colonnaded structure Q-81 (Lot C-72; Winters, 1955). This, as well as the eight heads, retains facial painting. It has a blue face with yellow around the mouth and on the chin. Three (A-188, two of A-190) of the eight faces are red with yellow oral circles, and another (C-60) probably belongs in the same group; the face is painted red, but the mouth and chin are lacking. Two faces (A-188, A-l90) are blue with a yellow area around the mouth and on the chin; another (C-72) is white with the same yellow oral area. Finally, one (A-190) has gray facial painting with red around the chin and mouth and three curved lines apparently representing furrows of age on each lower cheek.

These color variations surely conform to the system of world directional coloring that we find in the Maya codices, in the books of Chilam Balam, and in the Ritual of the Bacabs. Indeed, in the last work there is mention of the Red Itzamna, the White Itzamna, and the Yellow Itzamna (information of R. L. Roys). The God D on the murals of Santa Rita has blue features with golden chin. God D appears painted black several times in Codex Dresden, and glyphs of God D with red and green affixes are found, although rarely, in the codices. The four heads in Lot A-190 are colored, respectively, red (two), blue, gray, and, therefore, do not directly indicate a world directional and color ritual, but there may have been others in the lot to complete the color series.

The headdress of the complete example consists of a closefitting round skull cap tied with a large, decorative band, from which rises the funnel that seems to occur with all effigy figures from incensarios (fig. 3,*d,e*). Incomplete headdresses attached to five of the heads are all of this close-fitting cap type. In two, the cap was held in position by a band decoratively tied in front; one has a design of appliqué circles; another has a pattern in appliqué of small circles attached to the perimeter of a larger one (fig. 4,*a,b*).

The painting of God D at Santa Rita shows the same funnel element, but it rises from a bird, not from a cap. The closefitting cap held in place by a band appears to be rare in Maya art. Among the sculptures of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza are one or two examples of a sort of kerchief held by a band, and similar caps appear frequently in Codices Laud and Fejervary-Mayer, but no significance could be attached to them without an exhaustive investigation of types of headgear and their distribution in Middle America.

The complete effigy figure (fig. 3,*d,e*) has a pouch dangling from its left arm, and the two hands support a cone-shaped object which may represent a loaf of copal but which also resembles an architectural device, the significance of which is not certain.

## CHAC, THE LONG-NOSED GOD

The longnosed gods, to whom Schelihas assigned the letter B, and who are so frequently portrayed in Maya art, are generally identified as the Chacs, the rain gods of Yucatan, the Maya equivalents of the Tlalocs of Central Mexico and the Cocijos of Oaxaca. This identification is not open to serious question.

Among the effigy incensarios from Mayapan are one complete vessel of Chac (C-72) now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, and six heads, some of which are extremely fragmentary (A-109, A-181, A-189, A-190 [two], and C-51). They show (figs. 1,*a-d*, 3,*f*) the following characteristics: (1) A long pendulous "trunk" extending downward from the nose over the upper lip. Although it is missing from all the heads but that of the complete effigy, its former presence is indicated by breaks on the surface of the nose, except for one head that completely lacks the nose. (2) A white scroll with pendent circlets beneath the eyes, similar to that of God D, is usually but not invariably present. (3) A fang at each corner of the mouth is almost certainly a characteristic, but as the fangs were appliquéd they easily broke or dropped off. The complete effigy has both fangs, and the head from Lot A-51 retains one. Cache pots with heads of God B commonly have both fangs,

but they may be painted, not appliquéd. (4) Normal teeth, usually four, are between the fangs. (5) Oval areas around the eyes are usually painted a different color – green predominates – than the face, producing the effect of goggles. One half of the face may be of a different color from the other, the line of demarcation passing vertically down the nose and "trunk." The colors blue and green, which throughout Middle America are associated with water, predominate.

The left side of the face of the complete effigy is painted blue; the right side, red. The same color division appears on one head of Lot A-190, but is complicated by other coloring around eyes and mouth (fig. 1,*b*). Two heads (A-109, A-189; fig. 1,*a*) are blue with green around the eyes and mouth. Another from Lot A-190 is blue with gold around the mouth (fig. 1,*c*). A fragmentary head from Lot A-181 (fig. 1,*d*) seems to have had the left side of its face painted red and blue; the right side is black with a red-white-and-black diagonal extending from temple to upper lip.

The complete effigy has a snake or alligator head for its headdress. The same arrangement is found on an effigy censer of Chac from Chetumal (G. E. Smith, 1927). One fragmentary head (fig. 1,*a*) has a close-fitting cap with a band around it and a bow tie in front, as already noted in the discussion of the Itzamna effigies; a second incomplete head may have a headdress of the same type (fig. 1,*c*); the remainder lack headgear.

The complete effigy has a small vessel in its right hand and what is probably a ball of flaming copal in its left. One is reminded that the Chacs carried water in jars or gourds, and caused rain by pouring it on the earth. The Tlalocs frequently appear with small vessels in their hands, from which they are often pictured as pouring water (e.g., Codex Borgia, p. 28). On Dresden page 37,*c*, God B is depicted squatting in the rain with his jar on his back; on Madrid page 9 he holds the mouth of the vessel downward, allowing the water to flow out.

The long-nosed god appears on a number of vessels other than effigy censers. A fine one (C-72) carries a figure of God B in diving position (Winters, 1955, fig. 30,*p*). The typical features are clearly depicted. The face is orange except for a green oval around the mouth and green eyelids. The hands are red.

Three or four small cache pots carry faces of God B in relief. One face (A-580; A. L. Smith and Ruppert, 1956, fig. 8,*o,p*) was painted green after firing except for the white scrolls under the eyes. The accentuated upper orbital areas produce an effect reminiscent of portraits of Tlalocs. Another (C-96b) is turquoise. These faces have the typical proboscis of God B, and display tusks or fangs in the corners of the mouth.

Masks of God B painted on the walls of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza (Morris, Charlot, and Morris, 1931, pls. 133, 157b) combine green and blue with a yellow area around mouth and chin. God B is not among the gods whose portraits have survived on the Santa Rita murals.

## GODS OF MERCHANTS

Four heads from censers are reviewed together under this heading, and a figure from a cache pot is brought into the discussion. All four heads have peculiar decorative areas around the eyes.

Three of the faces (A-570, two; A-180; figs. 1,*e,h*, 4,*h,i*) and the one from the cache vessel (A-416; fig. 1,*g*) have the area around the left eye gold, and that around the right eye turquoise color. One face from Lot A-570 is black; the others are red. Both eyes of C72 are green with outlining in yellow. This change in color in the circumorbital area may have resulted from the switch in color of the face to blue.

