THE MAYA EXHIBITS IN SAN DIEGO

by

Richard W. Amero

Professor G. Looper, of the Department of Art and History at Chico State University, Chico, California, who has done extensive work copying and deciphering the glyphs at Quirigua, Guatemala, has identified four stelae, two zoomorphs, and one altar in the San Diego's Museum of Man collection. These are Monument 3, Stela C; Monument 4, Stela D; Monument 5, Stela E—the Leaning Shaft, and Monument 11, Stela K—the Queen; Monument 2, Zoomorph B—the Dragon, and Monument 16, Zoomorph P—the Turtle; Monument 12, Altar L, and Monument 13, Altar M. Professor Looper added that while the San Diego Museum has the most intact monument casts from Quirigua in the world, the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, the Museum of the Americas in Madrid, and the British Museum in London have complete casts of some of the monuments and the only cast in San Diego that is unique is Monument 12, Altar L (ca. A.D. 673). The alphabetic designation of the monuments Looper gave was established by Alfred P. Maudslay and Slyvanus G. Morley. A University of Pennsylvania Archaeology and Anthropology Museum project (1974-1979) substituted numerical designations for the alphabetic. Both designations are given above.¹

In Dr. Edgar L. Hewett's description of exhibits in the California Building, published in the November 1915 issue of *Art and Archaeology*, he described in exuberant detail three shafts: a staff belonging to the stela with low pedestals (Monument 3, Stela C); a Leaning Shaft (Monument 5, Stela E); the Queen Monument (Monument 11, Stela K), and two zoomorphs: the Dragon (Monument 2, Zoomorph B) and the Turtle (Monument 16, Zoomorph P) that were placed in the rotunda of the California Building as the centerpiece of the Maya exhibits. In another section of the article titled "Other Replicas and Reconstructions," he mentioned other monuments located on the east and west sides of the south balcony of the California Building. Hewett's description of these monuments is murky, but this writer has determined that the monuments were Monument 5, Stela D; Monument 12, Altar L; and Monument 13, Altar M. Allowances must be made, however, for the accuracy of Dr. Hewett's descriptions. Neil Judd, who supervised the making of plaster casts of the monuments in Quirigua in 1914, maintained that the use of glue molds for this purpose produced more accurate reproductions than the paper squeeze process that

¹ E-mail to Richard W. Amero from G. Looper, March 27, 2010.

² Edgar L. Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," *Art and Archaeology*, November 1915, 65=104.

was supposedly used for plaster casts now located in museums other than the Museum of Man in San Diego.³

The grouping of replicas of the Quirigua monuments in the rotunda of the California Building was dramatic and gave proof of the skill, artistry, imagination, and knowledge of the people who carved and mounted them. At the time of their installation for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition many of the details were in sharp relief, but some erosion of the plaster occurred later. The monuments had a mythological or religious and a historical or individual purpose as they chronicled the successive rulers of Quirigua, tell of its period of fluorescence when it achieved independence from the domination of Copan (A.D. 746 – ca. 805), narrate the decline of Quirigua dynasties, and suggest reasons for the collapse of Maya civilizations in Yucatan, Guatemala, Honduras, and Belize.

Unlike many of the stelae uncovered at other Maya sites, the images of the rulers and some of their deities at Quirigua are pictured full face rather than in profile. Now that the Maya code for reading the glyphs has been for the most part deciphered, it is possible to read the glyphs on the monuments with greater precision than did Sylvanus G. Morley, the epigrapher who accompanied Dr. Hewett in 1914. Among other findings and in contradiction to Dr. Hewett, is the discovery that the Maya at Quirigua, along with Maya elsewhere in Mesoamerica, were not a peaceful people. ⁴ They engaged in internecine warfare, in the decapitating and enslavement of prisoners, and in bloodletting for ritualistic purposes. While Hewett was certain that Monument 11, Stela K, was a depiction of a woman, "The Queen," ⁵ explorer Alfred P. Maudslay called it "The Dwarf." It is today (2010) regarded as a stela marking the accession of Ruler Jade Sky, the last known ruler of Quirigua (A.D. 805). Indicative of the paucity of information about the Maya in 1915 and taking his cue from Maudslay and Morley, Hewett claimed the ruins found in Mesocamerica were the remains of "Temple Cities" and that there was "little to suggest residential use or domestic life,"⁷ a claim that may have been true of small-size Quirigua, but not of such mammoth cities as Calakmul, Tikal, Palenque, and Copan. 8 Again, despite Dr. Hewett's assertion that "we do not recognize the work of individual artists," archaeologists today (2010) have found the names or titles of Maya sculptors and painters on stone reliefs and on pottery. 10

Neil M. Judd, "The Use of Glue Molds in Reproducing Aboriginal Monuments in Quirigua, Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, V. 17, No. 1, Jan. – Mar. 1915, 128-138; published by Blackwell Publishing.

⁴ Hewett, 82.

⁵ Hewett, 87

⁶ G. Looper, *Lightning Warrior: Maya Art and Kingship at Quirigua*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 2003, 196.

Hewett, 75.

⁸ Michael D. Coe, *The Maya*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2005, 111.

⁹ Hewett, 75.

¹⁰ Coe, 223.

Hewett's statement that "it cannot be proved that the Maya were all of one stock" and "they spoke the same language" is true. 11 "Stock" is an anomalous term that implies racial purity, an unlikely prospect as the Maya lived in proximity with many people including, in the Pre-Classic and Early-Classic periods, people from the Olmec and Teotihuacan cultures. As for the disparity in language, the Maya spoke many languages depending on the region where they lived. While Yukatec is the dominant language, there are different language groups in Veracruz, Chiapas, Guatemala and elsewhere. Differences in language were probably more distinct in the centuries that followed the Spanish conquest than before. Many Maya do not speak their native languages today, holdouts, such as the Lakandon, the Tzotzil and the Tzeltal, being those who had the least contact with Europeans. 12

The irony in Hewett's statement is his concession that the Maya, and by that he must mean the Maya of pre-conquest days, used "the same architectural principles and the same hieroglyphic symbols."¹³ This assertion must be taken with a degree of latitude for the architecture varied depending on local conditions, the availability of resources, and the social standing of governing classes. Glyphs are another matter, for while there was a difference in vocabulary among various regions, the glyphs show a remarkable uniformity in design and in records of changes in data and in interpretation as cities grew and their connection with upper, middle and lower worlds became increasingly intertwined. Michael D. Coe considered the language on the inscriptions to be Cholti, or "Southern Classic Mayan," which became the literary language in the Maya lowlands and the Yucatan peninsula. 14 Their common acceptance of a "prestige language" and of religious beliefs and their deference to rulers, who functioned as intermediaries between the ruled and deities in the other world, marks the Maya civilization as being remarkably homogeneous in time and in place. Many today consider themselves Maya and acknowledge that they share the same culture and the same dependence on the produce of the earth wherever they come from. Hewett's analogy to ethnic groups in the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico¹⁵ is, however, a false analogy as, unlike the Pueblo and Apache Indians in the Rio Grande Valley, the Maya were a literate, mathematically-skilled, celestially-oriented people with trade, cultural, political, and religious ties that bound them to one another. 16

Outstanding among the stela replicas in the California Building rotunda is Monument 5, Stela E that reaches 25 ft. The height of the original stela at Quirigua is 35 ft. as this total includes a 10 ft. buried portion that holds the stela in place. Dedicated on January 24, A.D. 771, the stela is the largest known Maya stela and weighs approximately 65 tons. The plaster replica in the California Building weighs about 500 lbs. When copied by Judd the original stela tilted from the perpendicular, hence its nickname "the Leaning"

¹¹ Hewett, 73.

