

GOD N

The Iconography

Of the full range of this aged deity:



From his Seashell Housing to his Sexual Lust and
Spider Monkey Transformations

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THE AGED SEASHELL GOD AND HIS SEXUAL EXPLOITS: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF GOD N IN THE MAYA PANTHEON

History of Research on God N

God N in the classic period is an old man in a turtle carapace or seashell. Zimmermann and Kelley have suggested that several distinct personalities are grouped under the rubric “God N.” It will take a long-range research project to sort them out, so this present catalog follows the tradition of considering all characters housed in a shell as God N unless they are clearly God K or clearly some other obviously distinct personality. For the time being God L is considered as separate and distinct though it is increasingly clear that the two are virtual twins in some instances. When both are in the same scene together, and naked, they look identical except for their headdresses. Nonetheless, even the Maya picture them as separate individuals. God N is definitely not the same as God D; in other words, there is no such entity as N’ (God N Prime). N’ was in the literature for a few years, in the 1970’s.

Thompson’s idea associating God N with Mam is so riddled with circular arguments and misinformation that it is hard to follow. His subsequent turnaround and attempt to show that God N was a Bacab sets a record for illogical arguments. It is best to avoid disturbing his hallowed memory and start all over again at the beginning. Modern iconographers tend to use the phonetic (glyphic) designation for God N, namely Pahuatun, though many authors prefer the older Thompsonian name of Bacab.

In simple terms, God N normally resides in a seashell, land snail, turtle shell--or a spider web in the Post Classic at Chichen Itza. By no means is he the only creature that can reside in

such shells, but he is easily distinguishable from all potential roommates. The other inhabitants of shells are seen primarily when the Maize God rises out of his splitting turtle carapace, which is a subject covered in other sections of the catalogs of the Hellmuth Photo Archive. In other instances God N rides in the open jaws of a reptilian monster.

God N's principal abode is the Underwater world, though a November Collection vase pictures N-like characters in association with the Moon Goddess and a sky band (Robicsek), though nearby characters have Lily-pad Monster headdresses, so perhaps the water environment is directly underneath the sky band. The potential for characters to roam around the various parts of the Maya cosmos has not yet been worked out.

God N can be young or old. I term the young ones devotees. Ideally, all characters who are not directly inside a shell, or recently pulled from one (to be killed) should be termed devotees or impersonators unless they display specific God N traits.

An aged character in a turtle shell is known from the Zaachila tombs and Mixtec codices in Oaxaca, in Veracruz, and even in the art of Post Classic Central Mexico. No iconographer has proposed any connection because it is considered that this Post Classic character is distinct. The mural of Teotihuacan (Sejourne; A. Miller) pictures a Classic period character who may be related to the Maya God N (Hellmuth 1987: fig. 74). This portrait is appropriately in the same Teotihuacan apartment complex as shell divers. An individual with red hair issues from a giant seashell on the door jambs of the Cacaxtla murals. The individual, however, does not feature the aged body of a typical God N, though other aspects of these murals are definitely Mayanized.

Abaj Takalik Altar 12 may include a Preclassic or Proto-Classic prototype (Mexicon 1981: p. 3). I do not yet know any Olmec prototypes for God N but God N is popular throughout Early Classic Maya art in Peten, Belize, and Campeche so will most likely eventually be found on a Proto-Classic sculpture, as by the Early Classic he was already fully integrated in Tzakol Maya myths. One unusual representation may be an early God N in a spider web (Parsons 1986: fig.151).

God N is surely the patron of numeral five, an ascription usually cited as Thompson's (1950:133-4) though almost all of this section was taken directly from Seler. In these pages Thompson takes over the concept of Schellhas and Foerstemann that God N is a Mam, definitely known to be an aged deity living in the interior of the earth. Coe still favored this hypothesis in 1973 (p. 14).

Later Thompson reversed himself totally and proclaimed that God N was a Bacab. Ethnohistorical sources tell us there were four Bacabs who upheld the earth--but none of the ethnohistorical sources tell us what these Bacabs look like. However the recent discovery of God N's upholding thrones at Copan and God N's upholding a temple roof at Site Q (Crocker Deletaille 1985: No. 416) certainly substantiate the role of God N as upholding at least furniture and structures. In fact most field archaeologists employ the term Bacab for these upholders and rarely cite the designation ad God N. It may be that most upholders are God N

but by no means are all God N's Bacabs. Thus the correct way to designate an aged character who is upholding something might be to call him a "God N in a role as Bacab". That tells the reader that the writer is at least familiar with the basic pantheon. Calling the character solely a Bacab could imply that only Thompsonian theology was behind the designation, a sure sign of failure to keep up to date--by about two decades.

Coe suggests that God N is one of the co-ruler's of the Underworld with God L making them correspond to the principal Lords of Xibalba in the Popol Vuh, 1 Death and 7 Death (1973:15). Considering the rate at which decipherment of the hieroglyphic writing system is proceeding it should be a matter of time before 1 Death and 7 Death's portraits are identified on Maya bases or in the codices. In the meantime Coe's more solid designation bases on leads of Kelley of God N as phonetic Pauah Tun has been documented by phonetic readings in the inscriptions.

I sometimes wonder whether God N is not merely thrown into a scene to add an underwaterworld flavor. Sometimes his role seems minimal other than as a prop, such as on the Gann Bowl (Hellmuth 1987: fig. 209,210) or a vase of Robicsek (1978: fig. 233).

Summary and Conclusion of this Introduction

God N is probably modeled to some degree on a hermit crab. Hermit crabs adapt themselves to whatever abandoned shell they can find. Hermit shells live on the beach and hills overlooking the ocean (not in the water). I got this idea of hermit crabs while at Bayman

Bay Club, Utila Island, Bay Islands, Honduras.

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I thank Linda and Thomas Fouke for providing a place to stay for a week at Bayman Bay Club, Guanaja Island, Bay Islands, Honduras. It was here that I saw so many hermit crabs which reminded me of God N's shell housing.

THE OCURRENCES AND ICONOGRAPHY OF “GOD” N

DIAGNOSTIC TRAITS OF GOD N

1. The key aspect of most God N's is that they are RESIDENT IN A CONCH, SNAIL SHELL, or in a TURTLE SHELL. God N can also reside in a spider web or a snake, see later in this list, but a hard shell is by far God N's most common abode. In perhaps 20-40% of other cases, however, God N is not inside any housing at all. In these cases when no shell is present God N has to be identified by other features. Trait #1, a shell housing, is nonetheless a key diagnostic trait, yet care needs to be exercised not to mistake for God N the other potential inhabitants of a such a carapace. God K, a Uinal-like frog-toad, an actual turtle, or a Lily Pad Headdress Monster can also reside inside turtle carapaces. Fortunately, none of these characters have an aged human body so all these other individuals are easy to distinguish from a God N. So far most of the non-God N inhabitants occur in a turtle.

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carapace, which can have a different inhabitant at each end. A rare instance of a God K issuing from a shell other than a turtle shell is at Palenque. Thompson has suggested that an armadillo shell may be used, though most armadillos are shown naturalistically, with no attempt whatsoever to make a reference to God N (F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive).

More accurate nomenclature of the shells are needed, as well as help from malacologists so that Mayanists will better be able to distinguish among land snails, fresh water snails, and sea shells, as well as among land turtles, fresh water turtles, and sea turtles. It rare instances the turtle shell has a Kan cross on its top (Chama, Dieseldorff 1922: plate 11; Dresden 37a). In an ever-rarer instance a water shell has a Kan cross (Grolier No. 64). The Dictionary Cordemex should be searched to see what entries it has for shells. Thus the Kan cross on top may not necessarily always be an indicator of the color yellow but rather a phonetic compliment to remind the viewer that the shell ends in the letter “k”. In one instance the carapace of a sea turtle is in close association with an aged deity who is more probably God L in his guise as merchant. This is the remarkable scene on the murals of Cacaxtla. This particular aged deity also shares certain aspects with a Jaguar God of the Underworld, but the context-a merchant God with his pack-is well documented for God L (Hellmuth 1987d). This context does not call for a J.G.U. at all.

In several other scenes God L is clearly associated with God N, indeed they are practically

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twins. It has sometimes been asked whether the two are different guises of the same entity, though since they can both appear on the same vase I prefer to keep them separated for the time being. Thus to have a God L carrying the shell which could serve as the housing of a God N is actually not that much of a surprise. Of course the turtle shell may simply be a trade item or a large musical instrument, and does not have to radiate any association with God N. Nonetheless, this turtle shell is rather conspicuously displayed and any Maya viewer would have known that God N would be potential interpretation even if other clues (that we modern viewers do not yet recognize) steer the interpretation to the carapace having some totally other meaning unrelated to God N.

The hermit crab is a good potential for being the natural model for the housing of God N. Hermit crabs are common along the coast of the Maya area. They use virtually any abandoned shell as their housing, including fancy conch-like shells. The fact that hermit crabs make use of many different sizes and shapes of shells is another reason why this remarkable creature is all the more likely the natural model for at least the shell aspect of God N. A biological analysis of the hermit crab would be useful. There were plenty available to study on the Bay Islands of Honduras.

2. SPIDER WEB AS HOUSING. Although most God N's stick out of a land snail or seashell, many of the God N's at Chichen Itza are surrounded by what looks like a spider web.

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This unusual design has always been described as a spider web, and indeed one unprovenanced Preclassic example from Highland Guatemala looks like a spider web (Parsons 1986: no. 151). Yet the possibility that a fishing net is punning a spider web pattern, should be investigated, since, unless there is a pun in the Mayan language between spider web and shell, then the more likely substitution pattern or pun is between spider web and fishing net. After all, a net weave is a key diagnostic of God N's headdress. The best examples of God N in a spider web are at Chichen Itza (Seler Abb. 143, 152, 158, 159, and 173). So far spider web housing is rare on Classic period ceramic portraits (Taube 1992: fig. 47, b and c).

3. SNAKE'S OPEN JAWS AS HOUSING. God N sometimes peaks out from the gaping open jaws of reptilian monsters, usually giant mythical snakes. In some cases the character is definitely God N (most ceramic styles except for Codex Style). On Codex Style vases the old god sticking out from the snake's mouth is probably God N but other writers have dreamt up other names for him in this reptilian situation.

4. NET WEAVE Headdress of God N. The headdress is the crucial feature for the recognition of God N when he is otherwise naked (lacking his shell). The net weave is often pictured as cross-hachure. Cross-hachure is a common trait in Maya art; cross-hachure is generally the tradition for rendering the color black on a stone sculpture or in any other situation where using an actual black pigment is not feasible, such as on carved (non-painted)

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pottery. The same cross-hachure is also employed to represent scales (serpent, fish, crocodile, etc.). In some instances cross-hachure may be utilized to represent the pattern of a bat wing or more frequently the rough texture of a waterlily pad.

Cross-hachure is also used in semi-circular patches on the face of an unnamed god on the Pearlman Conch and on the text of the Belgian Tripod (right in front of the God N glyph, Hellmuth 1988). In some cases a character with cross hachure may be the personification of Pa (Taube).

Cross-hachure or an actual net weave is by no means always present. In the Early Classic few headdresses have cross-hachure, and that is in isolated patches (on a dodo bird effigy cookie jar, ex-Wray Collection). Yet by Tepeu 1 times the net weave headdress is de rigor (on the God N glyph of the Altun Ha style Primary Standard Sequence as well as on full-figure God N's on most Red Band Tepeu 1 style vases and bowls). At this same time the net weave headdress, especially in its "napkin" form, is also a standard item of headdress for enema associates, frogs, and other strange creatures who are not God N's. "Enema associates" is a loose term for the many miscellaneous assistants who appear in enema scenes. Some of these are definitely God N (Coe 1978: Princeton No. 11¹). Younger individuals may potentially be

¹ This vase was eventually auctioned off at Sotheby's. Several years thereafter I found the vase destined for the museum in Berlin. Although the overall scene on this vase is authentic (it is Tepeu 1), pre-restoration photographs of Lee Moore reveal that several fragments were evidently missing. These photographs show that Lee Moore repainted all the missing segments, often from his own imagination. The "sphincter glyph," which was so carefully translated in *Painting the Maya Universe as cacao* thus turns out not to be an actual Mayan hieroglyph at all, but a joke courtesy of Lee Moore, Miami. Thus it is rather impressive that this "glyph" could be



With an aged face such as this the character could be God D, God L, or God N. It lacks the headdress of God L or of God D. The headdress is, though, appropriate for God N. It is, however, rare to find God N on a throne.

Unprovenanced Late Classic polychrome plate in IDAEH storage. Hieroglyphs such as these should not be misinterpreted as being fake. There is no reason that all Mayan glyphs have to look like the neat ones in the better Primary Standard Sequences. The corpus of Maya ceramic art as recorded in photographs, as opposed to the smaller corpus which happens to have been published, reveals that more Mayan glyphs on pottery look like these than we are used to.

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God N devotees, but these associates are not as well-known as the aged deity who is easier to recognize as a definite God N.

The word "napkin headdress" was invented by Michael Coe for the upright form of "starched cloth" worn by attendants in palace scenes. Originally it was believed this headdress was worn only by attendants and never by enthroned lords. I have found, though, at least three instances when an enthroned lord also wears a napkin headdress, so it has widespread use and is not restricted to attendants. I expand the term napkin headdress to include any headdress that has a wide, parallel-sided form issuing normally from a turban. Since most scenes do not have enough space for the napkin to stick up straight, it usually turns at a 90-degree angle to stick out in front or in back. But it is always relatively wide, of approximately equal width its entire length, then slightly wider at the end, and is relatively independent of spangles or adornos. In material it may be cloth decorated in any number of fashions. For God N it is usually, but not always, of net weave. In addition to the napkin and its own binding, there may be additional headdresses worn simultaneously, including a bib-turban. Examples of what I define in a wider sense as a napkin headdress may be seen on:

Grolier 16.

November 1 (lower register, net weave).

translated twice, each with a totally different reading. This is not a good advertisement for modem epigraphy or epigraphers and fuels field archaeologists's doubts of the reliability of other similar readings. Since this is what to expect when dealing with repainted vases it is rather hard to understand why epigraphers do not reject repainted texts.

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Turtle God N on cream-red (403225-13).

Dieseldorff 1926: Tafel 21, Abb. 136-137 (not stiff, and in this case almost looks like hair.) Comparable headdresses are also found on the standing celebrants with female attendants paired with enema jugs. Although this headdress is thus obviously a characteristic fashion for God N, it can be worn by other personalities (in enema rituals) and is not always of net weave. But when the net weave napkin headdress is worn by an old man, he is usually a God N even if no shell is present as further identification. In summery, a napkin headdress by itself is not necessarily an indication that the wearer is a God N, unless the wearer is extremely old or unless the cloth has a net weave or cross-hachure.

A second net weave head outfit is more restricted to God N and is thus a trait that can be used when God N is otherwise naked. This second headgear consists of a skull cap and a bead over the forehead. The cloth passes through the bead to then form two "buds." I call the forward projections "buds" as a nickname because they are the oval shape of unopened buds. They are actually just the ends of the net weave cloth, but they are very carefully shaped and definitely tapered. Excellent examples are on both types of God N on the Duke University Art Museum Red Band 1 vase (simian-God N and normal, aged God N). A vase from Chama, Princeton 10 (Coe 1978), shows the same net weave cloth as a thin headband (not at all the shape or weave worn by the Headband Gods). On this Chama God N (also at Duke University) there is no "skull cap" formed, so we see God N's sole lock of hair. Since on another vase the artist has fish nibbling at a comparable lock of hair, I suspect this hair patch had some

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meaning in the epic of God N, so this Chama artist wanted to show it, so he abbreviated the net weave to just a forehead band. The net weave with the bud forward is crucial because this is the sole identifying feature that distinguishes an otherwise naked God N from an identical aged character in an adjacent scene who is a naked God L. The latter character is recognizable as God L because a nearby rabbit is triumphantly waving a God L headdress that he has just stolen from the deity. This scene is discussed in further detail in the pertinent section of the God L catalog. The nearly naked God N's net forehead band is essentially identical to that on Princeton 10, Chama vase.

The two pieces of net weave cloth that project from the front may be reduced to a single fatter piece, since if they were both parallel, then in a profile view only one would be visible at a time. In other instances, the artist splays them so both are visible. I have nicknamed these "buds" because the artist sometimes makes a botanical pun out of their shape. Princeton 16 is the best example. Even an additional long stem sprouts from the same forehead place. This place is the ring or clasp that holds the cloth together and draws out the two forward projecting ends of the cloth strip. The ancient Maya did not have tailored clothing: no zippers, no buttons. Most everything was in strips or bolts and fashioned by wrapping, knotting, etc.

A final item relative to the flower-nature of the headdress is seen on those Chipoc God N vases that have a bird feeding out of the flower on front of the headdress. Chipoc (highland) headdresses are slightly different than Peten headdresses in that they do not have the net weave sticking out. Instead an actual flower sticks out front.

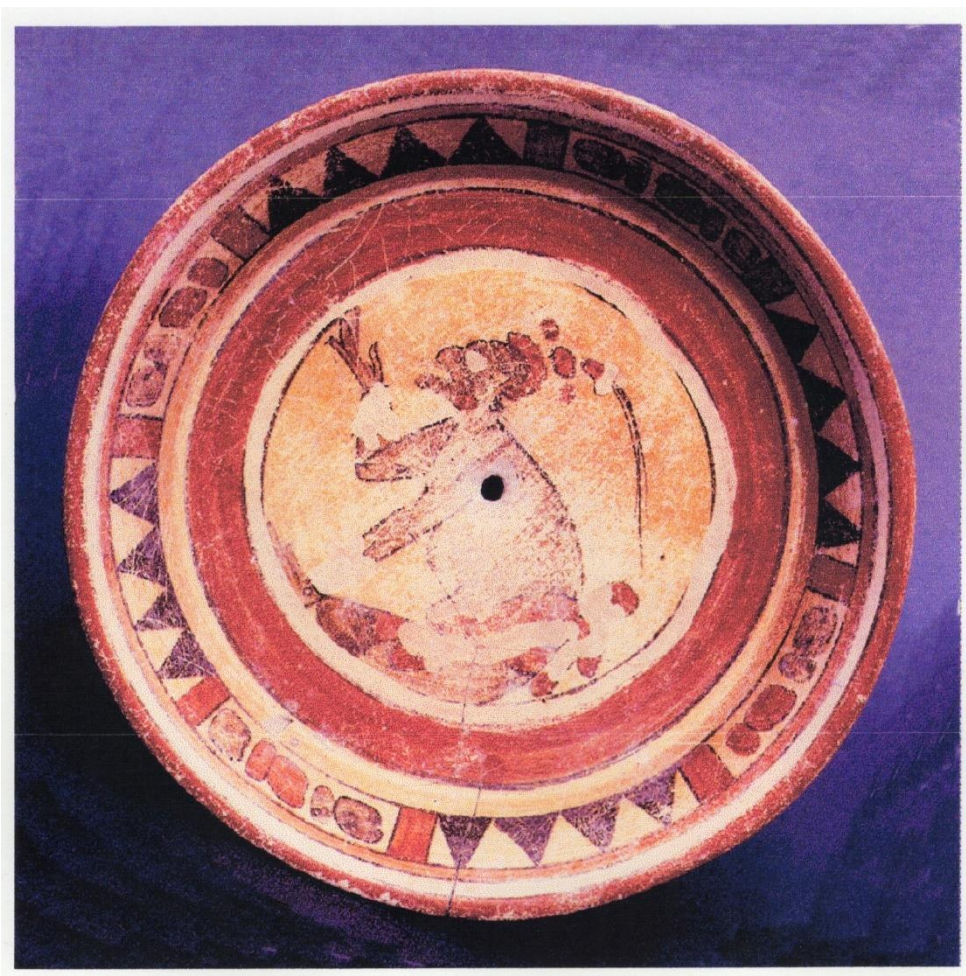
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Besides the special net weave headdresses, God N devotees that are also in shells, and enema celebrants who have no shell and sometimes no other God N features either, can wear a variety of common styles that were simply the fashion for a general region, time period, or whole ceremony for all participants. Thus two God N's wear water flowers (Tikal, Burial 116 and the Austin Plate (Hellmuth Photo Archive used by R+H 1982a: pl. 60)).

Clothing often reflects the regional-temporal-atelier style in which the vase was painted. In these cases certain features may be present that are found only on scenes rendered in such-and such a regional style. So for Chama pots the painters add a forward projecting rod that sticks out from the front of the headdress. That same device can be found on any number of highland personalities that have no particular relationship to God N, this was just the style of this time and place (Robicsek 1978:231; 232), etc.

5. TURBAN HEADDRESS are a feature of God N's rendered in highland styles. Such a turban is arranged around the head. When both a turban and also a piece of net weave are worn, the latter may seemingly be a different piece of cloth which sticks out the back. Although many God N's wear such a headdress so do other characters with no seeming relationship to N or the Underwater world, such as a so-called "Fox God" on a Chama style polychrome sherd (Smith 1952: fig. 19b).

6. ROUND CAP is found on God N of the codices.



An aged individual such as this could be God D, God L, or God N (it is definitely a mythical person because of the large squared "god eye.")- With no God L headdress or unusually long necklace and no cigar, this character is probably not God L. The lack of a seashell does not automatically preclude God N because he can occur with no shell whatsoever. But the hair arranged as a "ruff" as a crest at the top of the head suggests God D, though God D usually has a double dome on his head. In summary, this could be God D or God N; the final decision will result from checking the entire corpus of both these deities to see which one is allowed to have a simple headdress of the type worn here.

The plate is unprovenanced and is stored in the IDAEH bodega at Tikal, Late Classic; original condition with no repainting. A kill hole is in the middle. Plate height is 7.5cm, diameter is 38.4 cm. This large plate has small nubbin supports.

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7. ELDERLY, God N is normally pictured as aged, though youthful variants are common. I tend to term the youthful renditions as "devotees" (god impersonators dedicated to the service of a particular deity or his cult). God D and L are also elderly. God D does not yet have many recognized impersonators, youthful or otherwise. When people are in attendance to God D they are usually the Hero Twins, who, being eternally youthful, are easy to distinguish from any of the elderly deities. God L has few youthful variants.

7, A. One aspect of being elderly is sunken cheeks which results in a barbel-like wrinkle on the cheek and a pronounced ridge under the eyes. The sub-ocular ridge, such as on the monumental frontal God N's on the El Placeres stucco facade in Mexico City's museum, may appear as a raised bar across the face (Grave Lot X).

7, B. FISH FINS may be actual fins or an exaggeration of the sunken crease in that area of the cheek on elderly people.

8. THIN LIMBS, is another partial result of being elderly. This trait may be noticed especially on Robicsek 1978), the Pearlman Tzakol black shell effigy bowl (Coe 1982), and the lid of a black basal flange bowl (Hellmuth 1987d).

9. HOOK PROJECTING OUT FROM HEAD. This feature has not previously been

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recognized as diagnostic of God N. I cite this trait based on Highland vase paintings in general (not specifically of God N). Such a feature on an actual God N is seen on a Zurich museum vase (**456981**). The forehead hook suggests the seated smoker of a Uaxactun plate fragment may be a God N. This trait might also be called a "peppermint candy stick." When present his feature protrudes from the lower part of his headdress. Such a stick is uncommon and it is unsure whether it is restricted to God N. As a result it is unknown whether the projecting stick is a diagnostic trait.

10. EARRING: The earring of God N is not highly developed and only one type of earring is diagnostic — the scalloped cross-section of a seashell (Coe 1973: Grolier No. 16; R+H 1982a: p. 19, Vessel 12). On the latter vessel the shell pendant is in an ambiguous position and could also be read as a necklace pendant. The lack of necklace beads and the model from God N glyphs (Hellmuth Photo Archive) suggests the shell section is here still a necklace pendant. As a definite earring the shell cross-section is occasionally worn by God N in the Primary Standard Sequence, especially in the Altun Ha style of PSS. The profile head of God N and his characteristic net covered head is often found in the first segment of the PSSsequence, but of the more than 50 known examples (Hellmuth Photo Archive) only two or three (outside the Altun Ha style PSS) feature the conch cross section form of earring. On this basis the Codex Style versions of Robicsek's "Old God" can today be identified as probably God N, even though they reside in a snake monster not a shell. I vaguely remember other iconographers

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suggesting another name for this old character on Codex Style pottery, but whoever this old man is, he surely has some relationship to God N as he shares many of the same features. Otherwise earrings may be simple generic disks with no accessories, or disks with simple pendants.

Codex style paintings present the most variation of earrings. There a deer ear may be appended, but that is not a normal accessory with God N when he is outside that particular epic. A three-dotted Uinal-like frog ear occurs at least twice (Princeton 16 [clearly present on pre-restoration photographs, D.0.-291] and on November 1) yet is certainly not common enough to be diagnostic. No single earring form is. Since a set of three spots can also be a jaguar pelt marking the God N situation may evoke a feline rather than a Uinal, though at least one Uinal is pictured by the Maya as having feline-like spots all over his body, a feline-frog composite (Hellmuth 1978b:183, 200, on the other side).

The Body of God N

The ultimate abstraction of God N's spindly body is on a Tepeu 1 polychrome vase (Robicsek 1978: fig. 151; pis.137-140; R+H 1982a: fig. 32). That is an extreme case, though other spindly God N's can be found occasionally elsewhere (lid handle of Early Classic basal flange bowl, Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 491). Normally thin limbs are an indication of old age, plus possible debility, as God N evidently finally dies in the same Codex Style series in which an old person with some God N traits is shown earlier as having spindly arms. On others of this

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series (Vessel 12) though, he is robust with normally proportioned limbs. Still, old age was the characteristic for God N. On polychrome paintings (from central and southern Peten) he is never (yet recognized) to be in the same epic as he is in northern Peten (Codex Style) paintings. On polychrome paintings he is of normal proportion and often even an idealized youth. Of course, some of these may be devotees or impersonators who are wearing the giant shell as a costume. In rare instances God N has flipper-like limbs (Photo Archive). Here he has a snake-like body rather than that of a turtle or conch.