Two of the faces (A-570, A-180) have straight long noses which project horizontally, a type that I term the Pinocchio nose (fig. 4,*h,i*). The nose of the cache pot is missing, but the break strongly suggests that it was of the same unusual form. Jaguar "whiskers," tusks, beard, and bird headdress are also of importance in this group. The distribution of these traits is best expressed in tabular form:

| *Lot* | *Face* | *Orbits* | *Nose* | *Whiskers* | *Beard* | *Bird headdress* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A-180 | red | blue & gold | Pinocchio | yes | yes | yes (damaged) |
| A-570 | red | blue & gold | Pinocchio | yes | yes? | gone |
| A-570 | black | blue & gold | normal | no | no | no |
| C-72 | blue | green | normal | yes | yes? | yes |
| A-416 | red | blue & gold | Pinocchio | no | no | no |

A-180 and C-72 have tusks in the corners of their mouths; A-570 (black) has two stumps which may represent molars or perhaps broken tusks; A-416, A-570 (red), and A-180 have projecting lower lips of inordinate size (figs. 1,*g*; 4,*h*,*i*).

In reviewing the identity of this group of heads one is instantly reminded of Schellhas' God M, who often has the same peculiarly shaped marking around the eyes and who typically has the Pinocchio nose and the projecting lower lip. In the codices, however, God M is almost invariably painted black except for the red area around the mouth. Markings around the eyes, if they are present, are white. There is a single exception, for on Madrid page 15,*b* God M is white with the area around the mouth red and that around the visible eye blue.

God M is generally recognized to be Ekchuah, a god of merchants and travelers. In a previous paper (J. E. S. Thompson, 1950, p. 76) I stated my belief that God M was primarily a god of hunting, comparable in functions to Mixcoatl, the hunting god of Central Mexico. Perhaps the two concepts are reconcilable. From Sahagun (1938 and 1950, bk. 1, ch. 19) we gather that there were six deities of travelers in Mexico: Yacapecutli, also called Hacacoliuhqui, who was the chief; Nacxitl, who was Quetzalcoatl; Yacapitzauac, "he with the pointed nose"; Acxomocuil, whom Seler believed to be merely Tezcatlipoca under another name; Cochimetl; and Chalmecaciuatl, "the Chalmeca woman," who appears to be a manifestation of the goddess Tlazolteotl.

One of the merchant gods then was called "he with the pointed nose." Torquemada (1723, bk. 6, ch. 28) says the name means "he with the aquiline nose," a term, he adds, for a sharp or clever person. Groups of traveling, gods, usually with pack and staff, appear in various codices. On Codex Fejervary-Mayer pages 36 and 37, an aged god with Pinocchio nose and a fringe beard is among the travelers. In one picture he strides forward beneath the burden of his pack; in the other he carries with him the crossroads symbol. His body is half red, half blue, but his chin and the area around his mouth are white.

This same deity, again with his body painted half red, half blue, and again with Pinocchio nose and a fringe beard, is depicted on the murals of Santa Rita, British Honduras (Gann, 1900, pl. 31). The area around his mouth is painted yellow with red markings, not white as in Codex Fejervary-Mayer, and although, like the figures in that codex, he lacks the drooping lower lip, he does resemble the examples of God M in the Maya codices in wearing on his head a plaited tumpline. The area around his eye is painted blue, but in a step pattern, not the horseshoe shape of God M. With one hand he beats a drum; with the other he shakes a rattle. Opposite him another deity holds two trophy heads, one of which is that of this same deity. The face is red and blue, the nose is of the Pinocchio type, and there is a possible, but dubious, tumpline headdress. However, the extreme prominence of the projecting lower lip links the various heads just discussed, representations of God M in the codices, and the group of figures from incense burners under discussion.

Although the evidence is not sufficient for a categorical assertion, the assumption seems reasonable that the four incense burners portray three of a group of perhaps six gods of merchants and travelers who are associated with world colors and directions, namely the red, black, and blue gods of merchants.

Interestingly enough, this same group of deities is surely represented in stone and pottery in the highlands of Guatemala. A. L. Smith and Kidder (1951, p. 44, figs. 53,*a*, 89, 90), who have assembled material on the subject, note that the datable examples are post-Classic. One of the pottery heads and all the stone heads have a vertical groove at the back. It is known that the Nahuatl merchants regarded their staves as images of the merchant god Yacatecutli, and that at the end of a day's journey they offered blood and incense to the bundle of their staves which they set up in their camp (Sahagun, 1938, bk. 1, ch. 19). This vertical groove at the back may have served to secure the heads to staves. Other heads are at the ends of pottery handles of the kind attached to brazier pans; it may reasonably be supposed that such braziers were used in the worship of the god with the pointed nose.

This deity or group of deities was worshipped over a large area, and the cult was presumably spread by merchants, perhaps in post-Classic times. From archaeological evidence alone, Mayapan would hardly be regarded as an important trading center, but trade is known to have been brisk in Yucatan at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, when conditions were far less stable than they. had been when Mayapan dominated a large area. Accordingly, it may be supposed that there was an active cult of the gods of merchants in Mayapan, that the cult was probably of Mexican origin, and that the portraits on incense burners are of Yacatecutli and his fellow patrons of trading. What connections there may be with cacao, the god of which was also a patron of merchants among the Maya, is not clear. The reason for the association of cacao and merchants is, of course, that cacao beans were the common currency of Middle America.

Unfortunately, the proveniences of these pieces do not point to any possible residence or temple of the merchant class.

## WHISKERED GODS

Several heads resemble the figures of the supposed gods of merchants in their possession of cat whiskers and beard. One (A-114; fig. 1,*i*), painted red with yellow whiskers and beard, has a tusk at each corner of the mouth; another (C-12) is also red, but the whiskers have lost their color and the beard is missing. A trace of color on the chin seems to have been yellow, but there are also traces of black, perhaps fire marks. Fangs, if once present, have become detached. A third face (C-72; fig. 1,*j*) is yellow with a black area around the eyes. The whiskers seem also to have been yellow. The beard is missing, but the place where it broke off can be seen plainly, and a break in the corner of the mouth is almost certain evidence that tusks were originally present. A fourth, somewhat fragmentary head, also from Lot C-72, belongs to this group. The face is green save for a horizontal yellow band across the eyes, which are represented by holes. The start of the cat whiskers is visible, but mouth and chin are missing. Except for the hollow eye sockets, the features are those of a normal person not passed maturity.

All four of these heads, like those of the supposed gods of merchants, wear handsome bird helmets. A deity with cat whiskers and beard, wearing a bird headdress, and with a second bird mask at his waist appears on the murals of Santa Rita as patron of Tun 6 Ahau (Gann, 1900, pl. 30). Presumably he represents the same deity as these Mayapan heads, although the facial markings are somewhat different.

Five other heads from incense burners appear to belong to this group, but all are fragmentary or lack color. One small complete head (A-539) has golden whiskers and beard, but the facial color has gone. There are two buttons in the center of the forehead. The mouth is devoid of tusks. The headdress is a close-fitting cap with a sort of comb on top.