¹² Coe, 29.

¹³ Hewett, 73, 75.

¹⁴ Coe, 30.

¹⁵ Hewett, 75.

¹⁶ Hewett, 72-75, Coe, 26-32.

Shaft." Both the original at Quirigua, that is protected by a thatch roof, and the plaster replica in San Diego are now vertical. The original broke in two in 1934 during attempts to raise the stela. Since then the pieces have been joined together by concrete. Images of K'ak' Tiliw Chan Yo'at/Yo'pat (also known as Kawak Sky), who ruled Quirigua from A.D. 724 to 785, appear on north and south sides, ¹⁷ He holds a God K scepter and Jaguar God War shield and wears the sak-pectoral on both sides; "sak" being a symbol of the rain and lightning deity Chaak. ¹⁸ Especially noteworthy is the deep relief on each side of the king's face. The contrast of light and shadow thus produced enhances the prominence and dignity of the royal visage. ¹⁹ Due to a crack in the brown sandstone, the king's nose fell off in 1883 and since that time has been periodically glued on. The nose was in place when Judd made his casts in 1914. ²⁰ East and west, or lateral sides, of the stela contain glyphs containing important dates during K'ak' Tiliw's reign, including the date when he captured 18 Rabbit (also known as Waxaklajun Ub'ah K'awil, ruler of Copan (April 29, A.D. 738). ²¹

According to Hewett, "the necessary means for the reproduction of this monument [Monument 5, Stella E] were generously furnished by Mr. Joseph W. Sefton of San Diego."²²

While not as prominent as Monument 5, Stela E, a replica of 20 ft. high Monument 4, Stela D is located in front and to the west of Stela E in today's (2010) San Diego Museum of Man. The original stela was dedicated on February 19, 766, which, according to one interpretation, marked the conclusion of a sacred time period in the distant past and the beginning of another. K'ak' Tiliw's face on the south side is badly effaced by what is thought to be the rubbing over the centuries of branches from a tree. A better image appears on the north side where the king holds a scepter representing K'awil, god of royal authority. K'ak' Tiliw's entire figure has been read as a depiction of the three levels of the universe, with the Principal Bird Deity in the king's headdress, the World Tree on his loincloth, and the Maize God of the Underworld at his feet. Detail on the north side of Monument 5, Stela E is so well delineated that the government of Guatemala has chosen the north side to appear on its 10 centavo coin.

The extraordinary aspect of this stela is not, however, the representations of K'ak' Tiliw, but the clean and easily recognizable, but not so easily translatable glyphs that appear on each side of the monument. Numbers representing the 400 year cycle, the 20

¹⁷ Looper, Lightning Warrior, 147.

¹⁸ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 104.

¹⁹ Looper, Lightning Warrior, 154.

²⁰ Sylvanus G. Morley, *Guide Book to the Ruins of Quirigua*, Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., 1915, 85.

²¹ William M. Ferguson & John Q. Royce, *Maya Ruins in Central America in Color: Tikal, Copan and Quirigua*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1984, 314.

²³ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 140.

²⁴ Interpretative plaque, San Diego Museum of Man.

year cycle, the year cycle, the month cycle, and the day cycle and anthropomorphic full-figure glyphs form a variety of shapes and meanings.

Professor Looper found that a title associated with Venus in the guises of "morning star" and "evening star" occurs on Stela D. He gave the meaning of the title as "the companion of" a person, the person being either the 14th (K'ak' Tiliw) or the 16th ruler (Jade Sky, A.D. ca. 800 – ca. 810) of Quirigua. Looper called the 14th ruler "K'ak' Tiliw Chan Yo'at/Yopaat," the name archaeologists generally accept today as the correct name for K'ak' Tiliw, though "paat" is sometimes given as the last syllable. Looper suggested that the Venus planet or entity may have been the patron deity of Quirigua. Elizabeth A. Newsome correlated the rising of the morning star with the accession to the throne of the kings of Copan and Quirigua.

Looper had a further interpretation of Monument, Stela D, in his book *Lightning Warrior* (2003) in which he conceived of the stela as a "dream sequence" or dream passage through which K'ak' Tiliw was able to travel to the far distant past and to the current present and to points in between.²⁷

Michael D. Coe translated K'ak' Tiliw Chan Yopaat as "Fire-burning, Skylightning God," which is virtually the same as Looper's translation as "Fire-burning, Celestial-lightning God." The Lightning God with whom K'ak' Tiliw was associated had the power to crack the carapace of the Cosmic Turtle, who may be a stand-in for the earth, thus resulting in the birth and re-birth of maize. 30

While it is sometimes alleged that K'ak' Tiliw founded the Sky Dynasty, Looper stated he was "the fourteenth successor of his dynasty" and the "chan" sky component of his name was used frequently "in a number of sites, including Tikal and Copan." ³¹

The plaster replica of Monument 4, Stela D was replaced with a fiberglass model in 1992. Other replicas of Quirigua monuments in the California Building, now in the San Diego Museum of Man, were not replaced at that time due to a lack of funds and are now (2010) in urgent need of replacement.

The replica of Monument 3, Stela C, sits to the front and the right east side of the replica of Stela E. The original was dedicated on December 29, A.D. 775 in celebration of a hotun or five-year period during K'ak' Tiliw's reign. The stela is thirteen ft. and one and

²⁹ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 4.

Matthew G. Looper, "A Venus God as Patron of Quirigua," Glyph Dwellers, Report 1, December 1997, an occasional publication of the Maya Hieroglyphic Database Project at the University of California, Davis, California, 1997.

²⁶ Elizabeth A. Newsome, *Trees of Paradise and Pillars of the World: the Serial Stela Cycle of 18-Rabbit-God K, King of Copan,*" University of Texas, Austin, 2009, 154-157.

Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 140.