On Chipoc highland vases, God N has tic-tac-toe marks widely spaced on his body. Such open cross-hachure elsewhere normally means the color black or scales. When intended to mean black though, the cross-hachure is contained within a border showing the size and/or shape of the spot. In the Chipoc pattern there is no outline around the crisscross lines, they are in small, isolated segments. Snake-like creatures who are not God N can also inhabit the turtle shell of the resurrection of the Maize God. These extra inhabitants are a Uinal frog, Lily Pad Headdress monster, and an actual turtle. The frog and turtle give precedence for shell inhabitants with scales. Perhaps these Chipoc cross-hachure patches remind the viewer that God N is either himself partially scaly, or is related to other creatures that are definitely scaly. As this cross-hachure pattern is not known from Peten examples other than the snakey-God N plate no further pattern is noticeable at the moment.

Necklace

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The necklace characteristic of God N, God D, and especially God L is very long, with beads. The beads may continue down the wearer's back as well as his front. The pendant is large and usually wider than tall. When the pendant is not covered over by arms it is usually seashell-shaped, possibly half of a bivalve rather than a section of a conch shell. Early Classic Principal Bird Deities often wear the same necklace pendant as Early Classic God N's; so such a necklace may be a generic item of decoration.

In two instances, though, it is the same seashell shape (God D-red style vase of turtle-N; and the ambiguous ear-necklace pendant example of R+H 1982: Vessel 12 (p. 19) as God N's occasional earring in hieroglyphic portraits (Grolier 16 and Altun Ha regional variant of PSS). The necklace may have the nen affix (Pendergast 1979: fig. 34, b) but this is not standard.

Hair

God N may be completely bald, mostly bald with a few wisps of hair, or usually his head is completely covered with a bib-turban and net weave napkin headdress so we never see whether he was bald or with hair. On one vase fish nibble at his hair as though it were seaweed. Since both young and old people can inhabit the shells, some God N's (the younger ones) may have a full head of hair. Although an occasional bound hank of hair would not be entirely surprising (due to the constant interchangeability of deity attributes) this type of hair is certainly not characteristic and its presence even suggests that the character is not God N unless other traits specifically allow a God N identification. God N's baldness is another indication of his elderly

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age. In fact on the Codex Style vase he sickens and dies. In some vases (also on the Codex Style ones) an old god gets so old he is practically skeletal, although so far we do not see God D actually die on polychrome vases. He may transform into a serpent-face winged deity before he "dies." God N may transform into a form of Shell Wing Dragon.

God N's Eyes

Only two definite instances of God N show him with a squarish "God eye" (Museo Popol Vuh, non-Peten). That is clearly not his normal eye form. God N's eye is elsewhere usually a natural human shape. In this he differs noticeably from God D, the J.G.U., etc. whose eyes are almost always one of the two major god eye shapes. Even in the Early Classic, when various forms of enlarged god eye are so prevalent, God N still has his normal human eye. An ambivalent case is Vessel 56 (R+H 1982: p. 53) where two gods have God N noses, aged face, net weave napkin headdress of God N, but a large god eye and no long beaded necklace, no conch or turtle to define a clearcut God N. Based on the headdress I would wager on a God N identification even with the god eye

Facial Profile (Nose and Chin) of God N

God N's forehead on Codex Style scenes is vertical or "normal" as opposed to being artificially deformed as is the classic Maya ideal. When the shell is occupied by individuals other than the elderly stereotype, then they may be idealized young lords, and that rubric

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includes deformed heads that show sloping foreheads (Hellmuth 1978:171).

Codex Style painters render a definite indentation as the nose bridge. Idealized youths fill that in (Jaina figurines of idealized portraits show this was done with a filler such as wax or raised scarification).

God N's nose is one of his characteristics. It is difficult to verbalize the features in writing; the best thing to do is to look at a whole series of God N faces, then compare them with the more Roman nose of God D. On God N the tip may turn down. Princeton 16 is the best example (extant in the pre-restoration photograph [Photo Archive]). What aspects of a droopy nose is an indication of old age would have to be decided by a geriatrics specialist. On the basis of droopy nose, bald head, and protruding chin the set of four upper register characters of November 1 (R+H 1982b) are God Ns, despite the Cauac grapes on their sides and the unusual form of god marks on back and thigh. The headdress is simply the badge of this particular ceremony, so does not in this instance indicate any particular god wearing it as the Lily Pad monster. On this vase Thompson's term Bacab-Sky Bearer is particularly inappropriate even with them sitting on a sky band, simply because they are not upholding anything, and to transfer a Post Classic Chichen Itza identification to 8th century Peten is not justified, as the Site Q altar top is only a single example of an upholding gesture (and the monster on the roof it upholds is the same Lily Pad Headdress that is worn by God Ns here on November 1).

The November Collection vase painting also shows three God N's standing in the bottom

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register with all the women. One of the God N's in the upper register is holding or offering flowers or jewelry to the fat woman. She is the only one of the nine fat women in the scene who has her chest naked. From other paintings I get the suspicion that God N plans to do more with his hands than merely hold jewels or flowers.

Beard

God N may be bearded even in Classic period paintings. Thompson had thought that only the Post Classic Yucatec sculptures of God N were bearded, and that because of Toltec influence. Beards have a long history in pre-Columbian art. The popular concept that Middle American native Americans are without beard is a popular fallacy. Irrespective of whether the beards are falsies or whether they stem from artistic license, beards serve the purpose of further emphasizing the elderly nature of God N.

Facial Painting on God N

On one or two instances (Princeton 16, Museo Popol Vuh) God N has a white patch around his face. On Princeton 16 the mouth area is correctly white (pre-restoration photographs, Hellmuth Photo Archive **D.O.291**), but its scalloped outline was added as an embellishment in Miami. The Museo Popol Vuh example is in original, unembellished condition. On one Altun Ha God N the mouth area has Chicchan-like circlets around the mouth. As this is unique for God N no further comparative judgments can be made.

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The eye area may be painted a different color than the rest of the face (Hellmuth 1978:171). The paint is usually red (for Chama) black for Codex Style (R+H 1982a: Vessel 12, p. 19). **453027-9-Neg.8** has a whole series of black areas of the face. These pattern blackened faces help to document that the faces on Codex Style trumpeters include a God N related trait (R+H 1982a: Vessel 34 (p. 26)).

Monkey Pattern Painted on Face of Certain God N's

A special case of facial painting is notable on two vases of Red Band Tepeu 1 style (Duke University Museum of Art and Bowers Art Museum [F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive and Labbe No. Ill, p. 65 and 69]). Here the paint forms a spider monkey scallop pattern near the ears, then crosses the face as a bar. These particular God N's are also prancing in a monkey-like pose and the inner curl of the conch shell doubles as his tail. The artist is showing some form of cosmological or linguistic pun on the personality or name of monkey related to a God N myth. Since we have two examples (the second unfortunately repainted but still understandable) we cannot dismiss the monkey-variant of God N, even though this simian-N is not previously reported until the Scribe was found at Copan (Scheie). Taube does not get into this aspect of God N, possibly because it is not in the codices, at Chichen Itza, or in the ethnohistorical sources. So far the simian aspect is limited to Red Band 1 style vessels. The Copan Scribe is actually not very monkey-like and has no monkey features on its face. When the Maya wish to picture a spider monkey they do this quite simply and easily by using a

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bracket on the cheek, usually painted black. Labbe did not identify his figure as a God N but was nonetheless noticed that "the shading on the faces gives the lords a simian appearance." (op cit., p. 65).

Two connections in context exist between the monkey and God N. On several Tepeu 1 enema scenes, monkeys are featured participants (Hellmuth 1978:167); God N is elsewhere the prime mythological personage present at enema scenes. Monkeys are present on the same vase as God N and God D (Ibid:170; Robicsek 1978; R+H 1982a). Large anthropomorphic spider monkeys are associates of God D who sexually fondle the breasts of young women on two vases of God D-Red style. One of these scenes may show the monkey raping the woman. God N is present in one of these fondling scenes, but with his back to this sexual foreplay, in earnest discussion with God D (God N will subsequently be sacrificed on orders of God D). Is there some hidden parallel in Maya myths between the monkey-man who fondles the fat woman and the nearby God N? We know from the Codex Style series that aged God N has a passionate interest in getting his hands on the woman's nipple and breast (Vessels 12, 12a).²

We know that God N or devotee is a frequent participant in the enema ritual. There is a whole series of paintings showing women attending to God N's. From another series of mostly unpublished vases, of which Hellmuth 1978:167, bottom is the best example, I can report that

² For those who thought that emotion was never expressed in Maya art, the intense look on old God N's face as he fondles the woman's breast should dispel the idea of the Maya having a stoic nature. It is actually the women who tend to be expressionless, although on 12a she does have her mouth open and she puts her hand towards the floor to steady herself for God N's lusty advance. In Vessel 12b she rests back and seems ready for everything old God N can muster.

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the monkey is one of the principal participants in the drinking-enema ritual.

So, just as God N and a monkey are alternative participants in fondling, so also are God N and a monkey alternatively participants in the drinking-enema ritual. This alternative appearance is practically substitutability. Where substitutions occur the Maya also often allow conflations, an artistic shorthand of showing both entities merged together. Maya scribes picture deer eared-and-antlered monkeys in the Dance after Death as a conflation of the deer and of the spider monkey who are alternating *way* participants in this execution aftermath. We do not yet know the complete set of rules for the grammar of Maya myth personalities, but substitutability and conflation patterns are becoming apparent as quickly as there are paintings to show the patterns. What is necessary to bring this monkey-God N relationship into discussion is evidence. An example is a low Red Band Tepeu 1 bowl which shows an aged God N in one panel with the enema jug and a naturalistic monkey with a God N devotee (in his conch shell) in the other panel.

Polychrome Peten plate **A-464** pictures a possible composite God N-monkey. The sole figure which fills the entire inside and edges over even onto the circumference is basically an anthropomorphic monkey. He has human limbs, especially the hands and feet—but a slightly simian face. What turns the man into a monkey is the furry tail and painted bracket on the face. The bracket is the age-old standard Maya designation for the face of a spider monkey, the separation of the black body fur from the lighter front part of the face.

A second parallel is a visual pun, a favored technique of Maya art and hieroglyphic writing.

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Compare the spiral curled tails of amorous spider monkeys on Hellmuth 1978:183 with the spiral of the conch shell on the monkey-God N on the Red Band 1 vase in the Duke University Art Museum.

Facial Wrinkles or Barbel

God N certainly has a furrowed brow (464706-31 before cleaning, R+H 1982a: Vessel 10 (p. 18) after cleaning and restoration). The extreme close-up photograph taken with a Leica or Zeiss macro lens reveals that the lines around the mouth are two joined lines that form a possible barbel, rather than two age wrinkles, which would be separate, parallel lines, but not joined to form a rounded end. Due to root marks and lime incrustation, only the top join is visible. This shows that even cleaning can ruin crucial details.

A barbel indicates an underwater creature, and relates such creature to GI, J.G.U., and other faces with barbels or fins. On the Altun Ha vase (Pendergast 1979: fig. 34, b, right) it is unclear from the modern drawing whether a barbel or a displaced earring is next to the mouth. The other lines would appear to be age lines. A close-up photograph is needed to resolve the uncertainty. On Motagua area carved God N's the lines by the mouth seem to be age wrinkles. The lines on Early Classic God N glyphs seem also to be age wrinkles rather than barbel. I propose that the barbel is not characteristic of God N but that some artists turned the mouth area puckered age wrinkles into do double duty as a barbel in association with God N's general watery associations. In other words the barbel may occasionally be present as an extra

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indicator of watery environment but this barbel is not consistently a God N trait.

Fangs

The emaciated Early Classic God N of the El Placeres façade has what appear to be fangs (068946).

Projection from the Nose

Pre-restoration photographs of Princeton 16 show that the long nose ornament that ends in a sprocketed form is original. The question remains as to whether this sprocketed outline attempts to represent a waterlily pad outline. Only one or two other paintings show a comparable long nose decoration. In other situations, such long forms are usually stylized serpent faces, often the Zip Monster. Here the snake nose tubes and fangs are not present.

Clothing of God N

God N usually wears only shorts, and these are often covered by the conch or turtle shell and hence not visible. The shorts may be of feline pelage pattern. Enema attendant God N's or devotees have a wide, textile loincloth.

God N often wears non-descript bracelets common to the period in general on any personage. Nose beads may be worn but are not diagnostic as for the J.G.U.

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Forehead Flare

In two instances, and only on Codex Style paintings, and only when contained inside a God K's leg serpent, God N may have a flaming torch through the forehead. Normally this is a purely God K associated trait, in fact is the principal diagnostic trait for identifying God K and separating his image from all the other long-snouted creatures. Since three vases and other scenes show that God K can inhabit God N's turtle or conch shell, occasional interchange of features between these two particular characters is not entirely unlikely. So far this interchange is only for certain limited situations and is certainly not characteristic of God N other than in the general sense that it reiterates his relationship (in an as yet unknown pattern) with God K

Phonetic Reading

Coe provided a reading (1973:15) which Taube suggests fine tuning to *pauhtun* (1992:92).

God Marks

In the days before we knew what the various features of Maya deity costume were every writer made up names hoping that they would turn out to be more or less apt. Thus the designation "god markings" crept into the literature, (Coe 1973:16) as one example. But no one took these markings a step further to ascertain which markings were associated specifically with which characters, other than for Xbalanque where the feline pelt patches were so

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obviously distinctive. Thus we do not yet even know whether the marks on God N are generic or specific. These designs, which are often hieroglyphic infixes, are still stuck with the designation of god marks, since no better name has been developed.

ENVIRONMENTS, ASSOCIATES, AND EPICS OF GOD N

God N and the Underwaterworld

God N's primordial environment is in, or under water. We identify this cosmological niche not by any physical presence of water but rather by fish swimming around, or water birds nearby, or symbols that are related to the watery world. In certain cases it is not possible to tell precisely whether he is on, or merely near, water, but often the general setting is made clear. The Austin Plate (Hellmuth photo in Robicsek) is a good example, along with the Cambridge University Museum bowl (M. Coe). Both show God N in his shell; fish and water birds are nearby, so are "humans." On the Austin Plate water lilies are present as well as the monster that generates them from his head. One of the nearby actors wears a crocodile headdress. But of interest here is the God N, and he is clearly at home with the fish, water birds, water lily and crocodile imagery. Underneath the whole scene is a stack, so the actors are demonstrably on the Surface of the Underwaterworld.

Unfortunately we do not know God N's particular role in these watery scenes. He seems

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just to be a prop to add to the watery atmosphere. We need scenes where he is more active. Transfer scenes would help — transfer scenes are those that link different series of repeated myth presentations together to show that a common character acts throughout both series, and that each series may be a chapter of a longer epic

God N and Naked Women being Molested

The next standard pattern of association is God N and a partially naked women. This relationship is pictured not only on the series of Codex Style vases but also on a cream-red style vase where God N is in a curiously rendered turtle guise, reaching out to a naked lady with large breasts. Since God D is also in this scene, and as God D is never present in the Codex Style series together with God N, I conclude that we have a minimum of two completely separate episodes of God N caressing a woman. November No. 1 may be a third episode, as neither God D nor any of the Codex Style characters are present here. With other god myths such scenes that share a common element would be transfer scenes to take the viewer from one chapter of the myth to the next sequential chapter. Women serve this function in the myth of the Principal Young Lord episode of the Holmul Dancer transformation into the resurrected Maize God (Hellmuth 1983b). But so far the dramatis personae and setting of the two sets of God N-women scenes suggest different epics. The difference is further underscored by the distinctive color style of funerary pottery on which each myth cycle is pictured.

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Thus God N's lust for female flesh seems to occupy three separate epics: 1st) God K versus God N for the favors of the Dragon Lady followed by the death of God N (by exhaustion in the sex act?). 2nd), God N and God D where the woman is also fondled by a monkey and other bizarre characters. This also ends in (or at least is somehow related to) the death of God N, but by clubbing from a bound hank of hair attendant of God D (probably Hunahpu). 3rd), the Lily Pad Headdress ceremony of November 1. So far this is the only vase that shows that third grouping. All the actors in the scene are recognizable from other pots, but on all the other pots they seem to have no relation to each other as here and nowhere else do they wear what seems to be the badge of this get together, the Lily Pad Headdress.

It is worth pointing out in connection with God N and God K lusting after the same woman that both N and K may reside inside the same turtle shell. There is a definite God K sticking out of the turtle shell at Piedras Negras, on the rock outcrop. The face sticking out of the left is eroded but it could be a God N.

Women undressing God N in Enema Scenes

God N again interacts with women, but not in so much a sexual sense, on the enema scenes. There are certainly sexual connotations to the injection of a long tube into the anus, but there is no sexual foreplay of the men to their female assistants. In this ritual it is the women who undress and massage the men. It may well have been that the final sex act was not

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permitted in this particular ritual though the women certainly undress and massage the men. Non-western societies, and especially in religious contexts, may not necessarily have associated massage parlors with sex-- or needed such a pretext for intercourse.

Fragments of Lost Epochs

We have another tantalizing glimpse at a fragment of a lost and evidently complicated epic on **471242-14**, where a healthy, not particularly aged God N has a fully dressed woman holding onto his shell as though taking it off. In the same scene a mosquito stings an armadillo in the neck, evidently killing him; nearby an artist with paint shell and brush paints a bat. The artist himself has a monster's face. And on the same scene an aged woman has a rodent or short eared rabbit in front of her. God N, being a water denizen, might not at first be expected to be together with so many land animals, but a fabulous Tepeu 1 bowl (Hellmuth 1978:170; Robicsek 1978:pl. 139-140; R+H 1982a: fig. 32) shows a zoo full of animals with God N. The presence also of God D might at first link this to the God N-God D series of cream-red vases, but so far the God N-God D epic is restricted to the latter regional portrayal with only occasional parallel representations elsewhere, as on Tikal, Burial 116 Tepeu 2 vase and possibly on a Uaxactun plate fragment, just as other God N episodes are favored by northern Peten Codex Style painters and were simply not the fashion at Tikal.

A final association of God N and women is on a remarkable fragment. Only one third of

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this beautiful polychrome vase remains — the rest of it is probably still buried in the collapse of whatever looted tomb this piece came from, a reminder of the loss from unscientific sacking of ancient burials. The remaining vase ushers us deep into the unknown in Maya mythology. The God N (described shortly) is hardly an unknown, but on the second panel is the female counterpart to the Maya death image, God A. This women is not skeletalized, but her age is poignantly expressed by breasts in vertical sag, a slouching posture, and multiple fold lines on the stomach. Whereas young women are now commonly known from Classic Maya vase paintings, there are not many other polychrome paintings of this elderly female character in all of Maya art (Hellmuth 1976: Rollout Fig. 30).³ The crossed-bones pattern on the dark skirt patch is identical on the two vases. Such crossed bones are of course best known for Chama bats. Not as well known but equally often crossed-bones are present on the pseudo-wings of participants in the Dance after Decapitation (Hellmuth 1978:213) and in the black "cloud" overhangings or headdress streamers of dancing skeletons of the same ceremony (F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive).

The aged woman's face is of the God D-God L family. She gestures towards a costumed deer. The deer looks up at an individual who holds an eccentric knife. The rest of this panel is missing. At the back of the second panel is a standing God N. He is fully human with the shell more as a prop than a life support system. He wears a kind of napkin-like headdress with an

³ Recently, many years after this catalog was written, a square vase appeared on the art market (not in the F.L.A.A.R. archive) which also has older women. Karl Taube has written an excellent description of the iconography of this square vase.

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inset zone of net weave. The front of his face is blackened. A dotted circle is in front of his open mouth, followed by a sprouting form. Possibly a speech scroll is intended, though speech scrolls are not elsewhere known for God N.

The seashell has round, cross-hachure marked spots in a regular pattern, an infixed area with sprockets (with an infixed crossed-bands), and an outer profile of beaded sprockets. The bottom of the shell has a fin-like appearance.

The God N has one arm crossed against the shell, almost as though he is holding it, though that is not necessary since he is wearing it. The hand is in a gesture, not actually upholding the shell. The forward hand uses the fingers to speak. His associate also gestures with his arms and fingers, and holds an upside-down Akbal vase while he does this. Although this entire personage is gone (the rest of the vase is missing) Akbal vases are common accessories in a number of Maya rituals (Margaret Young, unpublished Yale University seminar paper). Although this and the God N are certainly not unusual in Maya art, this particular myth segment or ceremony is totally unknown in the extant corpus of Maya vase paintings published by Coe and by Robicsek and is not yet relatable to the deer iconography as noted by Moholy Nagy (1981) or Pohl (1981).

God N and the Mosquito

A carved vase published by Coe (1973: Grolier No.64), the Uaxactun naked lady plate fragment (RS 1955, II: fig. 2, g), and an unpublished polychrome vase all have an

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anthropomorphic mosquito in the same scene as God N.

Props and Accessories in association with God N

On the spindly representation of God N on the remarkable Tepeu 1 vase (Robicsek 1978:pl. 138; R+H 1982a: fig. 32) is a miniature "pyramid." Unless it is God N's feces, it is rather hard to figure out what this pile is doing there. I have long pondered what this strange form was, and in the process of cataloging all the extant God N's I noticed a similar pyramid shape with a central "stairway" as a border design on a plate, **493421-5**. The sole central decoration of the center of the plate is God N. This identical pyramid with central "steps" (the appearance may be entirely coincidental and this term should be considered a nonsense name) also is featured in the headdress of the God N on the El Placeres stucco facade sculpture in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City. I comment on this so that archaeologists, monographers, or epigraphers who may be familiar with additional examples can provide references to these oversights.

The women who attend to God N in the parading scenes leading up to a Cauac-cornered god hut wear specially decorated clothing. Usually their special insignia is an approximately circular cartouche with bumpy outline, something in the idea of a stylized Maya water lily pad. On one vase, **486667-2**, the huipil decoration has bone adornos, as does the necklace of the conch shell God N in front of her. Both of these forms may be related to those that are sometimes on the inside or outside rim on Codex Style vases to indicate a cosmological layer

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related to the Surface of the Underwaterworld.

God N and the Conch Snake

At least six plates and one vase show a snake-like creature coming out of the same type of conch shell in which God N usually lives. A God D Red style vase shows a snake monster coming out of the shell being speared by Spotted Attendant (probably Hunahpu), a frequent associate of God D. One of the vases where the Maize God is issuing from a turtle carapace has a snake wiggling out the right end. In that one case I attribute the snake possibly to the leg of God K, since God K has one leg which turns into a snake and also God K can routinely inhabit conch and turtle shells just as well as can God N. Although conch and turtle shells are not God K's usual habitat at all, enough extant instances remain to show that this home was acceptable on occasion. On all the plates though, there is no God K association. These particular creatures serving here as housing are not snails, because snails have antennae with bumps at the end. The only other probability is the actual conch creature, but that is not snake-bodied and has a peculiar muscle or protrusion for walking that is shaped just like a perforator, so this would have been appended to any animal intended to be a naturalistic rendition of the actual conch. But the Peten Maya never saw an actual conch creature, because the animal had to be removed from the shell at the far away Caribbean coast. This meat would have rotted within a day of removal from saltwater. Perhaps the Maya of the Peten and Belize interior thought that the conch creature was snake-like? In any event these snake-conch are

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contemporaneous with the God N conch.

The most interesting snake-conch is one on a Peten enema scene bowl of Tepeu 1 date (486667-10). Here a youth sits just in front of the shell. He is probably an inhabitant or wearer of this shell. But over his head, and slightly connected to inside the conch, arches the body of a snake-like form. We should remind ourselves that God N can also reside inside a snake (as on the Codex Style series of vases). So the first step is to find the associations: snake-God N-conch. Our next step is to figure out why.

God N and Chac

Taube is the person who has worked this association out; I have done the others, so I leave this one cited entirely to him (1992:97).

Summary

Possibly because God N appears to be anywhere and everywhere it is not easy to write out his episodes in as clearcut a manner as is possible with the Maize God or even God L. The following list is surely to be expanded upon.

A. Seated on floor in front of an enthroned God D. This is a standard scene, especially on vases of "God D Red" color. Often a plump woman is being sexually molested behind the God N.

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B. Executed, (on Peten pottery evidently upon the orders of God D). One of the assistants of God D kills God N in view of the enthroned God D. God N is being pulled out of his shell to execute him also when no God D is present. This alternative context is known from three related Chama style containers (Coe 1973: Grolier 16; Coe 1978: Princeton No. 10 and Kislak Museum).

C. God N is often upholding something, as a Batab at Copan (several times), on the Site Q-El Peru altar, and often at Chichen Itza.

D. God N is sometimes contesting with God K for the sexual favors of a fat lady. This scenario is popular on Codex Style vases. During this episode God N is held in the open jaws of a loathsome reptile monster.

E. Sticking out of the top of such splitting carapace rises the Maize God.

F. Being undressed by women in the enema ritual. Whereas God D often has enema jugs alongside his throne, it is God N who is usually shown (in other vases with no God D) as actually receiving the syringe. When God N gets the clyster, it is a GI relative (Chac Xib Chac) who officiates from a Cauac Monster throne.

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Nomenclature of Shells and Shell Parts

It would be helpful if the various species of shells, and their constituent parts, could be identified by malacologists so that iconographers would know the correct terms to utilize. Although most of God N's housing is termed a "conch shell" in fact he may also reside in a snail shell, which is a land creature, not from the ocean. Same with turtles, some are marine, some are from fresh water, and tortoises stay on the land, as do hermit crabs. It is typical for the Maya to mix flora and fauna from the ocean with those from rivers and lakes, especially since most Maya never had the opportunity to see an ocean.

Additional Considerations on God N

The lists in this section are only a beginning. Every new discovery in the field will allow the traits to be finetuned, indeed to receive needed additions, and the inevitable corrections. The observations here, and in the conclusion ("Advances in Understanding God N") may be compared and contrasted with the considerable iconographic achievements of Karl Taube, who also has worked on Maya deities in general and God N in particular (1992). It is interesting to see the different corpus he used (more Yucatan and Post Classic rather than Peten and Early Classic which I feature), the different perspective (ethnography and ethnohistory), and the corresponding results (based on the principle of ethnographic analogy). The F.L.A.A.R. archive is simply so comprehensive that God N imagery pops up all over the place: God N and the mosquito-stinging-the-armadillo, for example. The entire God D Red series comes from

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the F.L.A.A.R. archive, so it can be understood why this myth cycle was not pictured or listed elsewhere, though the key vase was in Robicsek and the slides of at least some of this should be in the Hellmuth section of the Dumbarton Oaks library (where Taube did his final edition). This fascinating set of God D Red vases in turn led me to the Uaxactun sherd. I work mainly from Peten scenes since there is so much unprocessed information from this material that it makes sense to develop techniques to mine this source as thoroughly as possible.