Two fragmentary faces, painted red (C-8, C-51), had whiskers which were golden on one but no paint remains on the other. The beard is missing from both. The head from Lot C-8 retains a fang in each corner of the mouth, and there are slight traces of turquoise paint on the chin. Incomplete

heads from Lots C-39 and C-51 have whiskers, and the former shows where the beard broke off. None of these last four retains any headdress.

The presence of whiskers and beard usually denotes a connection with the jaguar. With the addition of a line under the eyes and twisted over the bridge of the nose, this bewhiskered face becomes that of the god of the number seven, an aspect of the jaguar god of the interior of the earth; with solar features, it becomes that of the night sun.

## XIPE TOTEC

Xipe Totec, a Mexican god of vegetation characterized by the rite in his honor in which his impersonators wore the skins of the victims who during his festival were killed in gladiatorial fights, had not previously been reported in Yucatan. Landa (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 119-20) noted the wearing of flayed human skins in Maya ceremonies, but as this was an element in the worship of other Mexican deities, it was not certain that such practices referred to a Xipe cult. Among the incensario effigy heads, however, are several that clearly represent Xipe Totec. Five of the six whole or fragmentary heads of Xipe found at Mayapan were with Lot A-110 (fig. 4,*g*), and have previously been identified as representing Xipe (J. E. S. Thompson, 1954, p. 78). Re-examination of the material brought to light a small fragment showing part of the very distinctive eye of Xipe Totec. A sixth Xipe head was with Lot A-209 (Proskouriakoff and Temple, 1955, fig. 22,*l*).

The characteristics of the Xipe Totec heads at Mayapan are: (1) The face is a light yellow or cream color, which represents the mask of human skin covering the god's face. (2) The eyes, with eyelids almost closed, appear as crescentic slits. The edges of the lids are painted red, and in one example the surface of each eyelid carries half a dozen light vertical strokes of black paint. (3) The red underlip of the god is visible inside the mouth of the mask. This should not be confused with the line inside the upper jaw of most effigy faces, which normally is painted white and represents the teeth of the upper jaw. Except on Xipe heads there is no such line inside the lower lip. (4) The nose tends to have a squashed appearance. The A-209 head has a broken tubular (?) insertion, painted green, in the left nostril. Flecks of green paint around the right nostril make it evident that both nostrils were thus decorated. It appears likely that a jade rod was depicted, but a jade bead in each nostril is also a possibility. This is the only nose of well over a hundred examined that shows definite evidence of decoration, although two fragmentary noses may have been so decorated.

With the heads of Lot A-110 were seven arms and six legs sufficiently complete to be identified as belonging to figures of Xipe. The wrists and ankles are painted red, the color normally employed to portray the skin of men; they extrude from the sleeves or leggings of the dress of human skin, which are painted white or cream, evidently the way of representing the flayed skin, for it is the color of the skin worn over the face. In Mexican codices this donned skin is shown in varying tones of yellow in contrast to the brownish red of the natural skin. Some of the Xipe arms and legs from Mayapan mark the change at wrists and ankles from donned to natural skin merely by the change in color from white to red; others show the skin garment in relief (fig. 2,*a,b*).

Two fragments (A-110) of Xipe legs show at about knee level bells painted yellow, presumably to represent gold or burnished copper. One Xipe arm has a small head tied to the arm with a turquoise-colored band. The little head is yellow with a white band across the eyes and a curved line, also white, from temple to rear of chin on each side of the face (fig. 2,*a*). This is, of course, one of the diagnostics of Xipe on the Mexican plateau and of probably representations of Xipe in the Mayan codices (J. E. S. Thompson, 1950, p. 131). The little face, however, does not show other Xipe characteristics except perhaps for the presence of red cords dangling from the head, which almost certainly terminated in bells. The facial decoration is close to that of the maize god (fig. 2,*d*), as is understandable, for Xipe is also a god of the ripe maize in Central Mexico.

One loincloth, attached to a Xipe leg (fig. 2,*b*), carries on a black background two crossed bones below a design reminiscent of the swallowtail emblem so typical of Xipe Totec in the art of Anahuac.

One Xipe head is joined to the top of the censer receptacle, to which the "wings" or backdrop of the effigy are attached. Red, the color of Xipe, predominates in this with wide or narrow red bands on a white or gold background, but there are also areas of blue, each of which carries an up-ended double fret (fig. 4,*g*).

## TLAZOLTEOTL

The Mexican goddess called Tlazolteotl, Toci, or Teteoinnan is one of the most important deities of the Mexican pantheon in her role of patroness of the soil and its crops, of weaving, medicine, procreation, and childbirth. There is little reason to doubt that she was once the moon goddess, and she corresponds very closely in her function to Ixchel, the Yucatec moon goddess and wife of the sun god (J. E. S. Thompson, 1939). In Mexican codices she is commonly shown with a yellow or white face, and with black marking of melted rubber, Sahagun (1938, bk. 1, ch. 18) tells us – around her lips and on her chin, and sometimes on her cheeks. Her most prominent insigne is a crescent or u-shaped symbol supposed to have been a nose ornament, but more probably the symbol for cotton, with which, as a goddess of weaving, she was closely associated. This symbol often decorates her skirt (e.g., Codex Borgia, pp. 12, 16, 23, 55, 57, 63), and occasionally appears on her standard (Codex Telleriano-Remensis, p. 13; Codex Bourbon, pp. 34, 36) or on her headdress (Codex Bourbon, p. 13; Borgia, p. 57).

Among the incensario effigy fragments at Mayapan one head definitely represents Tlazolteotl, a second probably portrays her, and a third may also do so. The first of these (figs. 2,*c*, 4,*j*) was with Lots A-182 and A-188. The face is painted white with black around the chin and the mouth; there are black markings around the eyes and a black curvilinear design from ear to ear. In the space between the brow ridges is a small white crescentic area surrounded with black. As far as I know, this position above the bridge of the nose is unusual for the crescentic insigne so characteristic of Tlazolteotl. Nevertheless in the goddess' headdress (a position which is not uncommon) are five of these insignia: one is painted red, another yellow, two blue, one green. A splash of green on the cheek shows that the earplug was of that color. The presence of these crescents in conjunction with the white face and black chin makes it certain that this effigy represents the goddess Tlazolteotl. The loop at each side of the face is not found on other representations of this goddess.

A second head (A-110) may represent the same goddess. The face, of a youthful type, with straight un-Maya nose, is entirely white except for a gray band around the mouth and bands of the same color under each eye. There is a weathered black patch on the bridge of the nose, but it is not possible to say whether it outlined the crescentic form found there on the other head.

The base of the headdress is painted gray with a single encircling black line, and at the sides, above and behind the ears, the hair is shown by vertical black lines on gray, as on the head of Tlazolteotl and on the least one of the Xipe heads.

Although the identification of this second head as Tlazolteotl is not positive, it is at least a good possibility, perhaps strengthened by the fact that the head was found in the same lot (A-110) as the principal group of heads of Xipe Totec, for the two deities share the religious rite of the donning of human skins.