²⁸ Coe, 118.

Looper, Lightning Warrior, 140.

Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, vii, 234n:2.1.

one-half inches high at Quirigua and twelve ft. high in San Diego. A sky glyph on the west side indicates that Kawak Sky, a cognomen for K'ak' Tiliw, was a member of the Sky family. A hieroglyphic text refers to Tutuum Yohi K'inich (ca. A.D. 455), an early king of Quirigua who may be revered as a "holy ancestor," whose spirit inspires K'ak' Tiliw.

Perhaps of more significance to present-day epigraphers, an inscription on the stela refers to the date August 11, B.C. 3114, when the long count or zero date of the 13-baktun cycle began and the jaguar stone, snake stone, and water stone were created as a triangle of stars, called the "Three Hearthstones," in the constellation Orion. The "Three Hearthstones" were extensions of the three hearthstones in Maya homes. By extending the hearthstones to the cosmos, their status as symbolic objects was enhanced. Series accounting for the B.C. 3114 Creation appear on each side of the stela. Some New Age proselytizers think that the 13-baktun cycle will end on December 21 or December 23, 2012, and a new 14-baktun cycle will begin. On the north face of the stela the Jaguar God of the Underworld is dancing. (Let us hope he is not contemplating the apocalypse in 2012!) The dancing god has been identified with Pax, the god of the month in which the stela was dedicated. He was dedicated.

The south face of Stela C carries a full-face image of K'ak' Tiliw in ceremonial dress and with an elaborate headpiece. The king is holding a breastplate incised with an image of a jaguar pelt and cross bones with jaguar heads on the sides. Because of this and other jaguar images, Looper identified this stela as "the first platform of Creation." Details on the south face are in fine relief. Looper speculated that K'ak' Tiliw, the Maize God, and the Three Hearthstones were associated and that the month of August signified a time for rebirth or renewal; this earthly phenomenon being a reflection of the ecliptic positions of the sun, moon, and planets as they move across a backdrop of stars. Looper considered the triangular layout of Stelae C and A and Zoomorph B to be of special significance because it embodied the spiritual forces represented by the Hearthstones C (Jaguar), A (Snake) and B (water), with B being the culmination or climax of all three forces. Neither Stela A nor the layouts of the Hearthstones were duplicated in San Diego.

A replica of Monument 11, Stela K, mistakenly called by Hewett "the Queen," is now located on the right or west side of the rotunda. It is so situated that only the front face, or east side at Quirigua, is visible. Its dedication date is July 24, A.D. 805. In

³² Coe, 314; David Freidel, Linda Schele, Joy Parker, *Maya Cosmos, Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*, William Morrow & Co., New York, 1993, 80.

³³ Lynn V. Foster, *Handbook to Life in the Ancient Maya World*, Oxford University Press, 2002, 160.

³⁴ Interpretative plaque San Diego Museum of Man.

³⁵ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 158.

³⁶ Ferguson & Royce, 307; John Major Jenkins, *The 2012 Story: The Myths, Fallacies and Truth Behind the Most Intriguing Date in History*, Penguin Books, 2009.

Mathew G. Looper, *Quirigua, a guide to an ancient Maya city*," Editorial Antigua, Guatemala City, 2007, 42-49; Coe, 239.

³⁸ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 159.

³⁹ Hewett, 87.

comparison with other tall stelae in the Museum of Man, the figure is only eleven and one-half ft. high at Quirigua and ten ft. six inches at San Diego. Thought to be King Jade Sky (A.D. ca. 746 – ca. 805), 40 the king's face is beardless and well-rounded and he holds a scepter and a God K shield emblem on the west side (not shown in San Diego) and a double-headed serpent bar on the east. 41 Archaeologists claim this stela is the last dated monument set up at Quirigua. Not so, however, Mathew Looper, who gave the dubious distinction to an inscription on Structure 1B-1 that recorded a katun ending date of 9.19.0.0.0 (A.D. 810). 42 The relatively small size of Monument 11, Stela K is attributable to the declining fortunes of the Quirigua dynasty. 43 Looper summarized the decline of Quirigua as follows: "Without the charismatic presence of the ruler himself (K'ak' Tiliw), the breath of life which animated the sculptures grew weaker, until finally the ritual feeling ceased altogether, and they passed into perpetual repose."

Of the two zoomorphic replicas in the rotunda the most impressive is Monument 16, Zoomorph P, "the Great Turtle," whose original is an enormous sandstone boulder with incisive carving. William Henry Holmes, chairman of the Division of Anthropology at the U.S. National Museum, considered it to be "the finest example of ancient American sculpture extant." The replica is located in front of and to the left of Stela D. Details are visible on all sides with the north side showing Sky Xul, also known as Kuch Xib, sitting cross-legged in the mouth of Kawak, a cosmic underworld sea monster. The king's headdress bears an image of the Maya month Pax. Glyphs surrounding the monster and on top, lateral and back sides contain many aquatic allusions, including water lily flowers that sprout from the sea monster's nose and an image of Chaak, the Maya god of lightning and rain, pouring water upon a mountain where the corn seed waits to sprout.

East and west sides show many water-related mythical figures, including, on the east side, a howler monkey with ponytail. According to Michael D. Coe howler monkeys were emblems of scribes.⁴⁶

The south side contains an image of the Principal Bird Deity, a dual-nature long-lipped God who transgressed (flew?) through under and upper worlds. Glyphs on this side give the zoomorph's date as September 15, A.D. 795, in commemoration of the third five-year time period of cosmic renewal in the Maya calendar and in observance of the Milky Way in its east-west conformation. ⁴⁷ Looper suggested that Monument P and its attendant

⁴⁰ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 196.

⁴¹ Ferguson & Royce, 330.

⁴² Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 196.

⁴³ Zoe Niesel, "The Archaeological Record of Kingship at Quirigua: An Analysis of the Classic Period Dynastic Record Through Monument Sculpture," Lambda Alpha Journal, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, Iota of Texas, V. 38, 2008, 36.

⁴⁴ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 203.

⁴⁵ Morley, 109.

⁴⁶ Coe, 223.

⁴⁷ Ferguson & Royce, 336; Inscription on plaque in the San Diego Museum of Man; G. Looper, "Quirigua, Zoomorph P, A Water Throne and Mountain of Creation," *Heart of Creation – The Mesoamerican World and the Legacy of Linda Schele*, University of Alabama Press, 2002, 197-198.