The work of this present F.L.A.A.R. report was initiated in the 1980's, a decade before Taube's manuscript was finished. I have sought to keep the descriptions in this F.L.A.A.R. archive registry independent so that readers can note the recognition of certain traits which came specifically from having the availability of the Photo Archive. Other traits were not noticed or emphasized by myself or Taube depending upon our varied research interests and differing backgrounds. Taube does well with ethnohistory, epigraphy where it is available to his subject, Post Classic imagery, and ethnography.

I have chosen to move into different areas besides ethnographic interpretation even though my training is equally in anthropology, indeed I have worked directly in ethnohistory, in the Archivo General de Indias and also the Archivo General de Centro America. Probably because the other portion of my background is in field archaeology, I have a personal preference to work directly from the pottery. I like to dedicate myself to the 4th to 14th

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centuries, and predominantly within the 4th to 9th centuries. All Mesoamericanists already have the standard ethnographies, Landa's Relation..., and the basic Mayan-Spanish dictionaries. But I have the immense photo reference archive, so it makes more sense to delve deeper into this, because no one has ever extracted the wealth of data from these countless images. In distinction to employing ethnographic analogy, I work on small details, nuances which are physically present. I rely heavily on the dual concept of context and content. Context is not only God N, but rather who is near God N. Content is what is God N wearing and what are the associates wearing, carrying, and doing. I also differ from many iconographers in devoting my attention heavily to style, not only what details are present, but what is the ceramic style and period. This is crucial because certain styles, the production of certain times and places, tend to dwell on specific aspects. Thus by amassing a corpus of the styles it is easier to get raw data on specific myth episodes. Of course this choice of specialization is only possible when the corpus is large enough to reveal the styles, the larger myth cycles, and the various individual episodes.

The final labor will be to merge his achievements combined with the details directly from the ceramics into an enhanced perspective of God N, a truly intriguing monographic puzzle.

EARLY CLASSIC REPRESENTATIONS OF GOD N- MOSTLY PETEN STYLE

God N during the Early Classic

No archaeological project has yet produced any known rendering of an Early Classic God A, no Early Classic Dance after Decapitation Sacrifice, and only a single, lonely God L, no Tzakol Holmul Dancer and only one Maize God (Hellmuth 1985:104). Therefore it is fortunate to have several God N's from the Tzakol period. He occurs as a face hieroglyph in the newly developing Primary Standard Sequence and as a three-dimensional character in his turtle shell as lid handle for cylindrical tripods. So far only one archaeological find provides an early painted or incised rendering of him in full form (with turtle or conch) on pottery; this is a vessel excavated by Arlen and Diane Chase at Santa Rita, Belize. This God N is alone, without associates, possibly because Tzakol pottery is rarely narrative. To find a God N in an Early Classic narrative scene would be a major iconographical discovery — actually, other than the Belgian Tripod (Hellmuth 1978b:140; 1985:71; Crocker-Deletaille 1985: no. 328, p. 219) and the Tikal PD50 cylindrical tripod (W. Coe 1965:36-37; Coggins 1975, II: fig. 57, b; which shows a historical scene, not a mythological pantheon) there are only a few other published

Tzakol (Early Classic) God N

multi-person figural interaction scenes on pottery available for the entire Maya lowlands for this early period. The typical Maya cylindrical tripod shows only faces, or repeated non-interacting personages. Multi-figure interaction scenes are equally rare on any other form of Tzakol pottery. Only five or six basal flange bowls (out of a corpus of about 300) show multi-person scenes on the exterior sidewall. Thus the one Tzakol jar which pictures a complex Cauac Monster scene with monkeys, a canine-looking deer, and several birds is almost unique for the Early Classic (concurrent symposium Workbook!).

The following list includes God N as a face (in two dimensions) and as a sculptural entity (when in three dimensions, usually complete with shell housing).

Corpus of God N in the Early Classic

EL PLACERES, Campeche, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, 068946. This monumental facade, which includes two frontal portraits of God N, was looted from the Calakmul region, but not from Calakmul itself, as the recent mapping project of William Folan has found no building where this could have come from. Although the museum exhibit labels the facade as from Kohunlich, and most publications call it either Kohunlich or Calakmul, in fact the facade actually came from the little-known site of El Placeres.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington maps show El Placeres only as a camp; Ruppert and Denison did not find the ruins there because the site has no stelae and no standing architecture — just mounds. The looted facade was evidently covered over by an eroded

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secondary structure. Looters most have stumbled on the polychrome masks while digging for tombs. The story of this looting escapade has been related in *The Plundered Past* by Karl Mayer (no relation to Karl Herbert Mayer of Graz). Juan de la Cruz Bricenos, INAH guardian for the region, found evidence that the facade came from Placeres. Ian Graham, who has interviewed the excavator of the facade, Lee Moore, has investigated the specific provenance of the looted facade as well and gave me the clues which allowed me to find the site. Today the site is reached by a new highway.

Recently I was told by several epigraphers that they have been told that several of the Site Q panels came from El Placeres. I find this highly unlikely mainly because El Placeres is such a small site. I saw no large pyramid-temples whatsoever and was surprised that a stucco facade came from such a secondary site. A site this small would not normally produce stone sculpture, especially not of such impressive quality. It is worth noting that no archaeological report has ever been published on El Placeres, no map exists in print, and the labels for this stucco facade still probably carry the erroneous attribution to Kohunlich or Calakmul.

This looted building stucco decoration appears to have been an upper zone facade, the part of the building above door level just under the roof line. This means that the giant face is not a stair-side mask from a pyramid terrace as are all the others from Cerros, El Mirador, Tikal, Caracol, Santa Rita, Lamanai, Uaxactun, and Kohunlich. Also, the Placeres facade is fully Early Classic and thus closest in date to that at Kohunlich— which is absolutely not Preclassic and probably not even Proto-Classic as claimed in some academic literature. Only the Belize,

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El Mirador, and recently discovered Uaxactun masks are that early. Kohunlich's masks are closest in style and content to Peten cache vessels which are Tzakol 2 and 3 in date; these cache vessels are not Holmul I or Chicanel and not even as early as Tzakol 1. Lee Moore, the excavator of Placeres, indicated that a burial within this building included a cylindrical tripod, but it is not known how many building phases were present or whether this tripod was associated with the specific phase of the stucco facade. I have never seen this tripod so I cannot comment further on its date.

The Placeres facade was on its way to the "Sculpture Before Cortes" exhibit in New York when the Mexican government finally learned of this and demanded that it be returned. The story of the discovery and excavation of this facade is almost better known and documented than many institutional digs. It was done professionally, with the best New York consultants for handling of stucco and the latest technology, although there was obviously damage in removal and transportation. It ought to be an embarrassment to archaeologists that looters should be able to find such important architectural remains and systematically launch an expedition complete with team of specialists in conservation, remove virtually an entire temple (which involved building an airstrip to cart off the loot) and almost two decades later institutional archaeologists still did not know even where this site was.

The team stated that the other side of the building had the same decoration although in lesser preservation, and that this other side should still be at the ruins. But, since the exposed facade was not consolidated or roofed over, it eroded away and subsequently collapsed. Only a

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few colored stucco fragments remain in situ (the site is right alongside a wide new highway). All three principal individuals⁴ have openly provided information to anyone who asks. I believe it is important to salvage what data are possible from this regrettable episode, as the digging took place almost two decades ago. The principals in the excavation of this facade are widely known, many of the basic facts have been published and even more widely discussed in personal communications, but no technical report has ever been issued, a loss equal to that of the original sacrilege. Everyone in the nearby village remembers the entire episode quite well, and most of them were probably workers for the looters.

The Placeres central face of an idealized Maya lord is a giant version of a contemporary orange, frontal cache vessel and is discussed in that Princeton lecture handout.

Here I will review only the probable God N on the Placeres facade. My recognition of him as God N comes from his spindly arms and aged face. Also, the cogwheel forms under one upraised arm may be a stylized section of a shell. These flanking faces have not previously been discussed in the literature because the central face has usually attracted all the attention. The details are in good condition but obviously restored after their perilous journey of being smuggled out of Mexico. Parts of the offering in the upraised hand of one of the two gods is

⁴ The organizer (a well-known art dealer), the excavator (Lee Moore, at that time an art dealer and restorer, the founder of the "Miami School of Vase Repainting," and a well-known and capable conservationist from New York whose job it was to protect the stucco during the whole process. Although I got all the information several years after I found out about the looting from Mayer's book, all the principals had vivid memories of the whole expedition. Many of the local people in the nearby settlements still remember as well, since most of them worked for the looters at that time.

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missing. The decoration under the chin is an enlarged beard. The ex-Leff Collection Belize God N is bearded, and the standard Tzakol beard elsewhere has three sets of beads.

The face immediately reminded me of the pinched, aged face peering out of the black ceramic seashell model in the Pearlman Collection (Coe 1982: No.33). The final bit of evidence documenting the stucco torso as God N is the pyramidal headdress. This is precisely the "pyramid with front steps" glyph that is under the God N on the remarkable Tepeu 1 vase (Robicsek 1978: pls.137- 140; R+H 1982a: p.130, fig. 32).

His eyes are of a normal Maya human. The large pectoral is a generic mat symbol, nothing which can be tagged as specific to God N. This God N is fanged, a condition seldom noticed. I would not expect God D to be fanged. Since God L wears feline ears and feline pelt clothing his face should be checked for occasional fangs.

Condition of the facade is heavily restored; the stucco was probably removed with saws and then rejoined in Mexico City when confiscated.

SANTA RITA, Belize (formerly on loan exhibit Lockhaven Art Center, Orlando, Florida) (A. Chase and D. Chase). Beautifully carved "alabaster" bowl with God N in his shell. Good condition. No evident restoration. Even the cinnabar is probably original. Style is clearly Early Classic; what is new here is the double outline of part of the body, a trait not noticed elsewhere. Otherwise this representation is indistinguishable from what would be expected for the Early Classic in Peten. The bowl has two bands of beautifully detailed hieroglyphs.

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God N is immediately identifiable by the shell housing, here highly stylized. The deity sits cross-legged with one hand on his lap, the other hand gestures.

The necklace is of closely spaced large beads; the pectoral is hidden behind his hand. The earring is large, with only a single pendant rather than also a top decoration.

The face is appropriately aged with a protruding chin and prominent nose. The eye is human. A raised mouth curl dominates the side of the face.

The headdress is not typical of God N but is not so unusual as to suggest that this character is anyone other than God N. At the forehead an almost bone-like form sticks out, then comes a turban-like affair.

(Robicsek 1978:pl. 196, fig.181; Coe 1982: Pearlman No. 33; Hellmuth 1985:71, 134, 149, 169), **453895-1**, Pearlman Collection, now in Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia. Blackware bowl in the shape of a seashell. This vessel should be compared with other ceramic seashells one with God N (Museo Nacional de Antropologia, Mexico City), one without God N (Museo Carlos Pellicer, CICOM, Villahermosa). The entire Pearlman pot is a shell. A three-dimensional bust of God N sticks out of one end of this shell.

Coe labels the shell a snail. With no bumps and no side view to see if there is a spiral it is ambiguous as to whether it is snail or conch, although 90% of the shells on polychrome ceramics of the Late Classic appear to be conch, not snail. A malacologist needs to review all the God N shells and issue a guide to identification for the lay person.

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The coils of this particular shell depiction are conceptualized by the Maya as coils of a snake, as at the end of the coils is a fanged mouth. Actually the dentition is not of a snake, as a venomous snake has only two poison fangs, of which only one would be visible in profile view. This creature has gills or a fin as on a fish. Its headdress includes a net weave. To my knowledge no comparable creature has yet been found in Maya art, and no other God N shell that I know has such a creature at the "other end". Perhaps this "snake" is related to the "snakes" that issue from conch shells instead of God N on several plates, and on a God N-God D scene where the Spotted Attendant is spearing a conch shell, out of which issues a serpent with monstrous head. We still have many surprises even with such an easy character as God N. We know that God K and other creatures including a snake can live in the same turtle carapace or shell as God N. We need to establish how the Maya portrayed the actual snail or conch creature (perhaps as on some Shell Wing Dragon's, Coe has suggested that the creature on a Cambridge University Museum painting from Belize (Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 356) may be the spondylus creature itself). The best representations of how Mesoamerican cultures conceived of shell creatures is on the base panels of the murals of Cacaxtla where the shellfish are turned into dog-like creatures.

The headdress of this God N is atypical, or perhaps it is because being three-dimensional it is hard to compare with the usual two-dimensional rendition. This headdress does not show up well in photographs and needs several views rendered in a line drawing to record all the data that is exhibited. We need all the details possible.

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The Photo Archive record is of the vessel in original condition. Pressure cracks split the fissures when the vase was hot from (someone else's) photography in the sun. It was repaired, and, being incised, was obviously not repainted. Its condition both before and after this accident can only be stated as exceptional. It would be of extreme interest to test the clay of this vessel and figure out from what site it came, somewhere between southern Campeche and Lake Peten Itza. The dating of this Tzakol work of art and its relationship to contemporary cylindrical tripods is provided in more detail in the F.L.A.A.R. catalog of cylindrical tripods (Hellmuth 1985a:71, 134, 149, 169).

Ht 13, total length 24.5 cm.

(Linduff 1974:137; Wray Collection 1984: No. 41; Hellmuth 1987d: figs. 706-712), **35mm slides** only, stone, Early Classic, Wray catalog states the two stone sculptures are from British Honduras, ex-Leff Collection. Normally material from Belize is not included in my catalog since I have never systematically photographed private collections there but these are pertinent examples and have been illustrated in the Maya literature for almost three decades. The two stones are clearly from the same atelier and most likely from the same noble tomb. I consider these two sculptures among the most interesting Early Classic masterpieces of Belize, and among the few Tzakol pieces from Belize in my corpus — the Altun Ha "Sun God" head being the other major Belize art work of the Early Classic (actually a variant Principal Bird Deity, Hellmuth PhD dissertation; 1987d). Although this matched set of sculptures have been

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published now four times and frequently exhibited, they have never been adequately reproduced nor properly identified because the standard catalog photographs show only one view of each. For example, the appearance of the back side of the non-God N sculpture was totally unknown before being shown in *Monsters and Men in Maya Art*. Their iconography had been incorrectly interpreted before the pair entered the Wray Collection.

Of the two stones, one is obviously God N but the other defies identification at present. The other character is clearly God N, based on shell housing and net weave headdress. The shell has no bumps but does have a spiral at the end. Either a marine shell or a land snail (Cendrero 1971) could be intended, as both exist in this form; there are many seashells which do not have bumps. Belize, however, is near the sea, and most other God N shell housings have the type of bumps more expected of a marine conch than a land or fresh water snail.

The God N is bearded, showing that this trait goes back to the Early Classic. The beard is even across its whole width and does not have the triple set of double applique beads as do other Tzakol beards such as the Placeres stucco God N or others. His enigmatic mate on the other stone is also identically bearded.

God N is seen solely as a head, fully out of the shell; his arms are only slightly hinted at. His partner has back legs shown since his body is not inside a shell.

Both sculptures have beautifully incised hieroglyphs. On top of the God N is a composite of an "ah" prefix (turtle prefix, as on the Initial Sign of the Primary Standard Sequence) with a Kan Cross as main sign (the typical sign for the top of a Maya turtle shell). Directly below is an Imix.

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The second stone (Hellmuth 1987d: figs. 710-712) could be construed to be encased in a shell as well, since the hieroglyph on the top has a sprocket design around it and the overall shape of the stone is the same as the God N shell housing. But the whole body of the deity is visible, as though the shell were only a roof.

The enigmatic god has rear humanoid legs and a set of arms, even the fingers of one hand are shown. Extra then, is a fin, flipper, or leg-like form on the left side of the creature. Although so far humanoid, in fact the god has a thick spotted tail. A fish seems to nibble at the end or underside of this tail. In several water-snake scenes on Maya vases a fish nibbles at the tail (Hellmuth 1987d: figs. 321 and 322). Whether that means this Belize sculptural "tail" is the end of a snake is not known. A snake is certainly known to be an occasional inhabitant of Maya mythical shells, indeed may coinhabit with God N or may be a different guise of God N. It is always possible that this second Belize sculpture simply shows God N in a different guise and that originally there were four of them, of which only two have yet been found. Four God N's together are known from the Chichen Itza facade. Most of these are published by Seler and then reprinted by Tozzer.

Both stones seem to be in original condition with no restoration. Ht 5 1/4 in.

(Crocker-Deletaille 1985: No. 340, right top; Hellmuth Ph.D. dissertation; 1987d: fig. 491), 420456-4-Negs.7 to 11. Peten, Tzakol 2 or 3, private collection. All three of these vessels are

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considered to be from the same grave lot at an unknown site in Peten, most likely in northern Peten, the area of the best artistic pottery production in those centuries. There is also a black basal flange bowl that goes with the lid in the center foreground of the photograph. What else was in this grave is not known, but none of the other objects pictured in the 1985 publication.

Of the black grave lot, the lid handle of the top right vessel may possibly be a God N, identified as such by his slouching posture and thin arms. A God L or God D would also be possible, as all three have aged, slouching bodies, and it is often only the headdress that can allow a satisfactory identification. In this case the character is bald, and thus has to be identified from his associations, in this instance with the Principal Bird Deity. God N has no particular (yet) known association with this serpent winged deity, but God D does (Hellmuth 1987d), and frequently. But without a headdress, it is still difficult to be sure whether it is God N or God D. The context is not one which would be expected for God L.

The large pectoral for the necklace may someday help in documenting an identification for this deity, and if so I would estimate it would turn out to be a pectoral worn more often by God N than by God L or God D. Still, the context of an aged deity associated with a Principal Bird Deity is more of what would be expected from a God D.

Original condition, no restoration needed.

(Crocker-Deletaille 1985: No. 358). Stated to be Early Classic in the publication. If they have information that this is a Rio Azul jade, then that dating is possible. Otherwise it is

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difficult to style date a piece which has no decoration. Since there are no features that read immediately as Early Classic I would date it as generic Late Classic, yet it should at least be cross-referenced in this Tzakol section based on the dating estimated in the publication. The piece's beauty lies precisely in the simplicity of the carving: a plain conch shell and a simple God N face. The profile of the face looks more Late Classic, but without provenance and grave lot facts the dating is imprecise for this "style-less" work of art. Fine condition, no restoration.

Crocker-Deletaille 1985: No. 395), now in the Dallas Museum of Art. The bird with God D's headdress is pictured in Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 509, though it was difficult to make an accurate drawing because no close-up photographs were available. Although this beautiful incised bone fragment is in the Late Classic section of *Rediscovered Masterpieces* and dated 600 to 900 A.D., the iconography is Early Classic, especially the form and features of the Principal Bird Deity (piece appears reversed in printing error). A further tell-tale Early Classic diagnostic is the double tear-shaped bead on the enthroned lord. The little beads which decorate some of the jewels are also an Early Classic trait. Of course the piece could be archaic, as most of the stela scenes at Caracol, Belize—fashioned in the Late Classic but in a deliberately archaic style, namely Early Classic. The feathers of the headdress are more like those expected for the Late Classic. Red powder has been added to emphasize details but otherwise the scene appears to be in original condition.

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The individual of interest for this catalog is the standing person upholding an elaborate headdress. He has the aged face that could be of a God D, L, or N. His feline pants and shawl are typical items of attire for God L (as on Grolier 49 and Hellmuth 1978:54) but the bird-nest headdress is certainly not present. This entry is in the God N catalog because this aged god is holding up his arms in a pose comparable to that of the definite Late Classic God N's on the Site Q altar top and in so many Chichen Itza sculptures of the Post Classic. There is no shell, no net weave, and this shawl is not worn by any known God N, but with no Early Classic portraits of anyone from Early Classic Palenque area, we do not know who would wear what in that temporal-regional style. In the meantime, this character should be considered as in the ambivalent group of aged god faces such as on the left throne of a Peten style Zurich museum vase and in the group of musicians of the Indiana University Art Museum vase. This character remains in the same limbo as the crouching old god of Palenque, the partner there of God L.

The earring assemblage on the upheld headdress is also found on early Tikal stelae, on orange Peten cache vessels and slightly later Caracol stelae. This earring assemblage goes back to Preclassic prototypes at Kaminaljuyu.

The idealized young lord sits on a throne that is an early model for the later standardized Piedras Negras and Quirigua accession scenes. This special setting includes a sky band frame on top of which perches a Principal Bird Deity (this is similar to a Holmul Dancer backrack, although they do share the Zip Monster snake of the Principal Bird Deity). The throne seat pictured on this bone is decorated with bound mythical animals, as on the later Piedras Negras

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examples. The enthroned lord holds out the fixtures of a Quadripartite Badge headdress—a sea shell and the crossed-bands parts. A larger reproduction of the photograph would show off this object in its full importance.

(Crocker-Deletaille 1984: No. 348; Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 358a-d) **043998**, Rolls 1, 3 and 4, Peten, stuccoed and painted cylindrical tripod, Tzakol 3, private collection. No restoration whatsoever prior to original photography. Vessel has most likely been stabilized with a chemical since that time; this chemical adheres the stucco firmly to the vessel (a necessary to keep the stucco from flaking off) but the usual result is a slight darkening or staining of the whole scene as well as an increased reflection from the surface).

Four repeated busts consist of the face of the God N family that doubles as the body of a composite bird. The feet of the bird stick out the bottom. The "bird" itself is in this case a piscine creature, thus Scheie's name "Shell Wing Dragon" is indeed appropriate since it is not always a bird. The fact that so many creatures may occupy the dominant position leads me to suspect such a composite is a state of transformation rather than a single individual deity.

The aged face could also be God L, or less likely, God D, but God N is generally considered to be the character pictured on the Late Classic polychrome vases such as that of Hellmuth 1987d: fig.351-353 (**A-359a**) or another of this series, **413925-10**, so by analogy a God N is a liklihood here as well.

The stubby snake-like creature on top has two flowers as "tubular nose decorations."

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The spiral base of this snout flower is related to the larger isolated spirals on the Belgian Tripod (Hellmuth 1978b; 1988) and to a flower on a Kaminaljuyu vessel (KJS 1946: fig. 204b). This is not a sphincter muscle. A slide by restorer Lee Moore demonstrates this spiral hieroglyph on the Grolier 11 is a forgery, created by Lee Moore (90 percent of the rest of the scene is authentic, albeit overpainted).

The dorsal fin mimics a Maya stylized view of a water lily. The fish has no lower jaw; curiously the ventral scales continue uninterrupted across the mouth, as the upper lip. The wings are giant hieroglyphs related to the Tikal, Burial 48 mural hieroglyphs. A third related text is on a polychrome Tzakol 3 cache bowl/lid (Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 39), unfortunately not visible in that miniature illustration.

(Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 634D), **418677-15-Neg.1**, "Bowl of the Nine God Hieroglyphs" Tzakol 2 or 3 brown-black bowl, Peten, Germany. Nine separate panels each display elaborate hieroglyphs in the form of various monsters and deity faces. Not all can readily be identified with any of the common gods other than GI, a Sun God, and an aged face of the God N family. This visage has hieroglyphic earring, bone nose bead, aged, wrinkled face, and unexpected "headdress" of crossed-bands eye monster, complete with sprocket decorated nose (double yoke in this instance (?)). Additional infixes are on top of the monster. Since the probable God N here appears as a hieroglyph, unusual associations are to be expected, since the message must be rendered by accessories in the guise of costume decoration. Double listed

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with God N hieroglyphs. Original condition, no repair.

(Hellmuth photo in Stuart and Stuart 1977:46; M. Coe 1982: Pearlman No. 63; Crocker-Deletaille 1984: No. 327), A-376, D.O.-329, D.O.-M. Peten, Tzakol 1 or 2; I doubt this is as late as Tzakol 3 but would not rule such a date out, as Tzakol pieces can often themselves be archaic. A more secure date can be established when it becomes possible to style-date hieroglyphs.

This incised conch shell has a deity face worked into one end. While the deity has facial markings not expected for God N, the context of a shell predicts a God N. Coe suggests the image is an as yet otherwise unknown god: "The entire piece, when inverted so that the spire is at the bottom, is seen to form the head and headdress of a god; it was suspended in this position, perhaps in a temple, by a hole drilled through the end of the columella. Additional incising has transformed the spire into a deity's face, which can also be seen as the glyph at A1. One eye would be a finger hole, while the other has a crosshatched pupil. Both eyes are surrounded by circles, in the style of Teotihuacan. This aged but unknown deity's headdress would thus consist of the rest of the shell." (1982:120).

The conch glyph A1 is a youthful (not elderly) face with cross-hachure near the mouth and near the eye—but not through the eye Xipe fashion (a Teotihuacan trait, though I see no Teotihuacan inspiration in this early Maya scene whatsoever, not even with the ringed eyes, as they are not in a Tlaloc-like manner or setting).

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Personified numeral eleven has cross-hachure next to his eye, although in a Caban shape, with squiggle at the lower end. A beautiful example at Copan is in an unpublished drawing of Berthold Riese—it even has a spondylus shell as earring. I tentatively associate the conch A1 glyph with the Copan glyph and/or the face form for eleven, and leave the bearded conch-end face as even more enigmatic. Possible another deity is intended as admittedly no known God N has cross-hachure through his eye but he does have black areas on his face on Codex Style paintings (see Traits of God N, and see section on Codex Style God Ns). Cross-hachure is the Maya artists' symbol for the color black. Nonetheless, the black line through the eye of the conch-end face puts this visage in a class by itself, not yet found for any God N — but equally distinct from the personified Numeral Eleven. Scheie's unpublished set of figures for deity portraits and their associated glyphs pictures a character with black across his forehead but that is different than the black on the cheek and next to the eye, but not across it.

Something about this face at the top of the Pearlman shell reminds me of an unpublished giant face carved onto a cliff face on the side of a cenote at the Campeche Puuc site of Miramar. The Pearlman face needs to be drawn since none of the published photographs pictures it well enough to make out much detail. It could well be an unidentified deity.

The conch shell is in excellent original condition with no restoration whatsoever. This is most elaborately carved conch shell ever located and ranks as one of the great artistic achievements of Tzakol Peten Maya artists. Since this shell has been known long before Rio Azul was looted its most likely origin is the central Peten, either El Zotz itself or a diameter of

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60 km north, east, or west. No sites south of here are known to be rich enough to have produced art of this quality.