A third head, with Lot C-115, possibly may portray this same goddess (D. E. Thompson, 1955, fig. 2,*p*). The face is white, with black rings around the mouth and the eyes. There may be black markings elsewhere, but the surface is rubbed. A bird headdress gives the impression that the goddess' face peers forth from the open beak.

The head in Lots A-182 and A-188 is the first definite evidence of an extension of the cult of

the goddess Tlazolteotl to Yucatan. It would seem that her worshippers must have been Mexican by birth or descent, or wished to ape Mexican ways, for the functions and fields of activity of Tlazolteotl and those of the Maya goddess Ixchel are so closely related that there would seem to be little reason for establishing the cult of the former were it not for active Mexican influence. It is perhaps worth noting that Tlazolteotl was one of the six deities worshipped by merchants and travelers among the peoples who used Codices Laud, Fejervary-Mayer, and Borgia, and perhaps under the name Chalmecaciuatl (p. 609) among the Aztec and related peoples of the Valley of Mexico.

The worship of the goddess may therefore have been introduced to Yucatan as part of a cult of merchants and travelers, rather than as an attempt to bring in a new mother goddess to replace Ixchel of the native Maya. It may also be of significance that the cult of Tlazolteotl in all probability originated in Veracruz, and so, although the cult spread to the Mexican plateau, it may have been carried directly from Veracruz to Yucatan and not have traveled indirectly via Tula.

## THE MAIZE GOD

One full-figure incense burner from Lot C-72 (Winters, 1955, fig. 3,*c*,*d*) conceivably represents the maize god (figs. 2,*d*, 3,*c*). The youthful face is yellow with red areas that curve across each side of the face and include the eyes. The pattern resembles, but is not quite the same as, the facial painting of God E, the maize god, which normally shows, as here, a vertical stripe of the same color from forehead to tip of nose, where it expands into a circle around the mouth (cf. Codex Dresden, p. 50). In some of the pictures of God E in the codices, areas between cheek bone and ear seem to correspond to those on the face under discussion. In Mexican codices the maize god is commonly painted yellow. The god on the censer holds in his right hand a ball from which rises an element resembling the conventionalized representations both of flames and of leaves of a maize plant. The ball could represent either copal or maize dough, according to the identification of the element rising from it. Naturally, if the deity is, indeed, the maize god, it is more logical to see in this element a ball of maize dough with its identifying maize sign.

## POSSIBLE VENUS GOD

One head (C-8, fig. 2,*e*; Adams, 1953, fig. 10,*a*) may represent one of the gods of the planet Venus. The face of this youthful deity is golden, and on the upper part are six gray rectangles outlined with red. On the lower part of the face are painted two jawbones, pale green with red rami and white teeth. Green seems to be the color associated with death in the representational art of Mayapan.

In the Mexican Codex Bologna, Tlauizcalpantecutli, the Venus god as morning star, is represented with fleshless lower jaw, surely to denote that as lord of the dawn he has just emerged from the underworld, and the same seems to be true of the representations of Venus in Codex Borgia.

In Codex Vatican B, Tlauizcalpantecutli is presented with gray skin, and on the dark gray surface of the face are painted a number of white disks. In profile, half a dozen of them are visible; full face there might be more, or the design may be distorted to show in profile the number normally visible in full face. In Codex Fejervary-Mayer (p. 25) the Venus god has a striped brown and white profile with five white disks, whereas in Codex Borgia (p. 16) a dark gray profile of the god carries only four white disks. In Codex Magliabecchi (p. 53) there is a god who is surely Tlauizcalpantecutli, although he is labeled Mictlantecutli, the death god. His face is painted red with seven yellow spots (five are visible): one on each temple and each side of the jaw, one on the chin, the point of the nose, and the forehead. The connection between Venus as morning star and the death god is well known (J. E. S. Thompson, 1950, p. 299).

The portrait on the Mayapan incense burner has hook-shaped rods projecting from the circular earplugs. Except that they project horizontally instead of hanging vertically, these rods closely

resemble the hooked shell ear pendants which are among the insignia of Quetzalcoatl, whose connection with the planet Venus is well known. Representations of Tlauizcalpantecutli do not carry the insignia of Quetzalcoatl, however.

Maya representations of the god of the planet Venus do not have disks on their faces, as this face has, nor are they commonly decked with the bared jawbone, the most prominent symbol of death. If, then, this face is that of the Venus god, it is a Mexican, not a Maya, manifestation of the god, but the identification must be regarded as open to question.

## QUETZALCOATL-KUKULCAN?

A complete incense burner (C-72) from the shrine of Str. Q-81 may represent Kukulcan, for he wears the section of conch shell, "the spiral wind jewel" to translate its Nahuatl name, which is one of the attributes of Quetzalcoatl (fig. 3,*a,b*). This ornament is colored turquoise and outlined in gold. The youthful face appears originally to have been red all over, but there may have been yellow areas, though neither is the usual face painting for Quetzalcoatl. Winters (1955, p. 387) points out that the well modeled face is so like those of two other deities in the same deposit that all three might have come from the same mold. It is enclosed in the jaws of an animal that Winters identified as a puma, whereas Quetzalcoatl most frequently wears the high peaked "Huaxtec" cap, shaped like the old-fashioned dunce's cap, of jaguar skin. From circular turquoise-colored earplugs project L-shaped rods painted turquoise and red. They are horizontal, with the lower arm of the L pointing downward. The resemblance to the hook-shaped ear pendants of shell generally worn by Quetzalcoatl is not marked. Moreover, this type of pendant is worn by several deities at Mayapan. The god wears a straight-ended loincloth, white with simple red design, and he holds in each hand a ball painted yellow.

Of the six most characteristic insignia of Quetzalcoatl – the peaked cap, the loincloth with rounded ends, the yellow-and-black or red-and-black face painting, the penitential bone dagger, the hook-shaped shell ear pendants, and the "spiral wind jewel" – only the last is represented on this figure. Moreover, there is some evidence that this conch-shell ornament is worn also by other deities. The identification of this figure as Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan must therefore be accepted with great reserve.

A second head, a duplicate of the one just discussed except for a knoblike element above the bridge of the nose, was with Lot C-III. It also is set in the open mouth of a puma or a related animal. The puma jaws are red, but the snout and the surviving ear of the puma headdress are golden.

## THE DEATH GOD

One complete head (A-413) and three fragmentary heads of medium size (C-32) represent the death god (fig. 4,*c,d*). The characteristics are: (1) The lips or the upper lip only are omitted so as to reveal the teeth, or the teeth are modeled on the lips. One of the four death's-heads lacks this feature; it has normal lips. (2) The nose is shown without flesh. Usually this feature has been conventionalized as a bold relief in the form of an inverted V. This treatment seems to be Mexican rather than Maya. (3) The eyes are replaced by fleshless sockets made by cutting away the clay to leave round or rectangular openings. In one head the orbits are only hollowed.