Altar P' are representations of the third water stone of Creation from which the Maize God is reborn. 48

The image of a mountain appears on the top and on the north side of Zoomorph P. The mountain represents the Creation Mountain from which the Maize God or, in this case, his alter ego Sky Xul, emerged from the underworld. To compound the symbols found on Zoomorph P, Looper added that the Maize God emerged from a turtle, a mountain, and a water lily monster.⁴⁹

Hewett attributed "the making of this replica of the greatest of all Central American sculptures" [Monument 16, Zoomorph P] to "the generosity of Mr. George W. Marston of San Diego." ⁵⁰

Sylvanus G. Morley, in his *Guide Book to the Ruins of Quirigua*, wrote than Monument 2, Zoomorph B, "the Dragon," contained "the most involved, the most intricate text in the entire range of Maya inscriptions." Its replica today is in the rotunda in front and to the right of Stela C. As the zoomorph was dedicated on A.D. September 2, 780, the face emerging from the mouth of Kawak, a crocodilian Sea Monster, on the south side is that of K'ak' Tiliw "about four years before his death," (ca. 785). Details depicting the monster's fangs, serpents of each side of K'ak' Tiliw's face, the Sun God mask on K'ak' Tiliw's headdress, and many glyphs with symbols of the primordial ocean appear prominently on the south side of the monument.

The Maya Mountain of Creation looms from the top side of the Sea Monster. Since the cosmic crocodilian monster on Zoomorphs P and B bears one of the names of K'ak' Tiliw, it may be one of his many manifestations. The water imagery on both zoomorphs and the identification of Kawak with storms, rain and lightning and allusions to Chaac, the Maya god of rain, may indicate an invocation to the Rain God to bring rain to nourish corn, squash and beans in the fields of Quirigua. On the other hand, it may be K'ak' Tiliw who is invested with these powers. ⁵³

Monument 12, Altar L, whose replica is in the left or west alcove of the California Building rotunda, was dedicated June 2, A.D. 653. It is a three ft. high rhyolite disc with a 39 in. diameter. Its original use is not known. On the front side of the disc K'awil Yo'pat, Ruler 5 (ca. A.D. 653) of Quirigua, sits cross-legged on two glyphs within a circular cartouche with additional glyphs on each side. The king is presented in profile. The disc marked a period of conciliation between Quirigua and Copan as a glyph representing Copan's twelfth ruler, Smoke Imix (A.D. 628 – 695) appears on the circular frame. Ruler 5 was followed by K'ak' Tiliw, at which time Quirigua ceased being a vassal of Copan.

⁵¹ Morley, 97.

⁵² Ferguson & Royce, 312.

⁴⁸ Looper, *Quirigua: a guide to an ancient Maya city*, 185-200.

⁴⁹ Looper, Lightning Warrior, 69, 71, 87

⁵⁰ Hewett, 85.

⁵³ Looper, Lightning Warrior, 158-159, 192.

Herbert J. Spinden considered Monument 12, Altar L to be "the earliest monument so far found at Quirigua.⁵⁴ Contrariwise, Zoe Niesel in 2008 claimed that Monument 3, raised in A.D. 755, "contains the earliest point of historical reference" for Quirigua.⁵⁵ Matthew G. Looper, who has the definitive word of these matters, found a date inscribed on Stela U as 9.2.5.o.o (April 18, A.D. 480).⁵⁶

Looper claimed that "because this monument [Monument 12, Altar L] is located in the Museo Nacional de Arqueologia in Guatemala City for so long, it is protected and hasn't eroded noticeably compared to the San Diego Museum of Man cast."⁵⁷

A replica of Monument 13, Altar M is presently attached to the back wall of the left alcove of the California Building. Alfred P. Maudslay thought it was an "Alligator Head" and Sylvanus G. Morley thought it was a "Jaguar." It contains the muzzle of a jaguar, the teeth and eyelid of a crocodile, and the ear of a deer. Its date is September 15, A.D. 734, which is the first katun or 20-year long count after the accession of K'ak' Tiliw as ruler of Quirigua, or, in another account, that date in which K'ak' Tiliw asserted his independence from Copan. Looper, however, did not accept the latter conclusion. He maintained that the artistic and political ties between Quirigua at the time were tense, but not broken. The altar is modest in size, being four ft. long and one-half ft. high. Unlike Altar L, there is no circular frame. Lichens, mosses and floodplain deposits have left this and surfaces of other monuments in Quirigua much eroded.

While not as conspicuous as the casts from Quirigua, casts of the central tablets from sanctuaries of the Temple of the Sun and The Temple of the Cross in Palenque have been mounted in the lobby of the California Building and side panels from the Temple of the Cross on pillars in the rotunda. The Temple of the Foliated Cross, a companion to the Temple of the Cross, does not appear perhaps because in 1914 it had not been excavated. Two males face each other on either side of a ceremonial icon on both central tablets. Hieroglyphic texts containing dates and historical and religious information provide a frame for the central pictorial images. ⁶²

The central icon in The Temple of the Sun is a shield of the Jaguar God of the Underworld. Its cast is placed on the west wall of the lobby where its large size displaces most of the open space. ⁶³ The Jaguar God represents the sun at twilight as it disappears

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⁵⁴ Herbert J. Spinden, *A Study of Maya Art: Its Subject Matter and Historical Development*, Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1975, 177.

⁵⁵ Niesel, 30.

⁵⁶ Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 39.

⁵⁷ E-mail, Matthew G. Looper, March 27, 2010.

⁵⁸ Ferguson & Royce, 350.

⁵⁹ Robert J. Sharer, *Quirigua: A Classic Maya Center & Its Sculptures*, Carolina Academic Press, 54. Looper, *Lightning Warrior*, 60-61; Niesel, 33.

⁶¹ Ferguson & Royce, 350.

⁶² Coe, 131-135.

⁶³ Hewett, 79,

over the horizon. The God is also associated with fire and war. The shield is set above crossed spears and rises from a throne of bleeding jaguar heads and bleeding dragons. God L and another aged God from the Underworld support the throne on their shoulders. The Gods, who look like captives, illustrate the Maya belief that life begins in death.

Kan B'alam II ("Snake Jaguar"), ruler of Palenque from A.D. 684 to A.D. 702, appears to the left of the Jaguar God shield as a boy of six and to the right as he appeared when he ascended to the throne at the mature age of forty-nine.⁶⁴ Some accounts give the figure on the right as King Pakal (A.D. 613 – 685) who is handing Kan B'alam II the scepter of power.