(Joralemon 1980: No. 42; Hellmuth 1987d: figs. 569-574, 625), **(411174-6-Neg.3)**, probably Peten or adjacent lowlands, ex-O'Boyle Collection. The outside bottom shows the quatrefoil frame symbolizing the entrance to the underworld. The bowl's low circumference pictures a Principal Bird Deity holding his characteristic snake in his mouth; an unidentified monster, an idealized Maya face wearing the Lily Pad Headdress, and an aged face with a beard. This face may possibly be of God N, as the context does not call for a God L or God D. I hesitate to identify a face as a God N when it has a headdress other than a net weave one, as does this visage, so the aged face remains unidentified for the moment. The puckered chin and beard are comparable to that of God N elsewhere.

On this bowl these several faces are separated one from another by the curl-jointed legs of an unknown monster. It is also not clear which head belongs to the legs, though probably the horizontally arranged fat-snouted face (the other faces are all looking upward, vertically with respect to the vessel bottom). Although only a small bowl the ancient Maya artist packed a remarkable amount of mythology onto the surface. The bowl is perfectly preserved and shows no signs of restoration.

(Townsend 1983: No. 57) **(Photo Archive)**, Proto-Classic or Early Classic, similar

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style and related content were found by Adams crew at Rio Azul so that is the most logical likelihood for these, but for these unprovenanced pieces their origin within the Maya area is unknown, as early iconography could come from Chiapa de Corzo (highland Chiapas), Kaminaljuyu, or Belize, as well as of course early sites in Peten, though the three latter locations have produced earlier portable artifacts. The piece was exhibited as from a Chicago area collection. The exhibit catalog label of Late Classic may be a typographical error, as the piece is very early. It was, though, correctly labeled as Maya, as none of these are Izapan in style or origin.

The incising shows a swimming person facing left. A second head is at the right. That second head is either of a turtle or bird (turtles and parrots are rendered almost identically in Maya hieroglyphs) although if a bird, the "snake" in its mouth would suggest a Principal Bird Deity (Hellmuth Ph.D. dissertation). The other possibility is that the snake is the leg of a hidden God K, an association known from three Late Classic scenes with God N turtles (described in the God N-Principal Young Lord section). The other possibility is that it is the "conch snake," the creature which shares the seashell with God N on several Late Classic polychrome bowls or plates. Since Proto-Classic God N's are so rare, and especially together with other mythical monsters, no contemporary scenes are yet available for comparison. Perhaps Rio Azul will produce some finds that will help clarify the cast of characters. An ability to identify the secondary figures on this complicated earring scene hinges on the identification of the main figure, who is a possible God N. The God N possibility is weakened by a lack of net headdress, turtle carapace or shell. The features that hint at a God N are the

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association with a quatrefoil, dramatically pictured on Early Classic Tikal Altar 4. Secondly, this bearded jade face is very similar to the bearded face on the O'Boyle Collection bowl, which also has a quatrefoil as central focal point. But the bearded individual on that bowl is not securely identifiable as a God N due also to lack of net headdress and shell.

Whoever the Chicago jade swimmer is, his floppy hands are derived from a tradition shared with Izapa and Chiapa de Corzo, though otherwise this scene is thoroughly Maya. In Izapa such floppy fingers are associated with crocodile trees. There, and on the base of Yaxha Stela 6⁵ (Hellmuth 1978:86 and 88), the floppy hands are "worn" by a monster with bumpy snout (Hellmuth 1980). The Chicago jade swimmer is a totally different personality. This incised jade is well preserved but difficult to photograph due to the shallow incision.

(453895-9-Neg.9). Peten, probably central, current location unknown, carved and incised shell. Set of approximately bilaterally symmetrical portraits of God N's face. Each face is approximately a mirror image of the other. Such shell faces could be expected in a cached offering along the central axis of an Early Classic Peten temple. Such small objects rarely survive and those that do are seldom photographed because they take more set up time than standard vases. These carved small shell objects are nonetheless quite beautiful, such as the

⁵ Yaxha Stela 6 "disappeared" for several years but it turns out that the entire time it was semi-hidden in the basement of the national archaeology museum. This stela was removed by IDAEH shortly after F.L.A.A.R. turned the camp over to the Guatemalan government after our mapping project was completed.

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objects handsomely illustrated by Deletaille and Crocker (1985) and iconographically informative. The two God N faces are in original condition with no restoration. Part of the left face's headdress appears to have been broken off and is missing.

The probable God N faces have the aged appearance (sunken cheeks, protruding chin). The nose is beaded; earrings have an Ahau pendant but no upper part. The center of the earring is inlaid with stone, probably jade (though I cannot tell in a black-and-white photograph). What looks like a three-beaded beard is under a woven frame, so I cannot tell whether it is part of the frame or an actual beard. The head is framed with three concentric bands. Issuing from the forehead and curving back into the head frames is what could be a bound strand of hair or simply a decoration.

Maximum dimension less than 4 cm.

Museo Carlos Pellicer, CICOM, Villahermosa, Tabasco, Holmul I or Tzakol 1 (spouted bowl) in the shape of a shell. Although no God N is present all Maya would have recognized that this was his home.

MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGIA, Mexico City, (Sodi) **Photo Archive**, orange bowl picturing shell with God N. Although this bowl could be a century later I place it tentatively into the Early Classic section of this inventory because sculptural ceramics are more typical of Tzakol 2 and 3 than of Tepeu 2. The bowl could conceivably be Tepeu 1.

Tzakol (Early Classic) God N

MIRAMAR, Yucatan peninsula, cenote, rock outcrop, unpublished. I estimate it possibly to be Early Classic in date because it reminds me of the unnamed face at the bottom of the Pearlman Conch. Since I do not have any photograph of this cave sculpture I cannot certify that it is actually God N. This approximately two-meter high face is partially a result of fortuitous shape of the rock and some carving (mouth and teeth). I include it in this God N corpus only tentatively and equally tentatively in the Early Classic section, since none of the clay or charcoal daubed designs in the cave are Early Classic at all. The art within the cave itself is principally Post Classic.

God N as Lid Handle

456981-8-Neg.12, 456981-31, close-ups, (Hellmuth 1985: 51, 114, 152) Early Classic, Peten, private collection, Europe. This lid is resist⁶ painted but only faint traces of design remain, so today it looks almost unpainted. The three-dimensional lid handle is a well preserved, full bodied turtle with open mouth. Inside the turtle's mouth is a human face. As the human face is down the turtle's throat, there is no space for any headdress, and not much way to see it in profile. On the basis of context alone it is identified as most likely a God N. The face is certainly not of God K, the other possible "human" occupant of a turtle shell in Maya mythology. The mouth is wide with thick lips; nose is broad; cheeks are raised and

⁶From a photo I cannot ascertain whether it is resist painted or negative painted. Culbert has patiently explained the differences to me, but I would need to have him review a sample of vessels for this information to sink into the portion of my brain that catalogs Maya pottery.

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stand out as a band across the face.

The turtle carapace, legs, and tail are relatively naturalistic. The head of the turtle is stylized with a large mouth curl and frame around the eye. Such a three-dimensional head should be compared with that of turtle effigy basal flange bowls of which about three exist in the Photo Archive.

Condition is good, other than the fading of the resist design of dots and Greek crosses. There has obviously been no repainting (retouching for a resist painted vessel is difficult to hide).

477299-2-Neg.18, Tzakol 3, Peten, current location unknown. Detached lid to a cylindrical tripod or small basal bulge vessel. The lid handle is a man with enlarged face. Although the face stands up in three dimensions it is flat when seen from the side. Unfortunately the shot from above is not sharp enough to reproduce, I evidently knocked against the camera or tripod when taking that particular frame. The man is "crawling" along the surface of the lid. The whole arrangement almost looks as though a God N is in his shell, though no actual carapace or conch is illustrated. Root marked, average condition, no repainting.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, **481648-22-Neg.2**, Grave Lot X⁷ (Hellmuth 1985:61, 115; 1987d: fig. 170). Handle to a wide lid is a God N head inside an otherwise naturalistic

⁷ For a description of Grave Lot X see this 1985 inventory of Maya cylindrical tripods.

Tzakol (Early Classic) God N

turtle. He is on a plateau surrounded by a circumferential rendering of the Surface of the Underwaterworld. Photographed before cleaning and waxing of the vessel.

481648-23, Grave Lot X, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Hellmuth 1985:61, 115). By the time I saw such pots they were long gone from their tomb and it was no longer possible to be sure which lid went with which tripod, so this lid is listed under its negative number as a lid, not associated with any of the pots, though 481648-13-Neg.4 would be a possibility for its pot. A naturalistic turtle has a God N head in its own head. Well preserved, no polishing at time of my photography.

481648-13-Neg.5 is the number for a lid of Grave Lot X, which belongs to one of the above vessels. The proportions and style are different than that of the negative painted God N lid handle. This Grave Lot X example is cruder (rougher, not smoothed down and not at all polished) for the turtle underside and God N's head, yet handsomely detailed and relatively smooth on the carapace. The carapace sections are neatly and naturalistically rendered. The turtle head is naturalistic except for the lower jaw which must drop down excessively in order to hold God N's head. This head sticks out enough to see the aged chin, age wrinkles gouged across the chin, and a narrow nose. Eyes are narrow slits, that is, "naturalistic" rather than giant god eyes. The God N face, the turtle head, and the turtle's lower jaw are all out of line with each other.

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Several Tzakol 3 cylindrical tripods have naturalistic turtles with no God N. These tripods, 481648-28-Neg.1 and two vessels of Grave Lot Y (Duke University Museum of Art).

482107-55-Neg.7 and 482107-55-Neg.9, are described in more detail in my inventory of Maya Cylindrical Tripods in the section there on lid handles (1985:114-115).

God N as a Hieroglyph, Early Classic

(Wray Collection 1984: No.50) **A-623** (close-up), Early Classic, Peten, private collection. This container is a cross between a cylindrical tripod and a cookie jar (lidded effigy jar). The full catalog entry is with cookie jars, double listed with cylindrical tripods (Hellmuth 1985a:170, 177). The effigy is of a comic bird. On the back of the bird is a single column of (double glyph) incised hieroglyphic inscription, not pictured in the sole published catalog photograph. The God N could equally well fit on any Late Classic vase, though the vessel is firmly dated as Early Classic. Here in Tzakol times the classical God N is already completely developed, at least as a facial type. Issuing out from his forehead is a curved band with spaced cross-hachure in sections. Elsewhere such patches are read as indication of the color black or of scales (such as snake scales, crocodile scales, or fish scales). There is no particular reason to interpret them here as net weave other than that is their pattern in Late Classic times.

This vessel is in excellent condition though its surface shows that it has obviously been buried.

Tzakol (Early Classic) God N

(Hellmuth photograph in Stuart and Stuart 1977:46; Coe 1982: Pearlman No. 63; Crocker-Deletaille 1984: No. 327), Early Classic, central Peten. This is the most complete, the best preserved, and the most complicatedly decorated of the half dozen extant incised conch shells from Early Classic Peten tombs. Coe has provided a thorough review of the iconography and glyphs on this fascinating work of art. I concur in his identification of Figure 2 as one of the Headband Gods (Hero Twins) and this is explained and documented further in my catalog under that category. At present I will only catalog the God N glyph at D2. The face is instantly recognizable as God N even though there is no net weave, and of course no shell, as this is only a glyph. In the same text is a turtle shell, possible an additional reference to God N.

The importance of this shell, other than its intrinsic aesthetic beauty, is that it shows the marine element in Maya underworld iconography. Often God N's shell is spoken of as a snail shell, which it may sometimes be, but most of his homes are conch shells, which come (in the Maya area) primarily from the Caribbean. There is a large, handsome Maya land snail, but it does not have the characteristic bumps that are pictured on so many God D houses. Also, among the hundreds of species of marine shells are many without bumps, so even when a God N shell is smooth, that does not mean that a land or river snail is intended. The Maya seem to have used them both, but the larger and (for the inland Maya) rarer and more costly conch held more value.

Curiously, the glyph that does have cross-hachure, A1, is not a God N. Coe astutely

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associates A1 with the enigmatic deity head that is incised at the end of the shell. Whereas we would expect a God N to be residing in the shell, he would come out the main, natural opening. Evidently there is more going on inside these conch shells in Maya mythology than reckoned. We need to find additional examples of the unidentified face at A1 (see next entry), and especially more of the strange visage on the shell itself.

The Pearlman Conch is in original condition with no repair or restoration. The red coloring in the incised areas is replacement for original red cinnabar worn off by handling during frequent photography sessions and in setting up for museum exhibits.

(Banque 1976: inside front and back, No. 136; Hellmuth 1978:140 (but the inscription is not visible); Crocker-Deletaille 1984: No. 328-329), **Photo Archive**, Early Classic, Peten (probably central Peten but northern zone is not impossible), private collection Belgium. This vessel has been known several years before Rio Azul suffered systematic looting. I mention this specifically since a set of jade earrings associated with this tripod includes a hieroglyph considered to represent Rio Azul. On that basis attempts have been made to claim these items were looted from Rio Azul. Anything is possible since none of us know where the objects really come from, but when I photographed these earrings they were reported to have been found in the same burial as the tripod. Ian Graham suggests, though, that there was "an earlier looting episode at Rio Azul." Since I have never been to Rio Azul I cannot judge this assessment other than that epigraphers increasingly warn of the attempt to ascertain provenance

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on the basis of emblem glyphs. The Holmul Dancer plate which has a Tikal Emblem glyph was physically excavated by Merwin at Holmul; and the Quetzal Vase found by Harvard at Copan is now known to have been made at Altun Ha, based on my analysis of the PSSequences a decade ago. This Belize origin for the Honduras find is now well known and to be published by Pendergast. Quirarte, based on photographs of the F.L.A.A.R. archive, already documented this fact years ago.

In conclusion, I have no idea at which site the Belgian tripod originated but El Zotz is a more likely place than Rio Azul. El Zotz is at least as large and possibly even more so than Rio Azul, and evidently produced an equal number of important Tzakol finds before it was finally noticed by archaeologists and finally guarded.

The Belgian Tripod is the largest, best preserved, and most complicatedly decorated cylindrical tripod yet found in Peten. It is in its class what the Pearlman Conch is for shells. It is a miracle that a tripod of this size lasted so many centuries unbroken. Although several pre-Columbianists have insisted this vessel is a forgery, it has been dated by thermoluminescence as of Early Classic date and has passed the scrutiny of both epigraphers and monographers. Those who have claimed it was fake were familiar only with the traditional Holmul-Uaxactun-Tikal corpus and were not aware of the exceptional finds made outside the institutional corpus. I have studied this tripod in detail in Brussels and find it not only authentic but exceptional in every respect. As I have written an entire paper on this tripod, Hellmuth 1988, I will here only cite the God N glyph at B3.

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In front of this, at A3, is a face glyph with the identical cross hachure segments as A1 on the Pearlman Shell. All the other features of the face are different, only the crescent cross hachure is the same. Since we have no other examples of this face in the published literature, we do not know enough of its possible variations and contexts to know whether Pearlman A1 is the same as Deletaille A3. I opt for them being the same, as that cross-hachure pattern is too unique to be coincidental. The differences between these faces and standard Numeral Eleven is that the latter has a single, long, wiggling cross-hachure (black) pattern; the Pearlman A1 and Deletaille A3 have two separate spots, neither tapering in a Caban-like spiral. Until a catalog of Early Classic hieroglyphs is prepared there are not enough comparative examples readily at hand to solve the uncertainties. The first step towards realization of such a hieroglyphic reference catalog is to find, photograph, and catalog the artifacts themselves.

TIKAL, Burial 10, lid of stuccoed and painted cylindrical tripod, vessel 12C-480/35, MT 5 (Coggins 1975, II: fig. 37, c). God N in an early Primary Standard Sequence, as second glyph, its usual position throughout the Late Classic. Only rarely is there another glyph between the initial glyph and God N, but in the fullest elaboration of the sequence God N is actually third or fourth (Hellmuth Photo Archive). Although God N is here at Tikal definitely part of the PSS in the Early Classic, in the immediately following Tepeu 1 period the God N glyph is itself hardly ever pictured; either is Step. Instead the second position is taken by a face with a fleshless jaw, and third position by a personified step (a face). Only during the Tepeu 2 period

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does the God N glyph become prominent in the opening section of the Primary Standard Sequence.

418677-15-Neg.I (Hellmuth 1987d: figs. 354D, 589, 604, 651) "Bowl of the Nine God Hieroglyphs" Tzakol, Peten, brown-black carved bowl. Since this text cannot yet be read we do not know to what degree it is a text and to what degree it is a gallery of deity monster portraits. Thus it is double listed. The aged God N has a crossed-bands eye monster with suprefixes as headdress. Excellent condition, no restoration. I believe this vessel is in Germany.

(Coe 1973: Grolier No. 1). The style of this important early seated feline is Preclassic Maya and not necessarily Izapan. The attribution of very early Maya pieces to Izapa was traditional in the 1960's and 1970's, especially in auction and exhibit catalogs, and still continues in the literature today, as in Townsend 1984: No. 59 and 60.⁸ Provenances of this nature are not

⁸The jades pictured in Townsend are highly unlikely to be from Izapa for several reasons. First, Izapa is not simply a pre-Maya or proto-Maya style. Izapa is Izapa; there is nothing Maya here at all except for imports from other areas. The hieroglyphs of Izapa are seldom, and in the rare instances that they occur they are not in the Mayan manner. Second, the jades in this Chicago exhibit are demonstrably Early Maya, pure Maya, which (in this case) has nothing to do with Izapa whatsoever. Pre- or Proto-Maya style art is more likely to be found at Takalik Abaj, but usually early Maya art is precisely that, early in the Maya area. If you look at the artifacts excavated by the project of R.E.W. Adams at Rio Azul ([National Geographic](#) magazine) you can see that Rio Azul is a far more likely source for such works of art than Izapa. The sculpture pictured by Coe, however, is too early to come from Rio Azul and too proto-Maya to be entirely convincing as being from Izapa, though Izapa cannot be stated to be impossible, since we have no

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entirely always of the author because the pieces often come to him already with an attribution of Izapa stuck on them.

The crested eyebrow on Grolier No. 1 is found on many early Maya monsters from the lowlands. The Izapans did not have hieroglyphs hardly at all, and when present the glyphs are in a different style and probably even in a language other than Mayan.

Hieroglyph A1 is possibly an early God N. Coe points out that it is the same as B2 and C1 on the Dumbarton Oaks re-used Olmec plaque with an early Maya inscription (M. Coe 1966).

(Coe 1966). Preclassic seated noble with associated hieroglyphic text on one side; earlier Olmec face on the other side. Unknown provenance, Dumbarton Oaks. B2 and C1 may be early forms of God N. Considering that the D.O. plaque glyph at B1 is a step, and that A1 has a main sign which could be a simplified and early form, that would make this the earliest known proto-type of the Primary Standard Sequence, with the hypothetical God N in third position — just about where it is in the subsequent Classic period. I first noticed this inscription as a possible PSS prototype or variant in 1985 while cataloging PSSequences in the F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive.

God N on Stone Sculpture, Farly Classic

actual information on such pieces at all, especially not after 30 years. I have not seen this piece in person, which makes it all the harder to assess it.

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TIKAL, Altar 4 (Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: fig. 58, b; Hellmuth 1987d). The altar as described in the Tikal Reports: "On the periphery, four large serpent-head designs separate quatrefoils out of which emerge nearly identical deity figures partly enclosed in shells... Bailey (1972:177-78) observes that the awkward and skinny arms of these figures are like those on the left-side figure of St. 23 and suggests a pairing with that stela" (Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:79).

The altar as described, updated by using comparison with material from outside Tikal, from private collections and museums, and from all relevant data without enforced restrictions not to utilize advances made from unprovenanced objects, may be updated to read as follows: "The personages with skinny arms are readily recognizable as God N's, identifiable by their diagnostic head shape, bald with wisps of hair. This head shape can be compared with God N hieroglyphs of the Early Classic. The face has pronounced chin and age wrinkle or barbel near the mouth. The necklace is long and its pendant is wide. Home for God N is a characteristic turtle carapace marked with Kan cross inside a scalloped form."

In other situations, these scalloped ovals or circles serve as outlines for water lily pads. On the back of the carapace is a fin-like shape. The closely set parallel lines are further indications of fins. Each God N holds out an offering bowl of unidentified contents.

The god is seated within a quatrefoil shape. In other scenes, especially on shields, the J.G.U. is inside the same quatrefoil. Comparable shapes are known among the Olmec, especially at Chalcatzingo rock outcrops. This shape is traditionally conceived of as the

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entrance to a cave. Quatrefoil entrances are widespread in Maya art from early until late. Although I do not know their actual meaning, the idea of an entrance to a mythical or underworld cave is entirely possible. The documentation by comparisons with comparable quatrefoil shapes is outside the scope of this present catalog of God N. Several different mythical characters can be in this cosmological opening (Hellmuth 1987c; 1987d)

The awkward and skinny arms of Altar 4 are a diagnostic of God N in general and have nothing to do with the sculptor's inabilities or style, and are not in any way whatsoever related to the arms on the sides of Stela 23, which are of dynastic individuals, not decrepit old God N's. The failure to recognize and identify the God N, the most common anthropomorphic character in the Maya pantheon, is matched by the surprising absence of identification of the Cauac (Witz) Monsters, who had by 1980 already been well enough known for an entire Masters Thesis to be written on them (Tate 1980), as well as an article in the readily available Palenque Mesa Redonda proceedings (Taylor 1979). This is not intended as a criticism of the Tikal authors, because the gulf between iconography and archaeology is endemic in the discipline itself. It is precisely this gulf to which this series of corpus volumes addresses itself. The Tikal Project authors have specifically stated they intend to limit their text to provenanced material, and some authors indicate they will treat solely Tikal material. The result is seen in the lack of deity identifications here and the embarrassingly incorrect nomenclature used for the architectural masks in another University Museum publication (A. Miller 1986). It would seem more realistic to join the traditional corpus with other material to make available to dirt

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archaeologists all the reference material which is now actually exists.

Around the circumference of the Tikal altar are situated several Cauac Monsters in their usual guise of solely faces. This common creature is readily identified by the wiggly lines through the eye, by the sets of three balls, and by the reptile ventral scales and long snout (3c). Renditions of the Cauac monster may be amorphous, as best seen on unpublished series of bichrome Diagonal Swirl Style cylindrical tripods and bowls of Peten. These are in the Cauac Monster catalog, and again in the catalog of cylindrical tripods of the Photo Archive (Hellmuth 1985a).

The Cauac Monster is to be read as lun, stone, thus the quatrefoil openings are a cave, naturally this entrance is in stone, and most likely in a hill. No stepped accessory is present, as found on top of or otherwise merged with the forehead of comparable Witz Monsters in other situations.

God N and the Cauac Monster are standard iconographic characters of classical Maya mythology. They are all well published and revisions can readily be made from a corpus in the unpublished Photo Archives. With all this material available it seems contrary to the basic principles of scholarship not to provide the proper identifications for these monsters, although evidently these are being reserved for the Tikal Report volume on iconography. Jones' valuable contribution is to have all Tikal monuments together with their calendric hieroglyphs deciphered in a single volume together with excellent line drawings.

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Miscellaneous God N Possibly Tzakol in Date

MUSEO NACTIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGIA, Mexico City, on exhibit in the Maya room. No provenance(?). No iconographic information is provided for the more than one million visitors a year which pass by this exhibit stand. A beautiful three-dimensional orange pot is formed in the shape of a large snail or seashell. A three-dimensional aged God N peers out of the open shell. Good condition; nice surface gloss on the shell. This artifact may be listed a second time in this report under a different category.

GOD N HEAD AS THE STOMACH OF A SHELL WING DRAGON BIRD,

Early Classic

(Crocker-Deletaille; Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 358) (Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 347 (reversed), 365D), **406608-23**, polychrome basal flange bowl, private collection USA, Tzakol 2 or 3, no restoration, occasional parts of surface pitted but generally good condition. The Maya created at least two main categories of the greater "Shell Wing Dragon Family," which suggests this is a condition of transformation rather than a specific deity. One manner is to have the human face as the stomach of a bird/dragon (Hellmuth 1987: fig. 342-347, 350-355, 357-361, 365A-E); another manner is to have the human as the main character and the bird as his headdress, though to belong to the overall family the human's head must to some degree function as the bird's body (ibid.: figs. 677, 678). It is not enough merely to have a bird

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headdress. In the members of this mythical family the bird is not detachable from the human face. Of course there are many examples where there is no humanoid face in the bird's body at all — these are the straightforward Shell Wing Dragon's as initially named by Scheie based on the two outstanding sets of examples at Palenque.

On this basal flange bowl the bird is in effect the headdress of a complete seated person. The bearded face is generic and could be any number of characters yet God N is a definite possibility even though no net weave is visible. This interpretation is partially a process of elimination: the face is unlikely to be that of God L and other than the aged face and enthroned situation there is nothing to suggest it is God D. On those other deity-stomached-birds where the god can be identified, it is GI occasionally and usually God N. So by analogy God N is the most likely.

The deity holds a strap bag. His loincloth apron or back decoration is a cascading assemblage which mimics stylized Maya bird tails (Hellmuth 1987d: figs. 494, 496, 497). The old man's body is undulating almost in the form of a serpent. I have seen several other Early Classic humanoid bodies that have this sinuous shape. The face is bearded, has a beaded nose decoration, and a bird beak-like hook over the forehead.

The bird itself is a water bird, indeed it holds in its mouth what could be some kind of a shell. The bird's beak has a decoration on top and a fin like feature on the bottom as well as a netted crest. The wing is a pseudo-Serpent Face Wing, with nose beads but no other reptilian parts.

Conclusion

With only one Tzakol period God L and perhaps four Tzakol God D's, it is worth noting that a dozen or more Early Classic God N's exist. It is only a matter of time before a Preclassic prototype is recognized at Kaminaljuyu or Takalik Abaj and it is always possible to find a still earlier antecedent in Olmec art. Although seashells were of paramount importance in early Teotihuacan and although at least one God N-like image is known from Teotihuacan murals (Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 714) so far there is no indication that God N either originated in central Mexico or was even a standard member of the Teotihuacan pantheon. There is a common deity of the Aztec and Mixtec who also lives in a turtle shell. This Post Classic character is independent. So far no specialist in non-Maya iconography has suggested his origins were in God N, either Maya or Teotihuacan. Taube, who is knowledgeable in Post Classic deities does not mention any connection whatsoever so we can conclude the turtle shell character of the Post Classic is not simply a late form of God N.