Three of the faces are painted green, although the areas that still retain color are not sufficiently large to establish beyond question that the whole face was green; the fourth face no longer has any color. The nasal area is painted red on the three faces that show green; the one face without prominent teeth has the gums painted red.

The only headdress attached to a death's-head (fig. 4*c*) has two small skulls set in its band. They are so conventionalized that they show only an inverted V and slightly hollowed orbital depressions. Above the band the funnel-shaped top carries vertical bands of green and narrower bands of

red separated by black lines.

Rarely, fragments of heads show one side treated naturalistically whereas the other half displays the features of a skull. Thus, one half of the mouth has normal lips; the other half has the teeth set in the fleshless bones of the jaw. Such life-and-death representations are not uncommon in the art of Middle America (e.g., the figures with one half of the body that of Eecatl and the other half that of the death god in Codices Vatican B and Borgia). Gods of mixed features are discussed by Seler (1902-23, 3:450-55). The motive and, presumably, the religious conception that inspired it appear to be Mexican rather than Maya, and so these fragments may also represent another foreign cult brought to Mayapan.

## OLD DEITY WITH CLEFT CHIN

Three heads, two small (C-93b, C-107) and one fragmentary, have in common a deep vertical cleft in the center of the chin (fig. 4,*e,f*). The features are those of an old man, with prominent cheek bones, Hebraic nose, some prominent eyelids, and a mouth drooping at the corners or with a furrow on each side, but it is not possible to identify the deity the potter wished to depict. The heads may portray God D, or, perhaps, Mam.

## VARIOUS UNIDENTIFIED GODS

One head from Lot A-177 (fig. 2,*g*) has unusual markings. The features, those of a youthful person with a naturalistic nose of "European" type, are painted brown except for an irregular area on the cheek and around the eye that is a greenish blue on the left side and yellow on the right. I have not been able to find any deity in Maya or Mexican sources with these facial markings.

A youthful head, smaller than most heads from effigy censers, was with Lot C-93 (fig. 2,*h*). There are blue squares on nose and chin, and red circles on each cheek. The eyelids are prominent. This deity also I have failed to identify.

Yet another unidentified portrait was with Lot D-29 (fig. 2,*f*). This youthful face is white, but has narrow red stripes on forehead, cheeks, nose and chin; the lips have their normal color, and the mouth is circled with red.

A small fragmentary face (only the right half survives) from Lot A-181 is unusual. The color is red. From the inner corner of the eye is suspended a grecque, turquoise with black outlining, which occupies most of the cheek, and terminates below the outer corner of the eye. A square of the same color is on the temple.

Three faces (C-60, A-114, A-178 [fragmentary]) are white except for red lips. The fragmentary piece has a touch of red on the temple, but that may have got there when the ears were painted their normal red color. One (A-114) is in the jaws of an alligator, which are painted white and trimmed with red and gold (Ruppert and Smith, 1954, fig. 7,*c,d*).

Another youthful face (C-8) has lost much of the color, but has patches of green above and below each eye and on each side of the tip of the nose, and a touch of black in front of the right ear.

A youthful face from Lot C-11 has seven areas painted blue, outlined in red (fig. 2,*i*). Undecorated parts of the face appear to have been white. The head is set in the open jaws of a leaf-nosed bat, identifiable by the upturned snout, with canines in upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented as small buttons.

## A GODDESS

A damaged incense burner with Lot C-68 appears to represent a goddess, for the figure wears a skirt and the body is yellow. Both skirt and yellow body color are characteristic of priests as well as of women (Morris, Charlot, and Morris, 1931, 1:274), and in Mexican codices goddesses are commonly painted yellow; but as it is to be supposed that these figures portray gods and not priests or god impersonators, the conclusion that this figure represents a goddess is difficult to gainsay. Unfortunately, half the face is missing. What remains is, like the body, yellow, but there is a rectangular turquoise patch on the chin. The round earplugs are green, and from them long rods depended (one is missing).

The goddess wears a blue skirt with red, gold, and white bands at the bottom. A piece of twisted blue cord hangs down in front; it is probably attached to the plain blue belt that holds up the skirt. The goddess wears a sort of collar or breast ornament painted white, a yellowish brown, red, and green. Cuffs are banded red, green, and white.

Little is known about the attributes of Maya goddesses. Various Mexican goddesses of rain and of the soil wear blue skirts. Chalchihuitlicue, whose name means jade skirt, is more often dressed in blue than in green, and the name of her Tlaxcalan counterpart, Matlalcue, means blue skirt. Whether these mountain and rain goddesses were worshipped in Yucatan is not certain, but in view of the cults of Xipe and Tlazolteotl at Mayapan and of Ixtlilton at Santa Rita, it is reasonable that Chalchihuitlicue should be worshipped at Mayapan. Whether this figure represents the goddess is another matter.

## INFERENCES

Of the faces from effigy censers, 65 were reasonably well preserved and possessed sufficiently distinctive traits to warrant closer study. Frequencies of the principal identified gods are: God D, Itzamna, 9; the long-nosed god, Chac, 7; Xipe, 7; merchant gods, 4; other whiskered gods 9; death god, 4; Tlazolteotl, 3; and god with cleft chin, 3.

Of the total, 32 come from deposits in structures classified temporarily as ceremonial; 31 are from structures similarly classified as residential; 2 are from deposits in cenotes. It should not be forgotten that this distinction between ceremonial and domestic structures is largely vitiated by the fact that many residences have a shrine in which effigy censers were housed, either in one of the rooms of the building itself or in a detached structure, conforming to a pattern that still persists in much of the Maya area (D. E. Thompson and J. E. S. Thompson, 1955, pp. 237-42). Many fragments of effigy censers were also scattered over burials and burial cysts below the floors of residences. As a further complication, it should be remembered that ceremonial buildings include such diverse structures as temple and colonnaded hall which probably served distinct purposes, and that in the category of residential buildings are included those that sheltered noble and commoner, whose religious cults may have varied considerably. Accordingly, it is dangerous to place much reliance on the distribution of the limited material at our disposal; any attempt to match a particular god with a certain type of structure would be meaningless if not highly misleading.

Of the deities identified with certainty or tentatively, five are believed to be of non-Maya origin: Xipe, Tlazolteotl, Quetzalcoatl, a Venus god, and a god or group of gods of merchants. To these should perhaps be added the deity whose face is divided vertically so that one half is naturalistic and the other half shows the features of a skull.

Bearing in mind the need for caution in matching deity with residence, we may note that all examples of Xipe come from two residences believed to be of the nobility, Strs. Q-208 and R-86, and that the one certain figure of Tlazolteotl and one of the two possible representations of the goddess come from the same two important residences. This may be significant, for in Mexican religious ceremony the cults of the two deities, both of whom are associated with the flaying ceremony, are

related. The other possible representation of Tlazolteotl (c-115) comes from Str. H-17a at Itzmal Ch'en. The limited material, as far as it goes, does suggest that the cults of Xipe and Tlazolteotl may have been primarily the interest of leading families who presumably wished to preserve their Mexican connections.