The Temples of the Cross and the Foliated Cross have a World Tree of Creation as the central icon. Its shape resembles the Christian cross. The Principal Bird Deity sits on top of the tree in both temples. Linda Schele gave the Maya name for the bird as Itzam-Yeh. The bird may be an aspect of Itzamma, lord of the heavens and of day and night. 65

A cast of the central tablet from the Temple of the Cross, mounted on the east side of the lobby, faces the central tablet from the Temple of the Sun on the opposite side. As with The Temple of the Sun, Kan B'alam II or King Pakal stands on the left of the cross icon and Kan B'alam as a boy (maybe?) on the right. Epigrapher Linda Schele has vacillated over the identity of the boy as "a small person" and as Kan B'alam II. 66 In 2002 Susan Milbrath may have settled the question when she determined that the figure is Kan B'alam II at "an heir-designation event when he was six years old." 67

Hewett claimed "the cross" in The Temple of the Cross suggested a birth ceremony because of its similarity to a symbol "used by northern Indian tribes." (Hewett liked to compare Maya ceremonies with those of North American Indians.) The similarity aside, epigrapher Stephen Houston said the Maya used the Temple of the Cross group as "sweat baths," where women went for cleansing before and after birth. To Houston each temple referred to the God to whom the temple was dedicated.⁶⁹

Michael D. Coe elaborated on Houston's suggestion when he wrote the Temple of the Cross recorded the birth of the Maya world and the history of Palengue. The Temple of the Foliated Cross celebrated the Tree of Maize and the Mountain of Sustenance, and. The Temple of the Sun, the smallest temple of the triad, was "consecrated to the birth of war.",70

⁶⁴ Coe, 134.

⁶⁵ David Friedel, Linda Schele & Joy Parker, Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years of the Shaman's Path, William Morrow & Co., New York, 1993, 420.

⁶⁶ Linda Schele, A Forest of Kings, 242-243.

⁶⁷ Susan Milbrath, "The Planet of Kings: Jupiter in Maya Cosmology," *Heart of Creation: The* Mesoamerican World and the Legacy of Linda Schele, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 2002, 131. ⁶⁸ Hewett, 79.

⁶⁹ Coe, 133.

⁷⁰ Coe, 133.

Linda Schele's name for the crosses was "Raised-up Sky," which may be a designation of the Milky Way, but may also indicate the crosses' pivotal roles in holding up the world and in separating earth from sky. ⁷¹

Hewett mentioned briefly a relief of a "standing figure" on a side wall of the sanctuary of the Temple of the Sun. He claimed "the face is that of a living person." ⁷² A plaque next to a cast from "the west outer tablet to the left of the inner tablet Temple of the Cross" hanging on a pillar on the east side of the California Building's rotunda identifies the standing figure as Chan Bahlum, another name for Kan B'alam II. He is dressed in royal garments on the occasion of his assumption to the throne. The king holds in his right hand a Sun God scepter that emits a stream of blood in reference to the scepter held by his father King Pakal II on the inner tablet of the Temple of the Cross. (Another reason why the older figure in the central tablet might be King Pakal.) The panel refers to January 10, A. D. 690, the year Kan B'alam ascended the throne.

Based on drawings of side "jambs" in the Linda Schele Drawing Collection which show the left and right "jambs" of The Temple of the Sun" with large blank spaces, it is safe to conclude that the San Diego Museum of Man description is correct and that this "jamb" came from The Temple of the Cross. ⁷³

A replica of Lintel Panel 25 from Yaxchilan, ca. A.D. 681) on a pillar on the east side of the California Building rotunda, is adjacent to the panel depicting Kan B'alam II.

How the Museum acquired this panel is not known, but it does not appear to be part of the Hewell/Holmes donation. The original now in the British Museum is among the most famous pieces of bas-relief to come from Classic Maya cities. It depicts Lady Xoc, wife of Lord Shield Jaguar II, gazing at a vision of Yet-Balam, founder of the Jaguar dynasty, as he emerges from the mouth of a serpent. Lady Xoc holds a stingray spine, an obsidian lance, and a bloodletting bowl in her left hand and a skull and serpent symbol in her right.

The Maya believed that the Gods of Creation expected the people they created to supply them with blood, whether that blood came from the bloodletting practices of the

⁷³ Linda Schele, Drawing Collection, c. 2009 by David Schele, FAMSI Resources Drawings Nos. 174, 177, 178, 179, 183.

⁷¹ Friedel, Schele, Parker, 78.

⁷² Hewett, 77.

The bloodletting series on Lintels 24, 25 & 26 on Structure 23 at Yaxchilan date from the reign of Kan B'alam II (Shield Jaguar II) and are not to be confused with a similar bloodletting series on Lintels 15, 16 & 17 on Structure 21 that date from the reign of Bird Jaguar IV, 782-768.

⁷⁵ The possible origin of the casts in the California Building may be indicated by the following passage from *Kenneth Milton Chapman: A Life Dedicated to Indian Arts and Artists* by Janet Chapman & Karen Barrie, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 2008, p. 96: "Chap's [Chapman's] Washington stay [in 1912] had been enlivened by the laughter of [Jesse] Nusbaum, who had been working at the museum [National Museum of Natural History] since September, making pieces, molds and casts of archaeological materials for the upcoming Panama-California Exposition."

⁷⁶ Lynn V. Foster, *Handbook to Life in the Ancient Maya World*, Oxford University Press, 2002, 193.

elite or the sacrifice of commoners and prisoners was a matter of convenience. If for some reason, this blood be not supplied, the results for people would be crop failures and other calamities. One consequence of the bloodletting for Lady Xoc—if not for others—is that she saw through the mists of reality into a world of procreation and divine mystery.

One would think that the replica of God L, would be appropriately located near the image of Kan B'alam II in the California Building's rotunda as the original is so located in The Temple of the Cross in Palenque. Not so, however, as the cast is mounted on a west-side pillar in the rotunda. God L is an aged, cigar-smoking God who guided Kan B'alam II on his journey, "Journey" in this sense means a cosmic underworld journey in a world of parallel space. To Hewett the ghost-like appearance of this figure represented "the spirit of a deceased person." Hewett did not realize that when figures on Maya monuments looked like human figures, that is what they were, and when they looked like caricatures—young or old—they were deities from all the dimensions of the Maya world.

A cast of a panel of an unnamed Mayan mythological figure on a west pillar in rotunda piercing his tongue with a staff is set to the left of the cast of God L. There is no plaque near this panel that would disclose its identity or date of acquisition; however, a notation at the base of the panel indicates it is of Totonac origin, which would place it outside the Maya sphere of influence. A search for the source of the panel by this writer has revealed that a sandstone version is in the Sala de las Culturas del Golfo de Mexico in the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City⁸⁰ A more obscure sculpture of a standing figure in a similar pose is in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology. Nelly Gutierrez Solana found a third sculpture—this time only of the face in profile but facing in an opposite direction in the French catalog of an exhibition of Pre-Hispanic Sculpture in la Galeria Jenne Bucher de Paris (ca. 1963):81 present whereabouts unknown. These three reliefs of a man lacerating himself, who have large noses and concentric circles around the eyes, led Gutierrez Solana to conclude that the reliefs came from the same studio ["taller"] in Huilocintla, northeast of Veracruz in Huasteca and not Totonac territory. 82 The best preserved and most cleanly detailed relief is in the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City. 83 A copy of this relief is in the Metro Station in Mexico City and in the San Diego Museum of Man.