We may conclude that God N was primarily a Maya manifestation and one of the more important characters of their pantheon. He was certainly popular with artists and patrons.

God N before the Early Classic

Because God N is so common during the Early Classic it is unlikely that the Maya invented this image themselves. Surely God N was part of the cultural heritage that entered the Maya

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area from the piedmont and coastal zones from El Baul to Izapa and Chiapa de Corzo. Abaj Takalik, between El Baul and Izapa, is a likely place to find prototypes of many of the Maya deities. Altar 12 pictures sixteen mythical individuals. It is likely that some of these could be prototypes for God N (Patten 1981: mexicon vol. III, nr. 1, p. 3).

POLYCHROME PLATES WITH GOD N, PETEN

UAXACTUN (R. Smith 1955: fig. 2, g), IDAEH, museum or storage, Guatemala City. This fragment of a polychrome plate is one of the most important God N scenes available, even though 70% of the scene is missing. With a naked woman being molested there is likely to be a God N or God D nearby. If there were several women, who not being molested, then a God L or a Maize God would be expected. With a women having her breasts fondled by a spider monkey, then a God N is predicted on the basis of a more complete scene in the Photo Archive. Indeed, in front is an aged god, seemingly unconcerned about the nearby rape. His cigar brings to mind God L, who is often smoking (God D is not known as a nicotine fiend). The headdress, though, is certainly not one recognized as characteristic or even expected for God L. A napkin-like headdress, and possibly of net weave, suggests a God N. The closeup color photograph of precisely the smoking deity reveals the net weave (Foncerrada de Molina and Lombardo de Ruiz 1979: unnumbered color plate after p. 290). In addition this Uaxactun character has a protruding hook, an occasional God N trait (such as on the Rietberg Museum vase with several God N's near a hut). On this basis I would guess that a God N may be intended — despite the absence of any shell housing.

Christopher Donnan reports that the scenes on Moche narrative pots become repetitive and

God N on Plates

therefore he did not need to keep on photographing. This situation certainly does not (yet) exist for the Maya situation. The missing inside painting on this plate would probably have been full of surprises. Even the rest of the sidewall would have been filled with otherwise lost information on the religious beliefs and myths of the Late Classic Peten Maya.

Museo Popol Vuh, **407513-11**, Late Classic, Peten. Same scene as 485103-6- Neg.6: God N is in the middle with a row of crocodiles around the inside edge. Here, though, the crocodiles face to the right and there are three and a half instead of three. Three are fully developed, the "fourth" is about the length of a fish but has a crocodile head, spaced balls on the outside of its body, etc. This artist was not as good at planning his layout as was the other.

These crocodiles have a row of repeated blips along their body outline and bottom of the tail. Presumably, these blips represent the erect scales which develop on crocodiles of certain age and sex. The bodies have large oval areas filled with cross-hatching to represent scales and/or the color black. The end of the snout is upraised, an exaggeration by the Maya of the slightly raised nostril area of an actual crocodile.

The entire center of the plate is effaced; the waist and main area of the shell are gone. Only the bottom of the shell remains, plus the feathers. The God N has god spots of double disks near his knee and elbow, but these are not the single isolated spots of a hunter. Despite the fact that half of the central design is effaced, the actors of the scene are still recognizable: God N and the crocodiles. No repainting or restoration had been done at the time of photography.

God N on Plates

(Hellmuth 1976: fig.31) (preliminary, unfinished pencil tracing, not inked), **A-373-Neg.6**, Late Classic, Peten, private collection Canada. This large plate pictures an aged man dancing with a young but fully clothed woman. Her garment has giant hieroglyphs with concentric, radial geometric decoration. Many Maya vases have this large glyph as a repeated decoration in a circumference (R. Smith 1955,11:62, b,14; 73, b,5).

This plate has a handsome repeated Kin hieroglyph as a band all around the interior circumference. The legs of the aged male musician may have additional glyph-like decorations.

Although several series of paintings reveal that Maya women tend to be pictured with large breasts, here no breasts at all are indicated as being behind the dress. This tradition is also known, as on the Princeton God L vase painting. There the women wear no clothing on their chest and no feminine breasts are shown either.

The man facing the woman could, from the context of "old man with a young woman," be God D, L, or N. However, God D is usually enthroned when women are present. The women are either being sexually molested on the floor, or they sit demurely behind him on the throne. Often the Moon Goddess bracket is shown coming out from under their arm. Also on the plate the facial profile is more like that of God L or N, so I dismiss the likelihood that this is God D. That leaves God L or N.

Michael Coe and I have studied this drawing together, as he is curious as to the identity of

God N on Plates

the dirty old man fondling the breasts of the young woman on the Jaina Island figurine series. Based on familiarity with all the God N portraits that are available today, I tend towards a God N identification for this plate dancer. I would not rule out God L, because the long beaded necklace is a trait of God L. This is the necklace that the bunny rabbit companion of the Moon Goddess steals along with God L's headdress. If only we had a rabbit present then we would know it was God L whose headdress has been stolen. But the God N features are the pronounced nose droop, the extended jaw, the dark areas around eye and mouth, and especially the forward projecting bulb on the forehead. The lock of hair coming from the tube would not be out of place on either L or N. This enigmatic dancer pounds on a drum with one hand and holds a rattle in his other hand. The spiral on the rattle suggests the end of a conch shell but that may be fortuitous.

The detail that cinches the characterization as that of God N is the faint remains of a new weave headdress, of the "bud" variety. This is the same general class as on the definite God N of the Duke University Chama God N (Coe 1978: Princeton 10).

Sections of the painting are faint and the preliminary drawing did not show the back leg of the female. Despite the erosion all the design is present on the actual plate, which is in average condition.

A-315, Late Classic, Maya lowlands, current location unknown. This colorful plate has no circumferential figures. The inside edge instead is decorated with four concentric bands of

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color, as is the previous entry plus the aforementioned bird plate. The present plate has a conch shell but its inhabitant is a snake, or perhaps this creature is intended to represent the actual conch creature. A natural conch creature would be thicker and has a special muscle appendage to help it crawl (shaped like a perforator). This snake, though, has the same ticked headdress form as the God N of the plate which has the same designs. Does this represent the conch muscle? However the conch creature in real life has it lower on the body. The present snake has many other non-reptile curls added to its body, plus feathers along both sides. The feathered bracket which arches from the conch shell has the same three-part body: two thin light bands with a thicker inner red/orange band. The conch shell itself has bifurcate coming out of both ends. The shell is highly stylized and decorated. The bottom rings are done as a separate stack of ovals. The bumps of the shell have fin tick lines. The feather mass has an affix decoration plus two +'s with circles in the quadrants.

The details, profiles, and decorations of such shells really need to be studied as they are loaded with subtle references to cosmology. For example, in the space created between the arch of the feather back frame and the shell there are two special tic-tac-toe designs plus a central flow of unknown meaning or relationship.

The plate has a few normal deposits from tomb life. The painting itself is in excellent condition.

Castillo Collection (probably in the Museo Popol Vuh), **A-520-Neg.6**, Late Classic, Peten.

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The entire surface is filled with a unitary theme of a serpent issuing from a giant conch-like shell. This subject is the same as A-315, discussed previously, though the style and arrangement are distinct. The shell has a different end instead of the normal coils or stack ovals. There are no "wings" or feather masses per se, but the bifurcates that issue from the aforementioned closed end plus the side have feather-like decoration in a row. Out of the shell rises a snake-like form with dots down its middle. These snakes are similar to those that form the body of some Shell Wing Dragons. Some of this class of creatures are birds, the others are snakes, others are composite snake-necked bird. Some have a God N head doubling as the dragon's body (Hellmuth 1987c; 1987d). Bifurcated forms issue from the creature's mouth and neck. As with the previous plate, it is not known whether this is a snake or the natural conch inhabitant.

The plate is in average condition with the center more faded than the rest. This situation is typical of plates which held food in the center. The decomposition of this food tended to eat away at the painted surface. About 98% of the Maya pottery in the Castillo Collection were in original condition with no repainting. All of the Maya polychrome pots in the Museo Popol Vuh are without repainting.

423557-6, Late Classic, Maya lowlands, private collection U.S.A. This is an attractively balanced circumferential arrangement to the whole design. The edge band itself has no glyphs or figures but the paint is in thick circumferentially parallel bands, though they are not

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independent bands as on a set of three plates (**456981-12**). The central decoration is a snake-like creature in his shell. The shell is not of a conch. It is possibly a snail, though a zoologist is needed for accurate identification. The shell is decorated with repeated adornos. Around the edge are encircled curls alternating with an unidentified decoration. The condition was not noted.

456981-12, 468490-8, Late Classic, Maya lowlands. Several plates with this type of simple but attractively balanced ring edge decoration appeared about the same time and either came from the same grave lot or area (see **A-315**, next entry. A third in this series had a water bird on it, no God N, 043235-4-Neg.1). This manner of banded edge is similar to plates from Belize, though naturally the 7th century border was not where it is today. 456981-12 presents a giant conch shell complete with feathers, and a decorative area on the feather frame (eroded). The character attached to the shell is in an almost swimming posture. He is painted red (except for his face), has god marks on his limbs, has a slick hairstyle, and a strange object in the headdress. This is a regionally distinctive God N.

The plate was badly broken and crudely glued with no restoration. The conch shell was faint due to lime deposit or wear.

Dia 31.2 cm.

471671-16, Duke University Museum of Art.

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481649-56. At first this plate appears to be in a Campeche style. Photographed in the same lot of plates was a deer plate, also typical of Campeche, but these probably represent southern examples found in Peten. The political boundary of the Classic period was not the Peten-Campeche border of modern maps. Many major sites such as El Mirador, La Muralla, Nakbe, etc. are right along the border. God N in a shell has almost wing-like accessories of stacks of thick lines, perhaps related to symbols of the Late Classic Surface of the Underwaterworld. No restoration at the time when the photography was undertaken.

493421-5, Late Classic, Peten, current location unknown. Attached to a giant, feathered conch shell is a youthful, idealized Maya lord. He has the long necklace expected of God N, god markings, but no headdress. His hair is in a crewcut. The face has a monkey scallop across it with the central bar of red color across to the mouth. I am presuming that the "flesh color" is his natural skin color and that the red paint of his whole body and monkey frame on the face is body paint. The frame area of the feather assemblage has a central section with designs which are effaced and encrusted with lime deposits and not decipherable. Outside the central scene, on the inside sidewall, is a "pyramid shape." Another design of this nature is found on an important Tepeu 1 vase with God N (Robicsek 1978: pl. 138) and on the head of the God N's of the Placeres stucco facade. This pyramid design with a band down the center is, I believe, something distinct from the stepped or step-fret motifs that decorate other plate sidewalls and bowl rim bands. The fact it is directly under a God N on one bowl and here with

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a God N in the center suggests a relationship.

Photographed in original condition with slight effacement of the conch shell. I believe this plate was subsequently cleaned and restored.

(Hellmuth 1978:171), **456981-73**, Late Classic, Peten, private collection (photographed in Europe). The horror vacui and aspects of the color and content remind me of Red Band Tepeu 1 style, but this plate is different and has a fully detailed (albeit distinctive) PSS.

The occupant of the shell is almost entirely outside the shell. He is bent over, yet the head is classically youthful, with short, but full hair. He has the same ticked headdress element as on 468490-8, plus a bejeweled curl. His eye area is painted gray, his mouth area red. His garment is unusually long, goes well up his back, and has wide scalloped outline of undeciphered meaning.

A giant conch shell is decorated with feathers and bifurcates. As usual, the inside of the frame is decorated but no meaning can be ascertained. Isolated floating symbols fill every bit of space not already filled by the shell and its god. It is such floating designs that need to be compared and contrasted with those on Red Band Tepeu 1 vases.

The PSS sequence begins with the standard turtle initial sign but none of the following glyphs are in the standard appearance. Texts such as this offer a fertile ground for the further decipherment of Mayan hieroglyphic writing.

The plate is in fine condition except for deposits on the rim. The first person or museum to

which this plate was offered was studiously informed by someone that the plate was "fake." This was just one dealer trying to bad-mouth another dealer. It is easy to claim a vessel is fake and such an attribution often has ulterior motives.⁹ The plate is 6th to 7th century, has an important hieroglyphic inscription starting with the PSS initial sign, and is in superior condition with no restoration whatever.

485103-6-Neg.6 and line drawing by Barbara Van Heusen, Late Classic, Peten. A pressure

⁹ This story was told to me in Brussels when I inquired about the history of this plate. Certain aspects of its style and content are unique, yet the ceramic and its painting are wholly authentic in every aspect, and not even restored or fraudulently repainted. The same problem also occurs in reverse, someone telling everyone that a particular artifact is authentic, when in fact the object is a total fake. This problem is rampant in Europe in general, and in Germany in particular. A museum in Cologne has the highest incidence of fakes of any public display in Western Europe. In Eastern Europe, one enterprising art dealer systematically traded truckloads of fake pre Columbian art to susceptible curators who were not specialists in any Latin American art style. In return this clever art dealer accepted payment in the great treasures of Oceania, Africa, and the Orient from the museums where he was unloading the fakes. The naive museum curators figured they could build up their collections of pre-Columbian without putting out any cash. Such facile curators often accept under-the-table payments for being so cooperative in deaccessioning national treasures to foreign art dealers. All the Eastern European museums ended up with is pre Columbian leftovers and fakes. For example, it would be difficult to find many authentic pre Columbian artifacts in the entire display in Prague. Although Olmec art is the style most frequently faked (and most often fraudulently stated to be authentic), in fact there are tons of West Coast Mexico, Teotihuacan figurines and stone heads, Xochipala figures, Jaina figurines, carved bone, carved shell. One Spanish publication pictures and discusses (as authentic) several crude codices in pseudo-Mixtec style. Fake Maya stone stelae abound: over 200 fake stucco monuments are in a European warehouse alone. The incidence of fakery varies greatly by city. Pre-Columbian art radiating out of galleries in Stuttgart tend to be authentic; whereas stuff radiating out of southern Germany tend to be fakes of the most enterprising variety. In Paris, one set of auction catalogs has so many fakes that a French archaeology student wrote an entire dissertation on this remarkable situation. Yet other Paris catalogs (display catalogs, not auction sales), are not only authentic but of impressively high quality. Overall, Belgium has the best reputation and the highest degree of authenticity.

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crack separated the plate from the rim to the center but had not yet broken through the other half. There was no repainting at time of photography. This important plate is one of three that show the same scene: God N in the middle and a row of crocodiles around the edge. The second example is in the Museo Popol Vuh (407513-11). The third example was shown to me at a time I did not have my studio set up. I would imagine that there are still more, as evidently it was a popular tableau.

Here is a fully developed God N, fleshy nose, net weave napkin headdress with "bloom" net form sticking out front (and two additional "flowers" up on top). The God N has his expected seashell, here with no bottom stack of coils. The shell has two rows of different sized dots, rather than dots of alternating sizes within a single row. God markings are conspicuous on the upper arm and lower leg. The shell has a large bifurcate but no wing.

There are unidentified items in some of the empty space, including something on his bottom that almost looks like the U-objects in enema scenes, although I do not believe he has a clyster inserted, as there is no other enema paraphernalia present and he has his pants on.

Around the interior sidewall are comic strip crocodiles or caimans (in Central America there are two crocodiles and one caiman species; the caiman is a member of the alligator family despite its Latin name). These stylized creatures have upturned nose, scalloped patches of cross-hachure (mimicking water lily pads) on their bodies, occasional indication of ventral band (but not really ventral scales) and funny balls all along their body outline and both sides of their tail, as on plate 407513-11. Their tail is split as on a fish. Their stylized teeth look

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especially comical. The whole scene is carefully laid out and marvelously painted.

Several cracks have probably been repainted by now, but the plate was photographed in essentially original condition, with no repainting whatsoever. I would like to find this plate again to rephotograph it so that a more detailed line drawing can be made.

Seen-but-not-photographed.¹⁰ A third plate with God N surrounded by crocodiles. This plate may have subsequently ended up in Boston, though I am not sure.

Museo Popol Vuh, **407513-37**, A-556-Neg.3, Late Classic, Peten. Since there are no circumferential figures there are considerable areas of blank space. God N in his conch shell occupies most of the available area. The plate had been broken and glued but not restored, so there was no repainting. The entire scene is eroded and consequently most of the details of God N are difficult to read.

The shell has no feathers. It has the line of dots of alternating sizes that symbolize the Surface of the Underwaterworld. The occupant of the shell is definitely God N, with pronounced aged chin, skull cap, and a budding forepiece. He seems to be holding an unidentified circular object with a sprout coming out the top.

A-540-Neg.1, Tepeu 1, Peten, Castillo Collection (probably among the Museo Popol Vuh collection although more than 100 plates remained in the private collection until 1982 when the

¹⁰ When I am traveling giving slide lectures sometimes people bring up snapshots of pots they know of. Since I do not always have my camera equipment with me, I do not get an opportunity to photograph everything I see.

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remaining collection was mysteriously dissolved). There are no circumferential figures, the entire design is the God N in his feathered conch shell. The artist did not center his design well but left the figure too close on the left leaving blank space on the right.

The shell is crudely painted. Out of the shell is seated a young man with a napkin headdress. His waist area is still inside the shell. The feathers are directly on the shell with no particular frame.

The plate is in average condition with normal blemishes, center is more worn than other parts because this is where the funerary food or liquid offering was in contact with the painting.

A-361a*Neg. 1, D.O.-325, Late Classic, Peten, current location unknown (Hellmuth 1976). Aged God N face with net headdress with snake body over his own body. His hands and feet are flipper-like. The God N that fills all available space in the constricted bottom area left over from the banding is iconographically important. It has a dark eye area plus a dark mouth back area, possibly corresponding to darkened faces of the old god that sticks out of dragons on Codex Style pottery. Again, we now have independent confirmation that the Codex Style old god is most likely God N. God N's face (on the plate) has his characteristic profile with a pronounced chin. The headdress has a net weave and is further scrunched due to constricted space. There is no shell, neither turtle nor conch. Instead, God N's vaguely anthropomorphic body is capped by a serpent-like form. Whether this is intended to represent the creature

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inside a natural conch is not known. This serpentine body has flower symbols on top. The combination of a human body under such a serpent is not known from other God N representations. The "body" of God N seems to have had painting on its back, but these are not presently understandable. The limbs and especially the extremities of God N are of particular note here, they are long and floppy, as flippers. Is a crocodile meant, or an iguana? As God N does not have a bellicose attitude, I doubt any reptilian association or aggressive intentions. Hanging from the body (perhaps a necklace pendant) is a bifurcating item with central pendant. This painting is loaded with mysterious symbolism and absolutely needs a line drawing to show the detail which is just not evident in a black-and-white photograph.

The boundary area is empty except for widely spaced and muted glyphs. Each glyph has an attractively rendered geometric bracket as a frame on either side. Next comes a narrow circumferential band with standard plate band related designs framing a kin glyph. This alternates alternating with an interesting diagonal decoration of a class not previously cataloged. The center of the plate has the usual "kill hole," drilled in ancient times.

Except for damage caused by the central drill hole, plus a radius of 1 cm therearound, the plate is in quite good condition. It would be helpful to find this plate again so it can be rephotographed in color.

(Hellmuth photo published in R+H 1982: fig.60) **265441-27** (before restoration) and also photographed after restoration, Late Classic, Peten (probably central zone), formerly private

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collection, Austin, Texas; current location unknown. This major plate painting is one of a series of fewer than ten which have their scene marked by a horizontal band. Such banded plate scenes sometimes have an Underwaterworld symbol under the band. On this particular lower section the space is marked by a stack that is a cosmological indicator and believed possibly to be a stylized view of the bottom rings of a conch shell. On these horizontally banded plates the scene is rolled out by the Maya artist as though it were actually on a vase, rather than a plate. The band serves as the bottom of the "vase" rollout. Such plates are actually native Maya rollouts. Occasionally apologies have been made for rolling out Maya vases as though that were unnatural, and it is certainly true that a Maya viewer could see only one section at a time — precisely the amount shown in any normal still photograph. Yet on rare occasion the Maya wanted to roll out their scenes and they did precisely this on the remarkable Austin plate.

The scene is rich in detail, and will be described in the eventual catalog of the Holmul Dancer and other guises of the Maize God, as there is an idealized, double dome headed dancer as protagonist. He lacks the usual features of such but the Maize God is still the most likely candidate.

To the right of the central dancer is a seated person in a shell. The shell has no bottom rings or exterior bumps. I wonder whether it is a snail shell or other fresh water species? The personage therein is youthful and has no recognizable God N features. His hair is bound but not with oval ending as a bound hank other than his shell habitat. He has the same long nose

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decoration, a water flower with fish nibbling as does the Principal Young Lord. It is likely that the entire setting is under mythical water. Around the frame of the scene, twice floating in the scene, and on the edge of the stems of the main water plant, are designs. These special motifs are comparable to those in the Tikal Burial 48 murals, in Yaxchilan hand offerings, on the Palenque palace murals, on a Peten cache plate (Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 39), floating in Palenque sculpture, etc. The shell person is pointing down towards the lower central head that sprouts water lily stems.

Across the painting a dancer with crocodile headdress also points down at the same central design. Otherwise I wonder whether God N is here mainly as an indicator of watery environment, as he does not seem to do much, except here he holds his arm out as though he were pointing at something.

Kneeling at the far left and far right are two unidentified characters. The monster head in the center of the plate sprouts water lily flowers which look like cotton bolls.

The arrangement of the actors, the finesse of the details, and the overall execution reveal the hand of a master painter. This is one of the ten iconographically most important Maya plates that has come down to us, following the Codex Style Chac Xib Chac Plate, the Hero Twins and Maize God Regeneration Plate, Blom Plate, the Uaxactun Jaguar Plate, and other rare masterpieces.

By the time I first saw this plate it had been simply repaired with no restoration. Subsequently the plate was professionally cleaned, rejoined, and minor areas restored. Only

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minor details of the central head were altered. All other figures were not repainted and are still in original condition. Overall this is one of the great, extant, narrative Maya plates. Fifty years of institutional plodding have produced only one plate from Uaxactun that comes close to presenting as many different mythical characters. No complex narrative plate paintings were found by institutional diggings at Tikal though more active huaqueros found some nearby. It would be educational to ascertain, by testing, at which ancient Maya city-state this Austin plate was made.

Highland Guatemalan Plates with God N

NEBAJ, T. VI, Md. 2 (no. 9, fig. 44, b) (Smith and Kidder 1951: fig. 82, b-c), Late Classic. Interior circumferential band is unlike anything in Peten or Yucatan. Style and arrangement of the central God N is also distinctive. Plates in the highlands are rare that not enough are available from which we can formulate a style and contents description.

The conch shell itself is small. It has stacks on the bottom decorated with bifurcate. The body of the shell includes a single decoration with scallop-outlined cross-hachure (usually meant to be the rough surface of a water lily pad). The shell is plumed but with no glyphic unit as in Peten region paintings. Actually the plumes issue from somewhat behind God N rather than directly from the shell. This awkward placement results from God N's complete human body coming "through" the shell. Because the shell is pictured diagonally across God N's body rather than vertically behind his body the artist had to move the feather mass if he

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was to show God N's thighs.

The character in the shell has net weave pants down to the knee. His facial profile is acceptable as within the allowable range of variation of God N, but without the shell and net weave pants he would have been difficult to document as being a God N. With only a drawing available one has to presume that the plate was in good enough condition to copy in an accurate drawing.

Yucatec-Campeche Plates with God N

God N was a popular subject on plates throughout the Yucatan peninsula. These are generally a totally different style than Peten plates. My archive specializes in funerary ceramic art from Guatemala and rarely includes anything from outside the greater Peten style. As Joseph Ball has studied the private collections of Merida, and as I am not a specialist in Yucatec ceramic paintings, this section of the catalog lists only representative examples. The iconography is usually very different and does not immediately help us with the pressing problems of Peten art.

Recently we received a donation of a major trove of 35mm color slides. A large portion of these slides show plates in non-Guatemalan styles of the Yucatan peninsula (meaning non Peten styles of Yucatan and northern Campeche). It may be possible to locate a few God N plates among these images when we have the time to comb through this generous donation.

A second problem with Yucatec art is the number of forgeries. The leading center for

forgeries of Maya art is the picturesque village of Ticul, near Muna, an hour from Merida. Due to this location within Yucatan, the forgers of Yucatan have plenty of local authentic plates to use as models for their manufactured wares. Since I am not a specialist on Yucatec ceramic paintings, I do not feel qualified to authenticate Yucatec plate paintings from a photograph. The entries which follow are presumably but I cannot vouch for them. Peten pottery is easy to recognize whether it is modern or ancient. As a result any Peten plate, bowl, or vase has been judged to be okay before it was included in this inventory.

(Rothmans 1978: No. 162), Late Classic, Yucatan-Campeche, Barbachano Collection.¹¹ Central design may be a snake-like creature with a highly stylized shell marked by the slender triangles. In Peten the inhabitant of one shell is a snake, so the idea occurred to me that this could be a related image, but I am not positive. Condition not noted; plate is probably

¹¹ The Barbachano-Ponce Collection was the largest publicly known collection of Mexico outside that of Saenz. The Barbachano Collection included many crude fakes, especially stucco figures and pseudo-Palenque stelae, but also fake Maya pots. Yet other portions of this large collection were fully authentic. At some point in time portions of the Barbachano Collection were expropriated. This portion is in the basement of the Palacio Canton, the regional archaeological museum of Yucatan, in Merida. None of the pieces of the traveling show were included; the expropriated pieces were all different than any in the traveling exhibit. It has been postulated that at some point in its worldwide travels the better part of his collection simply stayed outside the country. If so, I have never heard a peep from anyone as to where this collection might be. Since collections in the USA and Europe are relatively well known, it is more likely that the collection is underground somewhere in Mexico, since there are few people who have systematically surveyed such collections. The collections of Central America are relatively well known, but not those of Mexico. Sr. Barbachano was a well known Mexican movie producer. He died only about 2 years ago.

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authentic although the Rothman's catalog includes many forgeries and several of the Barbachano items loaned to the Albuquerque traveling exhibit of 1985-1986 were again forgeries (spotted initially as forgeries by Justin Kerr, Francis Robicsek, and Michael Coe; published as authentic by the exhibit organizers and exhibit art historians).