Chac (God B) is the most important deity in the Maya pantheon, and appears more frequently in the Maya codices than any other deity. Schellhas (1904, p. 46) counts 218 appearances of God B in the codices, with God D, portrayed 103 times, as the runner-up. Yet at Mayapan only 7 faces of Chac were found. This is only a little more than 10 per cent of the total, a marked contrast to the percentage in Codex Dresden, in the pages of which God B appears 141 times, approximately 53 per cent of the total number of pictures of male deities.

Of 84 noses of incense effigies, 50 of which were from structures classified as ceremonial, only 4 (approximately 5 per cent) showed the trunklike appendage of Chac or indicated by a break of the surface that it had once been there. All 4 of these noses of Chac probably come from residential groups. (My recollection is that they definitely came from structures classified as residential, but my note on the count made in Menda is self-contradictory on that point. Hence the use of the word "probably.") On the other hand, some dedicatory cache pots, small receptacles for offerings placed in altars or under the floors of buildings, are decorated with the features of God B, but it is hard to believe that here the features of God B are anything more than decorative.

The scarcity of representations of Chac on effigy incensarios, perhaps more marked because one would expect effigy censers for his cult to be used in sets of four since there were four Chacs corresponding to each of the four world quarters and its color, may reflect the position of Mayapan as a political capital and urban center. The Chacs, as gods of the rain, are still worshipped by the Maya farmers of nearby Telchaquillo, but their favors must have been of less interest to the ruling class in urban Mayapan who had long before beaten their plowshares into swords, and who gained their daily bread by the sweat of others. Naturally, a good maize crop was of importance to the economy of the area Mayapan ruled, but perhaps a citizen of Mayapan might trust largely to the fervor of peasants to achieve this while he gave his attention to placating deities of war and sacrifice or of trade who controlled affairs of direct interest to him. God B seems to have had a higher status in Mexican Chichen Itza, at least in the earlier part of that period when the Temple of the Chac Mool was decorated.

The second most important Maya deity, Itzamna or God D, is represented by nine complete or incomplete figures from effigy censers. The inclusion of two or three portraits of old men which might represent aberrant forms of Itzamna would increase the percentage. Itzamna, as an all-powerful god, looms large in Spanish accounts of Maya religion, but he is of far less importance than God B in the Maya divinatory almanacs, and, to judge from the fact that his name is unknown to the present-day Maya of the Peninsula of Yucatan, his cult was probably popular among the nobility but not among the peasants. It is, therefore, not surprising that there should be a relatively large number of effigies of this god at Mayapan, where lived not only a Mexican Maya ruling group but also representatives of the ruling groups of all the provinces, some of whom, one supposes, had kept to the old ways.

With due caution in view of the scarcity of the comparative material, we may note that of the surviving effigy figures from southeastern Quintana Roo collected by Gann, one now in the Liverpool Free Museums (G. E. Smith, 1927, fig. 7), represents God B, a second from Mound 22 in the Chetumal Bay area represents Itzamna, and a third from the near-by Mound 24 is a portrait of the whiskered god. It is also of interest to note ears of maize set in the headdress of one of the effigy heads, a feature absent in urban Mayapan (Gann, 1918, pp. 116-20). Naturally, no firm deductions can be drawn from such scant material, but there is perhaps an indication that in Chetumal Province, where the economy was agricultural, the cult of the Maya gods of the soil was stronger than in urban Mayapan with its Mexican features.

It is somewhat surprising that, apart from the representations of Tlazolteotl, only one figure from an effigy censer seems to represent a goddess. Ixchel-Acna, "our mother," the moon goddess, patroness of weaving, childbirth, and the soil, is an important member of the Maya pantheon, but she has not been identified at Mayapan. It is apparent that there were flourishing cults of one or more goddesses in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Yucatan: a goddess appears on the murals of Tulum; there was a shrine of Ixchel-Acna on Cozumel Island; and the name Isla de Mujeres still witnesses to the idols of goddesses the Spaniards encountered there.

An interesting problem is presented by the situation in Str. Q-208, a residence of the nobility which almost certainly was looted and burned at the fall of Mayapan. In front of the bench of what was undoubtedly the shrine were two painted vessels with figures in relief of the diving god (J. E. S. Thompson, 1954, fig. 2,*e,g*). Heavy smoke stains on the interiors made it evident that both had served as incense burners, yet in size, shape, decoration, and deity they were completely different from the type of effigy censer reviewed in this paper, which certainly was in favor until the fall of Mayapan. Such pieces – the vessel with a representation of Chac in diving position previously mentioned (Winters, 1955, fig. 3,*o,p*) may also have been a censer and therefore belong in this category – suggest the possibility that we are dealing with a foreign element, perhaps the cult of some of the provincial rulers forced by the Cocoms to reside in Mayapan, or of some group of foreign traders. In that connection it is of interest to note that the diving god, although he was apparently worshipped throughout the peninsula, was particularly popular on the east coast of Yucatan. In the Genin collection in the Palais du Musée Cinquantenaire in Brussels is a vessel that almost exactly duplicates the diving god censer on the puma (?) base from Str. Q-208 (J. E. S. Thompson, 1954, fig. 2,*e,g*) except that the Brussels vessel is slightly larger and thicker-walled. Unfortunately, it lacks provenience.

An effigy censer of Mayapan type of the diving god and smaller pottery vessels with figures of the same deity have been found in the general region of Chetumal (Gann, 1918, p. 133; 1926, frontispiece [original in Merida Museum, but no known provenience]; Carnegie Inst. negative 38-8-89 from Aguada Carolina, Campeche).

In treating of the religious implication of the effigy incense burner, it is essential to bear in mind the importance of the rise of the family oratory as a rival to the communal center of worship (D. E. Thompson and J. E. S. Thompson, 1955, pp. 238-42). This change in religious habits, with its wide social implications, doubtless led to a great increase in the use of the effigy censer and to a marked development of the portraiture of individual gods.

In summary, this study of effigy censers confirms sixteenth-century accounts of the strong Mexican influences at Mayapan, and increases the number of Mexican deities now known to have been worshipped in Yucatan. There are hints, however, that these alien cults reflect the outlook of a small governing class, urban and somewhat foreign in outlook, who exalted these non-Maya elements at the expense of the local religion, particularly the dominant worship of the Chacs, the gods of the great mass of agriculturalists. Indeed, resentment against the preferment of such foreign cults at the expense of the well loved local gods of the soil may have been a factor in the revolt that led to the fall of Mayapan. At least, it could have been a good rallying cry.