Linguists have determined that the Huastics came from the Maya heartland in central Mesoamerica from B.C.2200 to B.C 1200. They settled on land that was already occupied by the Olmec and was subsequently occupied by Teotihuacanese, Totonacs, Toltecs, and Aztecs. All these settlements occurred before the Spanish arrived in 1519.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Foster, 191.

⁷⁸ Schele, Drawings Collection Nos. 174, 175, 176.

⁷⁹ Hewett, 77.

Mesoweb Features, www.mesoweb.com/features/jpl/43.html.

⁸¹ Nelly Gutierrez Solana, *Estudio Sobre Un Relieve Identificado Recentemente Como Huasteco*, Huilocintla50 19.22.pdf-Adobe Reader.

⁸² Gutierrez Solana, 20.

Mesoweb Features: www.mesoweb.com/features/jpl/43.html.

⁸⁴ Coe, 11, 29, 219.

As a result of their proximity to other people, it is to be expected that Maya art and thinking in and around Veracruz and San Luis Potosi changed considerably from the Maya culture in central Mesoamerica.

Some of this difference is shown by comparing the plaster cast from Lintel 25 from Yaxchilan with the cast from Huilocintla in the San Diego Museum of Man. Both depict bloodletting rituals, only the cast from Yaxchilan shows Lady Xoc, the wife of ruler Shield Jaguar II, in a crouching position while holding in her hands a rope, a stingray spine, and a bowl filled with blood-soaked paper while a possibly hallucinogenic serpent with two heads hovers above. This is one of three lintels from Structure 23 in Yaxchilan that show stages of the bloodletting ritual. In the preparatory Lintel 24 Lady Xoc pulls a rope studded with thorns through a hole in her mouth.

The Huilocintla stela shows a standing person with legs parted, as if in motion. The person is either the Aztec god Ehecatl Quetzalcoatl or a priest impersonating the god. His headgear consists of two elaborate masks, one of top of the other. Those parts of the person not concealed by clothing—face, arms and legs—carry painted or tattooed abstract designs that are similar to those found in other Huastec sculpture but not in sculpture from other regions in Mesoamerica. In what appears to be a casual manner, the striding figure runs a shaft through his tongue while a snake-like creature below "licks" blood dropping from his mouth. The identification with Ehecatl Quetzalcoatl rises from the conch-shell pectoral, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, worn either by the God or by his priest impersonator. To this writer's knowledge, no commentator has identified the "snake-like creature," though, presumably, he/she is one of the many serpents that wriggle about in under world waiting for somebody to release the blood that keeps them going.

In Lintel 25 at Yaxchilan the blood falls into a bowl containing papers which are burned to summon an apparition of from the otherworld, ⁸⁸ The lintel in Yaxchilan shows Lady Xoc, the wife of a Mayan king, in the midst of a mystical experience after she has pulled a barbed rope through her tongue. The Huilocintla stela shows an actor in the midst of a sacrificial performance, who lacks the sting-ray spine, rope, and bowl holding strips of paper saturated in blood used by Maya kings and by their wives in Yaxchilan. ⁸⁹

This writer hypothesizes that when the Mexican government made plaster replicas of some fourteen stelae, lintels and sculptures for exhibit on the platforms of Line 2 in its Metro station, it made copies that were sold or given to collectors and museums in other countries and that the replica in San Diego is one of these copies.

A cast of a panel containing hieroglyphic inscriptions appears on the south wall of the lobby of the California Building. Hewett claimed it was taken from half of a stucco

⁸⁵ Gutierrez Solana, 21.

⁸⁶ Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, "HuilocintlaHuasteca.Jpg; Gutierrez Solana, 22...

⁸⁷ Conch Shells, http://www.khandro.net/nature/shells.htm.

⁸⁸ Interpretative plaque, San Diego Museum of Man.

⁸⁹ Foster, *Handbook*, 190-195.

hieroglyphic panel at Palenque and that a second half was on the south wall on the opposite side of the entrance to the building. 90 It would have helped if Hewett had stated whether his cast or copy came from the east tablet, central tablet or west tablet of inscriptions in the Palace of Inscriptions. 91 At any rate all these tablets contain many more rows and columns than the copy supplied by Hewett, which leads one to suspect that the casts or copies were cropped. At present there is only one hieroglyphic panel on the southlobby wall of the Museum of Man. This writer uses the alternative words "cast" and "copy" as it is not clear how the panel in San Diego was made or if its dimensions are true to those in Palenque. An examination by epigraphers of the hieroglyphic text of the panel, now hanging in the south lobby would confirm its size and meaning.⁹²

Not least, among the replicas of Maya monuments in the California Building is a plaster cast of the sapote wood Lintel 3 from Temple IV in Tikal that is now hangs on the north-west side of the rotunda. Framed in the mouth of the Sky Snake, a double-headed serpent, King Yik'in Kan K'awil (A.D. 734 – 766) wears an elaborate costume and holds a spear in his right hand. He sits upon a palanquin taken from a captured enemy. A mask of Itzam Ye, a bird deity, tops the king's headdress. Hieroglyphic inscriptions appear on both sides of Yik'in Kan K'awil. They tell of a military victory in A.D. 743. Much to the chagrin of the government of Guatemala, that has taken steps to stop such appropriations, Gustav Bernoulli in 1877 removed lintels from Temples I and IV. They now reside in the Volkerkunde Museum in Basel, Switzerland. 93

William Henry Holmes, from the U.S. National Museum, prepared a model of the "Temple of Sacrifice" (more commonly known as "El Castillo") at Chichen-Itza at Chiapas, Mexico and a model of the "House of the Governors" (more commonly known as the "Palace of the Governor") at Uxmal, Yucatan. One can admire the ingenuity of the modeler as he fits small pieces together, as he uses ratios to shrink his subject, and as he imparts his interpretation of history to his undertaking. The model is precise in detail and plum in alignment. Still nothing can equal being on the original site and the realization of the phases through which the original subject has passed: intervals of war and fire; or, in the case of the temples whose models are in the California Building, intervals of erosion, coarsening and loss of detail. Neither the modeler nor the original can reproduce the colors that were used on the original, though here the modeler may be closer to reality as colors have long since disappeared from Maya temples.

The choice of El Castillo at Chichen-Itza and the Palace of the Governors at Uxmal as sources for models is arbitrary. Any artist or archaeologist could recommend more harmoniously-related and historically-meaningful originals. Notwithstanding, Hewett and Holmes, who assembled the Maya exhibits for the Panama-California Exposition, aimed to

⁹¹ Linda Schele and Wald, Notebook for the Maya Hieroglyphic Writing Workshop at Texas, 1999, 12; "Temple of Inscriptions," ...wesleyan.edu/.../temple_inscriptions/.