(Rothmans 1978: No. 184), presumably Late Classic, Yucatan Campeche area, Barbachano Collection. Due to the number of forgeries in this collection I am not prepared to accept every item as authentic. It is not scientific, however, for everything be considered fake just because 10% or more are modern creations.

The present plate shows a personage in vaguely swimming or crawling posture. He is not in a shell but the Maya show other God N's in this position in Peten. The star-like symbol in the middle is found as an isolated design on one God N plate from Peten. The body markings, especially on the face, are not known for any God N but renderings are different in the north. The Chicchan markings on the face are particularly puzzling. I am unable to say whether this was intended to be a God N or not. Plate may have been restored.

ST. LOUIS ART MUSEUM, (Parsons 1980: No. 307 (p. 200), Late Classic, Campeche. This plate presents a standing God N with stylized conch shell. God N is immediately recognizable as he has a net weave napkin headdress and an aged face, with a beard. He holds one object and in front is another plant. These are definitely not cacao pods as suggested in the

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museum catalog because cacao fruits directly from the trunk, not from stems as do normal plants. Also, cacao fruits are shaped differently. Besides, the god is N, not the black merchant **God, M**, Ek Chuah. Condition not reported in the catalog.

(Arrowsmith 1978-79:46), **409659-2-Neg. 20**, presumably Late Classic, Yucatan or adjacent Campeche; definitely not a Peten or Belize plate, art gallery, New Mexico, current location unknown. God N is in a swimming posture with crab-like hands and foot that looks like end of a fish. There is precedence for this in a Peten plate.

Although the polychrome Maya vase on the same page is reminiscent of those painted in Ticul, the plate may be authentic. Since the gallery is not a specialist in pre-Columbian I believe that the inclusion of fakes is not deliberate and that this plate is likely authentic. Several other vases in the same gallery, including a handsome God D-God N interaction scene, are definitely 8th century Maya (Hellmuth 1987d: fig.687; 688).

Let us hope this particular Yucatec plate is authentic, since it is a decidedly interesting representation. The shell has a long series of spirals. The God N has vaguely crab-like feet, perhaps these are to represent something more flexible, such as flippers, or even turtle flippers seen in side view (I do not know how such flippers would appear in that view). Although this God N is inside a shell his limbs are as much turtle-like as anthropomorphic and are certainly not the limbs that a conch animal would have — since they are not quadrupeds. It is my hypothesis that one of the natural models for God N was the hermit crab, so crab-like feet

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would be appropriate. Since the Maya tend to mix and match animal parts the resulting mythical creature will not look like any actual real animal in nature.

The upward end of conch shell may have been repainted, though it is not possible to tell for sure from photograph. It is broken and simply repaired.

(Coe 1982: Pearlman No. 43), Late Classic, Yucatan. Bearded God N in conch shell. Coe calls it a snail shell, but does the snail have the series of curls at the bottom? One biological reference monograph to check would be Cendrano. The snail is a land or freshwater creature. The conch is a marine creature. Coe correctly notes that the vegetation is common on peninsular paintings, as on the St. Louis Art Museum God N painting. Broken, repaired; repainting not commented upon and extent unknown.

(Coe 1982: Pearlman No. 50) **Photo Archive**, Late Classic, Yucatan. God N is with plants an arrangement which is typical of the regional style. The designs on God N's clothing are those normally on his conch shell, so we have a conflation here of the shell onto the body. That is why the "rayed design of unknown meaning" (Coe) is present, that is a stylized Yucatan variation of what would be the feathers on a conch shell for the Peten region. Also look at the "bee man" of Holmul Early Classic basal flange bowls, also found at Uaxactun. Broken and restored.

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Several other plates from Yucatan and Campeche show God N, but the Photo Archive project has not yet searched out Yucatec or Campeche material.

GOD N ON CREAM RED STYLE VASES, USUALLY WITH GOD D

The God D cream red style of Guatemalan vase painting has never been illustrated or described in any book or article on Maya funerary art. Individual vessels of this style have been pictured (Robicsek) but not identified as part of a series or style. Yet this set of related paintings illustrate scenes of the Maya pantheon which are crucial for understanding Classic period deity sagas. It was from this series of paintings that it was possible to recognize that God N' was God D rather than a version of God N. This series of pots showed that God D and God N were definitely different characters — they are found facing each other. Since field archaeologists have either not found any of this style, or more likely, not published them in a way that they have been recognized, it is not possible to know from what part of Guatemala they come, or whether they are Tepeu 1 or Tepeu 2. I would guess central Peten or a lowland-highland interchange area, and late Tepeu 1 or early Tepeu 2. Since most of the vases painted in this distinctive color combination picture God D each vase is also included in the separate F.L.A.A.R. monograph on God D. No plates or bowls have yet been found in this particular negative painting technique.

403225-13, Late Classic, Peten, private collection, cream red style vase. Vase is in good

condition with not a speck of repainting. Due to the unusual nature of this God N portrait it is especially essential to see all the detail; if repainted then one would never know which details were keys to Maya iconography and which were an invention of the restorer.

This remarkable scene is a fascinating glimpse into the heart of ancient Maya mythology. The locus is established by a semi-oval at the top which has the circle-dot-dot pattern of the Surface of the Underwaterworld. This may indicate that the surface is at the top of the vessel which means that the rest of the scene is underwater. The red background may be more than a stylistic indicator, it may be the river, lake, or swamp of blood that is appropriate for the Maya netherworld. Such a lake, sea, or river of blood is mentioned from time to time in various Maya myth fragments.

In this murky world the painter renders a forceful painting of God N in a turtle carapace. The front lip of the carapace sticks way out, and from this peculiarity it may be possible to identify the species of turtle (land, fresh water, sea) that served as model, though most Maya models were composites of various species. The carapace has the faint remains of a Kan Cross painted on its top, as do many turtle hieroglyphs on monumental art of the Piedras Negras region. Such Kan-turtles in non-inscription context, though, are generic to Maya art and not specific to the Rio Usumacinta area.

This turtle-man has thin legs and arms but they are completely human and not as emaciated as in other examples. His neck, though, is elongated, as on a real turtle, and especially as certain Guatemalan species of snake-like turtles which can stick their heads out particularly far

(Alvarez del Toro). This turtle neck has markings on it that signify animal hide in Maya renderings. The head that is at the end of the turtle neck is anthropomorphic, with beard, headdress and a semblance of an earring. The nose is very small. A detached nose bead is out in front. The necklace is on a long strap. The cog-wheel pectoral has an additional pendant. The cogwheel shape is a cross-section of a conch-shell; the cogs are structural part of a seashell. Such shell jewelry is typical of God N though usually as an earring.

The turtle-man wears a human loincloth and the typical turban of God N, though no net weave is visible. The carapace is naturalistically rendered although there is no particular division between carapace and underbelly plates. The top of the shell has the Kan cross that is typical of carapaces in the inscriptions.

This turtle-man is reaching out pulling on the wrist of a plump woman with enormous breasts. She is seated, her skirt is still on. Perhaps this is a comparable situation to the God N in all the Codex Style pots lusting after a woman. Here though, on this cream red series with God D, the protagonists are in another setting, because God N is full bodied, in a shell not in a snake-monster, and has to deal with God D, plus other men who are also after the woman's breasts, especially a monkey-man (on other vases of this series). In the Codex Style series God N is competing with God K for the favors of a lady. This lady--or at least her bosom--was certainly popular.

The rest of the vase is filled with an incredible front view rendition of an enigmatic monster. Front view anything is rare for Maya pottery, although the painters of Codex Style

pots along with the sculptors of Naranjo favored front view faces for victims of human sacrifice. Here the front view is for other, unknown reasons. This monster has some features of a Loincloth Apron Face, but has different dentition. I do not think this is a Cauac Monster. It has ventral scale pattern around the mouth edged with black circles, but has no bound hank of hair or anything else to suggest it is any relation of the ventral scaled monsters related to the J.G.U. or to the like monsters that menace the Principal Young Lord. Above this strange monster face is an "upside down Ahau with curved fins on either side." We need to find more paintings by this remarkable regional atelier. See the God D catalog for additional information.

**GOD N ON HIGHLAND CHIPOC STYLE VASES,
Guatemala, Late Classic**

Chipoc style pots initially received this name from the site of that name in Alta Verapaz, in highland Guatemala. Dieseldorff dug the first examples, Robert Smith did the modern ceramic report on this style, and other examples are known from Mary Butler's monograph (1940; 1941). Since then I have found about seven additional vases in the Chipoc Style. Chipoc Style vases are carved or incised against a white background. The color, shapes, and special frames of Chipoc vases are very distinctive. Students can learn to recognize these vases readily after working with a few specimens in museums. Most of these vessels present God N.

Several Chipoc style vases are in the Museo Popol Vuh as well as in the other half of the Castillo collection that remained in his house, undonated. These latter pieces were no longer available for study after 1982, and their whereabouts are no longer known. Since the Highlands has been densely inhabited, most of the mounds of the region have been potted long ago. Consequently, as with Chama style paintings it is very rare for a new Chipoc style vessel to become available for study. I have not seen a new Chipoc style vase in over ten years. Not many rollouts are available.

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(Dieseldorff 1926: Tafel 18, Abb. 70-71; Seler 1895, III: Abb. 14). Formerly in the Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin, lost during the war(?). Attractively shaped bowl with a pouring spout. A panel on each of two sides has a God Nin conch shell. He is aged, seems to have a single, protruding lower tooth, and has typical cross-hachure patches which are characteristic of Chipoc style renderings. He wears a necklace of large beads. His headdress is a curious Peruvian tumi shape, with flows issuing out. From other Chipoc scenes these can be identified as stylized flowers, although on this specimen they are no longer recognizable as lowers. On the upper, back lip of the shell is a flower which is more easy to accept as floral, with bifurcating appendage. The bumpy shape and curve of the conch shell reminds me of the bumpy "barbel beard" of the Jaguar God of the Underworld.

The God N on the right holds an oval object in his hand or on his lap. Is this cartouched cross related to the cross on the lap of God N on the Altun Ha bowl (Pendergast 1979: fig. 34)? The Chipoc God N sits on two repeated hieroglyphs, though not the normal phonetic po as on many Peten generic throne scenes.

This God N may have vestigial fangs, as on the Placeres stucco facade God N in the Museo Nacional de Antropologia, Mexico City.

The vase appears to be in perfect, original condition as found.

(Dieseldorff 1926 Abb. 237; Thompson 1950: fig. 21,4), striding God N in conch shell. Decorations are all typical of Chipoc style. He wears a bib-turban and net weave headdress.

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The necklace pendant is a simple shell. This panel is very similar to that of Smith 1952: fig. 15, e, listed as Dieseldorff Collection. If they are the same then Dieseldorff's drawing shows the back leg restored and is in minor error on the headdress front (presuming the Carnegie drawings are more accurate and presuming they are of the same vase). Dieseldorff shows only the drawing, not the vessel (unless one of the tiny pots in his Tafel 20 is it, but there is no such cross reference).

(Dieseldorff Abb. 239; Thompson 1950: fig. 21,6). Striding, aged God N in conch shell. A large bird picks at something in his headdress. The overall headdress includes a bib-turban plus a net weave back piece. The necklace is a seashell. God N's face has age wrinkles and pronounced protruding chin. This vase is probably the one illustrated by Smith in his fig. 15, f. That this was a standardized scene in Chipoc art is indicated by a complete vase in a private collection that shows how the whole panel would have looked like originally (**449209**).

(Smith 1952: fig. 15, j). Sherd only, face is missing. God N sits in conch shell. Wears turban and napkin headdress.

(Smith 1952: fig. 15, e). Fragment only but most of design of single, enpaneled God N is present. Panel is similar to that of Dieseldorff Abb. 237 except for the headdress.

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(Smith 1952: fig. 15, f). Incomplete vase, face is missing on God Ns of both panels. Design looks as though it is the same as the vase illustrated by Dieseldorff Abb. 239. There the drawing is shown complete. Smith's rollout shows the rest of the vessel and which pieces are missing.

(Yomiuri 1974:CN 7). Guatemalan highlands, Karl-Heinz Nottebohm Collection, Guatemala City. Bowl with bulbous bottom and high sidewall. The sole illustrated panel shows a God N seated in a large shell. As on other Chipoc shells the whole surface is decorated with widely spaced circlets. The God N has a prominent headdress filled completely with widely spaced net weave. The headdress center is a round form; directly attached to its front is the stylized flower typical of Chipoc in particular and highland in general. The necklace pendant is different than those on other God Ns. Good condition, no restoration or retooling evident in sole available photograph.

(Robicsek 1972: pl. 21). Classical rendition of aged (bearded also) character with a long-necked water birds in other Chipoc God N scenes. This episode of God N holding or carrying a water bird is not known from any Peten or even Chama scene. But based on examples published by Dieseldorff this God N-water bird relationship is definitely a standard association for Chipoc potters, yet this accomplished Maya artist is not slavishly copying the standard pose, as here the God N is seated and the aged character has no seashell. A net weave

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napkin headdress is enough to place him in the God N classification. He is thus at least a God N devotee, and due to the aged facial features plus having the same bird as shell-housed God N's on other Chipoc vases, he is acceptable in this case as an actual God N even without seashell.

The God N's body is covered with many tic-tac-toe cross-hachure markings which must be intending to represent some kind of skin texture.

The earring is a disk with circlets, the same as found up in the headdress of the God N of the Nottebohm Collection. Several flowers adorn the headdress. Overall this is one of the most sophisticated Chipoc vases yet published.

There is no question about these being fakes — all are authentic, ancient, Maya, as the clay, the colors, and the details of Chipoc pottery are totally different than any other Maya style and very hard to duplicate. No forged Chipoc vessel has yet been found. This particular Chipoc vase has a chip missing from the rim. The sole published photograph does not show enough of the vase to judge condition or restoration history.

(Robicsek 1975: fig. 72). Museum of the American Indian-Heyle Foundation, New York. Four panels (as with the other Chipoc vases) but only two are illustrated. The non-pictured panels probably show a dancing young lord as on the Texas example, **449209-10**. Two panels each have a single aged God N in seashell. The two panels show a novel situation of God N on a low net weave throne with legs. God N is not often pictured on a throne; when in front of

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God D, for example, God N is on the floor while God D is on the throne. Otherwise the Heye God N's themselves are in typical Chipoc style and content.

A-328, Chipoc color and style, possibly photographed in Denver or in the Nottebohm Collection, as a handsome Chama hieroglyphic vase was photographed during the same session. This Chipoc vessel has two panels each with a God N. The panels are framed with a vertical panel consisting of two crossed bands. Considerable blank space separates the two panels.

Each God N sits attached with his whole bottom in a shell. His net weave headdress is large in proportion to his body. The top of the head has a large round medallion so no turban is visible, possibly one is not worn. A bifurcating feather or form issues from a possibly highly stylized flower all attached to a circle over the front of his forehead. His necklace is long with the pendant touching the ground.

Ht 10 3/4 cm (sic), Dia 10 cm. Obviously the person who measured this was not accustomed to the metric system. The height measurement in inches was 4 1/4" so the metric equivalent can be worked out.

449209-10, Chipoc style, Late Classic, current location unknown, probably in Texas, large vase with hieroglyphic band top and bottom. Circumference is decorated with four panels alternating with God N and an idealized young lord. The panels are separated from one

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another by a vertical chevron band forming a thin divider panel. The lord has double dome head and may be a highland variant of the Maize God although from Peten examples we do not have any relationship between God N and the Maize God except the latter's rising from God N in his turtle shell. On all Chipoc vases found so far God N is only in a conch shell. The background color of the panels alternates between red for one panel and off-white for the next, with the God N's on the red background. Each of the two God N panels is slightly different from the other but they show essentially the same scene, one is quite similar to that of Dieseldorff, with birds feeding at flower that sprouts from headdress. Each God N face has slight beard. His cheek has two parallel lines that at first look like a barbel, but are probably age wrinkles, as barbels are not characteristic of God N (though they do occur in rare instances; in other examples the lines are ambiguous, either age wrinkles or a barbel, or simultaneously both, a typical situation in Maya art).

Each God N has human eyes, an undecorated earring, a turban headdress, and a traditional God N net weave headdress back flap. The long-beaded necklace has a mussel-like shell on one God N; the other necklace pendant is too small to reveal its intended meaning. The cross-hatch bracelet and anklet with blip decoration are the same as on the Dieseldorff Chipoc God N outfits.

Overall this vase is the largest, most handsome, iconographically richest Chipoc God N vase which has come down to us. It would be nice to know where it is so it can be photographed in color.

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Museo Popol Vuh, **A-563-Neg.10**, Late Classic, Chipoc region. Horizontal hieroglyph bands top and bottom; divider panels are vertical dark-light chevron bands. Four panels, alternating with dancing young lord and God N, same as typical of other four paneled Chipoc vessels. Here though the contrasting colors of light and dark are dramatically utilized by the artist. God N is dark, his conch shell white. Details are typical for Chipoc style and subject. His completely black body suggests that a black deity on a Red Band Tepeu 1 bowl (486667-9, Hellmuth 1983: fig. 1) may also be a God N. Otherwise, God L and God M have traditionally been considered the prime black deities. Vessel is broken and when photographed a large chunk was missing. No restoration at time of photograph other than simple gluing.

451858-14-Neg.8, Guatemala, Chipoc style. Since the Chipoc style usually shows God N, it is possible that this is a shell-less God N (both God D and God N share the same basic elderly body). The possibility that in fact a God D is intended arises from the forehead rosette, a feature not expected for God N. One fragment missing; remaining fragments simply glued together with no restoration.

451858-14 and D.0.-308, Late Classic Chipoc vase, highlands, current location unknown. This wide vase of only medium height has two horizontally elongated panels with God N separated from one another by a thin vertical band framing a wide empty divider panel. There is no conch shell per se but the facial profile identifies the character as God N. Behind rises a

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dotted decoration that could be vaguely construed as the end curl of a conch shell as the God N is rendered in front view, the shell must be behind him (if one is present). The face has droopy nose and pronounced chin. One of the two faces seems bearded. The headdress accessories are not known from other paintings. Vase is broken and a large fragment from the empty divider panel is missing.

Current condition is unknown. Ht 14.0, dia 16.0 cm.

GOD N ON OTHER TYPES OF HIGHLAND VASES

Museo Popol Vuh, photograph courtesy of Karl Herbert Mayer (7/35A). Highland in general rather than Chipoc in particular. Background of short vase is carved away to show a seated God N. His shell covers only his back. Head has small turban of overlapping forms more like a big-turban -- not net weave and no napkin headdress. No flower stands out from the front of the headdress, but a highly stylized form on the back of the shell and an even simpler one on the back of the headdress both have streamers and both are probably intended to represent flowers. The God N gestures with his arms and hands. Other side of vase is not known but is probably a repeated panel. Broken, cracks not refilled, no restoration.

GOD N ON HIGHLAND CHAMA VASES

Chama style vessels are even easier to recognize than Chipoc style. Chama vessels have a horizontal band of white-black chevrons, distinctive orange background, polychrome painting, and certain additional distinctive features of facial profile, jewelry, and features of the headdress, which are described in better detail in the separate F.L.A.A.R. archive report on the Chama Style. The largest collection of Chama vases in one place is the Museo Popol Vuh-Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Guatemala City. There are though, no God N scenes among this particular extensive Chama collection. Chama vases are often published in the literature on the Maya and are frequently faked. Recently a large, differently colored pseudo-Chama style vase has been conspicuously published (Coe 1982: Pearlman No. 21). Until this suspiciously slick pot gets an independent clay testing by Ron Bishop and thermoluminescence testing elsewhere, it should not be further published as authentic. It does though, not illustrate a God N and will not be further described until the F.L.A.A.R. catalog of Chama style vessels.

(Dieseldorff 1922: pl. 11; Yomiuri 1974: No. 62), labeled as from Quiche in the catalog, certainly possible as such vessels were probably widely traded in ancient times. The shape of this vessel is identical to the Chipoc vessel in the Nottebohm Collection. This shape is not standard in the adjacent Peten lowlands. Since this catalog is of a Guatemalan government

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exhibit in Japan, this vessel is most likely from IDAEH, one of the few Dieseldorff pieces remaining in Guatemala. Only one side of the vessel is illustrated in Yomiuri. Here is the only yet known highland God N with a turtle carapace. The other side of the vessel shows a second God N, in the more usual conch shell. Both God N's wear a bib-turban and net weave napkin headdress. The face is of a stylized old man. The turtle carapace has a glyph cartouche on the top but its contents are not clear in the small photograph, probably a Kan Cross.

Breaks in vessel have been simply glued with no restoration.

(Dieseldorff 1926: Tafel 21, Abb.136-137), Late Classic, Chama itself, if these were formerly in Berlin they were lost during the war. Very little of the Dieseldorff Collection remained in Guatemala; that which did is in the Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, with a sample on exhibit and the rest in basement storage. Two similar panels each display a god N in conch shell. One shell is horizontally placed, the other is vertical. The God N's have painted eye areas and mouths, plus pronounced nose and aged chin. Their earring is the same as on Chipoc God Ns, as are the bumps painted on their shells.

Butler, 1940 and 1941, covers Chama pottery, but the photographs in the 1940 report are too small to study. When we can get enlargements from the University of Pennsylvania we can update this section with better information on any potential God N or related iconography.

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(Coe 1973: Grolier No. 16), 452295-13, Late Classic, Guatemalan highlands, Gillett Griffin, Princeton. This is a Chama style painting without the chevrons. Appropriate color and theme allow identification of style even when the chevrons are not present. Coe's description links the scene with the myth of the Popol Vuh.

Of God N himself, he is in conch shell banded with upholstery whose border tabs suggest hide tack tabs. Bands such as this result from staking (pegging) down the fresh hide to dry; as it dries it retracts. The parts of the edge which were pegged down retain their original size against the rest of the hide which has shrunk in size. Most feline hides in Maya scenes show the pegged tabs, especially the hides on thrones and seats.

The back flow that curls out from behind the shell has detached beads and two sets of glyph-like designs which are related to those in sacred liquid flowing from the hands of Yaxchilan rulers studied by David Stuart (1988). Other attachments to this particular Chama flow are arranged to mimic the nose, tubular nose bead, and flowing fangs of a stylized reptilian mouth. In effect the flow forms a vague serpent fret; often God N shells will have a snake-like creature issuing from them. Sometimes this is the serpent foot of a God K (who in rare and specific instances may often be in the shell). More likely I suspect these serpentine creatures are either a zoomorphic form of God N or a stylized composite of the shell creature itself.

The God N is aged, bearded, has tube sticking up from forehead (not God K type), and sprocketed earring. This sprocketed earring (a cross section of a conch shell) is a crucial feature to identify a God N in cases where other traits are not present.

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Is this narrow tube stuck into his headdress a paint brush? The end of his headdress flap is similar in shape to that on Chipoc God N's but otherwise this, and other Chama renditions, are quite distinct. For example, here the flap is not of net weave.

The conch shell is highly stylized. We have already commented that the band down the middle has been turned into a strip of feline hide with the tabs resulting from pegging and drying an animal hide.

Although it is fair to assume this scene shows one of the Hero Twins about to decapitate one of the rulers of the underworld the executioner on neither Chama vessel has either a headband or a spotted cheek. Although that does not absolutely rule out the Hero Twins it does recommend caution until we actually can identify this youthful actor. The God N, though, is a certain and rather simple recognition. That he is a ruler of the underworld is entirely an educated guess.

Broken in many pieces and simply repaired with no repainting. This shows how an important scene is important no matter what the condition. When a vase looks "slick" that is not necessarily a good feature, since these are over one thousand years old they ought to look their age.

Kislak Museum, seen but not yet photographed. This is the nicest of the three Chama scenes which picture God N being pulled out of his shell. Since I do not yet have pictures I

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cannot describe the entire vase other than to say that the youthful associate is not actively in the act of yanking God N out of his shell. This vase has an especially nice set of hieroglyphs.

(Coe 1973: Grolier No. 20), Chama related, Guatemalan highlands, no chevron but has the size, shape, and colors which are found throughout the Chama and nearby regions.

Two sets of interacting figures are separated by a mythical tree each with a mythical bird. Each set of figures poses an elderly deity on the left conversing with gestures to an idealized young lord on the right. The idealized young men share minimal features with what elsewhere has been recognized as a Maize God, so that is a possibility here, though we may find other idealized young lords in Maya scenes as well. They do not appear to be the Hero Twins Hunahpu or Xbalanque, though highland renditions are always more difficult to name than those of the Peten lowlands.

The two old gods are a challenge to identify since none has enough headdress. Coe suggested the J.G.U. for Figure 3 but we now know that God L can also, and often, wear a jaguar ear and the sprocketed necklace would not be unheard of for a God N.

Coe suggests Figure 1 is not God N but "perhaps the same as Figure 14 on No. 37, the Vase of the Thirty-one Gods," but Figure 14 there is a toad/frog so that is a typographical misnomer. God D is indeed possible, especially for a highland scene where God D is often with idealized young lords, though many of them may be Hunahpu, whereas here that is less likely. The god marks on the old fellow are found also on God N but we would expect a

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highland God N to be in his shell. There is always the possibility these are the Paddler Gods, though without a perforator through the nose of Figure 1 it is not yet possible to certify this, or any other designation for sure. Only through context as well as finding comparable highland scenes with more detail will the enigmatic deities be worked out. Certainly a capable student of the next generation will wonder why we in the 1980's had so much trouble figuring out who these deities were.

Vessel itself is in average condition; scene is in good condition with no repainting.
Ht 14.7 cm.

(Hellmuth 1976: Rollout fig. 51; Coe 1978: Princeton 10), **A-301-Neg.7**, 453027-1, D.O.-257, D.O.-258, and D.O.-"G", Late Classic, Chama region, Duke University Museum of Art. Broken and simply repaired with no repainting. Well described by Coe. I would add that the profile and features of this particular God N should be studied carefully so that God N can be recognized in those cases when he is naked (that is, when the shell is not present to identify him). The Duke God N is useful for this study because he does not have the large form of the headdress, but only the "bud" form. It is this abbreviated form that allows identification of the otherwise naked God N on the God L-God N polychrome (Wray) vase, and also the dancing dirty old man on an important plate (Hellmuth 1976: fig. 31, A-373). He is not particularly aged in the Duke scene, has long, pronounced nose, painted lips, and net weave but worn as a headband (not Headband Gods type though). The free ends of the

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headband form a diagnostic shape that should be compared with the cross-hachure oval forms hanging at the belts of Post Classic Chichen Itza "bacabs" of Thompson, which are simply his estimated name for God N in an attempt to link God N with a name found in Colonial period Spanish-Maya dictionaries. Most of the head is bald or shaven except for one lock of hair at back. This God N is partially black, though his face is not. Nonetheless he should not be confused with God L or God M, both of whom may have black faces.