The occurrence of such huge quantities of censers in family oratories, and their assembly-line production, surely are indicative of the rise of secular forces at the expense of sacerdotal control, a vulgarization of the spiritual aspects of religion. One wonders whether such a shift may not have given rise to the statement that there was no idolatry in Yucatan until Kukulcan came.

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FIG. 1 – HEADS OF INCENSE BURNERS

*a-d*: God B, Chac (A-189, A-190, A-190, A-181).
*e-h*: Merchant god (A-180, C-72, A-416, A-570). Complete vessel (*g*) is not incense burner but cache receptacle.
*i-j*: Whiskered god (A-114, C-72). Part of headdress of was available only in photograph which gave no sure information on colors.

Scale is 1/4. See fig. 2 for color symbols.

FIG. 2 – HEADS AND FRAGMENTS OF INCENSE BURNERS

*a*: Arm of Xipe figure with armlet decorated with head (A-110). Note human skin worn by god.
*b*: Leg and loincloth of Xipe figure showing elaborate decoration of end of loincloth and human skin of sacrificial victim (A-110).
*c*: The goddess Tlazolteotl (A-182, A-188).
*d*: The maize god (C-72).
*e*: Venus god (C-8).
*f*: Various unidentified heads (D-29, A-177, C-93, -C-11).

Scale is 1/4.

FIG. 3 – EFFIGY INCENSE BURNERS

*a,b*: Perhaps Quetzalcoatl (C-72). Height 68 cm.
*c*: God E, the maize god (C-72). Height 68 cm.
*d:* God D, Itzamna (C-72). Height 62 cm.
*e*: Painting of *d*.
f: God B, Chac, the rain god (C-72). Height 55.5 cm.

FIG. 4 – HEADS FROM INCENSE BURNERS

*a,b*: God D, Itzamna (A-190).
*c,d*: God A, the death god (A-413, C-32).
*e,f*: Old god with cleft chin (C-93b).
*g*: Xipe (A-110).
*h,i*: Merchant god (A-570, A-180).
*j*: Tlazolteotl (A-182, A-188).
*k*: Unidentified deity. Red stripes on white (D-45).