⁹⁰ Hewett, 79, 82.

^{92 &}quot;Palenque Hieroglyphics," An outline service of Florida's Educational Technology Clearinghouse, etc.usf.edu/cllpart/.../hiero_25401.htm. ⁹³ Hewett, 98.

produce a potpourri with the hope that this would be enough to whet the viewer's desire to know more.

El Castillo is so different in design and intention from the Palace of the Governor that both models make a good display even though in 1915 they were located on east and west balconies. The overpowering visual effect of El Castillo is vertical and of the Palace of the Governors horizontal.

The actual Palace of the Governors dates from about A.D. 900 - 915. Considered the best example of Puuk architecture in existence, it has a plain lower section and a richly carved upper. It sits on an inclined platform. What was formerly considered faces and snouts of Chac, the Rain God, on the upper frieze, are now regarded by Michael D. Coe as iconographic mountains (witz) or, as they are sometimes called "Flower Mountains," because of flowers above the eyes of the mountains. Other elements of the Puuk style are the frets and lattice-like stone mosaics that run exuberantly and intricately across the upper frieze. 94

The Palace is 270 ft. long with a central structure and two smaller wings on each side. The platform is so wide that its entire width was shortened in the model at San Diego. PE Recessed corbel arches join side wings to the main structure. As seen from the center doorway of the temple, the planet Venus rises only once in eight years. Because of the ingenuity and artistry in the upper section, Coe has called The Palace of the Governor the finest structure at Uxmal and the culmination of the Puuk style.

Both El Castillo and El Palacio date from the Post Classic period (A.D. 900-1168) when Toltec influence transformed the Maya culture; so much so that the name of Chichen became Chichen-Itza, the suffix being one of the names of the foreign invaders.

The exact date of the construction of El Castillo at Chichen-Itza is not known; however, it has been estimated as between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, which places it after the construction of the Palace of the Governors at Uxmal which dates from the tenth century. Toltec motifs and architecture blend with Puuk motifs from the pre-Toltec era. Called today Structure 5B18 by archaeologists and the Temple of K'uk'ulkan by tour guides, El Castillo is a four-sided temple pyramid with a corbel-vaulted temple at the top that is approached by four stairways. Flower Mountain masks (a Puuk feature) decorate the temple's exterior. Details from the temple's interior were probably not reproduced in the San Diego model. Unlike temples built by the Maya before the Toltec incursion, columns were used to divide rooms instead of walls.

⁹⁵ Hewett, 100.

⁹⁴ Coe, 166.

⁹⁶ Coe, 168.

⁹⁷ Coe, 181.

⁹⁸ Coe, 180.

El Castillo is 80 ft. high and 190 by 230 ft. at the base. Two serpents heads (a Toltec feature), carved from a single block of limestone, are at the base of the stairway on the north side. On the occasion of the spring and autumn equinoxes a phenomenon occurred on the north stairway of El Castillo which still stirs visitors today. As the sun sets a shadow appears on each side of the balustrade on the stairway in the shape of an isosceles triangle and as the sun sinks toward the horizon the shadow decreases in size until it disappears over the heads of serpent gods at the base of the stairway. It seems uncanny that architects could have built this temple with this end in view, yet, such is the nature of Maya observation and knowledge, that precisely this effect was planned for and secured. While it is possible to achieve this same effect through the manipulation of lights over models of El Castillo, it is not known if Holmes attempted such a spectacular feat in San Diego.

In addition to his model of El Castllo, Holmes prepared replicas of the serpent columns before the Temple of the Jaguars in Chichen-Itza for mounting in the rotunda entrance to the California Building. Hewett mistakenly called this temple "El Castillo," where there are heads of the serpent but not columns. The resemblance of this serpent to the Avanyu, or horned serpent of Tewa Indians in New Mexico, was so strong that Hewett could not forbear pointing it out. ⁹⁹ The serpent at Chichen-Itza is the "feathered serpent," also known as K'uk'ulkan, a "man from the west," who in A.D. 987 conquered Chichen-Itza. K'uk'ulkan is also a Maya name for the Mexican God Quetzalcoatl. ¹⁰⁰

As the models contributed by Holmes were loans from the U.S. National Museum, they were returned to this institution at the close of the Panama-California Exposition. Inspired in part by his work for the Exposition, Holmes in 1916 wrote a report for the Smithsonian Institution titled, "The Great Dragon of Quirigua." ¹⁰¹

Of the three 20th-century artistic creations illustrating Maya or Spanish-Colonial themes, commissioned by either Dr. Hewett or William Henry Holmes, the most impressive and most lauded are frescoes by Carlos Vierra which in 1915 were on the three sides of the balconies surrounding the rotunda of the California Building and are today hung on the south side of the vestibule (Uxmal and Chichen-Itza), on the east side of the rotunda (Copan and Quirigua) and on the south balcony wall of the California Building (Tikal and Palenque). These six Vierra's frescoes are of Maya cities in Honduras, Guatemala, Chiapas, and Yucatan as they appeared when Vierra visited them shortly before he painted them for the Panama-California Exposition. The Maya ruins are presented as they would be seen from an overhead angle. It is probable that, aside from his own drawings, Vierra was aided by photographs. While Vierra went on to become a famous member of the Santa Fe art school, many of whose paintings hang in the Santa Fe

¹⁰² Hewett, 87, 89-93.

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⁹⁹ Hewett, 81.

¹⁰⁰ Coe 180

William Henry Holmes, "The Great Dragon of Quirigua," Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, 1916, 447-460; Reprinted as No. 183, "Masterpieces of Aboriginal Art" in *Art and Archaeology*, IV., No. 6, Washington, D.C., December 1916, 269-278.

Museum of Art, he also dabbled in aerial photography, a hobby that probably began when he was assigned to produce panoramic views of the ruins of Maya cities in Mesoamerica. The frescoes are worth study for their accuracy of details and for their display of creativity.