The "U" brackets which decorate the shell are distinctive and can perhaps be used to identify stylized or abbreviated shell sections elsewhere. The red "flames" that back the whole scene have an unknown importance. They lack any features of a reptile.

Entire bottom of this pot is a replacement with the bottom of another pot, as the Chama vessel was evidently found with a totally broken bottom (in other words the bottom was missing). So, if this pot has been drilled or otherwise tested from the bottom then such test will be incorrect for the clay of the actual painting. Both the pot and the bottom are each authentic, but only the sidewall is definitely a Chama vessel. The origin of the bottom is unknown other than it is also pre-Columbian. Any project of neutron activation analysis should take these historical notes into account. The entire scene is in original condition with no repainting. Ht 14.6, dia 19.1.

(Coe 1978: Princeton No. 10). One of the two great Chama vases, pictured countless times in books on Maya art. Well described by Michael Coe. There is a God N who smokes, seen on

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a vase (R+H 1982), though God L is the best known smoking deity. The character with cogwheel earring and cogwheel pectoral is also a potential candidate for God N, since God N face glyphs on Altun Ha style PSSequences have cogwheel earrings. The "cogwheel" is simply a cross section of a conch shell (INAH monograph). One solution to the nomenclature dilemma here is to consider that all four God N's are present, led by either a fifth God N or by God L. Epigraphers might solve some of this when they read the name glyphs next to these characters. I suspect that there is a historical component to this scene after all, nobles attired as the gods.

A-105. Traditional Chama style, size, colors, and chevron band top and bottom. The continuous scene has no divider panel. Each scene consists of a single person gesturing towards a stack or pot. One scene presents an aged god with no shell. The net headdress suggests a possible identification as God N. What at first makes it difficult to notice the net headdress is the bird hovering to feed on a large flower that is on the front of the bib-turban headdress. The stiff net headdress stands out horizontally. Lying against the top of the net headdress is a cane-shaped design of unknown meaning. Several God N's have a comparably shaped feature sticking out the front of their heads, but the object in this case is not a paint brush.

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American Museum of Natural History, New York, published,¹² **A-405-Neg.2**. Aged God N sits almost completely within a large shell. The long thin end at top and the multiple coils at the back (shown as stacks) are more likely of a seashell than a land or fresh water snail. The shell has repeated sets of markings similar to those found on some top panels of vases of the "Catfish Red" series from Peten (Hellmuth Photo Archive). Comparison of these triple dots with abstract geometric motifs elsewhere in Maya art has made it possible to identify the three-dot pattern as a stylized section of a jaguar hide. The conch shell of another Chama-related God N (Coe Grolier No. 16) has more readily identifiable feline hide spots but in a more naturalistic pattern and stretched out totally differently. Nonetheless, there must be a Maya name for some conch species which translates or puns as "jaguar conch."

The God N has an abbreviated headdress, beard, and pronounced elderly chin. His eye area is darkened. His nose bead is far out in front of his nose, totally unattached. When these decorations are so far away from the actual nose they are often mistakenly identified as speech scrolls. Also floating out from his head is part of the headdress, a vertebrae set of 000 bones topped by a bone Ahau. The recognition of these as bones can be easily seen when comparing them with skeletal vertebrae (Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 594 and better in 1988). The deity's necklace is of large beads, hanging far down in front. This is one of the most forceful Chama renderings of God N which has come down to us and it is a loss to art history that these

¹² In order to get this report reproduced we had to send it to the xerox shop before there was time to track down several of the missing citations. These will be added in the revised edition planned for the next year's symposium.

beautiful vase has not been published more often.

**THE OLD GOD,
POSSIBLY GOD N,
ON PAINTED CODEX STYLE VASES**

Since Gods D, L, and N can all have aged bodies, when they are essentially naked, or when no seashell or headdress is obvious, it is hard to distinguish among them. When the Codex Style sequence was first presented at a Palenque Mesa Redonda in 1980, the aged god which sticks out of the reptile was considered God L. In later drafts it became the "Old God," a dreadfully vague term but probably better than an alphabetical misidentification. I had given a lecture on the identification of God L at the 1978 Palenque Mesa Redonda, but had never finished it for publication and did not include Codex Style pots because God L does not often appear on vases of this style. With this background research based on unpublished God L scenes not yet known to either Robicsek or Coe, I did not agree with the Codex Style dragon-held deity as God L, and it did not seem to be at all like God D. Yet in the 1970's no one could not yet recognize any specific God N features either.

Then I had the good fortune to see and photograph in 1980 what was two years later published as R+H 1982: Vessel 12. This aged deity wore the cogwheel seashell necklace pendant of God N. Now all that was needed was independent confirmation from paintings of another style that God N could rest in the jaws of a serpent. The proof I found on a

remarkably complicated enema ritual scene: an isolated God N head in the jaws of a dragon. As I was working on this photographic material in Graz, by the time I had it ready to announce the Codex Style book was in press, so the outdated Old God term got congealed in print. One personal communication got into the book (p. III) but it was too late to change all the terms and the present catalog of God N and God L was not yet available in a readable form. As the reader does not usually get to learn how these gods are identified, I hope that a bit of digression will provide additional information of nomenclature use and misuse. The correction for the "old god" is also included in comments under each vase and also in the summary section.

I would not be surprised if some clever student or unusually adept iconographer is able to reclassify all the "God N's" and find out that some really should be separated out and given a different designation. These aged characters on these Codex Style vases are potential candidates for such reclassification.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 3 (p. 16), p. 37, 111-112), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. If the God K-like forehead flare were taken away this would be a perfect old God N, based on the shell necklace and scrawny limbs. Without the shell necklace it could equally well be God L. The relationship to God K though, also solidifies the link of this enigmatic portrait to God N because only K and N (among the old gods) can cohabit inside the turtle carapace. God L is never known to inhabit a conch or turtle. Although God L and God K are often pictured

together (a Chama vase, on venom bottles, on Chochola style bowls, on Tepeu 3 polychrome vases, etc.) the shell cross-section necklace here is more what I would expect of God N than God L. God K is known from an increasing number of renditions to cohabit in the turtle either together with God N, or more often, as an alternative or substitute. However in this case I will not be led by a model of substitution to propose that God K=God N just because they are in free association with each other. In conclusion, on this painting we have a God N who happens to have a God K flare attached. There are other instances where GI can also wear the smoking torch. Obviously then this torch is interchangeable among a certain group of gods.

Condition of the vase is not commented on in the text. Parts of the vase were left unrestored--but that is not always a guarantee that repainting has not taken its toll elsewhere.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 4 (p. 16), p. 37, 111-112), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. God N in dragon jaws; recognition based on his aged, emaciated physique. Flare of God K is appended on the forehead as with Vessel 3. No God D or God L is yet known to have such spindly arms. Degree of repainting not indicated in description.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 5 (p. 16), p. 37, 111-112), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. God N's bust pokes out of the dragon's maul. Confusion on the form of dragon's lower jaw, possible arm of God N, and foot and loincloth apron of seated dignitary results from inept painting, either of the original Maya, or recently — or by both. The god face is certainly of

God N though.

(R+H 1982 a: Vessel 6 (p. 17), p. 37, 111-112), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Without the help of analogy with the other vases of this series it would be difficult to recognize the personage sticking out of the dragon as God N. But the facial profile together with his association (in the dragon mouth) allows God N to be suggested. His earring almost looks like it has "codex Kin" glyph markings or perhaps a more usual quincunx. The published record makes no closeup details available for study. Effaced in parts, restoration history unknown and not reported.

(R+H 1982 a: Vessel 7 (p. 17), p. 37, 111-112), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Full figure God N sits comfortably in a dragon mouth. Necklace looks like a bib-turban. Feathers are a novel pectoral for God N, but then the whole Codex Style series is unusual and is full of surprises elsewhere also. Note black eyebrow. Restoration history not known. Parts look crudely repainted.

(R+H 1982 a: Vessel 8 (p. 17), p. 37, 109-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Cute old God N with drooping nose holds out his hands to cop a feel of the plump breasts of the weighty damsel in front of him. She, however, is directing her favors in this scene to snakey God K. Beneath all the fancy headdress accessories is actually the basic net

weave trademark of God N. His necklace of large beads is not typical elsewhere, but seems his fashion here in northern Peten on this style. His arms are particularly emaciated.

The faces on Vessels 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 could sure be God L if any of his headdress were elsewhere in the scene. Although God L's face may be black, the face type with just a black area over the eye (here on Vessel 8 and again on Vessel 12) is found on a known God N.

The profile outline of the woman's face is too strong; vases should be checked carefully for restoration.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 9 (p. 18), p. 38, 109-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Masterfully painted scene of the two gods lusting after the sexual favors of the Dragon Lady. Both God K and N have flaming torches through their foreheads. Does God N win his torch by transformation through the belly of the snake, which is an extension of the leg of God K? God N wears the wide, feather-ended bib comparable to that on other Codex Style paintings.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 10 (p. 18), p. 38, 109-111, 113), **464706-31**, Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Fat bellied but with emaciated arms, God N issues from the dragon's maul. The lovely maiden stretches out to get herself comfortable, and has her mouth open in anticipation; she has momentarily forsaken God K. Both males wear flaming torches in their foreheads. Notice that God N's sticks out the back of his head also. God N here has a

particularly thick necklace or bib-turban. He has a nose that is almost recessed and a wavy form extending from his eye. It blends into the forehead wrinkles but is some form of an eye crest or eyebrow or fin. The mouth-cheek area has a barbel-like form which is better visible on the pre- cleaning photographs.

464706-31 shows the vase in original condition, breaks simply glued, and the vessel not cleaned. The Kerr rollout is after cleaning, rejoining, and crack bridging. The repair on this vessel is a professional work; the breaks cannot be seen except if you know where they are. No repainting was attempted in the central pitted areas, thus the value of the painting and the iconography is preserved intact. This is a model of moderation and represents what is not only acceptable, but what should be the goal in conservation. Anything that attempts slick restoration should be (and increasingly is being) refused by museums and collectors as well as by archaeologists — and by the IRS — alike. The only retouching on this vase is to bridge the restored cracks, and that does not affect the iconography because close-up pre-restoration photographs are readily available

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 11 (p. 18), p. 38, 109-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Lustful God N looks with blissful anticipation towards the luscious Dragon Lady, who, though, turns towards God K (who here ignores her look). Condition not recorded.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 12 (p. 19), p. 38, 109-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private

collection. This is the important painting that allowed me in 1980 to identify the dragon-carried old god as God N. The identity is based on the cogwheel-like seashell necklace. God is almost completely bald, has fleshy nose, black eyebrow, and must be in ecstasy as at last he is getting his hands on the ripe young breasts of the maiden. In the next painting he grimaces with determination as he slides towards hopeful coition. Vessel 12 is in excellent original condition and has not been touched by a modern paint stroke.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 12a (p. 19), p. 38, 109-111-113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. This important scene shows a tough looking God N at the moment of sexual conquest of the lady of his dreams. His almost skeletal hand brushes her ample breasts. How he plans to effect actual sexual intercourse at his age is not explained. She is all tied in knots with the leg of God K. Condition not reported. If still in original condition as found, this is one of the great masterpieces of Codex Style painting.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 12b (p. 19), p. 39, 109-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. An additional painting of the basic scene of God N's sexual advances on the Dragon Lady. This vase is obviously in original condition as unearched. As an archaeological object, not an art object, it has considerable historical and cultural value, all of which would have been ruined if repainted.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 13 (p. 20), p. 39, 109-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. Due to effacing it is hard to find the Dragon Lady, but she must be down in the coils somewhere, as God N has a determined look on his face and is reaching downward. A plump breast is probably directly under his hand. The artist of this vase was different than the others but the scene of sexuality is of utmost importance. Condition not reported but seems to be in original condition as unearthened.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 14 (p. 20), p. 39, 110-111, 113), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. The character dying on the bed can be recognized as potentially related to God N by comparison with Vessel 16 by his droopy nose. The addition of the deer ear has something to do with his situation with all the women and the deer. If that is God N on the sick bed, perhaps at his advanced age fondling the breasts of such a nubile lady was just too much for his system — or perhaps being sick was a ploy, as he gets more attention on his deathbed than he did while alive! Besides, he is on a bed — not all entangled in the reptile's jaws. Too bad that he does not make it onto the bed until he is dying; he was trying so hard to get the topless young woman to couple with him before he reached the bed. Condition of vase not reported in text.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 15 (p. 20), p. 39, 110-111), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. God N on his sick bed, possibly dead or dying. The curl on his stomach is particularly

interesting; it occurs on Vessel 16 also. A possibly comparable curl, confused with serpent fangs, is on God N's stomach on Vessel 10. Vase condition not reported.

God N as Hunter Trumpeter, Codex Style Vase Paintings

Although the aged deity emerging from a dragon on Codex Style Vessels (Robicsek and Hales 1982) could be God L or a composite with God K in fact there is facial evidence that a pure God N is intended. On Vessels 33 through 37a the "same" aged face appears in the same situation — poking out of the dragon. However now the character wears a hunter's sombrero. To drive home his role as a hunter he occasionally blows on a conch shell (as do many hunters [Hellmuth]) and even wears a deer ear. Is this a separate god of hunting?

If so his basic body is the generic old god's body, the same body used for God L and N (God D usually as a large god eye (square or round)). In two instances (Vessel 33 and 35) it is a young man in the dragon, though otherwise sharing the same headdress and deer ear as the suspected God N. Are these hunters a special guise of God N or a separate hunting deity? A Chochola style vase shows the same hunting character complete with conch shell and deer ear. If the hunting accessories were removed the aged deity would be identified as a God N. In fact Grolier No. 76 shows a God N without conch but with a floppy ear. This character appears to be a God N with floppy ear, that is, in a different guise than 95% of the God N's but nonetheless still in the same family. They are certainly not God Y of Zimmerman (Kelley).

And no God N is yet known for any Maya hunting scene. The conch shells in such scenes are entirely for musical purposes, they are not meant to evoke the housing of a God N. I propose God N as the most likely candidate, though a separate characterization is not impossible.

(Coe 1978: Princeton 5; R+H 1982a: Vessel 34 (p. 26), p. 43, 117), Late Classic, believed to be from southern Campeche, anonymous private collection. In 1978 this scene was an insurmountable challenge to identify. All the accessories are of other gods and characters that had not previously been seen associated with God N in the traditional corpus. Coe's description did well considering the lack of comparative data available in 1978. The basic hairdo is a bound hank, with the binding hidden by the giant deer ears. All of these features are foreign to our traditional conception of God N, as he is usually partially or wholly bald, an indication of advanced age. I believe the character, though, has a definite God N facial profile and the black markings are also acceptable under our increasing knowledge and changing understanding of God N. The large, fleshy nose is particularly characteristic of God N. The thin limbs and flipper-like fingers are also known for God N. I cannot figure out the breast-like curl.

The vase is presumably in original condition and not repainted. Perhaps that curl is a wandering fang line that the artist got confused on. We must allow the artists a few mistakes, when stung by a mosquito, on a Monday morning with hangover from a four day religious ritual, and so on. All things considered, with the facial profile and net weave at far top of the

painting, a God N setting is created. These net segments that Coe astutely pointed out are at the far top of the scene, cut off by the rim band, with a thick black border. Despite their unusual position, on their basis I believe we can add this character at least to the God N family, and probably directly to the main form. Vessel appears to be in original condition.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 16 (p.21), p. 39, 110-111), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. God N is easy to recognize on this vase despite the deer ear. The droopy nose and black color plus emaciated limbs identify him. Note the pronounced curl on his stomach. Robicsek suggests a relationship with death. I would add that it also occurs on Vessel 34, see note in description of this vase in following section, as there is a question of confusion with dragon dentition. Vase appears to be in original condition.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 35 (p. 26), p. 43, 117), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. This vase was either crudely painted by an ancient Maya or crudely repainted in the last five years, so it is difficult to analyze details until it is possible to study the painting in person. The trumpet player is younger than in the other scenes. If this painting is authentic, then the headdress top feathers add additional support to the idea of a bib-turban. This composite item of Maya clothing was so named after I found the enema bib was indicated with the same segmented type construction as the head wraps of enema participants. Coe suggested during my ca. 1978 lecture at Yale University, Department of History of Art, that the bib was

evidently the same as the turban.

We have already seen with God N in the lustful palace scenes that he wears a bib (of bird feathers?) while he is carried in the dragon's jaws. Here on Vessel 35 is the same set of feathers up in the headdress (I doubt they are God L's feathers as they lack the horizontal band, see the God L monograph for additional information on the particulars of his headdress). On Vessel 35, though, his main headgear is the sombrero, probably of straw but possibly of cloth around a frame. We should look elsewhere to see whether God N has interchangeable bib-turbans, as it is precisely in the enema ceremony where this interchange takes place, and God Nisa principal celebrant in this celebration. God L apparently does not imbibe, as he is not present.

The actual condition of this painting is unknown as commented on at beginning of this entry.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 36 (p. 27), p. 44, 117), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. The Jaguar-dog seems to have been crudely repainted but I would need to see the vessel in person to tell for sure. The forehead of the trumpeter may have suffered the same fate. Hence this vase is unacceptable for iconographical study until its condition can be clarified and I make no further comment on it.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 37 (p. 27), p. 44, 117), Late Classic, Peten, private collection.
This

painting shows God N with both deer ear and deer antlers, holding the conch shell trumpet. Vase is possibly in fine original condition as unearthened.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 37a (p. 27), p. 44, 117), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. This painting is more developed than Vessel 37a and I had the opportunity to see it before restoration and can attest that all iconography was present in excellent condition. This important scene shows that God K's leg is again the origin of the serpent monster. In its coils, instead of the Dragon Lady, is a strange Cauac pillar-like setup with a strange head of probable GI relative but with bizarre leaf or feathery head. The Maya artist is providing a rare glimpse directly into the Maya pantheon. The conch shell musician has bloated stomach, emaciated arms like a God N, with deer ear and deer antler. "God N" wears a triangular nose bead and long bead necklace. Original condition when photographed.

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 38 (p. 28), p. 44, 117), Late Classic, Peten, private collection. The severed head may possibly be of God N. From God D scenes on pottery of a different regional style I have discovered that God N is sacrificed with a Cauac weapon on orders of God D (see God D monograph). If the present vase is repainted then its potential contribution to this question is ruined, and we will have to wait until another rendition of this painting can be photographed. That is one advantage of studying Codex Style pottery. The repainted vases can eventually simply be ignored.

Other Codex Style Paintings with God N

(R+H 1982a: Vessel 56 (p. 53), p. 61). Robicsek wisely left the two aged gods on this vase unidentified. That is certainly better than introducing a new name or perpetuating an erroneous name. The net weave, napkin headdress would seem to suggest a God N immediately. But, this character has a large god eye rather than a naturalistic eye. Whereas there is no way yet to distinguish between a Roman Nose (God D, Sun God, J.G.U.) and any number of like noses, with a large god eye and a large nose, one thinks first of the family of Roman Nosed characters, and God N is not in this family. The lack of long beaded necklace, absence of seashell pectoral or seashell earring also argue against this being a God N. God L has elsewhere not yet been found with a net weave headdress. I am presuming from the photo only that this vase is in original condition as found and that all the costume details are thus authentic.

I conclude that vases of northern Peten and other Codex Style pottery sites are sufficiently innovative that we need more information on deity iconography before I would hazard a guess on this character, although I tend towards a God N interpretation. If the item in the right deity's hand is really a paint brush for the presumed codex in front of him, then that may lead to future clues on other like vases. Even with the codex present, I wonder whether this vase is more likely part of another sequence, and should be removed from the chapter on the scribes, as all the scribe vessels include no more appearances of this aged deity.

GOD N AT COPAN AND QUIRIGUA, Late Classic

COPAN, Temple 22 (Maudslay, I:pl. 12, 14; Trik 1939:pl. 13; Thompson 1970: fig. 18, o). **Photo Archive**. Half sitting, half kneeling characters on both sides of the door frame, on the bottom of the pile of gods (but above the skeletal heads) wear net headdresses. Thompson labeled these characters Bacabs (which he thought equalled God N of the codices) because they were at the bottom of the stack holding up the world. The problem of Bacab and God N is discussed in the text section of this catalog. The thighs of these characters turn into Cauac-like monsters with long snouts.

The Maudslay drawings offer the best view. Since the mouths are damaged, the age of the faces are hard to determine. The headdress, though, is clearly the type worn almost exclusively by God N and his devotees. The necklace also is of the type worn by God N, although other mythical characters also share such seashell pendants.

Even though no conch or turtle shell serves as a housing for the character, the headdress alone is enough to secure the identification as God N. I do not support the designation of Bacab. The only potential utility of this designation might be in the cases where it might be useful as a sub-category of those God N's who uphold something. The equation of an 8th century image with

a 16th century dictionary name is hard to uphold.

COPAN (Scheie and Miller 1986)

COPAN, "Old Man of Copan," This oft-published Old Man of Copan is a God N. As a generic aged face this head could, on statistical grounds, have a chance at being a God N, since a God L or God D is not likely without a headdress. Moreover, neither character is pertinent to Copan architectural decoration, whereas God N certainly is. Nonetheless, the head has no net weave cap, and unless a shell can be found to have been associated in the original architectural context, a God N designation is premature--though possibly correct.

COPAN, other sculptures which are mates to the Old Man of Copan. There are several other sculptures at Copan which are the identical size and shape of the Old Man of Copan, but they are not as well preserved. It might be expected that originally there were four such God N's on the same structure.

COPAN. Excavations during the last ten years have unearthed complicated throne sculpture in which God N appears. The main bench sculpture is now on exhibit in the enlarged museum in the village. Subsequent editions of this inventory will itemize and describe each image.

COPAN, Grillo, a stone sculpture drawn by Berthold Riese (Baudez). My catalog makes no attempt to list the multitude of Late Classic God N hieroglyphs, but this particular text is of particular interest. God N is just before a Sun God glyph.

QUIRIGUA, Zoomorph P, north face (Maudslay, II: pl. 63, c). Aged God N in turtle shell is crammed into a cartouche. The carapace has a hieroglyph on its back with three circles, rather than the Kan glyph, which is usual on turtle backs. The god has thin limbs and wears an earring with three dots.

QUIRIGUA, Altar N (Spinden 1957: fig. 223). Spinden calls this "The simplest animal altar at Quirigua and the one nearest to those of Copan in style" (1957:117). Only one illustration is published. It is difficult to analyze the face, but the overall altar is clearly a turtle with a God N head. His head is identified by a complete net weave head covering. His anthropomorphic limbs are rendered in human form but in turtle-like position. The top of the turtle carapace is occupied in its totality by a large face of a mythical creature with curved beak-like snout. Based on an illustration of the altar top it is difficult to ascertain whether this is a variant of a Loincloth Apron Face or some more common long-snouted creature.

**GOD N ON STONE SCULPTURE, CENTRAL LOWLANDS,
Late Classic**

The shortness of this section is the best statement on the rarity of God N in the context of dynastic statements on monumental sculpture.

PALENQUE, Temple of the Sun, sanctuary panel. The god on the right — who backs on God L to the left, has been considered as a possible candidate for God N. From the Wray Vase we know that God N and God L can share identical bodies and faces on occasion. This Palenque specimen is, though, not yet identifiable and no specific God N characteristics are noticeable, other than the God L context.

PIEDRAS NEGRAS (Satterthwaite), 35mm color slides only, cliff sculpture. Gillett Griffen was the first person to show me this sculpture at the site. The scene is a turtle with another character sticking out one end. It is partially eroded. The project of Steve Houston will probably produce good line drawings for future analysis.

SITE Q, Altar top (unpublished drawing courtesy of Linda Scheie; Crocker-Deletaille 1985: No. 416), Dallas Museum of Art. If this is a Site Q monument, then there are two potential provenances for it: El Peru, Peten, Guatemala or Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico. Site Q is the

provisional name given by specialists as the probable origin of a quantity of high quality relief sculptures found in private collections and museums that share a certain emblem glyph. Later Ian Graham documented that many of these sculptures came from the Classic Maya site of El Peru, a distance from the Rio San Pedro Martir, north-eastern Peten. In the last three years, however, Grube and (David) Stuart have independently come to the conclusion that the Site Q to which these monuments refer is Calakmul.

Despite erosion, this is one of the iconographically most fascinating stone sculptures from the Late Classic central lowlands. In this catalog of God N, it is not possible to do justice to the host of fascinating characters that appear, other than to list a few.

On top of the temple is a full figure Lily Pad Headdress Monster. Inside the structure is an individual in "female" clothing, typified by the trellis pattern jade beaded skirt and shawl. This clothing is best known for Calakmul and on the "Cleveland Stela." That monument was identified by Ian Graham as being definitely from El Peru, and not from Calakmul as formerly cited.

Two scrawny, aged characters wearing only scantily loincloths hold up their arms. They function as a pillar holding up the roof of a structure. Although these pillar personages do not have seashells or other such indications of God N, by analogy with the "upholding arms" posture with Chichen Itza, and their physique, they can be identified with confidence as God N. This Tepeu rendition of an atlantean God N was not known to Thompson when he wrote his Bacab article. This El Peru God N suggests that the Chichen Itza examples should also be considered as God N, rather than attempting to associate them with an ethnohistoric vocabulary entry and

with ethnographic mythology.

TIKAL, Altar 4 (Jones and Satterthwaite; Hellmuth 1987c; 1987d: fig. 631), see description in Early Classic section of the God N chapter.

GOD N IN PORTABLE STONE ART

The Photo Archive is dedicated primarily towards art in clay so jade, obsidian, flint, as well as shell and bone representations are not often present (due to lack of funds for film to photograph absolutely everything). We welcome citations for God N's which are omitted. There are God N's on jade from Chichen Itza (Proskouriakoff), from Nebaj, and in art catalogs (Scheie and Miller 1986). There are also dozens of Maya vases which picture God N, many of them are unpublished but photographs are available in the F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive. All these will be added in subsequent editions.

God N in Graffiti

IDAEH archaeologists at Tikal continued the graffiti project of Helen Webster Trik and recorded all the graffiti unnoticed or not yet excavated by the University of Pennsylvania project. Those graffiti which were in the Group G complex were recently published by IDAEH in a monograph by Orrego and Larios. Among the graffiti was one showing God N.