Fig. 1

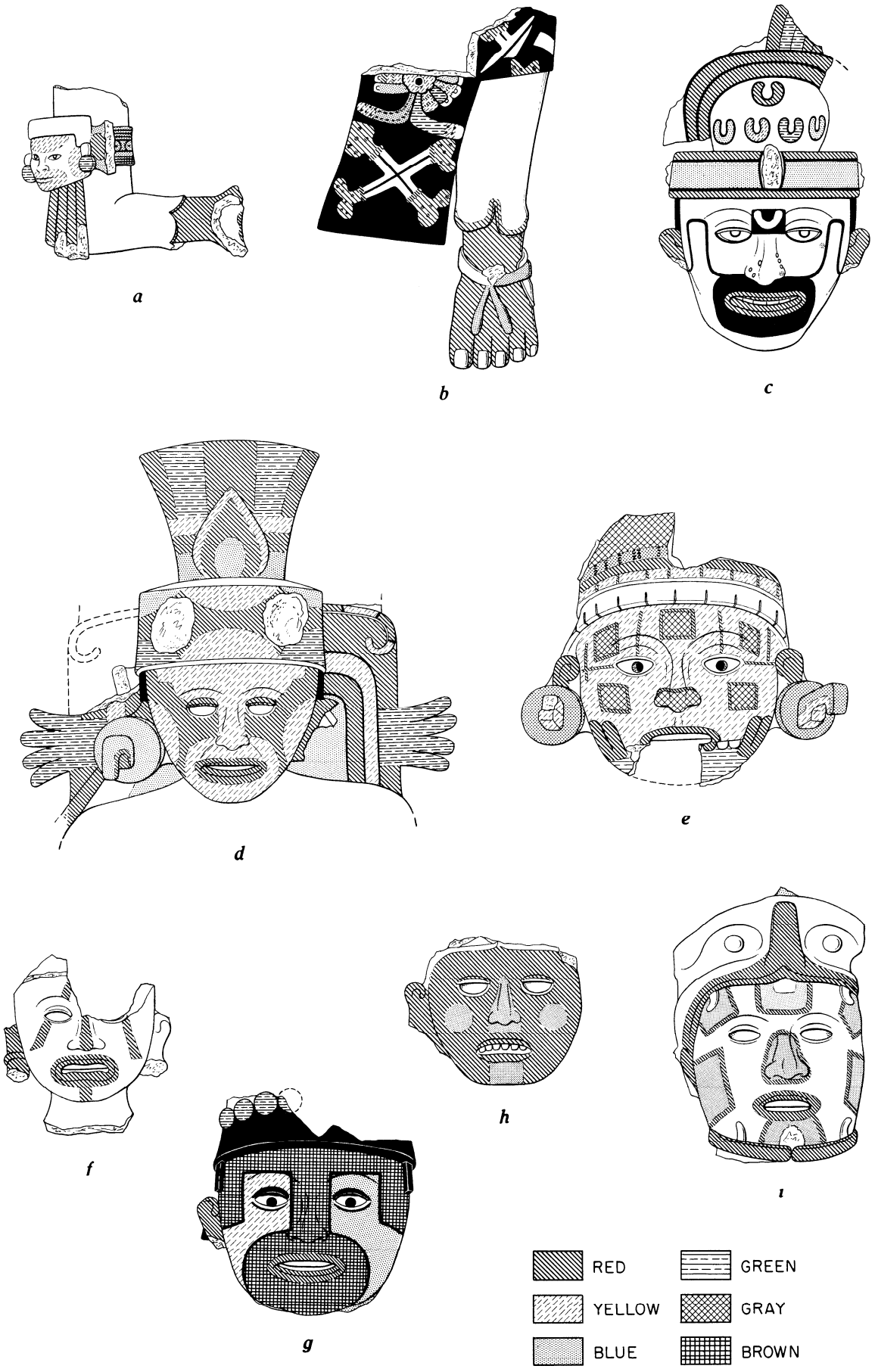


Fig. 2

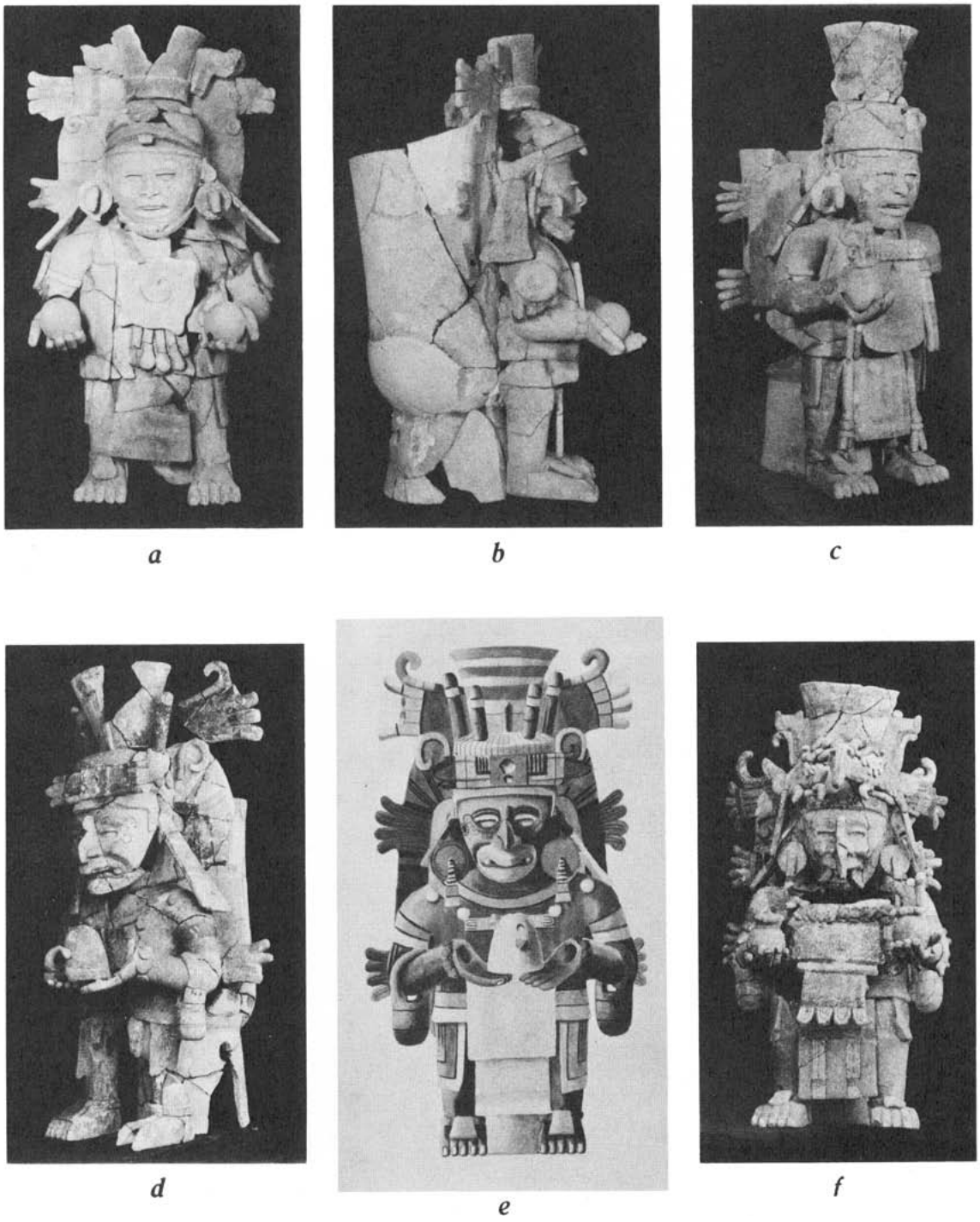


Fig. 3

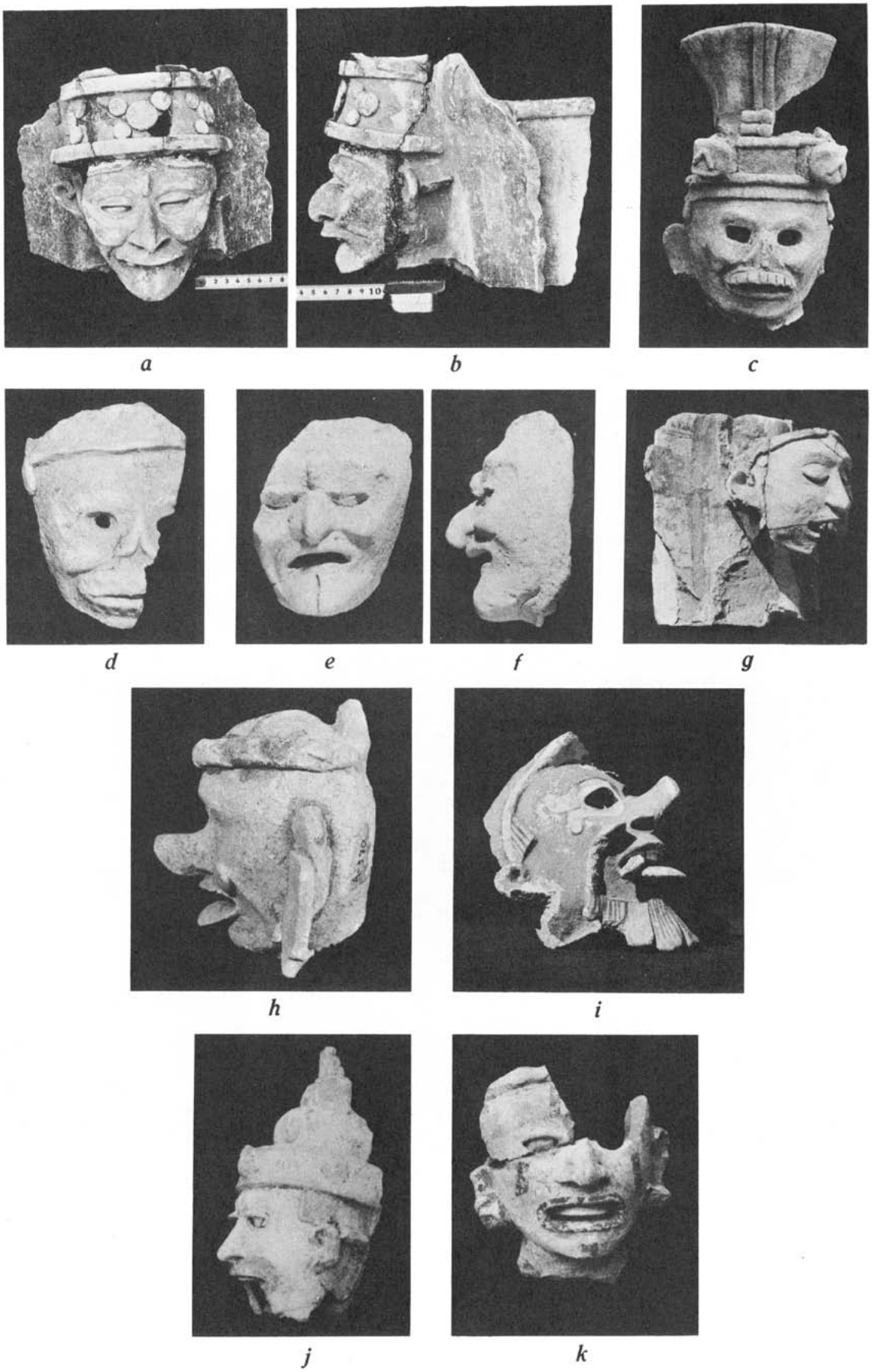


Fig. 4