The plaster sculptured frieze executed by Sally Farnham that was a copy of a bronze frieze she had executed for the Pan-American Union building (now Office of American Studies) in Washington, D.C. and the Jean Beman Cooke-Smith's frieze that depicted imaginary scenes from Maya life were located respectively on walls of the vestibule and above the Vierra frescoes on the balcony walls surrounding the rotunda. These friezes have been taken down. Cooke-Smith's frieze, in tarnished condition, has been found in the basement of the Museum of Man's Administration Building. The search for the Farnham frieze continues. ¹⁰³

Of the two sculptors, Sally Farnham was the greater. She concentrated on the Spanish-Colonial and early-Independence periods in California and Latin America. Her sculpture of Simon Bolivar in Central Park, New York City, and Father Junipero Serra with an Indian Boy at the San Fernando Mission are among her best known works. ¹⁰⁴ Subjects for her frieze for the Panama-California Exposition included the Landing of Columbus, October 12, 1492; Balboa taking possession of the Pacific Ocean; September 1513; Cortes, his Indian concubine Marina, and the Aztec chief Montezuma; and Pizarro conquering the Incas, ¹⁰⁵ Farnham gave the events and people she chose to depict a romantic and heroic cast. That there was an incongruity between her idealized scenes and the actual Maya exhibits seems not to have occurred to her or to Hewett and Holmes.

The incongruity of Cooke-Smith's will-o'-the-wisp frieze in which Maya people drift about like ghosts was as inappropriate as the work of Sally Farnham, though Cooke-Smith supposedly used drawings, photographs and artifacts for her inspiration. Panels show: Sculptors at work; Indians doing the "serpent dance;" Indians hauling a monolith; Indians in a quarry; Priests and acolytes in front of a temple in Copan; Indians playing the ritual ball game; and, Virgins being sacrificed. Dr. Hewett was enthusiastic about these works. Indeed, Dr. Hewett was engrossed in romanticizing the Indian and Spanish-Colonial heritages of New Mexico even before he accepted the position of Director of Exhibits for the Panama-California Exposition. He and the Santa Fe Railroad were the main impulses for the re-invention of Pueblo Indians as talented craftsmen and tourist attractions. His glamorization of the Santa Fe image was even more lasting than the Spanish-Colonial image that was evoked by the Panama-California Exposition to supplant

¹⁰³ E-mail from Wayne Saunders, Director of Exhibits, San Diego Museum of Man, June 1, 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Bruce Kamerling, "100 Years of Art in San Diego," *Journal of San Diego History*, V. 19, No. 4, Fall 1973.

¹⁰⁵ Hewett, 77, 79-83.

¹⁰⁶ Hewett, 95-97.

¹⁰⁷ Phoebe S. Kkropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2006, 137.

¹⁰⁸ Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Reconquest: Heritage, Power and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, Print-on-Demand Volume, 138.

an existing Mission image. ¹⁰⁹ Many people in California were producing this fantasy image before Hewett took it back to Santa Fe. Among them Hewett's collaborator, Charles Francis Lummis, deserves credit for luring Hewett away from archeology toward the promotion of a glorified yesterday as today. ¹¹⁰

The capstone of Cooke-Smith's work was a depiction of "The Spirit of the Past," located "below the large cathedral window," ¹¹¹ which must mean below the large window that marks the south entrance to the California Building. As if this depiction were not enough it was underlined with a passage from. Charles Kingsley that read: So fleet the works of men back to their earth again, /Ancient and holy things fade like a dream." The irony was that the real capstone of the exhibits in the California Building was the 25 ft. high Stela E from Qurigua in the center of smaller Maya stelae and monuments at the apse end of the building. "The Spirit of the Past" was defeatist and degrading. By detracting from the majesty of full-scale replicas of Maya monuments it bordered on parody.

What final conclusions can be drawn from the Maya exhibits in the California Building that were first installed for the Panama-California Exposition of 1915 and 1916 and have since been expanded? The primary lesson to be extracted is that the exhibits present a version of the cyclic nature of history as history in its terrestrial form is affected by the cyclic movements of planets and stars. The lesson is not different from the lesson of *Ecclesiastes*: "What has been will be again, what has been done will be done again; there is nothing new under the sun." The lesson is in keeping with notions of the rise and fall of civilizations that were current when Dr. Hewett wrote his paper and, in some circles, are current today. Contrasted with the idea of history as recurrence is the notion that, as the poet Charles Olson put it, "what does not change is the will to change," or, as philosopher Alfred North Whitehead pointed out, process is the metaphysical motive behind history and its purpose is the achievement of novelty. There is, indeed, something new under the sun.

Historians recognize that many civilizations have fallen, though they do not attempt to find astrological explanations for this phenomenon. Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee have attempted to produce a formula for such cataclysms, but this paper deals with the Maya who appeared in Mesoamerica centuries before the birth of Christ, who grew and flourished, and who surpassed the cultures of Europe in their works and knowledge in the so-called European Dark Ages.

¹⁰⁹ Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Heritage*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1997,

Jeffrey Allen Thomas, "Promoting the Southwest: Edgar L. Hewett, Anthropology and the Santa Fe Style," dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty of Texas Tech. University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, accepted May 1999, 41, 105.

¹¹¹ Hewett, 102.

Ecclesiastes 1:9, New International Version.

¹¹³ Charles Olson, "The Kingfishers," *Selected Poems*, University of California Press, 1993, 5.

Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality*, Free Press, 2nd Revised Edition, September 1, 1978.

What lessons then can we draw from the disintegration of the Maya? Here we enter a vicious cycle for historians and archaeologists disagree over why the Maya collapse occurred, though they generally concede the collapse happened in three phases: first, the devastation of the Maya in the Guatemala lowlands, ca. A.D. 950; second, the fading away of the Toltecs in Yucatan, ca. A.D. 1200; and third, the demise of Mayapan rule in Yucatan, ca. A.D. 1450.

Some Maya gods declined in importance during the abandonment of the city-states, but many survived to be resurrected in the *Popol Vuh*, a narrative of Creation written by the Post-Classic Quiche in the Guatemala highlands that was transcribed and translated into Spanish by Francisco Ximenez, a Dominican priest, from A.D. 1701 – 1703. 115

Comparing the Maya situation with the situation of the world today, the paramount lessons that can be drawn are that Maya civilization came to an end because the people in Maya cities had exhausted their sources of supply due to changes in climate, due to ecological ignorance, due to internal and external warfare, and due to the scourge of overpopulation. So the lessons today are clear. Do not do any of the things the Maya did foolishly and unknowingly. But people like to talk and the debate will continue until the sun gets too hot for human comfort. So there are astronomical, if not astrological, explanations for the fate of human beings.

"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings, look on my works ye mighty and despair," so wrote the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley. He was wrong. There is no reason to despair as we look at the architecture, sculpture and life of the Maya. It is incorrect to say the Maya have vanished for they are still with us. It is exhilarating to know that the human species was capable of the heights the Maya reached during the Classic period (ca. A.D. 250 – 900). We should remember and honor the Maya when they were at their acme and as they are today. As with so many of the great works of the past, the Maya live. Their culture endures. And in the words of the great American novelist William Faulkner, "The past is never dead. It's not even past."116

¹¹⁵ Coe, 244-245.

¹¹⁶ William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*, Act 1, Scene 3.