TIKAL, (Trik and Kampen), possible God N.

TIKAL, Group G complex (Orrego and Larios 1983: Lam.8, c). Late Classic. A standing God N has a clearly rendered shell housing on his torso. The shell has six spiral sections, continuously along the whole shell, rather than being shown only at the end. This particular rendition may represent a land or fresh water species, although I do not have the zoological background to judge the species adequately. His arms are upraised. One arm is near the head of another who seems to reach out to God N's leg. They appear to be fighting. In myths on pottery God N is killed by attendants of God D, but he cowers before them with no evidence of attempting to defend himself. The only individual God N is shown as struggling with is a woman whom God N wants to sexually molest. In the graffito the other participant is not well preserved but horizontal lines under its outstretched arms are just the way the edge of a woman's huipil looks in pottery scenes when her arm is outstretched. This is especially the case when the women stretch out their arms to unclothe God N in preparation for the drinking-enema ritual. The graffito is not well enough preserved to allow a precise identification as a woman, but that is certainly who is predicted by a mythological model.

GOD N AT CHICHEN ITZA

More God N's are in the sculpture of Chichen Itza than any other Maya site. Copan holds second place for quantity of God N representations, although almost all of these are concentrated on two benches. The God N's at Copan are listed and described in a separate chapter. Many of the characters whom Thompson called Bacabs are more easily cataloged as Post Classic variations of God N.

Casa de las Monjas (Maudslay 1889-1902, III: pl. 16; Seler 1908, V: p. 242, Abb. 56- 57; Bolles 1977:150), **Photo Archive**, west size, upper zone (vault level) on either side of the central mask. This is the only extant rendition of four God N's together where each one has a different shell.¹³ Unfortunately, all of these statues are missing their heads and two of them have indistinct, unidentifiable "shells". In fact, one's poorly preserved "body" cannot be recognized as a shell at all. The better preserved ones show a conch shell (on the left) and a turtle carapace (on the right). Thompson 1970:476) feels that in addition, the left-most personage has "'wings', somewhat like

¹³ The F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive has a complete series of photographs of a Peten style bowl which pictures a series of several God N's all together. This group may show the set of four in slightly different housings. The multiple God N's on the Whipple God N Vase (now in Germany) are not in their shells and so they all look identical (it is normally only the different species of land or sea shell which differentiates the four). Unfortunately the Peten bowl in question was repainted by Lee Moore, the founder of the Miami School of innovative pseudo-Maya vase painting. Portions of the Whipple Vase is another one of his imaginative products.

those of a hornet or mosquito!" Thompson also considered that God L's hat in the Dresden Codex was topped by a flying fish.

In fact, all four of the headless Chichen Itza statues are probably God N's in various housings but hornet wings are not expected. The reader should realize that Thompson's zoological identifications vary from the unlikely to the impossible. His "jog" (Jaguar dOG) faux pas is the best publicized, but buried in his writings are many other zoological-iconographical atrocities.

Due to the rarity of such groups of all four God N's, these characters should be photographed at night with controlled lighting.

Great Ballcourt, Chamber E (Maudslay, III: pl. 51, c; Seler 1908,V: p. 289, Abb. 131). Giant, aged, bearded God N in turtle shell. This particular rendition shows him from the underside. His headdress has stylized water flowers. To emphasize that God N is underwater, the artist added a fish nibbling at one of the water lilies.¹⁴ I have often found fresh water snail shells on the underside of lily pads in Peten ponds and streams. What is interesting is that God N is both fresh water and salt water, since conch shells are not found in Peten waterways. A general marine association (salt water) with God N is the fact that it is a hermit crab that, like God N, lives in a variety of different abandoned shells.

¹⁴ Sophie Coe pointed out an article that the water lily flower withdraws down underwater after it has finished blooming. In addition to being underwater as it dies (something I did not realize until Sophie Coe kindly gave me an article describing this feature), about 1% of Peten area water lily flowers begin their blooming cycle underwater, rise to the surface already open, and then retreat back underwater to form their seeds. It was evidently this cycle of life and death, underwater and open to the sun, that intrigued the ancient Maya.

Chamber E on the lower back of the Great Ballcourt has some of the more interesting representations of Underwaterworld scenes (especially on the bases of the pillars facing the Chac Mool) which were not included in my treatise on this subject (Hellmuth 1987d) I wished to include examples that were either Early Classic were or unpublished. Certain aspects of the Chamber E renditions are actually quite similar to Classic Peten scenes, but the Chichen renderings are still 9th or 10th century at least, if not even later. The Dresden Codex is also quite similar to Classic Peten scenes as well, and it is considered to be 12th to 14th century. The non-underwaterworld parading personages are distinctly dissimilar to Peten prototypes. Hopefully, the rubbings-of-Chichen-Itza project of Merle Greene Robertson will have more to say about the dating.

Great Ballcourt, Chamber E (Seler 1908, V: p. 290, Abb. 132). Only the lower half is preserved. It is a simplified rendition of a previous listing, but has the addition of a snake coiling around.

El Castillo, capital of a serpent column (Seler 1908, V: p. 291, Abb. 134 and 135; Tozzer 1957, XII: fig. 262). At one time this building must have presented a whole parade of God N's. Most wear conch shells, others wear webs. Only a few have net weave headdresses. Several have the set of dual plant forms which might be unopened lily pads. The cross-hachure is the same as found on opened lily pads in Classic Peten Maya representations of water lily plants. I doubt if

they are really buds.

El Castillo, various locations (Seler 1908, V: p. 292-293, Abb. 136 -145; Tozzer 1957, XII: fig. 263). These are various portraits of God N with his arms "holding up the world." He wears either a snail shell, a sea shell, a turtle carapace, or a "spider web."

El Castillo, various locations (Seler 1908, V: p. 295, Abb. 146-147; Tozzer 1957, XII: fig. 261). This is more of the same series, mostly with turtle shell or other unidentifiable enclosures. The pectoral hanging from the long necklace is usually the same oval shape and could well be a section of a shell.

Structure 2D7 (Temple of the Big Tables) (Seler 1908, V: p. 296-301, Abb. 148-175; Tozzer 1957, XII: fig. 264-265). This is a long series of God N's which are similar to those previously cited for El Castillo. Many have no evident enclosures (Abb. 150, 151, 154, 155, for example) and should be classified separately. Abb. 168 has no shell but is certainly a God N. Others have the standard shell for Chichen Itza, "web" (Abb. 152, 158, 159, 173), snail or conch.

Chamber E (Seler 1908, V: p. 317; Taube; F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive¹⁵). An important

¹⁵ Since this area of the building is way above eye level it is impossible to photograph in any normal manner. Aided by a giant camera tripod, 12 feet high, and with the help of a large ladder, I was able to climb up and do night photography with light from an electric generator (courtesy of a permit from INAH). Unfortunately there was a heavy mist that night (bad for the

rendition of a personage rising from splitting the monster head turtle shell composite. This is a Post Classic rendition of the resurrection of the Maize God. Out of each end of the monster issue probable God N's. Their shell has the ends of a turtle carapace, but the rest of it is the face of a monster with bandaids.

Great Ballcourt, Temple C (Seler 1908, V: p. 321, Abb. 196). There are two God N's, one at each end of a scene. The right one has a normal conch shell, the left one has a more interesting, but unidentifiable shell enclosure.

Cenote, Gold Disk N (Lothrop 1952: fig. 43, a). Aged God N in conch shell. The headdress seems to be an animal of some sort.

Cenote, Gold Disk O. Disk O has another god, a long-snouted one, probably God K, in a type of shell that God N normally inhabits. Another example of a shell-God K is that known to be from Palenque, Temple of the Foliated Cross, sanctuary tablet and, recently, from the gods shown inhabiting the turtle carapace that gives birth to the Principal Young Lord.

GOD N IN POST CLASSIC TIMES

cameras) and my assistant was ill I only took a few snapshots, but these are probably the only extant photographs, with night-lighting, of this particular Maize God resurrection scene. The presence of the God N was just icing on the cake.

Mayapan (D. E. Thompson 1955:282)., four sculptures, God N is inside a turtle carapace.

Santa Rita, Belize

GOD N IN PLUMBATE

Many plumbate examples of God N could be found, but I have not included plumbate pottery in the Photo Archive unless such pieces happen to be in collections that I am already photographing for their Classic Peten ceramics. This which is the main focus of the salvage photography project. Plumbate is more common in Mexico than in Guatemala I do not know any private collections in Mexico, other than the registered collection formerly of Josue Saenz.

(Dockstader 1964: No. 85) Old god in large shell holds a pot. The catalog misidentifies him as "Fire God." He is said to be from Guaymil, Campeche.

GOD N OUTSIDE THE MAYA AREA

Mythical persons with aged physique residing in turtle carapaces occur in the art of Teotihuacan, of the Mixtecs, and of the Aztecs. This chapter should be written by Pasztory or

Millon for Teotihuacan, by Smith for Oaxaca, and by Nicholson or Pasztory for the Post Classic Valley of Mexico cultures. I have the impression that this turtle character in Post Classic Mexico is not considered by Nahuatl specialists to be a version of the Maya God N in any way.

It is surprising that not many turtle-men or conch-men are yet known for Olmec art. Other than the shark, however, the Olmecs were more dedicated to raptorial birds, crocodiles, reptiles, and felines than to marine imagery.

I am not a specialist in the art of the Mixtecs or Aztecs, and have not perused all the Mexican codices for pictures of seashells and turtle-men. This section is solely to indicate that turtle-man imagery is widespread outside the Maya area. This monograph is for the Maya God N is not intended in any degree to be a catalog of those non-Maya occurrences. For Teotihuacan, the following catalog is complete with respect to material published by Seler, Gamio, Sejourne, von Winning and A. Miller, with only a one acceptable God N found (Hellmuth 1987d). Turtles are rare to non-existent in the art of Teotihuacan, but common at post-Teotihuacan influenced art of Cacaxtla. For Teotihuacan, God N is primarily a bivalve shell personality. Most Teotihuacan shell creatures are not God N (Miller 1973: Pls. 128; 296), for example.

TEOTIHUACAN, Tetitla, Room 7 (Sejourne; Miller 1973:pl. 272; Hellmuth 1987d: fig. 714). The frontal image is probably the same individual, yet it lacks a beard, has facial spots

and a Teotihuacan necklace. The profile images would be acceptable God N's in any scene in Guatemala. Miller comments that these particular murals are painted in a technique atypical for Central Mexico. I should also point out that the same apartment complex pictures "shell divers," so the people of Teotihuacan were quite interested in seashells. Indeed, all kinds of exotic shells were imported by the Teotihuacanos, buried as offerings (Sejome) or worn as jewelry.

Individuals familiar with the art of Mesoamerica's various regions will undoubtedly know of additional examples of God N outside the Maya area. We welcome comments from readers so that we may include new entries in expanded editions of this corpus.

GOD N IN THE CODICES

Zimmermann and Kelley have suggested differentiating among the various kinds of God N. In this first stage of my cataloging I have found it easier to tag all net weave, elderly, or shell-housed personages as God N— except in obvious cases where clearly a totally different mythical personality was intended, such as God K.

Kubler has recommended caution in presuming cultural continuity between Classic and Post Classic images. On my own I would not automatically term every turtle creature a God N. Even within the Maya world several sub-types of God N have been proposed for the Post Classic codex appearances of the Schellhas named god. These subdivisions need to be subjected to scrutiny now that a larger Classic period corpus is available. Nonetheless, there is a remarkable visual continuity—the Post Classic Maya gods look just the same as their Classic counterparts, especially God A, C, D, G, L, and N (Hellmuth 1987d).

Since all the codices are readily available, there is no need to list each example. In several instances God N can easily be spotted in his shell. As with other deities in the codices there are the easy to recognize instances when the character includes all or most of his diagnostic features. Then there are other instances where it is debatable which deity was intended. Since the codices

are readily available to all students and scholars and as the F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive has been relatively unknown previously, it is more useful to present the unpublished data first. The identity of the more obscure examples in the codices can always be affected at any time, especially when the hieroglyphs can be read more easily every month.

Dresden IV, a, right, God N on the basis of face, encircled lips, and cap (same cap as Dresden XII, c, middle and XII, c, right). The glyph here is a 4 Tun instead of a 5 Tun, but surely the same deity is intended.

Dresden XII, c, middle, definite God N on the basis of face, enclosed lips, and 5 tun hieroglyph in the text above. The oval cap on the Dresden XH, c God N documents that the character of Dresden XXI, c, right should also be listed as God N — they have the same cap despite the differing cap top decorations.

Dresden XVII, a, left, probable God N on the basis of facial profile. The faint black areas of the face in the Villacorta renderings should be checked against the original. At least one codex style God N has black face markings (R+H 1982). I doubt this is the black face of God L.

Dresden XXI, c, left, definite God N on the basis of encircled mouth, tun headdress, and 5 Tun glyph in the text above.

Dresden XXI, c, right, a probable God N on the basis of head, facial profile, and enframed lips.

Dresden XXXVII, a, middle, a definite God N in a shell with a Kan Cross. This glyph usually marks turtle carapaces during the Late Classic and, indeed, the underside of this shell has the markings associated with a turtle carapace even though the artist has turned the top and bottom of the carapace into of a conch shell.

Dresden XXXVII, b, right, a definite God N issues outside his shell. He is clearly in water, as indicated by the wavy rows of dots

Dresden XLVI, a, probable God N based on enclosed lip area. Otherwise he is in a God D position atop a planetary band throne. Additionally, his headdress is more than expected of a high-ranking deity rather than a mere God N. Nonetheless his face is the same as that of Dresden XLVIII, a, which is also a probable God N.

Dresden XLVIII, a, probable God N, has God N enclosed lip area, and tun headdress.

Dresden LX, a, left, classical God N in a shell, with his turtle carapace and pa superfix glyph in the text above.

Madrid XIX b, middle, a turtle is on top of a tall house. The turtle has a hieroglyph on its

carapace. On top of the turtle is an aged deity who looks identical to God D elsewhere in the Madrid Codex, except that here he has a large flap of net weave. This kind of a net pattern is possibly a phonetic hint to be read pa, to show that it is supposed to be God N, rather than God D.

Paris VI, b, middle, a classical God N complete with shell. The shell is marked with Cauac grapes, a sign for tun, part of God N's name, Pahautun.

Unsure Examples

Paris VI, a, right, rather than the aged face of God D as on the God N of

Paris VI, b, middle, this character has the face of a codex God N, with the fat lip area differentiated by a single line, however he also has a faint line through his eye, so he may be that deity.

ADVANCES IN KNOWLEDGE OF GOD N

An early identification of God N's monkey associations comes from vases photographed for the F.L.A.A.R. archive in the early 1970's. Subsequently a simian aspect of the Copan Scribe was suggested elsewhere in the literature on Maya art. Thus it appears that the simian features were recognized independently on at least three occasions, relative to the Copan scribe in the 1980's (Scheie), and based on two different specimens in the corpus of Red Band vases (one recognized by Labbe, and another vase, which he would not have had an opportunity to know about, recognized in initial photography by F.L.A.A.R.). No review of God N, however, cites any of the Red Band specimens, so these standard references on Maya deities missed out on the simian association. It is to be expected that Schellhas would not have had a chance to spot any monkey features, since monkeys are not common in the codices, nor are there any monkey features on the God N's there. The simian association of God N was clear from scenes on Red Band Tepeu 1 style vases. Since this observation was not placed in print, the first written notice came from its independent discovery on the Copan Scribe. Ironically this figure has virtually no simian features at all, so this observation made little impact. Taube did not mention the monkey nature of God N, since it was not visible in the corpus he used as his basis. Even in the reference to the Copan Scribe, the potential of a generalized monkey nature for God N per se is not approached because no references or citations are given to the

other simian God N's, which are actually far more monkey-like than the Copan Scribe. Actually, as far back as 1982 Labbe recognized a simian aspect to the God N on a Red Band Tepeu 1 vase in his Bowers Museum specimen but the example in the Duke museum was not published that early, so no cross reference was likely. Yet when the Duke examples were in fact published (Reents) the citation to the Bowers Museum example was missing. Labbe's book is missing from virtually every iconography book in the last decade.

Whether the monkey relationship has anything to do with the monkey-man fondling the breasts of the buxom women on God D-God N vases (God D red style) has not been resolved. Although the monkey-man himself is not in a shell, a definite God Nin a giant shell is nearby in the same scene.

The relationship of God N and the enema was self-evident since Coe's publication of the Whipple Collection enema scene, but only now can the God N association with the enema ritual per se be documented.¹⁶ An entire special series of God N and enema assistants is now documented. At least five of these vases are photographed in the Archive, and several have been published by Robicsek or Kerr. A complete chapter of the (larger) F.L.A.A.R. God N

¹⁶ Once it was found out that much of this vase was painted by Lee Moore this vase was deaccessioned via Sothebys and ended up in Germany. Photographs from Lee Moore's archive document which portions of this scene are fraudulent, namely the glyph that was so nicely translated in the *Painting the Maya Universe* catalog. It is a fascinating epigraphic breakthrough that Lee Moore's inventive hieroglyphs, painted in Miami during the 1970's, have now been deciphered into pseudo-Mayan in such an expensive exhibit catalog.

inventory covers this theme; this will be added to the next update of this God N monograph.¹⁷

For several years God D was confused as a version of God N, called N-prime (N'). This mistake is understandable because both God D and God N have a similar aged face. Even more, there are hieroglyphic texts. It turns out, however, that it is God N and God L which are related. God N and God D are only associated with each other, not biologically related. God D appears to be responsible for arranging the execution of God N. Being able to separate God N and God D versions on polychrome pottery was accomplished by at least 1978 and was based on the codex representations of both characters as well as on pottery unpublished at that time. Although God L and God N are sometimes very similar in physical appearance (when nude, without their individual diagnostic clothing features), there is no comparable evidence that in any way suggests in any way that God N and God D are physically (genetically) related to each other. Nor are they different phases of some more complex mythical being. God N and God D are distinct in all aspects other than both being old.

The execution of God N has been known since Coe's work on two Chama vases.¹⁸
Now it

¹⁷ All the 1997 symposium Workbooks are first editions. Because the complete versions of all these reports would total over 1000 pages, it was not realistic for one person to complete the editing of so much text. No budget would allow reproducing all the accompanying illustrations either. Thus I decided it was better to present the Introduction and Summary to these deity inventory/registries and then the chapters which were pertinent to specific photography in Guatemala, Mexico, Belize, or Honduras. The alternative was not to finish any of the larger volumes at all.

¹⁸A third rendition of this Chama God N scene is now known, from the Kislak Museum. This particular version is aesthetically the most sophisticated of the series and has hieroglyphs of superior beauty as well.

is possible to expand the knowledge of the execution to identify God D as the instigator, a relationship not evidenced from the Chama vases. It is not yet known whether God D is related to the Chama death episode. It is possible that God N is killed on two separate occasions (once in the Chama episode and once with God D present in another episode), after all, there are four God N's. Also, the Highland Maya may have had a different epic sequence than the Lowland Maya. On the Chama scenes it is a youthful lord who pulls God N out of the shell to dispatch him. This executioner is not always specifically marked as one of the Hero Twins, though it is possible that we simply do not yet recognize the clues. In the God D-God N scenes, where God D is on the throne as God N is being prepared for execution, the person who is attending to the sacrifice looks more like a potential Hunahpu. This is how we can suggest the probable identity of the youthful lord on the Tikal Burial 116 vase. With a God N on the floor in discussion with an enthroned God D, if there is a youthful male in attendance, this stock character is automatically predicted to be the same youthful male who appears in all the other comparable scenes. This means that the entire Tikal throne scene from Burial 116 can be interpreted (Hellmuth 1987d), an iconographic discussion that has been conspicuous by its absence from any publication of Tikal ceramics to date.

The photographic salvage of these images has also resulted in recognizing the relative status of God N and God D-D is superior. God N is clearly inferior as he sits on the floor in front of a God D who is enthroned.

My recognition of the distinctiveness between N-prime and the traditional N of Schellhas

was provided in unpublished lectures of the 1970's and first cited in print by Coe and Robicsek and Hales (1982). In both cases they recognized that the origin was via F.L.A.A.R. research. The only problem remaining is one example of the PSSequene (Nicholson 1979: no. 141, p. 156; Kerr). In this instance the usual God N face is replaced by a face which could be God D, or an unexpected version of God N. Its headdress looks like that expected for God D. Certain aspects look similar to features of a J.G.U. as well. This bowl is authentic, not repainted, is Tepeu 1 Peten in date, and thus has to be taken into account.

God N is usually recognized from his housing in a seashell or turtle shell. Although specialists in iconography of Maya deities knew about alternative housing, these other situations were not publically well known. Thus this report emphasizes the use of the spider web, best known from Chichen Itza (Seler) and an enigmatic sculpture published by Lee Parsons. Taube has pointed out two other possible situations of God N with a spider web in Peten style scenes of the Late Classic (1992: fig. 47, b and c).

I have also established that God N can issue from a serpent. On some vases it is definitely God N without question. On the Codex Style series several alternative names have been proposed, though this old god still maintains many features of a standard God N. I am a "lumper," thus keeping different versions under a basic umbrella of "God N." Other monographers are "splitters," creating a new and different name for each different phase.

The availability of the Photo Archive also resulted in the initial identification of the Placeres upper zone facade sculpture as having two God N's. Based on information from Ian Graham

and Juan de la Cruz Brisenos, I was able to find the actual site in 1984 where this sculpture came from in the 1960's. This location was El Placeres. Local farmers even took us to the specific mound from which the facade was stripped. Earlier this facade sculpture had been repeatedly mislabeled as from Calakmul or Kohunlich, especially in the Museo Nacional de Antropologia itself.

Finally, based on a query by Michael Coe with respect to an illustration in Hellmuth 1976, I now suggest that the dirty old man on so many Jaina figurine pairs who is fondling the breasts of his much younger female companion is also a God N. The parallel "age indicators" (age wrinkles) on the cheek of these Jaina figurines is a final clue. The old man dancing with the young woman on a Peten plate (in a Canadian private collection) is further documentation that it is God N who is the protagonist in this generic encounter of aged lust after young female breasts.

The solution to such long-unanswered questions about a fundamental personage of Maya myths is a further example of the contribution of photographs in advancing knowledge of Maya cosmology. This is the cosmology which guided the Maya elite and evidently kept the peasants toiling in the fields and construction gangs for over 1000 years. It would seem that a belief system this strong might be perused from time to time by field archaeologists trying to understand what went on in the great ancient Maya metropolises. Broken sherds, models of trade routes, and armchair theories have yet to breach the minds of the Maya who guided the very civilization we all profess to be studying. Epigraphy is the closest to the Maya mind that

scholars have brought us. The rest of Maya culture still evade us. One key to the lost belief system of the ancient Maya are the polychrome vases which still languish unrecorded in closets, mantelpieces, obscure museum storage, and government warehouses.

There is really no need for any additional vases— more than enough are already on shelves. Not enough have been photographed and drawn and evidently even fewer have been understood. The lack of visual acuity that is still among us as perpetuates erroneous theories and misleading terms from previous generations.

The popularity of God N for one thousand years, from the Early Classic to the Post Classic codices, is a reminder that he was important to the ancient Maya. On these grounds he should be recognized as equally important in modern studies of Maya religion.

Still needed in the future is a resolution of Coe's hypothesis that God N and God L are the co-rulers of the underworld. Now that God D has been recognized Coe has added him to this netherworld cast (1989). One of many questions, though, is that three powerful old gods appear in the myths of the Classic period, God D, God N, and God L. The Popol Vuh of course speaks of just two main Lords of Hell. The “extra” character can be solved if God N and God L turn out to be manifestations of the same character, though they are pictured as quite separate in the *Dresden Codex*.

Both God D and God L may be enthroned. God N appears more as an accessory, sometimes actually physically as a prop, such as holding up the roof on a panel recently purchased by the Dallas Museum of Art. Perhaps it is ethnocentric, but I do not yet visualize

God N as regal or of imperial prerogative. No personage in a seashell or net-weave headdress occurs in the Vase of the Seven Gods, which seems to be a meeting of the high ranking members of the Maya pantheon of the Classic Period. From many other vases we now realize that God D is more likely a ruler of at least one segment of the pantheon, curiously though, God D has not yet been recognized in that scene. Maybe there were two courts, two palaces, and two groups: God L with one, and God D with others. The Vase of the Seven Gods shows God L as a ruler in his own right. The difference is that God L is subsequently humbled by the rabbit companion of the Moon Goddess. We do not yet have episodes of God D being humbled much less executed (as called for both of the lords of hell by the *Popol Vuh*). It is imperative to identify the physical appearances of all the underworld lords mentioned in the epic of the *Popol Vuh*. Iconography offers the opportunity for continued advances in this decade of the '90's. A high order of priority should be to finish photographing the mass of figural scenes which already exist in living rooms and museums throughout the world. The role of God N on the Tikal vase from Burial 116 was not recognized despite all the grave lot data and site provenance.

The relationship of God N to God L and whether they are twins, brothers, or even different phases of a common being needs to be resolved. A further question remains as to whether the aged personage with a "deer ear" on Codex Style paintings is an independent character or just a God N with deer ear?¹⁹ These are among my personal interests relative to God N and offer an

¹⁹ Kerr has offered his reasons why he interprets this form as a painter's instrument, not the ear of a deer. While that alternative interpretation might be likely in other instances, there are

independent perspective to the accomplishments of Taube's study of God N, based primarily on the Codices.

I wrote this entire manuscript in the 1980's and did not have Taube's book available until ten years later. By this time I decided not to copy information from his report into the list of traits (except where specifically marked). This is because it is useful to see the differences between the results of working from the published corpus and working from the larger corpus, the huge research resource of unpublished material, which is the ace card of the F.L.A.A.R. Photo Archive's twenty-seven years of full-time photography worldwide.

Field archaeologists should be encouraged to contribute to iconography, especially the archaeologists of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and Belize. With descriptive, interpretative registries of each deity, it should be rather easy for everyone to recognize the key characters of Classic Maya myths.

more than enough well established cases where this form is clearly intended to represent the ear of an actual deer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most of the books cited here are standard references which are already in every bibliography. To save paper and costs these preliminary lecture notes are issued without repeating such common entries. We have, however, worked hard at providing abundant references and citations within the text to the work of all pertinent colleagues. In this respect these notes are complete especially since comparative citations have fallen out of favor in the writings of most Mayanists in America.